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Attitudinal aspects of Arabic-French bilingualism in Morocco.

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ATTITUDINAL ASPECTS
OF
ARABIC-FRENCH BILINGUALISM
IN
MOROCCO

Thesis submitted to the University of Wales
by

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in fulfilment of the requirements of the
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Department of Linguistics
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To Eirlys, without whom nothing

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SUMMARY

This study is concerned with the Moroccan bilingual's attitudes towards Arabic and French and the kinds of role each of these languages plays in Moroccan society. Chapter One describes the language situation before and after Independence. Chapter Two examines previous approaches to the study of bilingualism, and contrasts Arabic-French bilingualism with other types of bilingualism. In Chapter Three we discuss the kinds of attitude towards French, Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic which bilinguals express in response to direct questioning. We also look at the possibility that the bilingual's outlook and cultural values vary according to which language he uses. Chapter Four discusses the bilingual's choice of language in various types of situation, isolating the contribution made by such factors as the type of interlocutor, topic and setting. It also examines his preferences for one language or the other in certain receptive contexts. Chapter Five deals with the phenomenon of code-switching, whereby the bilingual uses a mixture of the two languages. Samples of speech are examined to determine whether code-switching is governed by structural constraints, and to discover the factors which provoke a switch. Bilinguals' attitudes to code-switching are also discussed. In Chapter Six we demonstrate by means of matched guise tests that a bilingual's personality may be perceived quite differently by other bilinguals depending on what language he is speaking. Finally, Chapter Seven examines language planning in Morocco and discusses the difficulties facing arabisation. Bilinguals' feelings towards the present and future situation are discussed, and some tentative proposals for future development are made.

KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION OF ARABIC

Consonants

ب	b
ت	t
ث	θ
ذ	z̤
ح	h
خ	x
د	d
ڤ	ð
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ص	s̤
ش	ʃ
ط	ʈ
ظ	ʤ
ع	ʕ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l, ɭ
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	j
؟	ʔ

ط	T
س	S
ر	r
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l, ɭ
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	j
؟	ʔ

Vowels

ا	a
و	u
ي	i, e

ا	a:
و	u:
ي	i:

N.B. In quotations from other authors, we have preserved their transcription.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the phenomenon of Arabic-French bilingualism from a number of angles. In particular, it examines Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes towards their languages, and how these relate to the way the languages are used and the roles they fulfil. In the light of its findings, an assessment of the present situation is made and the problems involved in language planning are discussed.

The bilingual situation which exists at present in Morocco is constantly being debated, and constitutes one of the burning issues of the Moroccan Press. However, much of the literature on this subject is composed of emotional outbursts and bitter criticisms, coloured by political and social interests. There has been little attempt at a more objective assessment of the situation, and those studies which have been carried out have been based on traditional methods of data gathering, such as interviews and simple questionnaires. It is hoped, therefore, that the present study will help to develop a more objective approach and to encourage consideration of a wider range of issues.

This study takes an interdisciplinary approach to the subject, drawing on psychology, sociology and linguistics. It uses a variety of methods of collecting data, some direct, some more indirect. In the first place there are various types of direct questionnaires; these include yes/no questions, multiple choice items and open-ended comment questions. In order to obtain particular detailed and specific information, I developed an agreement scale test, which collects information about the intensity of the respondents' attitudes, and another test which, by systematic breakdown of situations, isolates the contributions of particular components of them. More indirect methods of investigation include the use of matched guise tests, where the respondents' assessments of tape recorded passages provide information about the way their impressions

are coloured by the language used. I also devised a test in which the respondents' completions of various sentences are compared to discover whether or not their outlook varies with the language they use. Finally, the bilinguals' use of code-switching was studied by means of tape recordings of conversations which were obtained without the knowledge of the participants.

CHAPTER ONE

The Language Situation in Morocco

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the language situation in Morocco before and after Independence was declared in 1956. The details given here are necessary for an understanding of the current situation, which in turn is required so that the investigations presented in later chapters can be seen in context. The survey offered here includes a brief commentary on the roles of Morocco's indigenous languages, Berber and Arabic, and an examination of the impact of the French language from the beginning of the Protectorate in 1912 to the present day. Particular attention is paid to the development of the Moroccan education system over this period, and its effects on the Moroccan community.

1.1 Morocco before the French Protectorate

1.1.1 Berber

Berber is the indigenous language spoken before the Arab invasion and still spoken in various parts of Morocco. It is considered to belong to the Hamito-Semitic group of languages. It is not known when or how it came to North Africa, as is noted by Brunot, who describes it as a "langue protosémitique venue on ne sait à quelle période, ni de quelle contrée de l'Orient, ni par quels chemins, ni par le véhicule de quelle race" (1950, p.11).

Although the term Berber is often used as if it designated a single language, in fact it covers a number of widely differing dialects which are not altogether mutually comprehensible. Those spoken in Morocco can be divided into three groups. Tashlehait is spoken in the south-west of Morocco, from Ifni to the area of Agadir; Tamazight is spoken in an area of the

Atlas mountains, stretching as far east as Taza; and the largest homogeneous group of Berber-speakers is located in the north, in the Rif mountains, from which the Tarifit dialect gets its name.¹ None of these dialects has any written form.

In the seventh century A.D. the Arabs invaded Morocco, spreading Islam among the hitherto pagan Berbers. The Berbers of the plains were interested in agriculture and stockraising, and were obliged to learn Arabic in order to trade with the Arabs. The communication between Arabs and Berbers here was facilitated by the fact that they lived in close contact with each other. On the other hand, in the mountains the only contact between the two groups was that made by the Muslim missionaries who converted most of the Berbers. These mountain Berbers' knowledge of Arabic was acquired through reading the Koran and listening to the Muslim preachers who visited them. Thus for the Berbers Arabic has always been closely associated with religion, as Brunot notes:

"L'Afrique du Nord, dont c'est une particularité psychologique d'être rebelle à toute différenciation, n'a pu séparer langue et religion. Tout progrès social ou individuel s'accomplit inmanquablement dans le sens d'une islamisation plus parfaite qui va de pair avec une connaissance plus approfondie de la langue arabe"
(Brunot 1950, p.10)

Gellner, in his study of Arabs and Berbers in North Africa, also mentions the religious impact of Arabic on the Berber individual, who "sees himself as a member of this tribe or that tribe, within an islamically-conceived and permeated world - and not as a member of a linguistically defined ethnic group, in a world in which Islam is but one thing among others" (Gellner 1973, p.13).

¹ A Berber does not usually call himself a Berber, but rather a [šlh], a [susi], or a [rifi], according to the type of Berber he speaks. Thus he is identified only by his language. Gellner (1969) draws a parallel between the distribution of the Berber languages in Morocco, along a discontinuous line in the mountains, and that of the Celtic languages in Britain.

The Berbers admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language, maybe because of this link between Arabic and religion, and also because of the respect they felt for the written forms which their own language did not possess. This favourable attitude towards the Arabic language reflected a more general desire to live in harmony with the Arabs. However, although the Berbers adopted Islam and learnt Arabic, they maintained their own tribal customs and their native language, which is still the language of their homes. No doubt the survival of Berber has been helped by geographical factors, since its speakers live mainly in the mountains and in isolated areas. Berber children are, however, usually exposed to Moroccan Arabic when they explore the world outside the home, and generally become Berber-Arabic bilinguals at an early age. Thus Berbers adopt Berber-Arabic bilingualism as a matter of course, in the interests of everyday exchange and communication.

The fact that Berber is in perpetual contact with Arabic means that its vocabulary is greatly influenced by Arabic.² "Nombreux sont les mots arabes que ces dialectes ont dû adopter, concernant surtout la religion, l'administration et les transactions commerciales" (Brunot 1950, p.16). Arabic terms were used to refer to concepts which did not exist in the Berber civilisation.³

1.1.2 Arabic

1.1.2.1 Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic ([al ʃarabiʃa al fuʃha]) is now the official language of Morocco. The term Classical Arabic

²For a discussion of the phenomenon of borrowing, see 5.1.2.

³e.g. [bismillah] (in the name of God), said before meals and before beginning work, and [inʃalah] (if God wills), said when promising something.

has not always been well defined, and many other terms have been used for the same phenomenon. According to Ferguson (1959a), Classical Arabic originated from the poetic language, a koine used in the Arabic peninsula in the fourth century A.D.. Cohen (1962), in his discussion of the Arabic dialects, maintains that Classical Arabic arose through the amalgamation of Bedouin dialects before the coming of Islam. Gibb (1926), in his introduction to Arabic literature, claims that the earliest literature is the poetry of the first half of the sixth century.

Scholars have distinguished different literary periods in the history of Classical Arabic. The term Pre-Islamic Arabic has been used to describe the language used by poets writing before the Islamic era (Rabin 1955), this being followed by Early Islamic Arabic, while the language of the Koran itself is often termed Koranic Arabic. The language used between the seventh and mid-eighth centuries, covering the period of the Arabic conquests, is sometimes referred to as Middle Arabic. According to Blau (1965), the Arabic of this period was influenced by the Arabs' contacts with other peoples. Finally, the language used today, for instance in the Press and the media, is often referred to as Modern Standard Arabic (Monteuil 1960), Journalistic Arabic (Shouby 1951) or Educated Spoken Arabic (Mitchell 1980, Meiseles 1980).

However, these labels do not seem to designate clearly distinct historical stages in the development of Classical Arabic, for its grammar has remained unchanged throughout all this time. The inflection patterns of Modern Standard Arabic, for instance, are the same as those in Pre-Islamic Arabic. The only linguistic contrasts between the various literary periods distinguished are ones of style and vocabulary. This point is made by Marçais:

"Depuis sa fixation, l'arabe classique n'a pratiquement pas varié. Sans doute, le vocabulaire s'est chargé au Moyen Age d'éléments étrangers; sans doute, l'emploi de certains mots a varié suivant le temps....Mais la grammaire, morphologie et syntaxe, n'a absolument pas changé!"
(Marçais 1930, p.402)

In fact, then, the use of such terms as Modern Standard Arabic, Koranic Arabic, Middle Arabic and so on may be rather misleading, since these do not constitute grammatically distinct types of Arabic. Marçais himself objects to the use of such terms in a later article:

"Si ce qui caractérise une langue, c'en est avant tout le système grammatical, l'arabe moderne ne peut être distingué de l'arabe écrit. Il en a conservé intégralement la morphologie et la syntaxe. Et il en maintient en outre tout le vocabulaire dont il ne considère aucun élément comme désuet: de tout mot employé par les écrivains des siècles passés, un écrivain contemporain peut légitimement faire usage." (Marçais 1961, p.108)

Since in the present work we are not concerned with the examination of different literary periods and styles of Arabic, it will be most convenient simply to use the general term Classical Arabic to designate the literary language which has undergone no grammatical change from the sixth century A.D. to the present day.

1.1.2.2 Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic is the colloquial variety of Arabic spoken by all Moroccans. Like all the colloquial Arabic varieties, it is historically related to Classical Arabic. Rabin (1955) maintains that the "present day colloquials after all are derived from Classical Arabic, or from a vulgärrarabisch closely related to it" (p.26), and Sawri (1977) claims that Moroccan Arabic resulted from the contact of Classical Arabic and Berber in Morocco. Brunot (1950) suggests that Moroccan Arabic may be derived from any of three dialects: the Bedouin dialects which first came to Morocco from various parts of the Arabian peninsula; non-Bedouin dialects which were brought to Morocco by the Arab conquerors and invaders in the seventh century - soldiers and mercenaries who spoke a different type of Arabic, which has been called Urban Arabic; and Andalusian Arabic dialects which were brought by the Moriscos who were expelled from Spain in the thirteenth century, most of whom, according to Gibb (1926), settled in Fez.

While the distinction between Classical Arabic, the written

language, and Moroccan Arabic, the colloquial variety spoken by Moroccans, is quite clear-cut, in fact the average Moroccan is not as conscious of this division as might be thought. Similarly, the considerable contrasts between the various colloquial varieties of Arabic are sometimes ignored. For instance, when Moroccans or other Arabs are asked what language they speak, the answer is simply Arabic. Yet there is no doubt that "the Arabic spoken in the different Arab countries shows a disparity in the use of language as great as any of the divisive elements which separate the Arabs in the political, economic and governmental systems" (Chejne 1958, p.14). Thus the Moroccan variety cannot be understood by an Iraqi, and vice versa. The Arabic colloquials form a continuum so that, for example, the Moroccan Arabic variety is closer to the Algerian variety than the Kuwaiti, and the Kuwaiti variety closer to Iraqi than to Algerian or Moroccan. As Kaye points out, "many languages are all being lumped under the designation Arabic today" (1970, p.380).

1.1.2.3 Diglossia

The two varieties of Arabic used in Morocco today fulfil quite different roles, and can be said to stand in a diglossic relationship. The co-existence of these two varieties is discussed by Marçais (1930)⁴ and Lecerf (1957). Applying the

⁴The roles of the two varieties are summed up by Marçais (1930) as follows.

- "La langue arabe se présente à nous sous deux aspects sensiblement différents:
- (1) Une langue littéraire dite arabe écrit, ou régulier, ou littéral, ou classique, qui seule a été partout et toujours écrite dans le passé, dans laquelle seule aujourd'hui encore sont rédigés les ouvrages littéraires ou scientifiques, les articles de presses, les actes judiciaires, les lettres privées, bref tout ce qui est écrit, mais qui, exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous, n'a peut-être jamais été parlée nulle part;
 - (2) des idiomes parlés, des patois tantôt assez proches, tantôt sensiblement éloignés les uns des autres, dont aucun n'a jamais été écrit, dont la fixation scripturale a valu parfois aux orientalistes qui l'ont tentée les sarcasmes indignés du monde arabe, dont les gens peu cultivés eux-mêmes

terms employed by Ferguson (1959b) in his definition of diglossia, we can call Moroccan Arabic the low variety (L) and Classical Arabic the high variety (H). The two are socially and culturally recognised as having different functions in Morocco. Ferguson (1959b) lists nine respects in which the High and Low varieties may be contrasted, these being (a) function, (b) prestige, (c) literary heritage, (d) acquisition, (e) standardisation, (f) stability, (g) grammar, (h) lexicon and (i) phonology. The two varieties of Arabic in Morocco can be seen to contrast clearly in all these ways. Classical Arabic is the formal written variety, used in religious ceremonies, literature, broadcasting and newspapers, while Moroccan Arabic is used in everyday conversation and in oral folk literature. Frayha (1955, p.17) calls the colloquial "the language of life" and the classical "the language of the book".

Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic have much vocabulary in common, but a large number of lexical items borrowed from French occur in Moroccan Arabic, whereas they are admissible in Classical Arabic only as literary loan translations. Some items occur in both varieties but with different meanings; for instance, in Classical Arabic [al ʕa:fja] means "health", while in Moroccan Arabic [lʕafja] means "fire", and while the verb [xallafa] in Classical Arabic means "give birth to", in Moroccan Arabic [xallaf] means "walk".

The two also differ grammatically. For instance, inflections of nouns and verbs for gender and number are present in Classical Arabic, but not in Moroccan Arabic, so that, for example, Moroccan Arabic lacks the dual marker which occurs in Classical Arabic.⁵ The dual meaning is rendered by combining

4contd.

s'efforcent de s'éloigner dans leurs correspondances, mais qui, partout et peut-être depuis longtemps, constituent la seule langue de la conversation dans tous les milieux, populaires ou cultivés" (Marçais 1930, p.401)

⁵Cohen (1962) notes that the same is true of the other colloquial varieties of Arabic, which also have a plural but no dual form.

the numeral [ʒu:ʒ] (two) with the plural; so the Classical Arabic dual noun [raʒulla:n] is rendered in Moroccan Arabic as [ʒu:ʒ rʒa:l]. The word order in Moroccan Arabic is also different from that of Classical Arabic; while both VSO and SVO are possible in the former, in the latter only VSO is permitted.

There are also considerable differences between the phonological systems of the two varieties. For instance, Moroccan Arabic lacks the glottal stop which is a phoneme of Classical Arabic:⁶

Classical Arabic

[ðiʔb]

Moroccan Arabic

[di:b] (wolf)

Corresponding to the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ in Classical Arabic are the Moroccan Arabic dental stops /t/ and /d/ (see Bentahila 1975).

Classical Arabic

[θaʃlabun]

[ðahab]

Moroccan Arabic

[tʃleb] (fox)

[dheb] (gold)

People's attitudes towards the two varieties are diametrically opposed. Classical Arabic is considered by Moroccans to be superior to Moroccan Arabic, so much so that many Moroccans would claim that not to know Classical Arabic is not to know Arabic at all! Many have considered the existence of the Arabic diglossia in Morocco to pose serious problems (see, for instance, Shouby 1951, Garmadi 1973, Lahjomri 1974, Guessous 1976). Moroccans' attitudes towards the two varieties will be investigated and discussed in 3.2, and the effects of diglossia on Moroccans' learning abilities and its implications for language planning in Morocco will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

⁶The glottal stop does, however, occur in the speech of people from Fez, as Cantineau observes: "En Marocain, le Hamza est une consonne rare (plus ou moins) sauf dans les parlers citadins (spécialement de Fès) où c'est la réalisation courante de /q/" (1920, p.254).

1.1.3 The Original Education System

The traditional system of education dates back to the islamisation of Morocco in the seventh century A.D.. Up until the French colonised Morocco, there were three levels of instruction: the Koranic primary school ([msi:d]), the Koranic secondary school ([žamŝ] or [lmdarSa]⁷), and the university of Karaouine.⁸ Children were sent to Koranic schools from the age of four onwards, and here they became familiar with Classical Arabic by memorising the Koran and writing passages from it on slates. They were also taught some arithmetic. The teacher, called [fqih], was considered a religious authority, and was consulted by parents on religious matters. The tuition of children was paid privately, according to what parents could afford. By the age of puberty, children were able to recite the Koran by heart and write Classical Arabic. Children of rich parents were then able to go on to secondary school, while the poor left school to learn a craft.

The curriculum in the Koranic secondary schools was based on Islam, including its jurisprudence and philosophy. A large part of the syllabus was also devoted to the study of Classical Arabic grammar; the grammatical rules were written in the form of a long poem called [alfja] ("one thousand verses"), which pupils memorised by heart. On leaving secondary school, pupils could obtain jobs as teachers, religious counsellors, notaries or scribes.

The University of Karaouine, founded in 859 A.D., played an important role in forming the learned élite, not only in Morocco but in the whole Arabic world, for it was a famous centre for scholars. Studies included Islamic matters such as theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, philology, logic and literature. Astronomy, mathematics and medicine were also popular among the students. Graduates from this university received the title of [šulama] (Islamic scholars), and are

⁷ [žamŝ] was located in the country, while [lmdarSa] was in the city.

⁸ Both the University of Karaouine and the Koranic primary schools still exist in their original form, but the Koranic secondary schools have now been integrated into the modern system.

still today considered "the representatives of Quranic doctrine" and are "always the guides of public opinion" (Brown 1965, p.100).

In the nineteenth century, there was an attempt to reform this traditional religious system, which had continued unchanged since the Middle Ages, but this brought no conclusive results. Al Jabiri (1973), in his discussion of the problems of education in Morocco, reports that there was a need to reform this system during the reign of Hassan I (1873-1894), where the number of students dropped to 1000. Bidwell, in his study of Morocco under colonial rule, also makes the point that the famous university then became "merely the shadow of the great University which, in the middle ages, had numbered a future Pope among its students; now it was incapable of attracting anyone from abroad" (1973, p.248). This decline of the original system of education made it easier for the French Protectorate to impose its own system of education upon the Moroccans.

1.2 Morocco since the French Protectorate

In 1912, the French colonisers came to Morocco, seemingly with the idea of educating a Moroccan élite to speak and think like them and to believe in the universality and superiority of the French culture and language. This notion of a "mission civilisatrice" seems to be summed up in an old French saying, which Gordon (1962, p.7) renders as follows: "when the Portuguese colonized, they built churches; when the British colonized, they built trading stations; when the French colonize, they build schools". This French policy created a sense of inferiority and resentment among Moroccans, who were encouraged to forget their own culture and adopt that of the colonisers. Memmi, discussing the position of the colonised in North Africa, writes:

"la mémoire qu'on lui constitue n'est sûrement pas celle de son peuple. L'histoire qu'on lui apprend n'est pas la sienne... On a déclaré au colonisé que sa musique, c'est des miaulements de chat, sa peinture du sirop de sucre. Il répète que sa musique est vulgaire et sa peinture écoeurante" (Memmi 1973, pp.133-150)

1.2.1 The Education System during the Protectorate

The new system of education which was introduced alongside the traditional Moroccan one was based on that which existed in France. The main objective of this system was to provide the French colonisers with a sufficient number of employees for the routine clerical work required at the lower levels of administration. Thus the French education system, as is pointed out by Besnard (quoted in Bidwell, 1973, p.237) was a means of conquering the country: "pour l'établissement durable de notre influence dans le pays, chaque école ouverte vaut mieux qu'une bataille gagnée". The same point is made by Gordon, who maintains that "it is through their system of education that the French have introduced abroad their values and something of their style, that mixture of Gallic wit, irritability and concern for what is correct, measured, and reasonable (the sense of droit)" (1962, p.8)

Three kinds of schools were established at the beginning of colonisation to spread the teaching of French throughout Morocco:

- (1) European schools, reserved mainly for the French population of Morocco. The syllabuses were identical to those used in France. Of Moroccan children, only those from the élite upper class were admitted to these schools.
- (2) Franco-Islamic schools, divided into several branches according to the social class of the children's parents. The "écoles des fils de notables" were primary schools in urban areas, which were reserved for a limited number of children from the upper classes. The "écoles rurales" were for country children. Only the best pupils from the "notables" schools and some exceptionally bright ones from the others were allowed to go on to secondary school. The education in these schools was called bilingual, but in fact French was the main language of instruction. Children were given twenty hours a week of French, and had to learn about French history and culture, instead of that of their own country. Classical Arabic was learnt through religious studies.

(3) Franco-Jewish schools, where the study of Hebrew and the Jewish religion played the same role as did the study of Classical Arabic and Islam in the Franco-Islamic schools.

The French system of education differed from the traditional Moroccan one with regard to teaching methods. In the French system the emphasis was put on clarity of expression and logical analysis of texts, whereas the traditional system was based on memorisation.⁹

Higher education was represented by two Institutes attached to the Universities of Bordeaux and Algiers. The "Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines" was established in 1921 for research in social sciences, while the "Institut Scientifique Chérifien", established at the same time, offered studies in science. However, most of those Moroccans who received a higher education did so in France.

This modern French system was not very popular among Moroccans, because it was very selective, competitive and even aristocratic. Only a very small proportion of Moroccans benefited from it; thus in 1938 there were only 23,270 Moroccan pupils in primary schools of the Franco-Islamic type, and a mere 608 in Franco-Islamic secondary schools, and even by 1945 the numbers of Moroccans were only 41,490 in primary and 1,003 in secondary schools (figures taken from Al Jabiri 1973, p.37). The number of Moroccans trained as professional staff under the French Protectorate was accordingly also very small, as is illustrated in Table 1, taken from Souffles (No. 20/21, 1971, p.2).

Table 1: Numbers of Professional Staff in Morocco in 1955

<u>Professions</u>	Moroccans		
	Muslims	Jews	French
Doctors	19	17	875
Chemists	6	11	330
Veterinary Surgeons	0	0	98
Engineers	15	15	2,500
High Administrative Staff	165	0	6,400

The small numbers of pupils who went on to secondary education

⁹The two approaches are discussed in detail in 7.1.1.4.2.

can be explained by the high drop out rate which is characteristic of the French system. For instance, Al Jabiri (1973, p.43) reports that in 1951 only seven per cent of those registered completed their primary education. The system was so selective that only fifty Moroccans obtained a Baccalauréat during the period 1926-1945 (Al Jabiri 1973, pp.37-38). Thus very few Moroccans really profited from the new system; the rest struggled to acquire the knowledge of French necessary for the C.E.P. (Certificat d'Etudes Primaires), which would allow them, for instance, to get a simple clerical job in the Post Office, and so join the ranks of government employees, while at the same time alienating them from their own language and culture and forcing them to pay allegiance to France.

The colonisers also exploited education to divide Moroccan society further in establishing the "Dahir Berbère" (the Berber Decree) in 1930. This involved the creation of another type of school, where French and Berber were taught, but Arabic was not. The aim was to prepare a new generation of Berbers integrated into the French Christian culture rather than the Arabic Islamic one. They tried to break down the cultural and linguistic solidarity existing between Arabs and Berbers, and intensify the separation of the two ethnic groups. The Moroccan nationalists were aware of this policy of divide-and-rule, and accused the French of attempting to weaken the position of Arabic and Islam. In reaction against this policy, they set up private Islamic schools called [al mada:ris al hurra], from which French was excluded. Pupils followed the traditional system of education, concentrating on Classical Arabic and religion, and were called "Arabisants".

In this way some people may have become even more traditional in outlook, in reaction against the values of the modern French system of education. The association of Arabic and religion in the minds of Moroccans may thus have been strengthened, whereas French on the other hand received connotations of modernism and practicality. This contrast may be summed up in the words of Calvet, who comments that

"La langue dominante [le français] occupe le domaine profane, c'est à dire tout ce qui concerne la vie quotidienne, l'administration..., les techniques, la politique, les études etc., tandis que la langue dominée [l'arabe] est refoulée vers le domaine sacré. Ainsi l'opposition langue dominée - langue dominante se trouve convertie en opposition entre ancien et nouveau"

(Calvet, 1974, p.77)

This opposition worked in favour of the French language, making it the language for those who wanted to participate in what was called "le Maroc Utile" (Lamalif No.58, 1973, pp.12-13) i.e., the modern sector which was developing industry, mechanised agriculture, transport, banks, insurance and commerce. In contrast, the traditional Moroccan sector, which dealt with traditional agriculture, craftsmen's work and so on, operated through the medium of Arabic. Thus the opposition between old and new, present and past became more and more pronounced, the traditional systems being seen as outdated and impractical - "le Maroc Inutile" (Lamalif 1973) - in contrast to the French ones.

The French system of education before Independence was thus a vehicle for the policy of divide-and-rule, designed to multiply the types of schools, to intensify the separation between Berbers and Arabs, and to contrast sharply with the traditional Moroccan system of education with which it co-existed, thereby producing two conflicting mentalities. Morocco was an example of the tendency noted by Hapgood (1965) to be characteristic of African countries on which a French education system was imposed: "Education was a weapon of social division rather than integration" (Hapgood 1965, p.122).

1.2.2 The Education System since Independence

Once Independence had been achieved, one might have expected there to be a strong reaction against the use of French in Morocco; for example, Moroccans might have wished to eradicate the system set up by the French altogether and return to the traditional system which was felt to be truly

Moroccan. In fact, however, this did not happen, and the influence of French language and culture in the Moroccan education system has remained strong long after Independence.

One change was that the multiplicity of types of state school was reduced. The period of primary education was fixed at five years, as it is today. Children are admitted at the age of seven and are instructed in Classical Arabic for the first two years, French being introduced in the third year. Secondary education lasts for seven years and is divided into two cycles. The first cycle lasts for four years, and pupils who successfully complete this are awarded a "Certificat d'Etudes Secondaires", which corresponds to the French B.E.P.C. (Brevet d'Etudes Secondaires du Premier Cycle). In the second cycle, pupils are streamed into literary or scientific sections according to their grades.

Private schools exist alongside the state ones, and these are of two types. The original ones, created by the nationalists during the Protectorate, have adapted their programmes to correspond to those of the state schools, since their objective is now to prepare pupils for university. Pupils who are excluded from state schools because of repeated failure or because of their age are usually admitted to these schools. The other private schools are those European schools which have been preserved and are now organised by the Mission Universitaire Culturelle Française (M.U.C.F.). These were maintained after Independence thanks to a cultural agreement between France and Morocco, reached in 1957, which entitled the French to teach 75,000 French pupils in its own schools in Morocco. Gordon (1962) reports that Morocco had the largest M.U.C.F. in the world in 1960-61. It ran eight secondary schools, forty-eight primary schools (where education was given to 14,731 Moroccans and 12,777 French natives), six French cultural centres, twelve cultural "Foyers" and ten Audio-visual centres. The only change in the curriculum of these schools was that Arabic was introduced for the first time and was taught as a foreign language! The Franco-Jewish schools were also preserved under the supervision of the

Alliance Israélite Universelle. In 1956, there were 75 schools in Morocco, with 29,345 pupils.

In higher education, the two institutes mentioned above were replaced by University Mohamed V in Rabat, which includes several colleges and institutes. Other universities have since been established in other towns (Fez, Casablanca, Oujda, Marrakech). The University of Karaouine has been preserved as it was, but another modern university (University Mohamed Ben Abdellah) has been established alongside it.

During the Protectorate, education was available to only a small number of people, but Morocco's independence resulted in an enormous expansion of education. The number of pupils increased to the point where it was almost impossible to provide sufficient teachers, classrooms and funds (see 7.1.1.2). Table 2 illustrates this enormous increase.

Table 2: Numbers of students since Independence

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Students</u>
	<u>Primary Education</u>
1955-1956	207,428
1965-1966	1030,826
1977-1978	1793,772
	<u>Secondary Education</u>
1959-1960	23,600
1961-1962	59,000
1964-1965	146,575
1976-1977	489,166
	<u>Higher Education</u>
1963-1964	7,310
1971-1972	15,148
1972-1973	22,386
1976-1977	45,086

(figures obtained from Al Jabiri 1973, *Le Maroc en Chiffres* (Casablanca: B.M.C.E., 1976), and Service des Statistiques, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Rabat)

However, this expansion in education was not accompanied by any dramatic changes in the curricula, which continued to be strongly influenced by the French system of education. For reasons to be discussed in detail in Chapter 7, French

had to be maintained alongside Arabic as a medium of instruction. This functional bilingualism was dictated by necessity, in the interests of modernisation, development of the country and generalisation of education; as was pointed out in the newspaper Al Alam (1957, quoted by Zartman 1964), Moroccans "intend to conserve the use of French not so much through love of France, but by the necessity of having an opening into the West" (p.158).

The French language still plays an important part in Moroccan education today. Although the role of French as a medium of instruction in primary schools has been reduced, it is still essential for some areas of study; for instance, arithmetic and elementary science are first introduced in Arabic, but from the third year on they are taught only in French. The more advanced a child gets in his studies, the more he needs French. In secondary school, French is the medium of instruction for all scientific subjects. In higher education, French is the only language used in the faculties of medicine, science and engineering; the faculties of law possess separate French and Arabic sections; and while the faculties of arts have various modern language departments, the French departments are among the largest. Table 3 (over-leaf), which is taken from Al Jabiri (1973, p.83), shows the numbers of teaching hours in Arabic and French, subjects taught in Arabic and French, and religion (taught in Arabic).

This table reveals how French, though not dominant in primary school, gradually becomes more important than Arabic in secondary education, especially in the teaching of scientific subjects. It is also to be noted that primary education is loaded with the teaching of religion, especially during the first two years where French is absent from the curriculum. When French is introduced, the amount of time devoted to religion is somewhat reduced. This might well help to establish a contrast between Arabic and French in the child's mind, French being associated with science and all things modern, and Arabic with the learning of religion and morality (for further discussion, see 3.1.3).

Table 3: Teaching Hours in Arabic and FrenchPrimary School

Year	Rel.	A.Lang.	A.Subjs.	Total A.	Fr.Lang.	Fr.Subjs.	Total Fr.
1st	18.5%	44%	37.5%	100%	0%	0%	0%
2nd	21.5%	40%	38.5%	100%	0%	0%	0%
3rd	12.5%	21%	22.5%	56%	31%	13%	44%
4th	12.5%	21%	22.5%	56%	31%	13%	44%
5th	12.5%	21%	22.5%	56%	31%	13%	44%
Av.	15.5%	29.4%	28.7%	73.6%	18.6%	7.8%	26.4%

Secondary School

1st Cycle							
1st	1.8%	25.9%	9.25%	37.1%	33.3%	29.6%	62.9%
2nd	1.6%	23.3%	11.6%	36.6%	26.6%	36.8%	63.9%
3rd	1.7%	24.1%	12%	37.8%	20.6%	41.4%	62%
4th	1.7%	24.1%	12%	37.8%	20.6%	41.4%	62%
Av.	1.7%	24.3%	11.2%	37.5%	25.5%	73.3%	62.5%
2nd Cycle: Arts							
5th	1.6%	25.8%	1.6%	28%	19.3%	35.4%	54.8%
6th	1.7%	27.5%	1.7%	30.9%	17.2%	34.4%	51.6%
7th	1.5%	18.1%	25.7%	45.3%	12.1%	27.2%	39.3%
Av.	1.6%	23.8%	9.6%	34.7%	16.2%	32.3%	48.5%
2nd Cycle: Science							
5th	1.6%	10%	1.6%	13.2%	13.3%	60%	73.3%
6th	1.6%	10%	1.6%	13.2%	10%	63.3%	73.3%
7th	0%	6.6%	10%	16.6%	6.6%	66.6%	73.2%
Av.	1.06%	8.8%	4.4%	14.3%	9.9%	63.3%	73.2%

Abbreviations

Rel.	Religion
A.Lang.	Arabic language lessons
A.Subjs.	Other subjects taught through the medium of Arabic
Total A.	Total lessons taught through Arabic
Fr.Lang.	French language lessons
Fr.Subjs.	Other subjects taught through the medium of French
Total Fr.	Total lessons taught through French
Av.	Average of totals

The Moroccan education system, like the French system it is inspired by, is based on the principle of repeating years; if a pupil fails the end of year examination, he may not pass up into the next class, but has to remain in the same class and repeat the whole year's course again, until he is successful.¹⁰ The rate of repetition in primary school is increasing every year; in 1965, 27.3% of pupils had to repeat, in 1966 28.5% and in 1967 29.7% (Al Jabiri 1973, p,104), while more recently, in 1978, the rate reached 38.6% (Ministry of Education figure). If a pupil cannot repeat, he drops out. In 1970, 220,000 pupils took the examination for entrance to secondary school; of these, only 50,000 passed (23%), while 115,000 were allowed to repeat and 55,000 dropped out (Al Jabiri 1973, p.105). The promoters of arabisation explain failures such as these in terms of the bilingual education system, claiming that pupils are unsuccessful simply because of the obstacle presented by the French language (see for instance Skik 1977). However, other reasons for this increase in the failure rate suggest themselves, notably the possibility that the percentages of pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds have changed with the expansion of education.

The dominance of the French language in Morocco is also reflected in the increasing need for expatriate French teachers. These are recruited through the intermediacy of the French government, under the system of co-operation. The increase in demand can be seen from the figures in Table 4 (overleaf).

¹⁰ In fact, he is allowed to repeat any one class only twice; if he is not successful the third time, he is expelled from school. There is also an age restriction; primary school does not admit children over the age of fourteen. In secondary schools, pupils are allowed to fail twice in the first cycle and twice in the second cycle. At the university, students can repeat as many times as necessary. A second failure entails only the loss of the state grant.

Table 4: Numbers of Expatriate French Teachers
Secondary Education

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
1964-1965	4,228
1967-1968	5,744
1968-1969	6,475
1969-1970	6,706
1970-1971	6,726
1971-1972	6,732
1975-1976	7,211
1976-1977	7,872

(figures from Service des Statistiques, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Rabat)

Higher Education

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Lecturers</u>
1975-1976	374
1976-1977	578

(figures from Le Maroc en Chiffres 1976)

The predominance of French teachers is particularly noticeable in the teaching of science, where they actually outnumber the Moroccan teachers, as illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5: Secondary School Teachers of Science, 1975-1976

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1st cycle</u>	<u>2nd cycle</u>
Maths	Moroccan	1,204	89
	French	1,143	350
	Others	28	211
Natural Science	Moroccan	616	63
	French	269	328
	Others	22	64
Physics & Chemistry	Moroccan	383	52
	French	141	374
	Others	31	95

(figures from Service des Statistiques, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Rabat)

This dependence on French teaching staff even after Independence shows the importance of the French culture and language legacy in Morocco.

1.2.3 French in Moroccan Society Today

The importance of the French language is also apparent outside the education system, in domains such as economics, industry, administration and the mass media. There are no available statistics about the number of people using French in Morocco today. However, according to estimates given by Gallagher (1968, p.134), there were in 1964 four million people who could speak French in Morocco and 800,000 who could read it. Today the figures must clearly be much higher than this, for the number of Moroccans who know French has greatly increased because of the expansion in education as well as the population increase.¹¹ Lanly, in his study of the use of French in North Africa, makes the point that

"parmi les Musulmans d'Afrique du Nord utilisant le français, on trouve toute la gamme des sujets parlants, depuis l'intellectuel fier de la pureté de sa langue... jusqu'à l'homme des casernes, des chantiers et des champs qui connaît quelques mots encore mal prononcés et emploie des phrases rudimentaires et d'usage courant. Parfois le premier n'est plus bilingue, ignorant l'arabe, le second reste surtout Arabophone ou Berberophone"

(Lanly 1962, pp.20-21)

French plays an important role in the media in present day Morocco. There are two radio stations, one broadcasting in French and one in Arabic. The radio programmes in French are varied and range from educational ones, such as academic lectures relayed from the Sorbonne in Paris, to French and European pop music. The Moroccan television system provides programmes in both French and Arabic; the French programmes, which represent one third of the total output, include national news, advertisements, films, plays and some international programmes dubbed in French. The circulation of the Moroccan daily newspapers in French exceeds that of those in Arabic, as is shown by the following figures, cited by Tiers and Ruf (1975, pp.331-2).

¹¹In 1976, the Moroccan population was estimated at 17,716,000, of which 13,693,000 were between 4 and 39 years of age (Le Maroc en Chiffres 1976).

Table 6: Circulation of Moroccan Daily Newspapers

<u>French Newspapers</u>		<u>Arabic Newspapers</u>	
Le Matin	35-38,000	Al Anba:?	5,000
L'Opinion	20-25,000	Al Alam	28,000
Maroc Soir	15,000	Al Itihad Al Watani	8,000
Maghreb Information	15,000		
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	85-93,000	Total	41,000

In addition to these Moroccan newspapers in French, there are also the French ones such as Le Monde, Le Figaro, France Soir, L'Aurore, Combat and Le Parisien, which are also available daily on the news stands in all Moroccan cities.

The cinema also plays an important part in maintaining the French language and culture. The majority of films shown in Moroccan cinemas are either French productions or other foreign films dubbed into French. This can be seen from a glance at one of the daily papers which carry cinema advertisements. For instance, the issue of L'Opinion dated 26/9/79 has advertisements for nine cinemas in Rabat; these list twelve films in French, two in Arabic and one in Hindi with subtitles in French. In Le Matin for the same date, there are advertisements for thirteen cinemas in Casablanca; here there are ten films in French and three in Arabic. The popularity of French films reflects the impact of French language and culture in Morocco.

The importance of French is also reflected in the economic relations with France, which is Morocco's most important trade partner. In 1976, France made up 23.7% of Morocco's export market, and 29.1% of Morocco's imports came from France (figures from Le Maroc en Chiffres 1976).¹² The French cultural and technical co-operation, which involves the expatriation of a large number of engineers, doctors and specialists to

¹²These percentages are far above those for trade with any other country, the second most important partners being the German Federal Republic for exports (9.6%) and the U.S.A. for imports (8.6%).

Morocco, also contributes to the importance of the French language in Morocco.

In the administrative sector, a knowledge of French is necessary to obtain a good post. As Gallagher rightly points out,

"it may be stated flatly that in Morocco today the non-French-speaking candidate has no chance of getting a good government job or advancing himself in any ministry except Justice, Religious Affairs, or in specialized functions in the Interior (police work) or Education. High level posts in key ministries like Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Industry, Planning, Public Health, Defense...and Agriculture, as well as in the many specialized offices dealing with production and technical matters, are virtually closed to the monolingual Arabophone, not to mention jobs in important commercial or industrial enterprises in private business" (Gallagher 1968, p.143).

Printed material and signs in places such as banks, airports, travel agencies and post offices are usually both in Arabic and in French. Documents and contracts in banks or building societies tend to be printed only in French, though recently more bilingual versions have been insisted on. Post Office telegrams, medical prescriptions, police reports about road accidents, and menus in hotels and restaurants all tend to be exclusively in French.

This brief survey illustrates the fact that French still has a very large part to play in the day-to-day running of Morocco and the everyday life of large numbers of its people. It appears that French is still found an essential tool in the modernisation of Morocco. Gellner, for one, suggests that French is synonymous with modernity in North Africa. "I believe the impact of French culture in North Africa to be profound and permanent. In his heart, the North African knows not merely that God speaks Arabic, but also that modernity speaks French" (1973, p.19). The future of French in Morocco will be examined in more detail in Chapter 7.

1.3 Summary

In this chapter we reviewed the language situation in Morocco before and after Independence and showed the influence

of the French language and French culture on the Moroccan education system and on other spheres of social and economic activity. The introduction of a French system of education, with its selective and competitive nature, alongside the traditional Moroccan one emphasised the contrasting images of the two languages in Morocco, Arabic being associated with religion and traditional Islamic values and French with progress, science and modernity.

Morocco's Independence gave Arabic its status as the national language of the country, but this has not resulted in the elimination of the French language and culture. On the contrary, there is still a great demand for French expatriate teachers and French technical co-operation to promote the development of the country. Today the influence of French is apparent in all the modern sectors, where the working language is French and not Arabic. Access to jobs in these domains and in higher positions in government is dependent on a knowledge of French. The importance of French is also reflected in the mass media, where material presented in French is readily available and evidently in demand.

CHAPTER TWO

Previous Approaches to the Study of Bilingualism

2.0 Introduction

Bilingualism has attracted the attention of scholars from various disciplines. As well as linguists, psychologists, sociologists and educationalists have taken an interest in this phenomenon. This chapter looks at some approaches to the subject, outlining some of the ways in which bilingualism has been defined and investigated. The Arabic-French bilingualism which is our concern in the present work is contrasted with some other types of bilingualism which have been studied, and a brief survey of previous work on bilingualism in North Africa is given.

2.1 Definitions and Types of Bilingualism

The phenomenon of bilingualism has been defined in various ways, and this has sometimes caused confusion in the literature. Bloomfield maintains the most extreme point of view, that bilinguals are those who have "native like control of two languages" (1933, p.56). Likewise, Christophersen suggests that the "only definition that is possible is a 'person who knows two languages with approximately the same degree of perfection as unilingual speakers of those languages" (1948, p.4). At the other extreme, some have included within the category of bilinguals even those with a very minimal productive knowledge of the second language; for instance, Haugen considers bilingualism "to begin at the point where the speaker of one language can produce¹ complete, meaningful utterances

¹ Clyne argues that the term 'produce' is not appropriate here, because it does not exclude cases where the speaker simply reads out material in the second language, or repeats something he has heard. He suggests instead that a bilingual should be defined as "a speaker who is able to generate grammatical utterances in two languages (1972, p.5).

in the other language" (Haugen 1953, p.7). Diebold (1961) goes even further, claiming that a bilingual may have only a purely receptive knowledge of one of his languages. Weinreich adopts a neutral position in defining bilingualism as "the practice of alternately using two languages" (1974, p.1).

The fact that bilingualism is defined as a characteristic of individuals with varying degrees of proficiency, ranging from maximal to minimal in two languages, poses the problem of how to measure and compare proficiency in the two languages. Such measurement is difficult because it involves consideration of both the mode of use (speech or writing) and stylistic variations (accent, vocabulary) (see Mackey 1968). Such factors as the possession of a knowledge of specialised registers or of emotional involvement with one language or the other may also be taken into account in this kind of measurement. Hornby (1977) concludes that a technique which considers all these factors in evaluating a bilingual's competence has not yet been elaborated. However, to clarify this notion of language dominance, others have ranged bilinguals along a scale of proficiency, introducing the term "balanced bilinguals" (Lambert, Havelka and Gardner 1959) for those who have equal mastery of both languages, in contrast to those who are dominant in one language or the other.

Another problem in defining bilingualism concerns the question of whether two linguistic varieties or dialectal variations constitute different languages. Thus Taylor extends the definition of a bilingual to include people who speak two or more "languages, dialects, or styles of speech that involve differences in sound, vocabulary and syntax" (1976, p.239). The fact that it is not always clear what constitutes a separate language, as well as the lack of agreement as to what level of proficiency is required for a bilingual, leaves the investigator with plenty of scope to adapt the definition of bilingualism to suit his own purposes.

The bilinguals discussed in the present work, however, speak what are quite clearly two distinct languages, Arabic and French, and so are representatives of what Hymes (1974,

p.30) calls "bilingualism par excellence". Many Moroccans, of course, can more appropriately be called multilinguals, as was noted in Chapter 1; and many are bilingual speakers of other pairs of languages or dialects, such as Berber and Arabic, Tashlehait and Tarifit, and Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic. We are restricting our attention here to the particular case of those who speak French and Arabic. In fact, the term "bilingualism", when used by Moroccans, is almost always intended to refer to the Arabic-French combination, as is the case, for instance, in descriptions of the education system. The speaker of both Arabic and Berber is hardly visualised as a bilingual by Moroccans, perhaps because proficiency in both of these does not necessarily entail a knowledge of two different cultures, as proficiency in both French and Arabic seems to do.

In the case of Moroccans who speak both French and Arabic, the first-learned language is always Arabic, so this is usually the dominant language. Following the convention of listing the dominant language first, then, we can describe them as Arabic-French bilinguals. However, this term covers speakers of widely varying proficiencies; Arabic-French bilinguals range from those who are balanced to those who have only a minimal knowledge of French. To illustrate the range of possibilities, we may distinguish five classes of Moroccan bilingual, although, of course, these divisions are somewhat arbitrary because there is in fact a continuum across the range. These can be described as follows:

(1) Balanced bilinguals are those who possess equal encoding skills (speaking and writing) and decoding skills (understanding and reading) in both languages. Of course the Arabic used for writing and reading is Classical Arabic rather than the Moroccan Arabic which is used only in speech; it has already been pointed out in 1.1.2.3 that these two varieties of Arabic differ considerably, but for simplicity we group them together here. Together they form a complete repertoire to balance that provided by French, which is used for both speech and writing. The bilinguals of this group were typically educated

in Franco-Islamic schools during the Protectorate², and their proficiency in French is comparable to that of French people. They constitute something of an élite in Moroccan society; many of them are professional people in the modern sector, such as doctors, bankers and businessmen, and they also include students and teachers.³

(2) Some bilinguals are dominant in French, usually because they were educated exclusively in European schools, in either Morocco or France. Their writing and reading skills in Classical Arabic are very rudimentary, but they do not usually need them in their jobs or daily activities; they represent a very small minority, who are mainly business people and higher government executives.

(3) Many Moroccans are dominant in Arabic, but know sufficient French to be able to read the kind of material which may be useful to them in their job or elsewhere. These include lecturers and teachers of Arabic, who read French literature and periodicals to keep informed. These people typically had a modern European education, but specialised in Arabic at the university, with the result that their French became less fluent through lack of practice, and their knowledge of French became a largely passive or receptive one.

(4) Others have a more limited knowledge of French as a result of dropping out at some stage in their education. For instance, many completed their primary education and dropped out in the early years of secondary school. They may be fairly fluent in spoken French, but have a limited ability to write and to understand abstract material in both French and Arabic. Their knowledge of French is just sufficient for everyday practical purposes.

(5) Finally, there are those with a very minimal knowledge of French. These may have received no formal education in

²See 1.2.1 for an outline of the education system mentioned here and below.

³It is this group of bilinguals with which the present work is largely concerned.

either French or Arabic, but have acquired some knowledge of French from their dealings with foreigners in everyday situations. This is true, for instance, of shopkeepers, waiters, and others, who work in areas where there is or was a large French population.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that in Morocco the linguistic duality represented by the co-existence of Arabic and French is accompanied by a cultural duality. Biculturalism is closely linked with bilingualism in Morocco, French being associated with European culture and Arabic with the native Moroccan and Islamic one. The link between bilingualism and biculturalism can be related to another much debated distinction, that drawn between compound and coordinate bilinguals, which was first suggested by Weinreich (1974). Compound bilinguals have been defined as those who have a single semantic network covering the two languages, which are learnt in the same cultural context; while coordinate bilinguals are those for whom corresponding words or expressions in the two languages may have a different meaning in each, because they have acquired the two languages in different contexts (see Osgood and Ervin 1954). However, there has been much debate over whether this distinction is a valid one. Lambert, Havelka and Crosby (1958) investigated the difference between compound and coordinate bilinguals with regard to translation skills, but failed to find evidence to support the hypothesis that coordinate bilinguals would be poorer at translation than compound bilinguals. Lambert and Fillenbaum (1959) tested the compound-coordinate hypothesis with aphasics; they hypothesised that coordinate bilinguals who suffered from aphasia might lose just one of their two languages, while compounds would suffer equal damage to both language systems; but again no real evidence to support this was obtained. Macnamara (1967) argues that the only area where such a distinction between compound and coordinate can be clearly observed is in the field of affective meaning. Shaffer (1976) is doubtful about the distinction. Lambert (1969) modifies the distinction by adding the factor of age

to the language acquisition contexts, describing compound bilinguals as "those brought up in thoroughly bilingual home environments from infancy on", whereas coordinate bilinguals are "those who had learned their second language at some time after infancy, usually after ten years of age and usually in a setting other than the family" (Lambert 1969, p.108). This age factor brought some clarification to the theory of compound-coordinate bilinguals, making it rather a distinction between childhood achieved bilingualism and bilingualism achieved in adulthood. It may well be, however, that instead of an absolute distinction between compound and coordinate, it is necessary to recognise a continuum; and it may be that most bilinguals are situated somewhere between the two extremes, for, as Haugen says, "a truly coordinate bilingual would be a schizophrenic, and a truly compound bilingual would not be a bilingual at all" (Haugen 1973, p.548).

However, this theory has at least drawn attention to the possibility of the presence or absence of biculturalism accompanying bilingualism. As far as Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals are concerned, one would probably wish to describe them as coordinate bilinguals, for while they acquire Arabic in the home, they learn French in the quite separate context of school. Moreover, there is a time lapse between the learning of the two languages, although this contrast is not as sharp as in what Lambert (1969) considers the typical case, for Moroccans are familiar with both languages before puberty. At present, children begin to learn French in the third year of primary school, at nine or ten years of age; but during the French Protectorate, French was introduced to pupils at the age of seven or even earlier, and most of the balanced bilinguals identified earlier are of this generation. Nevertheless, the languages are and always were introduced in quite different settings, and so come to have different cultural associations.

As well as considering individuals who possess two languages, and the ways in which they may differ, we can also look at societies which possess two languages. Fishman (1971)

prefers to restrict the use of the term "bilingualism" to descriptions of individuals, while he uses the term diglossia to refer to social groups in which two languages are used and fulfil different roles:⁴ "bilingualism is essentially a characterisation of the societal allocation of functions to different languages or varieties" (Fishman 1971, p.546). Showing that these two phenomena are independent of each other, he identifies four different types of language situation. Diglossia without bilingualism exists where, although the society uses two languages, most of its members know only one of these languages; Canada is given as an example. However, it seems likely that any diglossic society will be accompanied by a certain amount of individual bilingualism, if only that required for there to be communication between the two speech communities; thus in Canada 12% of the population are bilingual (figure taken from a 1961 survey quoted in Hornby 1977, p.6). In fact, then, this category is unlikely to exist without Fishman's second category, that of diglossia accompanied by bilingualism. Of his other two categories, bilingualism without diglossia exists where "there is no well established, socially protected and recognised functional differentiation of languages" (Fishman 1971, p.547). In such circumstances, he suggests, bilingualism is likely to be transitional, for the two languages are not functionally separated, and the result may be the formation of other "intervening varieties" (p.551), or pidginization, or one variety may tend to displace the other. Fishman's fourth category, involving neither bilingualism nor diglossia, is thought to be possible only in "very small, isolated, and undifferentiated speech communities" (p.551), and Fishman admits that it is not easy to find any examples of this kind, since any kind

⁴ Fishman (1971) does not seem to define diglossia in the same way as do those like Marçais (1930) and Ferguson (1959), who use the term to describe a society which uses two distinct varieties of the same language, one of which is felt to be prestigious and the other not (see 1.1.2.3). Instead he uses it more broadly, simply to describe all cases where there are "functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind" (Fishman 1971, p.540).

of diversification within the society is likely to lead to the development of different varieties.

It is of course the first two categories which are of interest in relation to Morocco, which may be said to possess several different types of bilingual speaker and more than one type of diglossia. While we have elsewhere used the term diglossia to refer to the type of relation holding between the two types of Arabic used in Morocco, it will become clear in the course of this work that Arabic and French in Morocco can be said to stand in what Fishman would call a diglossic relationship, in that they fulfil different roles and serve different purposes. As for the individuals within this society, of course a large proportion of these are not bilingual, but speak only Arabic; but since French is not the first language of any Moroccans, this particular diglossia is dependent on the presence of bilingual speakers for its existence, since all Moroccans who speak French are bilinguals. The present study can thus be said to be concerned, in Fishman's (1971) terms, with Morocco's Arabic-French bilingual individuals and with the Arabic-French diglossic society in which they live.

2.2 Approaches to the Study of Bilingualism

The definitions discussed above have already shown that bilingualism, though primarily defined in terms of linguistic abilities, can also be linked with other psychological and social phenomena. It is thus not surprising that it has been looked at from a number of different viewpoints, some of which are mentioned below.

2.2.1 The Linguistic Approach

In studying bilingualism, the main concern of linguists has been the phenomenon of interference, whereby the speaker's competence in one language affects his performance in the other; as Ma and Herasimchuk put it, they are concerned with "the analysis of the structural perturbations (phonological, grammatical, and lexical) which one language causes in another

when the two of them come into contact" (1971, p.352). Most studies have focussed on the transfer of rules of the first-learned language into the second one, but there have also been discussions of the influence of the second language on the first (Diebold 1961, Weinreich 1974) and of the influence of the second language on the learning of a third one (Bentahila 1975). In particular, there has been much interest in the strategies used by people in the process of becoming bilingual, who are still learning their second language, and in the "interlanguage" (Selinker 1972) or "idiosyncratic dialects" (Corder 1971) which they develop during this period.

Fishman (1968) objects that linguistic studies of bilingualism disregard the importance of social patterns in influencing the amount of interference between languages in contact:

"The linguist's traditional conviction that the speaker's attitudes are entirely unrelated to his (the linguist's) task (a conviction that has its merits, to be sure, if not followed slavishly to one's own disadvantage) has kept most linguists from utilizing realistic social patterns as an aid or guide towards realizing more revealing and more meaningful descriptions of bilingualism than the artificial patterns hitherto provided"

(Fishman 1968, p.30)

Weinreich (1974, pp.3-4) similarly maintains that the problem of interference cannot be explained without reference to non-structural factors as well as structural ones. Accordingly, he lists twelve extralinguistic factors which may help to account for the phenomenon of interference.⁵ Fishman

⁵These include the following:

- (1) The speaker's facility in expressing himself and in keeping the two languages separate.
- (2) The speaker's proficiency in each language.
- (3) The speaker's specialisation in each language.
- (4) The method or manner of learning each language.
- (5) The speaker's idiosyncratic or stereotyped attitudes towards each language.
- (6) Attitudes towards bilingualism.
- (7) Attitudes towards the culture of each language community.
- (8) Attitudes towards mixing languages.

and Weinreich evidently consider that an account of interference in purely linguistic terms will not be adequate, but that a satisfactory explanation of this needs to take into consideration extra-linguistic variables as well. As Weinreich points out, "the extent, direction and nature of interference of one language with another can be explained even more thoroughly in terms of the speech behaviour of bilingual individuals, which in turn is conditioned by social relations in the community in which they live" (1974, p.4-5). These causes may be socio-economic, political, cultural, religious and so on.

Another area which has aroused some interest from a purely linguistic point of view is the phenomenon of code-switching, which may result in the bilingual's producing structures which combine elements from both languages. There have been some attempts to provide specifications of the grammatical constraints which govern such mixed structures (e.g. Timm 1975; Pfaff 1976, 1979; Kachru 1977). However, again, others (e.g. Clyne 1967; Rayfield 1970; Di Pietro 1977; Kachru 1977) have emphasised that an explanation for why such code-switching occurs requires consideration of non-linguistic factors.⁶

2.2.2 The Psycholinguistic Approach

Psychologists have been interested in the analysis of bilingualism at the micro-level, concentrating their attention on the individual as the locus of bilingualism. The early psychological studies of bilingualism were made out of concern for the practical implications of bilingualism, for instance in education. Both psychologists and educationalists have studied the relationship between bilingualism and intelligence. Educationalists are naturally interested in knowing whether bilingualism helps children to develop their intellectual ability or retards it; they are particularly concerned

⁶For further discussion see Chapter 5.

with situations where the language of instruction is not the children's first language.

Early studies (1920-1930) tried to compare monolinguals and bilinguals to see whether bilingualism interfered with the children's ability to learn, or whether it was an advantage in learning other things. For instance, Saer (1923), after testing groups of bilingual and monolingual children in Wales, discovered that the bilingual children performed less successfully in intelligence tests than did the monolinguals. Bilingualism was then judged to be the cause of all the handicaps suffered by the bilinguals compared to the monolinguals. It is to be noted, however, that most of these early studies did not take into account the socio-economic differences between the two groups under study.

Later, Spoerl (1944) claimed that it is the environment in which bilingualism is acquired, rather than the psychological effects of having learned two languages, which may cause problems. For instance, when the child keeps moving from one country to another during his early years of learning, he may feel that he does not belong anywhere, and this can affect his intellectual capacities; this may be true, for instance, of some immigrant children in the U.S.A.. Moreover, it is obvious that a bilingual with less than perfect proficiency in one of his two languages will compare unfavourably with monolingual speakers of that language. As Balkan observes, "ce n'est donc pas son bilinguisme en lui-même, mais le degré insuffisant de sa maîtrise linguistique qui nuit à l'enfant" (1970, p.30). According to Balkan, there is no reason to suppose that a bilingual with full proficiency in both languages should experience any problems.

Peal and Lambert (1962) conducted an experiment in which they selected only such balanced bilinguals, and assured the comparability of these with the control group of monolinguals by a number of preliminary tests. Here the bilingual group was found to be significantly superior in both verbal and non-verbal tests. It was concluded from these results that bilingual children are better able to dissociate words from

their referents, and so are freer than monolinguals from "the tyranny of words". Some similar findings were obtained by Ben Zeev (1977) in tests on Hebrew-English bilinguals, who were observed to be superior to a monolingual group in language games. The bilinguals were more able to dissociate words from their normal referents and use them to refer to something else, thus revealing an awareness of the arbitrariness of naming which was not so obvious in the monolinguals. Bilingual children also performed better on tasks which required violation of selectional restrictions (e.g. using a mass noun with plural verbs) and of strict subcategorisation rules (e.g. using the word clean to convey what would normally be conveyed by the preposition into). More analytic strategies were observed in the bilinguals' performance at certain tasks involving non-verbal abilities such as classification as well.

Balkan conducted an experiment similar to that of Peal and Lambert in Switzerland, he too being careful to select groups which were well-balanced in terms of language proficiency, socio-economic background, age and so on. Again the superiority of the bilingual group in tests of intellectual ability was very significant. Balkan suggests that the superiority of the bilingual children was due to the fact that they were balanced bilinguals: "un bilinguisme qui apparait dans un milieu favorisant le plein épanouissement de l'enfant, un bilinguisme qui est guidé et développé systématiquement apporte à l'individu certains avantages que l'on ne saurait plus nier" (Balkan 1970, p.98). It seems then that balanced bilingualism may be beneficial while problems may arise if the mastery of the two languages is less than perfect. Unfortunately, of course, it may be impossible to ensure that the bilingual achieves perfect mastery of both languages. The desirability of achieving balanced bilingualism may have implications for decisions about the role each language should play in the child's education, a question which deeply concerns many educationalists. The debate is between those who believe that it is preferable for children to work only in their first language during their first years at school, in order to avoid

confusion, and those who argue that the chances of successful bilingualism are increased the earlier the second language is introduced.⁷

Psychologists have also been interested in language acquisition and language transfer, and the way in which bilingual children analyse their second language. For instance, it has been suggested that they tend to use overgeneralisation of the rules of the second language as well as transfer of rules from the first language. Ben Zeev (1977) suggests that they use a strategy of trying to maintain structural differences between their two language systems, which may lead them to use in the second language rules which in fact exist in neither language. Other interesting data comes from observing bilinguals' strategies in learning a third language, for instance the tendency to use positive rather than negative transfers, whether these are from the first or the second language (see Bentahila 1975).

Another question which interests psychologists concerns the implications of the bilingual's attitudes towards his two languages - in particular towards the second language, and the culture he associates with it - for his success at learning the second. Lambert concludes from his investigations that "the learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes toward the other group are believed to determine his success in learning the new language. His motivation to learn is thought to be determined both by his attitudes and by the type of orientation he has toward learning a second language" (Lambert 1967, p.345). This orientation may be instrumental or integrative, or both; an instrumental orientation consists in a desire to learn the second language for economic or social prestige, while an integrative orientation is to learn it in order to have access to the community which uses this

⁷cf. the view, expounded by, among others, Lenneberg (1967), that before puberty children may acquire a second language in the same way as they acquired their first, whereas after puberty this capacity fades and they must use a different, possibly less efficient mechanism.

language, to gain insight into this culture and in some way to participate in it. Parents' attitudes towards the second language have also been found to be a decisive factor in influencing the child's success at learning it. "The development of second language skills to the point of balanced bilingualism is conditioned by family-shared attitudes towards the other linguistic-cultural group" (Lambert 1967, p.347). A sympathetic orientation towards the other group's language and culture may be one of the reasons for the maintenance of bilingualism. As well as considering the bilingual's positive attitudes towards his languages, however, it is necessary to recognise that there may be negative feelings as well. It has been observed that some bilinguals experience feelings of insecurity and dissatisfaction with either or both of their languages and cultures, an effect which has been termed by Lambert (1967) "anomie". The orientation of Moroccan bilinguals towards their native Arabic culture and the French culture to which their bilingualism gives them access will be examined at many points in this study.

2.2.3 The Sociolinguistic Approach

Sociolinguistics looks at the ways in which language use reflects and represents socio-cultural values. Sociolinguistically oriented studies focus either on the individual's linguistic repertoire, used in small intragroup interactions, or on larger social groups in their wider intergroup interactions. The first approach, called micro-sociolinguistic, is perhaps closer to the psychologist's approach, for the individual is the locus of study and his speech is analysed in terms of norms of usage and the factors which influence these (see Haugen 1966). The second approach, called macro-sociolinguistic, is of a more sociological nature, in that the focus is on the individual's group affiliation and how his linguistic repertoire and use of language shed light on the social group to which he belongs.

The study of bilingual or multilingual communities may be a particularly illuminating field for sociolinguists, since

here linguistic variation may be more obvious and more easily identified than in monolingual communities. As Pride and Holmes observe, "dialectal and stylistic variation will always tend to convey different social meanings, but it may on the whole be easier to identify the object of study in the case of languages as such, within bilingual or multilingual speech communities" (1972, p.7).

One area which has attracted much attention is the way in which the bilingual's choice of language in particular situations correlates with various social factors. Fishman (1972) considers the concept of "domains" or spheres of activity to be of value in investigating this question, and experiments have shown that such factors as the type of interlocutor, the type of setting or locale, and the type of topic under discussion may have varying degrees of influence on the choice of language (see for example Greenfield 1968 and Greenfield and Fishman 1971). On the other hand, as Pride (1970) points out, some variations of language choice may not correlate with any of these easily observable situational variables, but may instead be related to such factors as the speaker's goals, such as his desire to create a particular impression, or his mood. A variety of other oppositions have been identified which are claimed to correlate with patterns of language use. The distinction between "formal" and "informal" situations and language has often been appealed to (see for instance Labov 1972). Gumperz (1964) looks at the patterns of use of dialect and standard in two societies (Indian and Norwegian), and draws a distinction between "personal" relationships (e.g. with friends, family and peer groups) and "transactional" relationships (usually concerned with achieving some limited goal such as buying or obtaining information). Another much used distinction is that between relationships of power and relationships of solidarity (see for instance Brown and Gilman 1968). Fishman (1966) suggests that two sets of domains can be identified, which are associated with a "high culture" and a "low culture" respectively - the former being associated with formality and power relationships, and

the latter with solidarity and informality. Some aspects of language choice among Moroccan bilinguals will be examined in detail in Chapter 4, where it will be seen that a number of the factors mentioned above seem to play a part in determining which language is chosen.

Also of interest to sociolinguists and social psychologists is the link between the languages of a community and its cultural values. As was mentioned in 2.1, the bilingual may possess two sets of such values, associating a different set with each of his two languages. In a diglossic situation for instance (see 1.1.2.3), the two languages may represent quite sharply contrasting values for the community. These differences of association may in turn mean that an individual speaker is likely to be perceived differently by other members of the community according to which language he is using. The matched guise test, devised by Lambert (see Lambert et al 1960) to test such differences in perception, has been used with bilinguals in a variety of countries and has produced considerable evidence to suggest that the bilingual may present quite different images to his society depending on which language he uses. Chapter 6 reports on the results obtained from using such tests with Moroccan bilinguals.

Another possibility is that the individual, influenced by the associations of language and culture values within his particular community, may himself tend to fluctuate between two types of cultural outlook, according to which language he is using. Ervin-Tripp (1967) investigated the ways in which the content of views and ideas expressed by Japanese-English bilinguals varied depending on whether they were expressed in Japanese or English. A similar type of investigation with Moroccan bilinguals is described in Chapter 3.

2.2.4 The Interdisciplinary Approach

The above survey has shown that, as Hornby (1977) observes, "bilingualism, like any other important social or behavioural phenomenon, does not fall neatly within the boundaries of any single discipline" (1977, p.8). As was noted in 2.2.1,

the point has been made that "purely linguistic studies of languages in contact must be co-ordinated with extra-linguistic studies on bilingualism" (Weinreich 1974, p.4). Not surprisingly, then, Fishman (1968) suggests that an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on psychology, sociology and linguistics, could prove to be the most valuable to the study of bilingualism, since no one of these disciplines can in itself provide an adequate analysis and description of bilingualism.

Such an approach involves looking at the same phenomenon from a variety of viewpoints, and this may provide insights and explanations which might not otherwise be evident. Thus, while a linguistic approach can capture the patterns of interference of one of the bilingual's languages on the other, or identify the structural constraints governing the code-switching which arises when he uses both languages, a study of cultural or attitudinal factors may be required to explain why the bilingual uses code-switching in certain environments, or why he maintains a particular type of accent in his second language. Similarly, a sociolinguistic study can establish patterns of usage within a speech community, showing that one language is preferred over the other in certain circumstances, or for certain purposes; but again, the explanation of these patterns may lie in attitudes and associations within the individual bilingual speaker. As Ludovicy points out,

"il est impossible de dégager le bilinguisme des multiples circonstances politiques, sociales, économiques, éducatives et culturelles qui le conditionnent et l'enveloppent, si bien qu'il n'y a pas un, mais des bilinguismes souvent irréductibles et dont les effets heureux ou nocifs sont très diversement appréciés par les auteurs"

(Ludovicy 1954, p.152).

The present study, then, will take an interdisciplinary approach and attempt to look at Arabic-French bilingualism in Morocco from several angles. Thus it includes a linguistic analysis of the structure of the mixed French and Arabic which Moroccan bilinguals frequently produce when they code-switch. There is also a sociolinguistic study of language choice among Moroccan bilinguals and some factors which appear

to influence this. The phenomena of language choice and code switching are shown to be influenced by various attitudes characteristic of the Moroccan bilingual. As well as investigating the bilingual's feelings towards his two languages and towards code-switching, we examine the way in which the language he uses may influence the attitudes of other bilinguals towards him, and also look at the possibility that the attitudes he expresses may vary according to which language he is using to express them. The consideration of such a range of aspects of Arabic-French bilingualism is felt to be very important in discussing future language planning policies for Morocco.

2.3 Arabic-French Bilingualism Contrasted with other Types of Bilingualism

No two instances of societal bilingualism are likely to be identical in all respects, and previous studies of bilingualism have looked at a variety of types of bilingual language situation. The situation in Morocco can be contrasted with these in various ways.

It differs, for instance, from the bilingualism of countries like Switzerland, Belgium, Finland and Canada, in which there are two or more speech communities, each with a different first language, and only a small percentage of citizens are bilingual⁸. These can be contrasted with a country like Luxembourg where the whole population does share a common first language, the Luxemburg dialect. Here bilingualism is introduced via the education system, where German and French are used as languages of instruction. German is introduced at the age of six, and French at seven or eight, so that those who complete their secondary education successfully have a good knowledge of both French and German. Yet they remain in a sense foreign languages, and neither is used in everyday conversation with other Luxemburgers. The situation in Alsace may be compared to that in Luxemburg; here the first language is the Alsatian dialect, and although this is closer to Standard German than to French, it is the latter which

⁸ See the discussion of Fishman's definition of diglossia without bilingualism in 2.1.

is the official language and the language of culture and education.

A quite different situation is that of immigrants to the U.S.A., who become bilingual because they need to speak English in order to survive. They may be regarded as different and with suspicion by monolinguals (see Fishman 1966), and often eventually abandon their first learnt language because it is no longer essential to them. Welsh bilinguals, on the other hand, for whom the second language, English, is also absolutely necessary, still maintain their first language, Welsh, which remains dominant in some settings such as in the home and with friends. Their situation may be compared with that of the Berbers in Morocco (see 1.1.1), who also require Arabic but maintain Berber for talking with family and friends. However, Berber is perhaps in a weaker position than Welsh in that it has no written form and is not used at all in administration. Unlike some Welsh people, the Berbers do not seem to resent the fact that a second language is imposed on them by the majority group who were, after all, originally foreign invaders; there is no apparent conflict between them and the other members of the Moroccan society. One reason for their acceptance of Arabic could be their strong adherence to Islam, for which this second language is the only vehicle. They look upon Arabic with a respect or veneration rather like that which they feel for their religion; while almost the contrary seems to be true in Wales, where it is Welsh rather than English which is for many people intimately associated with the non-conformist chapels.

The situation in Morocco also differs from that in Anglophone West Africa, where English is an essential lingua franca because of the existence of a number of indigenous languages which may be linguistically heterogeneous and possess no written form. For example, according to Bell (1976), there are forty two different first languages in Ghana, while English, as the second language, serves to unite the speakers of all these.

The same is true in India, where several hundred languages

are spoken, although here some of the languages have long been written down and so might be expected to serve this unifying function; the presence of some standard languages with a long-standing literary heritage, for instance, may help to preserve some unity among Hindus. However, not all Indians are Hindus, there being minority groups of Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs and Christians (Bell 1976, p.177). Thus religion does not fulfil the kind of unifying role here which it may be considered to perform in Morocco, in uniting Arabs and Berbers. India therefore chose English as the auxiliary national official language along with Hindi, in order to solve the problem of the minority groups.

The Arabic-French bilingualism which exists in Morocco differs from all the types mentioned above in that the second language, French, is not essential, although it is generally useful, nor is it the first learnt language of any Moroccan community. French is not required to serve as a lingua franca in Morocco, because Arabic, with its long literary heritage, is unquestionably the official language of Morocco, and Moroccan Arabic is universally understood by all Moroccans including the Berbers. Morocco also differs from the other decolonised Arab countries, such as Syria, Iraq and Egypt, where French and English are not as widely used as is French in Morocco. Of the Middle Eastern countries, perhaps Lebanon presents the bilingual situation most similar to that of Morocco and the other North African countries, Algeria and Tunisia. Here, as in Morocco, Arabic-French bilingualism is very widespread, embracing not only the upper classes but the middle and even the working class. Abou (1962) lists several factors which favour Arabic-French bilingualism in Lebanon, including profession and education, which play similar roles in Morocco (see 1.2.3). However, there is one important difference between the Lebanese situation and that in Morocco; in Lebanon, French is inextricably bound up with the religious and political situation, in a way which has no parallel within Morocco. Of Lebanon's two quite separate

religious groups, Muslims and Christians, the Christians are, as might be expected, eager to assimilate French and English, and with the languages the Western culture that goes with them (see Abou 1962). In Morocco, on the other hand, where almost everyone is Muslim, Arabic will always retain the prestige it has by virtue of being the vehicle of this religion, whereas in Lebanon it has no such associations for a large part of the population. The position of the Lebanese Christian might be compared with that of the very small Jewish minority in Morocco; the latter too are not completely assimilated into the Arabic culture in which they live, and so tend to use French instead of Arabic wherever possible. But the number of these Jews is so small that, unlike the Lebanese Christians, they have no significant influence on the linguistic situation of Morocco as a whole. So whereas in Lebanon it would be impossible to abandon French and English, because they are politically and culturally entrenched in society, there would seem to be ^{no} such obstacle to the exclusion of French from Morocco.

2.4 Previous Studies of Bilingualism in North Africa

Studies of bilingualism in North Africa are still in their infancy, especially in comparison to the work that has been done on bilingual communities in North and South America and Europe. Much of the literature on bilingualism in North Africa consists merely of emotional complaints and subjective arguments about the current situation and its origins in French colonialism. Arabic-French bilingualism is, for instance, one of the burning issues in the Moroccan Press. It has been claimed to be at the root of all kinds of problems within Moroccan society, being felt to be the cause of such evils as "une société coupée, atomisée, des énergies déviées, une élite découragée, honteuse, malheureuse, un bas niveau scolaire qui se répercute sur l'ensemble" (Lamalif No.58, 1973, p.14). On the other hand, others argue just as vehemently against this pessimistic view of bilingualism, rejecting the claim

that Arabic-French bilingualism results in a lack of culture and a loss of identity:

"Et si nous parlons français, perdons-nous pour autant notre âme, notre être, notre moi, notre religion?... A côté de cela parlons aussi l'espagnol, l'anglais, nous n'en serions que plus riches, que plus épanouis"
(Maghreb 23/4/78, p.32)

For these people, Arabic-French bilingualism is something to be valued, and they would even encourage the use of other foreign languages as well.

With the current trend towards arabisation in Morocco, there has been much debate as to whether bilingualism is primarily a source of enrichment, or whether it is a source of psychological problems such as the "latent schizophrenia" which Pieris (1951) believes is present in most bilinguals. According to Blondel and Décorsière (1962), the relationship between Arabic and French in the North African countries means that the speech community will contain members of five types, and the "possibilité d'enrichissement" will vary among these five types. For instance, successful bilingualism, which exists among the intellectual élite, they consider to be an obvious source of enrichment, in that it produces "la parfaite assimilation de valeurs complémentaires indispensables dans la conjoncture actuelle de la langue et des pays arabes" (Blondel and Décorsière 1962, p.787). Secondly, bilingualism may be successful on a practical level, for example when a bilingual uses French for business purposes only. Here there is no synthesis between the domain of the family, where Arabic is always used, and the domain of employment, where French is used; and they suggest that this clear-cut division into two separate worlds may result in conflict between the domestic scene and working life. Thirdly, they distinguish a level of bilingualism where the bilingual is not fully proficient in either of his languages, where "on vit dans les nuages de l'impression, dans l'équivoque et les solutions de facilité" (p.788). Here, too, bilingualism is clearly not a source of enrichment. On the other hand, the fourth category of bilingualism, where Arabic is dominant, can be a very useful

one. For here the bilingual does not experience the conflicts of personality which may arise in types two and three above; French for him is a useful tool in certain circumstances, but it remains a foreign language for him, without really influencing his outlook on the world. "Ce qu'on peut dire ou entendre en français est une fenêtre utile et agréable ouverte sur le dehors, mais ne fait pas de courant d'air" (Blondel and Décorrière 1962, p.788). This type of bilingual, while avoiding the conflicts that arise from possessing two cultures, still benefits in that he feels superior to the monolingual Arabic speaker, who constitutes Blondel and Décorrière's last category. These arabisants are at ease in their own culture but nevertheless suffer from being considered inferior by the bilinguals, and may themselves be conscious of this inferiority to a greater or lesser extent.

This division of Moroccan bilinguals into different groups⁹ is in fact a very useful one when discussing the advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism (see 7.3.1.3). As can clearly be seen from these groupings, bilingualism may be an entirely beneficial quality for some Moroccans, while causing many problems for certain others. It seems that those who suffer the least adverse effects from bilingualism are those at the top and bottom of the continuum. On the one hand, there are a fortunate few who have the intellectual and educational resources necessary to derive the full benefit from a thorough acquaintance with two languages and two cultures, without absorbing one at the expense of the other. On the other hand, there are those whose knowledge of the French language and culture simply never becomes deep enough to threaten their essentially Arabic identity; these people maintain their traditional Moroccan outlook, and French civilisation remains an instrument for communication with non-

⁹It is to be noted that the various degrees of bilingualism listed in 2.1 do not correlate exactly with Blondel and Décorrière's classification, since the former was based on proficiency and the latter on the effects of bilingualism on the individual and his adjustment to the bicultural community.

Moroccans, for obtaining employment and for achieving a certain superiority over those who do not know French. However, in between these two extremes, there may be bilinguals whose knowledge of French has perhaps adversely affected their performance in Arabic and who have undergone a partial acculturation so that they no longer feel entirely at ease with the traditional Arabic outlook, yet neither are they able to become fully westernised.

However, in discussions of Moroccan bilingualism there has been little attempt to distinguish these different types of bilingual. The contrasting opinions about the effects of bilingualism on Moroccan society, illustrated by the two quotations given above, may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the writers have in mind different groups of Moroccan bilinguals; and while Arabic-French bilingualism may be an advantage for some Moroccans, it can pose problems for others. It is perhaps not surprising that it is the problematic aspects of Arabic-French bilingualism which have attracted most attention.

Strong criticism comes, for instance, from Guessous (1976), who considers Arabic-French bilingualism to have detrimental effects on the individual and on society as a whole. He claims that bilingual children often stutter, or suffer from dyslexia, are shy and passive, and as a result are retarded in their intellectual abilities. He feels that bilingualism may cause social conflicts between the arabisants and the bilinguals, who may forget their national heritage and live alienated from their own culture. The choice with which the bilingual is faced he sees as disastrous:

"S'agissant d'un choix entre un bien et un autre bien, il y a finalement tiraillement de l'individu entre les deux cultures. Tiraillement qui provoque une instabilité dans le comportement et l'engagement, car toute prise de position entraîne des sacrifices difficiles à supporter"
(Guessous 1976, p.3)

According to Guessous, bilingualism implies biculturalism, or rather an absence of any real culture at all - what he calls "double inculture" or "sous-culture" (p.4), rather

than the enrichment mentioned by Blondel and Décorsière. But none of his claims is backed up by any concrete evidence.

More criticism of bilingualism comes from Lahjomri (1974), who claims that it has caused serious problems in the Moroccan education system; the pupil, when he is expected to speak and write two different languages, becomes "prisonnier d'un tourbillon linguistique" (1974, p.62). In his opinion, Morocco has failed to achieve either a well-established bilingualism or a healthy monolingualism; it is instead "une société qui n'a opté ni pour le bilinguisme, ni pour l'arabisation" (p.58). The Arabic-French bilingual is constantly being described as proficient in neither of his two languages, because of the fact that in expressing himself he cannot help mixing the two; for instance by Guessous (1976) and by Bayna (1978), who compares the bilingual to a parrot, living a "savage dualism" (p.3). Thus a survey of the Moroccan Press reveals a gloomy picture of the bitterness felt by bilinguals who see no solution for their psychological, social and linguistic problems.

Some of the most articulate critics have come from among bilingual writers and poets. North African writers are faced with a choice between colloquial Arabic, Classical Arabic and French as media for their work, and Garmadi complains that this choice may cause

"une grave fissure dans l'intégration nationale, déséquilibres variés au niveau de la conscience individuelle et collective, problèmes psycho-pédagogiques quasiment insolubles, détérioration du message débouchant sur un pénible blocage linguistique et culturel, et parfois sur le silence de la mort" (Garmadi 1971, p.20)

The bilingual's negative feeling towards his own bilingualism and his inability to express himself are witnessed by the Algerian Haddad, who writes: "je suis moins séparé de ma patrie par la Méditerranée que par la langue française! Je suis incapable d'exprimer en arabe ce que je sens en arabe" (Haddad, quoted in Garmadi 1971), and by the Moroccan writer Ben Jelloun, who says: "J'écris un réel profondément arabe avec des signes étrangers" (1973, p.222).

However, while such allegations of the disastrous effects of bilingualism are constantly being made, in the press, in public lectures and elsewhere, it is often not at all clear to what extent they are based on fact. For instance, there is no concrete evidence that balanced bilingualism retards intellectual achievement. The fierce criticisms which one constantly hears seem to be emotional outbursts and exaggerated reactions rather than careful and accurate assessments of the situation. The difficulty is that a Moroccan who himself lives these conflicts in his everyday life finds it hard to look at them in a calm objective manner. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult for any foreigner to gain a proper insight into the subtleties of the situation. Clearly, the fact that the subject of bilingualism arouses such strong feelings among Moroccans with no specialist knowledge of the topic shows that there is a great need for some systematic investigation of the phenomenon and its effects. Before any very drastic steps such as complete arabisation are taken, to eradicate the advantages of bilingualism along with the problems, it is surely necessary to make a more careful and objective examination of the facts, to obtain a clearer picture of the types of conflict which do occur, their causes and effects, and only then to attempt an evaluation of the present situation and a programme for the future. I hope that in the present investigation I will be able to combine, at least to some extent, the Moroccan's insight with the foreigner's objectivity.

Apart from the emotional debates common in the press, there have been a few attempts to make a more objective investigation of bilingualism in North Africa. Stevens (1974) made a study of the roles of French, Tunisian Arabic and Classical Arabic in Tunisia, and of Tunisians' attitudes towards each of these languages and towards French-Arabic bilingualism and arabisation. His study was based mainly on personal observation and interviews, but he also used a questionnaire. Riahi (1970) investigated the use of French

and Arabic among secondary school pupils in Tunisia by means of a questionnaire. Ounali (1970) also used a questionnaire in his examination of Tunisian students' use of French and Arabic and their attitudes towards these languages.

Abbassi (1977) carried out a sociolinguistic investigation of multilingualism in Morocco, based on a questionnaire administered in Casablanca. His main concern was to examine language contact and language use. He looked at four languages of Morocco - Berber, French, Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic - identifying a number of different varieties of these languages and reporting on Moroccans' views of them. He also analysed instances of code-switching, which he obtained from recordings of Moroccans' speech. Gravel (1979) also made a sociolinguistic study of multilingualism in Morocco, paying particular attention to the historical background of the present language situation. He also investigated language use and attitudes by means of a questionnaire which he distributed to Moroccan students of English at the University of Rabat, and by collecting reports made by these students about their everyday language use.

All these investigators based their studies on simple questionnaires where information was obtained directly via yes/no questions, check mark answers or comment questions. None of the North African studies I have come across has attempted to use any of the less obvious and more sophisticated techniques for investigating attitudinal aspects of bilingualism. The present study is able to extract more detailed and specific information by including questionnaires involving systematic situation breakdowns (see 4.4.) and agreement scales (see 7.2). In addition, it includes applications of the matched guise test (see Chapter 6), which to my knowledge has never been used with North African bilinguals, and thus it explores areas which previous studies have not looked at at all.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter we looked at the problems involved in

defining the complex phenomenon of bilingualism, and we reviewed various approaches to the study of bilingualism. It was suggested that an interdisciplinary approach might produce the most interesting results. The Arabic-French bilingualism of Morocco was contrasted with other types of bilingualism which have been examined in the literature. We briefly surveyed previous discussions of bilingualism in North Africa, noting that many of these tend to be emotional outbursts; there have been only a few objective studies, and these have used only the most traditional methods of data-gathering, such as interviews, observation and simple questionnaires.

CHAPTER THREE

Languages, Attitudes and Views of the World

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the investigation of Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes towards their languages, Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and French, and of whether the attitudes they adopt to other things may be affected by which language they use when called upon to register their attitudes. The first area is investigated by means of two tests, a questionnaire and a multiple choice test. The purpose of each of these is to see how the bilinguals describe each of the three languages, the attitudes they have to each and the value they place on each. The second question is examined by means of a completion test, the aim being to see whether there are differences between the Moroccan bilingual's attitudes when using one of his languages and his attitudes when using another.

3.1 Previous Investigations of Language Attitudes

3.1.1 Definitions of Attitude

With regard to the definition of attitudes, two different theoretical viewpoints may be considered here, the mentalist view and the behaviourist one. For the mentalist, "an attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport 1935, p.8). The fact that an attitude cannot be observed directly gives rise to the problems of what to observe in the individual's behaviour in order to discover his attitude, and how attitudes can be measured. The advantage of this theory is that the concept of attitude

is an independent variable which is not bound to external situations, so that attitudes can be used to explain other forms of behaviour (Agheysi and Fishman 1970).

For the behaviourists, on the other hand, an attitude is an observable dependent variable which can be statistically measured. Thus according to the behaviourists, an attitude may consist of three components, the cognitive (or knowledge) component, the affective (or evaluative) component, and the conative (or action) component (see Lambert 1967). For instance, an attitude towards segregation may comprise, as the cognitive component, the fact that the individual knows of its existence in his society, while the affective component is the fact of being favourably or unfavourably disposed to it, and the conative component induces the individual to do something about it in his overt behaviour. An even more complicated structure is assigned to attitudes by Rokeach (1968), who considers that an attitude may be composed of an indefinite number of beliefs.

The mentalists, however, argue that an attitude has only one component, the affective one (Osgood, 1967). According to them, it is more practical and reasonable to situate attitudes only on the evaluative dimension, that of favourableness, unfavourableness or neutrality.¹ There is general agreement that attitudes are learnt from experience, that they are reflected in actual behaviour and so can be detected by observing behaviour, and that in fact they constitute predispositions to behaviour. Attitudes can be evaluated along a continuum ranging from very favourable through neutral to very unfavourable (Fishbein 1967).

Cooper and Fishman (1974), in their study of language attitudes, point to the problem of distinguishing language attitudes from other attitudes, since attitudes of various kinds may influence language behaviour, or behaviour towards language. They therefore define language attitude "in terms

¹This view is the one adopted in this work.

of its referent", which they intend to include "language, language behaviour, and referents of which language or language behaviour is a marker or symbol" (Cooper and Fishman 1974, p.6). Lewis (1981, pp.265-266) gives examples of four kinds of language attitude: students' attitudes towards the learning of a language, students' perception of the characteristics of a language, such as musicality or elegance, policy-makers' attitudes towards the development or eradication of a language, and attitudes towards uses of a language or the distribution of roles between languages in contact.

3.1.2 Approaches to Language Attitude Studies

Studies of language attitudes have been one of the major concerns of sociolinguistics (see, for example, Shuy and Fasold 1973), where attitudes are considered to be reflected in the actual behaviour of the individual. For example, there has been some investigation of how the evaluation of a person's speech may affect others' reactions and behaviour towards that person (Smith 1973). Giles (1970) discovered that a speaker may be judged favourably or unfavourably according to the prestige of the dialect or language he speaks.² Labov (1966) and Williams (1973) discussed the relationship between features of language and the speaker's social status. These features of language may act as cues in the judgement of the speaker's status. These writers are interested in the stereotyped attitudes held by people towards certain social dialects and the way their reactions are affected by these attitudes, and they establish some correlation between attitudes and behaviour.

Other attitude studies have investigated people's evaluations of languages or language varieties rather than their speakers, for example, along parameters such as rich - poor, pure - debased, colloquial - standard and so on. One such study is that carried out by Ferguson (1959b, 1968) on the attitudes of Arabs towards their high (H) and low (L) varieties.³

²This will be considered in Chapter 6.

³See 1.1.2.3.

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He found that "sedentary Arabs generally feel that their own dialect is best, but on certain occasions or in certain contexts will maintain that the Bedouin dialects are better" (Ferguson 1968, p.379). Nader (1962) claims that an Arab from Damascus will, for instance, defend his dialect, claiming that it is the best Arabic, when visiting Beirut, but at home he will adopt a different attitude and maintain that the best Arabic is the Bedouin dialect because it is somehow a purer variety than his own. Studies such as these show that attitudes may not necessarily be constant, but may vary according to situation.

Information obtained by language attitude studies may be found relevant to the investigation of areas such as language choice and usage. For instance, Herman (1968) found that language choice could be dictated by group preferences or social adjustments (see 4.1). Such studies may also provide information which is interesting in its implications for language learning (Lambert et al. 1968) and language planning (see Chapter 7).

3.1.3 North African Studies

Much of the literature about language attitudes in North Africa is based on purely subjective judgements. This is true, for instance, of the articles on this subject which appear in the Moroccan press, which tend to express simply the writers' personal opinions. For instance, Lahjomri (1974) refers to Arabic as "une langue démodée, désuète, aussi étrangère à la vie quotidienne que la [langue] française" (Lahjomri 1974, pp.60-61), while he describes French as the language of status, science and "la modernité technicienne" (p.41). He claims that Moroccans are ambivalent in their attitudes towards Arabic, idealising it as poetry and as the language of their cultural heritage, and yet rejecting it as of little practical use.⁴ Similarly, Guessous (1976) feels that French is the language of prestige and prosperity, whereas Arabic is the language of poverty and the past. Sawri (1977)

⁴ Presumably it is Classical Arabic he is referring to here.

compares Classical Arabic with Moroccan Arabic and claims that the latter is richer than the former because it is subject to change and innovation.

There have been some attempts to carry out surveys of the attitudes of North Africans towards their languages, but these are few, and can hardly be considered significant. For instance, Stevens(1974) makes quite confident claims about Tunisians' attitudes towards French and Arabic, but the figures on which he bases these hardly seem to justify them. For instance, his discussion of Tunisians' assessments of the relative superiority of these languages is based on such findings as that five out of his eleven respondents felt that French was superior to Arabic in scientific fields, one out of eleven felt Classical Arabic superior to French in literature, and three out of seven thought Tunisian Arabic superior to Classical Arabic. He gives many similarly insignificant figures as the results of a quite extensive questionnaire investigating attitudes and language choice.⁵ The number of people answering a particular question never exceeds fourteen. Such findings hardly seem worth reporting at all; it would have been more worthwhile to use a smaller number of questions and larger numbers of respondents. The only other evidence he offers to support his conclusions is that provided by various anecdotes about his personal experiences in Tunisia. These are often trivial incidents about which he draws conclusions based purely on supposition; to take one example, he recalls a Tunisian couple he observed on a plane, who were "oblivious to the Classical Arabic announcement and only turned to look out of the window, with much excitement, after hearing it in French" (Stevens 1974, p.82), suggesting that this might be because they did not care to pay attention to announcements in Classical Arabic. Conclusions based on such piecemeal evidence can hardly be considered very convincing.

⁵The questionnaire contained 169 questions.

A somewhat more effective survey is carried out by Abbassi (1977), who includes some questions about language attitudes in his questionnaire. However, he seems to have been mainly concerned to compare attitudes to the two varieties of Arabic and to Berber. 35% of his respondents find that Berber is equal in status to Moroccan Arabic, and 13% find it inferior, while 76% judge it to be inferior to Classical Arabic. 75% said that Classical Arabic is a modern language. He tends to compare Moroccans' attitudes to French with their attitudes to other foreign languages rather than with their attitudes to Arabic.

Gravel (1979) also used his questionnaire to find out about Moroccans' attitudes towards Arabic, French, Berber and English. Although he has a larger number of respondents than either Stevens or Abbassi, these respondents represent only one minority group of Moroccans, namely university student specialising in English, and some of the results Gravel obtains seem to be very clearly related to the special nature of these respondents. For example, in answer to the question of what language they found most beautiful, 33% of the respondents chose English, which came second only to Classical Arabic, which was chosen by 41%, while only 6% favoured French. Moreover, faced with a choice between English and French, 73.3% of the respondents said that the language they felt most useful for the future of Morocco was English. That students who have chosen to spend four years doing advanced study of English should possess such views seems quite natural and unexceptional; but it seems to me quite unjustifiable to assume that these answers represent the feelings of Moroccans in general, or even of Moroccan students, the majority of whom are not studying English, or to assume that conclusions can be drawn from them about the average Moroccan's attitudes to English. Yet this is what Gravel implies. Some of his other findings, however, are more interesting; for example, he finds that his respondents consider Moroccan Arabic to resemble Classical Arabic more closely than do the other

colloquial varieties, and that the majority feel that the other colloquial varieties, especially Egyptian Arabic, are more beautiful than Moroccan Arabic, and that Classical Arabic is the most beautiful of all Arabic dialects.

One could also mention the work of Tessler (1969) in investigating the concept of modernity in Tunisia today. While this is largely a sociological study of the changes taking place in the Tunisian way of life, he does give some information about language attitudes. He claims that those Tunisians who are most westernised in outlook have the most favourable attitudes towards the use of French in education, publications and films.

Other reports on the attitudes of North Africans towards French and Arabic depend largely on personal observation, without using questionnaires at all. Bounfour (1973), after observing a large number of sixth form pupils, gives an account of their attitudes towards both French and Arabic, based on his own subjective impressions gained from discussions with pupils. He notes that French is generally seen as essential in all scientific studies, and that most Moroccan pupils cannot help associating French with science to the point of confusing the language with the concept of science and considering the language to be somehow scientific in itself. French is also perceived as "une langue civilisée" (p.24), a language which is necessary for modernisation, technical and economic progress. On the other hand, Arabic is seen as the language used to teach about the past, religion and morality. As one of his pupils says, "l'arabe, c'est uniquement la religion et les choses anciennes. On nous dit toujours 'il était' ou 'on a dit'" (p.25). Arabic is felt to be associated with people and domains outside school, such as the home and less select areas: "l'arabe me sert pour demander un renseignement à quelqu'un qui n'est pas cultivé" (p.25). Bounfour claims that the world of Arabic, where French is non-existent, is clearly defined in the pupils' perception as the domain of "le non-cultivé", who wears traditional

clothes and belongs to the older generation. There are of course some aspects of Moroccan culture which are exclusively associated with the Arabic language, such as music, folklore, festivals, costumes and traditional dishes; as another pupil observes, "l'arabe est plus riche quand je veux parler des fêtes, des costumes Marocains" (p.25). Indeed, some of these concepts cannot readily be designated in French. On the other hand, Bounfour notes, French can take over in situations where it is considered improper to use Arabic. For instance, the language of courtship between bilingual pupils is French, which is perceived as the language of freedom and liberated values, in contrast to Arabic, the language of religion and moral education.

It is important to note that Bounfour's observations are limited to the context of school, and the pupils' opinions about the two languages could well be based on the roles these languages play within the school curriculum. One might then seek some explanation for the attitudes of these pupils towards French and Arabic in terms of the differing pedagogical approaches used in teaching them.

In connection with this, then, it is interesting to consider the work of Ibaaquil (1978), who investigated the intellectual, affective and social values conveyed and taught in Moroccan primary school reading textbooks in the two languages. The teaching methods and the content of these textbooks may shape children's personalities significantly by influencing their conception of the world and of their surroundings. Ibaaquil finds some striking contrasts between the French and the Arabic texts. For example, in Arabic reading textbooks, he claims, poverty and wealth are represented not as the result of class differences but as assigned to men by divine decree. Work does not bring about a change in the individual's situation. A man cannot hope to become rich by his own efforts, by working hard, increasing his productivity, and so on; prosperity is rather a gift from God which can only be earned by being good and having a stoic acceptance of Fate. Inequality is presented as a natural phenomenon

in society, which must be accepted without complaint. The notion of fate, or what Ibaaquil calls "déterminisme héréditaire" (1978, p.34), in the face of which man stands helpless, is recurrent in the Arabic texts. For instance, a text called "The Generosity of Kalif Otmane Ibn Affane" tells the story of people suffering the failure of their harvest as the result of a drought. On complaining to the Kalif, they were told: "Go home and be patient. Before the coming of night God will have pity on us". Thus the idea is conveyed that only patience and belief in God can help people to find solutions to their problems. The Arabic texts thus present the principle of passivity and waiting for providence, and never suggest that the individual should take the initiative to find a solution to his problems. The only one of the Arabic texts examined by Ibaaquil which illustrates the idea of daring and a spirit of adventure is about a young man who defies the sea and sets sail on a journey across the Atlantic, facing all dangers fearlessly. Ironically, however, he is neither a Moroccan nor an Arab, but a French boy. It seems that courage and daring are qualities that have to be attributed to a foreign character rather than to a Moroccan with whom the pupils could identify.

Arabic texts tend to dwell more on the past, especially the glorious Islamic past where the characters are without exception members of the élite, leaders of nations and so on. Table 1 shows the percentages of references to past and present in fifty Arabic and French texts (taken from Ibaaquil 1978, p.42).

Table 1: References to Present and Past in Arabic and French Texts

French

Moroccan Present	European Present	African Present	European Past	African Past	Non-specified
16%	34%	2%	6%	2%	40%

Arabic

Islamic Present	Moroccan Present	European Present	Islamic Past	Moroccan Past	European Past	Non-specified
0%	2%	0%	24%	10%	4%	60%

Strangely enough, it is the French texts which talk about the Moroccan present, while the Arabic texts are more concerned with the past. The European present is also a common feature of the French texts.

Moral themes are also much more frequent in the Arabic reading texts than in the French ones, as the following table illustrates (taken from Ibaaquil 1978, p.43).

Table 2: Moral Themes in Arabic and French Texts

	Explicit moral theme	Moral statements	No moral theme
<u>French</u>	2%	16%	82%
<u>Arabic</u>	40%	22%	38%

In the Arabic texts, people's problems are shown to result from their own moral weakness. Rich people will not have problems if they carry out their duty of helping the poor. However, the poor do not have the right to share the wealth of the rich, but have to be content with what they are given. The moralising character of the Arabic texts may well have some effect on the pupils' attitudes towards Arabic. They may feel that whatever they learn in Arabic is concerned with moral duties, associated with the fear of not doing good or of being punished by God and society. In the world presented to them through French, however, they will find that society is more lenient and less concerned with such values; this is the modern world with which Arabic may appear to them to be incompatible. Ibaaquil suggests that the different worlds presented through the two languages have a profound effect on the mentality of the young Moroccan bilingual: "Entre le regard négateur des manuels en français et celui, profondément passéiste et nostalgique, des manuels en arabe, les élèves trouveront difficilement un équilibre, et la voie, en tout cas, est ouverte à l'aliénation" (Ibaaquil 1978, p.43).

3.2 The Bilingual's Attitudes to his Two Languages

Bounfour (1973) and Ibaaquil (1978) are of course restricting their attention to the school situation, looking at the roles of and attitudes to the languages within this situation.

One might wish to take a more general view, considering the roles of French and Arabic in the life of adult Moroccan bilinguals of various occupations, as opposed to schoolchildren only, to see if they have retained into adulthood certain attitudes to each language, and, if so, on what grounds these attitudes are founded. With this in mind, I constructed two tests designed to obtain some information about the overt attitudes Moroccan bilinguals have towards their languages. The first test is a simple questionnaire, the second a multiple choice test.

3.2.1 Evidence obtained by the Questionnaire

3.2.1.1 Method

A pilot study was first conducted, to carry out a preliminary investigation. Respondents were asked to specify which language or languages they liked most and liked the least, and which language or languages they found the most beautiful, the easiest, the richest and the most practical. Table 3 shows the results of this pilot questionnaire, which was answered by 110 respondents.

Table 3: Pilot Questionnaire

Language:	French	French+Arabic	Arabic	Classical A.	Others	Blank
Favourite	24	2	52	2	21	9
Most disliked	18	0	10	2	29	51
Most beautiful	24	5	35	3	33	10
Easiest	33	6	38	0	19	14
Richest	18	2	65	5	14	6
Most practical	27	10	60	2	7	4
Most useful for studies	52	11	17	0	19	11
Most necessary for a Moroccan	25	11	59	7	7	1

The format of this pilot questionnaire, where the respondents were free to mention any language they wanted, was

found to be inconvenient in some respects. In some cases, the respondents were less specific than they might have been; thus, while some of the respondents specified Classical Arabic, the majority, as can be seen from the table, were content to use the term Arabic, without indicating whether they meant Moroccan Arabic or Classical Arabic. The respondents also mentioned a wide range of languages which are not used in Morocco, the most commonly cited of these being English. These were not of particular interest to the present investigation, which was concerned to investigate the bilingual's attitudes towards his own languages.

To avoid these difficulties, the second questionnaire was formulated rather differently. The same types of question were asked, since the respondents in the pilot test did not seem to experience any difficulty in answering, but were able to provide ready responses. However, this time the respondents were asked to select for their answers one of three specified languages, French, Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic. The respondents were thus constrained to choose from among the languages with which this study is concerned. They were also asked to supply further comments, giving the reasons for their choice.⁶

⁶For reasons of convenience, the language used in this questionnaire, as in the pilot and other questionnaires, was French. In choosing French, we were following the example of a number of other investigators, such as Adam (1963), Tessler (1969), Riahi (1970), Ounali (1970) and Stevens (1974). The results of those who have used bilingual questionnaires in any case suggest that the majority of respondents prefer to complete such questionnaires in French; for example, Abbassi (1977) reports that only fifteen out of his 135 respondents completed his questionnaire in Arabic, and Gravel (1979) claims that 74.5% of his respondents answered the questionnaire in French. Stevens (1974, p.280) observes that there is a very strong tendency for Tunisians to fill in printed forms using French rather than Arabic, and the same seems to be true of Moroccans. There were also other, technical reasons, involving problems of translation and terminology, why some of the later tests had to be presented in French only. These will be mentioned at later points.

However, the respondents both here and in other tests were told that they could choose to write their answers in

3.2.1.2 Respondents

The respondents were eighty-seven males and females, aged between seventeen and thirty-eight. They were all balanced bilinguals, with various occupations, including teachers, clerks, technicians, chemists, secretaries and students. They came from various parts of Morocco.

3.2.1.3 Analysis of the Data

The numbers of respondents selecting each language in answer to a particular question are given in percentages, for ease of comparison. To calculate the degree of significance of the differences between the scores for the three languages in each particular case, the Chi Squared test was used.⁷

3.2.1.4 Results and Discussion

The results show clear contrasts between the attitudes of the respondents towards each of the three languages. In the first place, Classical Arabic is described as the most beautiful and the richest of the three by the majority of the respondents.

Table 4. What language do you find the most beautiful/the richest?

	Classical A.	French	Moroccan A.	Blank
(1) Most beautiful	51.72%	21.84%	14.94%	11.49%
	$\chi^2 = 22.55, df = 2, p < .001$			
(2) Richest	62.07%	22.98%	8.04%	6.89%
	$\chi^2 = 43.62, df = 2, p < .001$			

The respondents who describe Classical Arabic as the
6contd.
either Arabic or French. In fact, out of the 110 respondents who completed the pilot study, only one chose to answer in Arabic, while in this second questionnaire, only three out of the eighty-seven respondents chose to answer in Arabic.

⁷We used the Table of Critical Values of Chi Square from Siegel (1956, p.249).

most beautiful language give two main reasons. 44.44% of them mention the fact that Classical Arabic is beautiful because of its rich literary heritage, while 15.55% refer to its bond with religion and Arabic nationalism.

e.g. R.⁸20:

L'arabe classique est beau parce qu'on se sent Arabe en le parlant.

R.87:

L'arabe classique est la langue de notre culture, de notre poésie, littérature et du Koran.

Similarly, of those who consider Classical Arabic the richest language, 22.22% mention its literary heritage, while Arabic nationalism and religion are mentioned by 18.51%.

R.12:

L'arabe classique est riche parce qu'il renferme tout notre patrimoine culturel varié.

Others attribute its beauty and richness to the musicality it is felt to possess.

e.g. R.3:

L'arabe classique a un son musical que j'aime bien.

R.45:

L'arabe classique est riche et sonne bien à l'oreille.

The fact that Classical Arabic is felt to be particularly musical has also been mentioned by many writers, including Shouby (1951), Ferguson (1968), and Tessler (1969) (see also 7.1.1.4.3). The sacred nature of Classical Arabic, mentioned by the respondents as one of the reasons for its beauty and richness, is reflected for example in the common custom whereby if one finds a scrap of paper on the ground, one must pick it up and put it in a safe place such as a hole in the wall, to avoid the danger that passers-by may tread on it and so desecrate it.

Classical Arabic is also felt to be the language which ought to be most used in Morocco, as can be seen from Table 5 (overleaf).

⁸ Respondent.

Table 5. What language do you think Moroccans should use above all?

	Classical A.	French	Moroccan A.	Blank
(3)	59.78%	8.04%	27.59%	4.59%
	$\chi^2 = 37.33, df = 2, p < .001$			

The most common reason advanced for this choice is again the fact that Classical Arabic is associated with Arabic nationalism and religion. This is suggested by 53.84% of these respondents.

e.g. R.72:

L'arabe classique devrait être utilisé , car nous sommes Marocains et Arabes.

R.82:

L'arabe classique devrait être utilisé parce que c'est la langue de notre religion, du Koran et des Arabes.

On the other hand, the majority of the respondents judge Moroccan Arabic to be the easiest and the most practical of the three languages.

Table 6. What language do you find the easiest/the most practical in everyday life?

	Moroccan A.	French	Classical A.	Blank
(4) Easiest	63.21%	24.13%	10.34%	2.29%
	$\chi^2 = 40.19, df = 2, p < .001$			
(5) Most practical	72.26%	21.83%	3.44%	3.44%
	$\chi^2 = 66.5, df = 2, p < .001$			

The reasons given by the respondents in support of the view that Moroccan Arabic is the easiest are straightforward; 50.09% of them say that it is because it is their mother tongue, while 14.54% mention that it is a ready means of communication for people of all levels of education.

e.g. R. 76:

L'arabe marocain est le plus facile moyen de se faire comprendre avec les Marocains quelque soit leur niveau.

R. 7:

L'arabe marocain nous permet une communication entre tout le monde.

Similarly, of those describing Moroccan Arabic as the most practical language, 37.09% give as a reason the fact that

it is their mother tongue, while 30.64% point out that it can be used with all kinds of people, including the illiterate.

e.g. R.11:

L'arabe marocain est le plus pratique parce que, étant donné le pourcentage important d'analphabètes, il n'est pas possible du moins actuellement d'intégrer l'arabe classique dans la vie quotidienne.

R.19:

L'arabe marocain est le plus pratique car le Maroc est un pays qui n'est pas cultivé, donc il faut utiliser l'arabe marocain pour se comprendre avec tout le monde.

It is interesting to note here that French is more frequently chosen as most practical and easiest than is Classical Arabic.

French is considered by the majority to be the most modern language and the most useful for studies.

Table 7. What language do you find the most modern/ the most useful for studies?

	French	Classical A.	Moroccan A.	Blank
(6) Most modern	70.11%	18.39%	3.44%	8.04%
	$\chi^2 = 65.80, df = 2, p < .001$			
(7) Most useful for studies	71.26%	18.39%	1.14%	9.19%
	$\chi^2 = 76.74, df = 2, p < .001$			

Those respondents giving French as the most modern language offer three main reasons in support of this view. 24.59% of them mention the fact that French gives them access to science and technology, while 27.86% note that French is widely used in , for instance, the administrative sectors of Morocco. 16.39% link French with the future development of the country.

e.g. R.22:

On a connu le modernisme et la science à travers le français.

French is described as the most useful language for two main reasons. 27.41% of those choosing French refer to the importance of French in education in Morocco, while 22.58% mention the access to science provided by a knowledge of French.

e.g. R.41:

Le français est utile pour les études parce que la majorité des cours, des livres, des documentations, et des films sont en français.

R.42:

Le français est utile pour les études parce qu'on peut accéder à n'importe quelle science dans n'importe quelle faculté dans n'importe quel pays.

R.42:

Le français est utile pour les études car on assimile facilement les études en français.

A small number (6.45%) say that French is the most useful language because it gives access to better jobs.

For items (8), (9) and (10), presented in Table 8 below, the differences in scores between the three languages are statistically non-significant.

Table 8. What language do you { find the most necessary for
like the most?
like the least?
a Moroccan?

	Classical A.	French	Moroccan A.	Blank
(8) Most necessary for a Moroccan	39.08%	25.28%	20.68%	14.94%
	$X^2 = 5.04$ (non-significant)			
(9) Most liked	32.18%	28.73%	35.63%	3.44%
	$X^2 = 0.642$ (non-significant)			
(10) Least liked	35.63%	33.33%	21.83%	9.10%
	$X^2 = 3.13$ (non-significant)			

The fact that the respondents are divided fairly evenly in their views as to which language is most necessary and which they like most and least is of course what we might expect in a bilingual situation. If there were a common consensus that any one language was not as necessary as the others, or if one was markedly less popular than the others, one might expect this one to be less used, so that the bilingual situation would not remain stable. The results show instead that each of the three is clearly valued in the bilingual

community.

The comments accompanying the answers to these questions echo those mentioned earlier. Thus, of those who say that Moroccan Arabic is the most necessary language, 61.11% give as a reason the fact that this is the language spoken by everyone and so allows communication with a wider range of people than do the others. Two reasons are commonly cited by those choosing French, these being the fact that French is necessary for progress and science, mentioned by 31.81%, and the fact that it is the language of education, mentioned by 27.27%. The most common reasons offered by those choosing Classical Arabic are again concerned with Arabic nationalism and patriotism; 26.47% give reasons of this kind. Among the respondents who choose Moroccan Arabic as the language they like most, 64.28% refer to the fact that it is their mother tongue, while 46.42% mention that it is an easy and convenient language. Of those choosing French as their favourite, 40% make comments to the effect that French is an easy, simple and precise language which allows them to express themselves clearly and efficiently, while 24% again refer to the importance of French in the education system. The most common reason given by those who prefer Classical Arabic, mentioned by 42.85% of these, is again the fact that it represents their cultural heritage and their religion.

More interesting are the comments made in connection with item (10). Of those who say that they like Moroccan Arabic the least, 31.57% give as a reason the fact that Moroccan Arabic is unable to evolve, while 26.31% refer to the idea that Moroccan Arabic is a mixed and impure language. French is disliked for the simple reason that it is looked on as the language of colonisation; this point is raised by 58.62% of those naming French as their least-liked language. The most common reason advanced by those who like Classical Arabic the least is the fact that it is a complex language full of complex grammatical rules, which make its learning tedious to the point where the learner is afraid to use it. Reasons of this kind are mentioned by 70.96% of the respondents.

The following are some representative comments:⁹

R.8:

J'aime l'arabe marocain le moins parce que c'est une langue de mélange d'arabe et d'autres langues.

R.43:

J'aime l'arabe marocain le moins parce que c'est une langue limitée; on n'est pas capable de tout dire.

R.67:

J'aime l'arabe classique le moins parce qu'il est trop rigide; son apprentissage est monotone et la pédagogie en est dépassée.

R.4:

J'aime l'arabe classique le moins parce qu'il est plein de règles difficiles, et il y a un risque de faire des fautes.

R.83:

J'aime le français le moins parce que c'est la langue qui nous associe avec le colonisateur - signe d'acculturation et perte d'identité nationale.

R.87:

J'aime le français le moins parce que c'est la langue du colonialisme, c'est la langue par laquelle on démontre notre aliénation culturelle.

3.2.2 Evidence obtained by the Multiple Choice Test

3.2.2.1 Method

This test consisted of a list of ten epithets. The respondents were asked to select for each of the three languages, Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and French, all the adjectives they felt were appropriate to describe it. They were told that they could choose as many or as few of the adjectives as they wished in each case. The adjectives were selected after an examination of the results of the previous questionnaire, and were chosen to represent the kinds of attitudes that the respondents had expressed in their comments on this, as well as reflecting the findings of Bounfour (1973), Ibaaquil (1978) and others; they expressed

⁹For Moroccan Arabic, see also the comments by Respondents 30 and 45 quoted in 3.2.2.4.

opinions about the practical and aesthetic value of the languages. The adjectives were given in French,¹⁰ and were as follows:

practical	able to keep up with the modern world
dead	useless
rich	lively ("vivant")
versatile	necessary
beautiful	outdated

3.2.2.2 Respondents

There were 88 respondents, who were balanced Arabic-French bilinguals aged between 18 and 34. They included clerks, secretaries, laboratory technicians, artists, teachers, school-children and university students. They came from various parts of Morocco.

3.2.2.3 Analysis of Data

For each language, the number of respondents who selected a particular adjective is given as a percentage of the total number of respondents. The degree of difference between the three languages with regard to each adjective was measured by means of the Chi Squared test.

3.2.2.4 Results and Discussion

The first point to be noted is that three of the ten adjectives were selected by only a very few respondents. These were in fact the only three of the ten adjectives which described negative qualities, namely dead, outdated and useless.

¹⁰The provision of an Arabic version of this test as well would have posed the problem of finding pairs of adjectives in the two languages which were exact translation equivalents. In some cases this would have been very difficult; for instance, the French adjective pratique (practical) could be rendered in Arabic by either [ʕamali] (working), or [mujaSar] (available) or [a:li] (mechanical). The problem would then be that the answers of those who chose to use the French adjectives might not be strictly comparable with those of the respondents who used the Arabic ones.

There is a very sharp contrast between the use made of these three adjectives and that made of all the others. It appears that the vast majority of the respondents did not wish to give such unfavourable descriptions of any of the languages. The small numbers of those who did select them are shown in Table 9.

Table 9.

	Moroccan A.	French	Classical A.
Dead	5.7%	0%	3.4%
Useless	9.1%	2.3%	1.1%
Outdated	9.1%	3.4%	10.2%

The differences between the three languages here are not significant. Particularly striking, perhaps, is the fact that the adjective outdated was so rarely applied even to Classical Arabic, which one might have expected to receive such a description.

The majority of the respondents described each of the three languages as necessary.

Table 10.

	Moroccan A.	French	Classical A.
Necessary	53%	55.7%	51.1%
	$\chi^2 = 0.17$ (non-significant)		

This result correlates with that of the questionnaire, where each of the languages received similar scores when the respondents were asked to say which was the most necessary. Again it seems that each of the three is felt to have an important role.

Similarly, the property versatile was attributed to each language by fairly similar numbers of respondents, as is shown in Table 11:

Table 11.

	Moroccan A.	French	Classical A.
Versatile	30.68%	25%	31.81%
	$\chi^2 = 0.804$ (non-significant)		

For each of the other adjectives, significant differences were found between the numbers of times it was assigned to the three languages. For example, there is a clear contrast between Moroccan Arabic and French, both of which were described as practical by a majority of the respondents, and Classical Arabic, which was not:

Table 12.

	Moroccan A.	French	Classical A.
Practical	68.18%	81.8%	37.5%
	$\chi^2 = 14.5, df = 2, p < .001$		

This accords with the results of the questionnaire, where Classical Arabic receives the lowest ratings for the quality practical in everyday life (see Table 6, Item 5). The view that Classical Arabic is not practical is reflected in many of the respondents' comments in the questionnaire.

e.g. R.46:

L'arabe classique est une langue non pratique.

R.45:

L'arabe classique est le plus riche, mais on n'a rien fait pour le faire adapter au monde moderne.

It is interesting that in Questionnaire item (5) Moroccan Arabic received the highest score, whereas here French is more highly rated. This can probably be attributed to the specification "in everyday life" provided in the questionnaire; evidently, while Moroccan Arabic may be found most practical for mundane everyday activities, French may be more practical in other circumstances.

There is a clear pattern in the selection of the adjectives rich and beautiful; here Classical Arabic receives by far the highest scores, while Moroccan Arabic receives the lowest, as is shown in Table 13 (overleaf). Here too there is a correlation with the questionnaire results (see Items 1 and 2, Table 4). The difference between the respondents' attitudes to the two varieties of Arabic in this respect could be said to be typical of the kind of diglossic situation which exists in Morocco (see 1.1.2.3 and 7.1.1.4.1); for in such situations,

the H variety, in this case Classical Arabic, is generally regarded as more beautiful and richer than the L variety, here Moroccan Arabic.

Table 13.

	Moroccan A.	French	Classical A.
Rich	17%	30.6%	70.4%
	$\chi^2 = 34.40, df = 2, p < .001$		
Beautiful	21.6%	32.9%	53.4%
	$\chi^2 = 12.71, df = 2, p < .01$		

As was seen in the previous questionnaire, the respondents cited as reasons why they found Classical Arabic the richest and most beautiful its literary heritage, its musicality and its sacred nature. Now French is also rated higher than Moroccan Arabic on these properties; but it is interesting to note that the reasons given by the respondents who choose French are quite different, being concerned with its practical value, and emphasising its usefulness, prestige and flexibility. The respondents evidently value French for what they can do with it, seeing it as useful for studies, science, business and as a status marker. The following illustrate the kinds of reason given:

R.41:

Le français est riche parce qu'il y a beaucoup de recherches scientifiques en français.

R.83:

Le français est riche parce qu'il contient du vocabulaire pour l'ancien et le nouveau, le moderne et le traditionnel.

R.12:

Le français est beau parce qu'il me rend sophistiqué.

These comments about the richness and beauty of French contrast sharply with those made about Classical Arabic. The latter is considered to be rich and beautiful, not because it is a useful tool, but because of its intrinsic nature, what it represents in itself; there is no reference to the utility of Classical Arabic in any of the comments by those who choose it.

More respondents describe French as lively and able to keep up with the modern world than describe Classical and Moroccan Arabic as such. This could be linked with the image of French as the language of science, technology and economic development.

Table 14.

	Moroccan A.	French	Classical A.
Able to keep up with the modern world	5.6%	63.6%	54.5%
	$\chi^2 = 42, df = 2, p < .001$		
Lively	22.7%	61.4%	38.6%
	$\chi^2 = 16.22, df = 2, p < .001$		

However, a majority also judge Classical Arabic to be able to keep up with the modern world, although one might have expected otherwise, in view of its associations with the past (see the discussion of the work of Bounfour and Ibaaquil in 3.1.3) and the fact that most of the respondents did not describe it as practical. Evidently there is a certain confidence in the ability of Classical Arabic to fulfil modern requirements.¹¹

Moroccan Arabic, on the other hand, receives the lowest ratings for both of these properties. This can be seen to accord with the general low esteem in which the L variety in a diglossic situation is usually held. The view that Moroccan Arabic is inadequate for modern developments is made explicit in the comments of some respondents;

e.g. R.45:

J'aime l'arabe marocain le moins parce qu'il ne nous permet pas d'évoluer, il ne traduit que le sous-développement et la misère.

R.30:

L'arabe marocain ne peut jamais être pris comme une langue scientifique.

¹¹ A similar confidence is revealed in the results of a questionnaire reported on in 7.3.2, which show that respondents believe that Classical Arabic can serve as a vehicle for modern scientific discussion.

This result also accords with the findings of questionnaire item (6) (Table 7), where French received the highest ratings for modernity and Moroccan Arabic by far the lowest.

3.2.3 Conclusions

The general trends which have been observed through these tests can be summarised as follows. French is felt to be modern, lively, useful, practical and able to keep up with the modern world by the majority of the respondents. They are clearly aware of the usefulness of French, particularly in connection with education, scientific and technological development. These findings accord with Bounfour's (1973) observation that Moroccan schoolchildren associate French with science and modernity, and suggest that such associations are not restricted to schoolchildren, but are also shared by older bilinguals.

On the other hand, the qualities most strongly associated with Classical Arabic are beauty and richness. This seems to be linked with the respondents' view of Classical Arabic as the language of their ancestors, religion and traditions, as revealed in their frequent references to Classical Arabic as the bearer of their literary heritage and the symbol of Arabic identity. However, while it seems to be more highly valued for these qualities than is Moroccan Arabic or French, it is evidently felt to be less practical than either of these.

Moroccan Arabic is judged to be practical and the easiest of the three, naturally enough since it is the respondents' first language. However, it does not seem to be highly valued in other respects; most of the respondents find it less modern than the other languages, it is not felt to be able to keep up with modern developments, and few describe it as rich or beautiful. The low esteem in which it seems to be generally held is of course characteristic of the L variety in a diglossic situation.

A more general tendency, involving all three languages,

is an apparent reluctance to describe any of them by such negative terms as useless, outdated or dead. On the other hand, each of the three languages received similarly high scores for the quality necessary. This, together with the fact that no one language emerges clearly as the most liked or the least liked, suggests that the respondents value all three of their languages and find them all to have important roles.

3.3 The Relation between Language Use and World View

The tests described above concentrate on the respondents' impressions of the languages they speak. As has been seen, reasons for the differences between their views of these languages can be found by examining the roles of each of the languages. For instance, in the school situation, Ibaaquil's (1978) analysis showed that the kind of material presented in one language gives a quite different view of the world from that which is conveyed through the other language. The comments given by the respondents in my tests also suggested that the two languages' roles are seen to contrast quite clearly. French is felt to symbolise the modern world of science and technology, while Arabic is seen to represent more traditional values, the cultural and religious heritage. Bounfour (1973) suggests that a Moroccan schoolchild may experience two quite separate worlds in the course of his daily life, and that he may have the impression that things which are forbidden in the old world, that associated with Arabic, are permitted in the new world, that associated with French.¹²

Such observations provoke further speculations about the kinds of effect this correlation between language and values may have on the Moroccan bilingual. Besides a con-

¹²For example, Bounfour (1973) notes that the language of courtship between pupils is French. The same point is made in a comment by one of the respondents in the questionnaire described in 3.2.1:

R.83: Le français est beau parce qu'il est associé aux arts, à la mode et à l'amour. On ne dit jamais [uhibuk] (I love you), on dit: je t'aime.

scious awareness that the Arabic language is associated with tradition, the past and a static situation, while French is associated with new ideas, modernity and change, it seems possible that people may develop an unconscious tendency to link the use of each language with a particular world view. The question now posed is that of whether people may, when thinking and speaking in Arabic, adopt the particular philosophy which is typically conveyed to them in that language, while taking a rather different view of the same environment when they think and speak in French. This kind of alternation is suggested in a description by Gallagher (1968) of the behaviour of a North African bilingual:

"When he amuses himself with friends in French, his bantering attitude, indeed his whole character, is quite distinct from that expressed by his more robust joking in Arabic. His normally authoritarian attitude toward his wife and children at home in Arabic changes publicly under the influence of Western convention and the use of French in a salon de thé"

(Gallagher 1968, p.144)

Thus, as well as looking at the bilingual's attitudes towards the languages themselves, we may also ask whether the use of one language rather than another can itself influence the bilingual's attitudes, not to the languages, but to concepts, events and situations. Just as the bilingual perceives the language in a certain way because of the functions it fulfils in his life and in society in general, he may perceive life and society in a certain way because he is looking at it through a particular language. It should be noted that what we are interested in here is not Whorf's hypothesis that the individual's world-view is in fact dictated by his language, but rather, the lesser claim that the individual's outlook on some particular occasion may vary according to which language he is using. (see Whorf 1956).

There has already been some investigation of the idea that bilinguals may change in outlook and attitudes according to which language they are using. Ervin-Tripp (1964) used Thematic Apperception Test cards, which contained pictures

with ambiguous content, to investigate the effect of language on the perception of this content. French-English bilinguals were, on two different occasions, asked to tell a story about these pictures, each time in a different language. There was a significant difference between the two versions of the stories in three out of nine cases. Ervin-Tripp (1967) also used a sentence completion test to investigate this kind of content shift associated with a change of language. Her respondents were Japanese-English bilingual women living in the United States, and when compared to American and Japanese monolingual norms, the bilinguals' sentence completions were found to be closer to the Japanese norms when completed in Japanese than when completed in English. From these results, she concluded that there was some evidence that bilinguals altered their attitudes and outlook when changing from one language to the other.

3.3.1 Method of Investigation

To investigate the hypothesis that the Moroccan bilingual's outlook on the world may vary according to which language he is using, I designed a simple sentence completion test, inspired by that used by Ervin-Tripp (1967) in her investigation of Japanese-English bilinguals, mentioned above. Sentence completion tests are commonly used in clinical psychology, but, as Oppenheim (1966) points out, they can also be useful in more general investigations of people's attitudes, beliefs and values. They provide a means of eliciting spontaneous remarks from the respondents without their being aware of the purpose for which these are required (Oppenheim 1966).

The respondents were first given a list of thirty incomplete sentences in one language and asked to complete them in any way they wished. Then, six weeks later, they were given the corresponding incomplete sentences in the other language, and again asked to complete them. Some respondents were given the French versions of the sentences on the first

occasion, and some the Arabic ones. The two tasks were separated by an interval of six weeks so that the respondents, when completing the second set of sentences, would not immediately recall what they had written in their earlier completions.¹³ Two completions of each sentence were thus obtained from each respondent, one in French and one in Arabic. The thirty incomplete sentences referred to common concepts and everyday activities, and most of them were concerned with social values and relationships. For each sentence, I then compared the full set of completions in French with the set of completions in Arabic, as well as comparing the two completions provided by each individual respondent.

3.3.2 Respondents

There were 80 respondents,¹⁴ all of whom were balanced Arabic-French bilinguals (28 females and 42 males) with ages ranging from 15 to 40. They originated from various parts of Morocco. They included schoolchildren, students, teachers, clerks, secretaries and professional people.

3.3.3 Results and Discussion

In the following discussion, we look at a few of the major themes which cropped up in the completions, and point out some of the interesting contrasts between the French and Arabic versions in each case.

¹³Ervin-Tripp (1967) also used a six week interval between the Japanese versions and the English ones in her test.

¹⁴This test was intended merely as a pilot study, with the aim of seeing whether it is worth investigating Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes by means of this indirect method. Further investigations could use this test with larger numbers of respondents. A larger scale test could also look at other contrasts, for instance, comparing the completions of male and female respondents to see if one group exhibited more contrasts than the other.

3.3.3.1 Morality and Personal Values

The concepts of religion and moral teaching seem to crop up more frequently in Arabic than in French in references to various activities. For instance, in completing the sentence "Marriage is...", 14.1% of the respondents said in Arabic that it was a religious duty, whereas the only hint of religious feeling in the French answers was the fact that one respondent called in "a sacred act". In completing "I like to read...", 5.12% specified religious books in Arabic, but only one did so in French. In completing the sentence "To succeed in life one must...", the necessity of being religious was mentioned by 4% in Arabic, but by no one in French. Some other particular examples where a respondent made reference to religion in his Arabic completion but not in his French one are given below.

R.41:

French: One needs a good job to live happily.

Arabic: One needs a good job to be able to spend one's¹⁵ last days praying in the mosque.

R.25:

French: When I disagree with my family, I get worried.

Arabic: When I disagree with my family, I turn to God.

R.24:

French: Rich people can afford whatever they like.

Arabic: Rich people can afford to help their Muslim brothers.

No reference to religion was found in any of the completions of the above sentences in French; yet religion was evidently uppermost in some of the respondents' minds when using Arabic, even when the topics given to them were things like jobs,

¹⁵People who can afford to retire early can devote their last days to worshipping God, whereas a person who has little money may have to work right up to his death and so does not have the chance to devote his last days to prayer.

riches or family disputes, topics which have no immediately obvious religious connotations. The association of religion with Arabic might be predicted from the bilinguals' education (see the discussion of Ibaaquil (1978) in 3.1.3).

Another idea which was mentioned much more frequently in Arabic than in French was the notion of charity and helping the poor. This can be linked with the greater religious consciousness exhibited in Arabic, since the ideal of charity, as a religious duty, is instilled in Moroccans from their earliest education. For instance, in completing the sentence "Rich people can afford...", 41.42% of the respondents referred to helping the poor in Arabic, as opposed to 21.42% in French. Helping the poor was also mentioned in completing the sentence "Responsibility is...".

e.g. R.3:

French: Responsibility is hard in our time.

Arabic: Responsibility is to help the poor and do one's duty.

Even in completing "I like spending my money on...", some respondents mentioned charity in Arabic, though there was no such mention in French:

e.g. R.1:

French: I like spending my money on a house.

Arabic: I like spending my money on charity.

R.24:

French: I like spending my money on useful things.

Arabic: I like spending my money on charity.

One of the observations made by Ibaaquil (1978), in his analysis of texts, was that the Arabic texts tended to make much more frequent appeal to the notion of Fate. The same tendency can be seen in the sentence completions; for example, in Arabic 9.72% said that the future depended on Fate, while there were no mentions of Fate in the French versions of this completion at all.

e.g. R.46:

French: The future depends on education.

Arabic: The future depends on luck and chance.

There are other instances too where the notion of Fate was invoked in Arabic completions but not in the corresponding French ones.

R.38:

French: A woman without children is unhappy.

Arabic: A woman without children accepts her fate and worships God all the same.

R.57:

French: What annoys me is my society.

Arabic: What annoys me is stupid people who accept Fate.

R.25:

French: Parents are angry because their child is ill.

Arabic: Parents are angry because time and fate are not on their side.

The religious values taught in childhood also tend to emphasise collectivity, of living not for oneself but for one's family. Individualism is not preached by Islam; instead people are expected to co-operate and safeguard the interests of their family and parents who worked for them and helped them become what they are. This family consciousness is noted by Hapgood (1965), in his discussion of Sub-Saharan education, as being a feature of the traditional education systems of African countries, as opposed to the European education systems which exist alongside them. His comments seem equally well applicable to the traditional Moroccan culture. "The individual is taught that his primary responsibility is to the groups to which he belongs: extended family, clan, age-grade" (Hapgood 1965, p.120). The importance of family bonds and responsibility in traditional Moroccan society is observed by Adam (1968): "Quand un jeune homme parvient, grâce à ses diplômes, à une situation élevée dans la fonction publique - sa famille, au sens 'large' du mot, estime avoir droit, en vertu de la solidarité du clan, à bénéficier du succès de l'un de ses membres" (Adam 1968, p.757). This may explain why we find more references to the family, and concern for

family welfare, in the Arabic completions than in the French ones. The following table illustrates some of these differences.

Table 15.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
Every man needs (family)	6.25%	16.25%
My aim in life is (to help parents)	0%	10.12%
Responsibility is (to look after family)	0%	7.24%

e.g. R.64:

French: Every man needs money.

Arabic: Every man needs to look after his family's future.

R.71:

French: My aim in life is to be a lawyer.

Arabic: My aim in life is to achieve some status and give my parents what they have given me.

R.24:

French: My aim in life is to be a brilliant figure in society.

Arabic: My aim in life is to leave my parents contented with me.

R.53:

French: Responsibility is a heavy load.

Arabic: Responsibility is to provide for one's family.

Completions expressing affection for the family were also more frequent in Arabic than in French for the sentence "What I love most in life is...".

e.g. R.3:

French: What I love most in life is arts, science and good cars.

Arabic: What I love most in life is my parents and sensible children.

R.73:

French: What I love most in life is education and to know about the whole world.

Arabic: What I love most in life is my father, mother and the people of my country.

The following examples are perhaps even more striking, since these are contexts where one might not expect the idea of the family to spring to mind very easily.

R.37:

French: True friends must be helpful.

Arabic: True friends must respect their parents.¹⁶

R.18:

French: I like spending my money for the sake of spending it.

Arabic: I like spending my money on my family.

R.50:

French: The future depends on yourself.

Arabic: The future depends on your personality and that of your family.

R.24:

French: The future depends on man.

Arabic: The future depends on family, children and wife.

The awareness of being indebted to parents and responsible for a family seems more noticeable when the respondents use Arabic than when they use French.

Another value which is more frequently expressed in the Arabic completions than in the French ones is the sense of patriotism. This is not surprising, since there is a feeling that Arabic is the language of the national heritage, while French is the language of colonisation (see the respondents'

¹⁶In Moroccan culture, children are usually warned by their parents to avoid making friends among those who are not obedient and respectful to their parents; such children are commonly referred to as "damned" [mSa:xeT] and it is assumed that if they behave badly towards their parents, their whole character is bad, and they will not be true friends. Respondent 37 thus seems to bring up what he has been taught by his parents in his Arabic completion, whereas in the French one he mentions a more general quality.

comments in the questionnaire reported on in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). The tendency for patriotism to be more common in the Arabic completions than in the French ones is illustrated by the fact that in Arabic 30.98% of the respondents completed the sentence "My duty in society is..." with a reference to helping their country, whereas only 5.63% mentioned this in French.
e.g. R.5:

French: My duty in society is to educate my children.

Arabic: My duty in society is to protect my country.

R.67:

French: My duty in society is to work for my future.

Arabic: My duty in society is to be a good citizen who loves his country and wants prosperity for everybody.

R.23:

French: My duty in society is to study hard.

Arabic: My duty in society is to be worthy of my country.

In completing "One needs a good job...", 21.79% said in Arabic that one needed a job to help one's country and society, but none expressed this view in French at all.

e.g. R.50:

French: One needs a good job to live better.

Arabic: One needs a good job to work for one's country.

One can also detect a more general tendency which can be related to those mentioned above. The notion of duty is frequently brought up in the Arabic completions, in contrast to the French ones where it is rarely mentioned. This could be seen as another reflection of the traditional Islamic philosophy according to which the course of the individual's life is largely determined for him by a series of duties, which he must fulfil if he is to play his proper role in society; such acts as getting married are presented as the duty of every individual rather than as a matter for personal choice. Some of the completions revealing this contrast are listed in Table 16 overleaf.

Table 16.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
Marriage is (a religious duty)	0%	14.1%
Responsibility is (a duty)	4.34%	31.5%
Studying is (a duty)	0%	4.1%

The notion of duty was also mentioned in the completions of certain other Arabic sentences, whereas it never occurred in the French versions; the following are examples.

R.34:

French: When we receive guests, we welcome them.

Arabic: When we receive guests, we do our duty towards them.

R.44:

French: Freedom is necessary.

Arabic: Freedom is to know your duty.

R.23:

French: One needs a good job to succeed.

Arabic: One needs a good job to carry out one's duty in society.

The sense of duty expressed in Arabic extends to the desire to reform other people's behaviour; so respondent 59 said in Arabic "My duty in society is to show people what their duty is", but in French "My duty in society is to help people". The idea of moral preaching can also be found in some of the Arabic completions of "Studies...":

R.21:

French: Studies inform us about the world.

Arabic: Studies tell us how to live in a moral way.

R.68:

French: Studies are the development of the mind.

Arabic: Studies tell us how to be responsible and what our duty in society is.

In contrast to the importance given to duty in the Arabic completions, the value of freedom is emphasised more frequently in the French completions, as can be seen from Table 17:

Table 17.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
What I like most in life is (freedom)	11.53%	3.84%
Freedom is(essential)	10.25%	0%

This could reflect the fact that in Arabic culture the individual is felt to be dominated by interdictions, duties and Fate, whereas in the western culture associated with French he may be felt to be more liberated (see the earlier references to Bounfour's (1973) observations).

3.3.3.2 Personal Interests

A contrast found with some sentences is that the importance of education is more frequently referred to in the French completions than in the Arabic ones.

Table 18.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
My duty in society is (to study)	14.08%	1.28%
Children must (be educated)	44.30%	34.17%

The importance of French in the Moroccan education system has already been mentioned (see 1.2.2), and the association of French with education in the minds of bilinguals was revealed in the comments of respondents obtained by the questionnaire (see 3.2).

The arduousness of studies is also more frequently acknowledged in French than in Arabic; for example, in completing "Studies...", 15% referred to the difficulty and length of studies in French, whereas no one did so in Arabic. This difference might perhaps be related to the fact that scientific studies, which are considered the longest and most difficult in Morocco, are always in French. Some respondents

also adopt a critical attitude towards studies only in French.
e.g. R.46:

French: Studies are annoying in Morocco.

Arabic: Studies are everything.

R.41:

French: Studies are limited in Morocco.

Arabic: Studies mean staying up all night to read.

They may perhaps be more conscious of the limitations of the Moroccan system because they are able to compare it with the French one which bilingualism has made available to them.

It is interesting to note that an interest in reading is mentioned far more frequently in the French completions than in the Arabic ones. For example, in completing "When I have nothing to do...", 35.44% of the respondents mentioned that they read in their French completions, as opposed to only 15.18% in the Arabic ones. There are also differences in the types of reading matter mentioned in each language:

Table 19.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
I like reading (newspapers, periodicals)	17.72%	12.65%
I like reading (science)	16.45%	8.86%
I like reading (emotive topics, nature, poetry, religion)	1.26%	10.12%

It seems that, naturally enough, when completing the French sentence the respondents tended to think of the kind of literature they read in French, and vice versa, for these differences naturally reflect the different types of reading matter available in the two languages; scientific works are more accessible in French than in Arabic, while the reverse is true of religious writings. Evidence offered in 4.2.4.4 shows that French language periodicals and newspapers are more popular with Moroccan bilinguals than Arabic ones, which could be related to the differences in reference to these.

A very noticeable contrast can be seen between the two sets of completions of the sentence "When I have nothing to do...". In Arabic, 45.56% mentioned passive solutions, saying that they simply remained idle, got tired, went to sleep or daydreamed, whereas only 21.51% gave such answers in French. Most strikingly, a surprising 18.98% of the respondents said in their Arabic completions "When I have nothing to do, I do nothing". On the other hand, 69.62% suggested active pursuits in French as opposed to 39.24% in Arabic. For instance, more respondents suggested that they would do some kind of sport, go to the cinema, go out or listen to music in French than in Arabic. Here are a few examples of individual differences.

R.57:

French: When I have nothing to do, I find something to do at least.

Arabic: When I have nothing to do, I get bored.

R.55:

French: When I have nothing to do, I read.

Arabic: When I have nothing to do, I lie on my back and dream of the past.

R.74:

French: When I have nothing to do, I listen to music.

Arabic: When I have nothing to do, I do nothing.

The same contrast between active and passive can be seen in the respondents' completions of the sentence "When my husband/wife disobeys me...". In French, 31.81% said that they would try to find a solution (other than divorce), whereas only 12.12% made such constructive suggestions in Arabic.

e.g. R.47:

French: When my wife disobeys me, I discuss the problem with her in order to calm her down.

Arabic: When my wife disobeys me, I beat her.

On the other hand, in Arabic 10.6% said that they would simply ignore their partner rather than discuss the problem, an

unconstructive solution which was not mentioned at all in French. Indeed, the most popular solution mentioned in Arabic was the destructive one of divorce.

e.g. R.23:

French: When my wife disobeys me, I try to understand her.

Arabic: When my wife disobeys me, the only solution is divorce.

R.49:

French: When my wife disobeys me, I understand her.

Arabic: When my wife disobeys me, I divorce her.

This active - passive, constructive - non-constructive dichotomy can also be observed among the completions of the sentence "When I disagree with my family...". In French, 15.15% said that they would attempt to reach a solution by discussion, whereas only 6.06% gave this idea in Arabic.

e.g. R.38:

French: When I disagree with my family, I find a solution.

Arabic: When I disagree with my family, I keep quiet.

The passivity which seems more typical of the Arabic completions than the French ones could be seen to be related to the kind of religious teachings exemplified by the text of the Kalif Othmane, quoted by Ibaaquil, and described in 3.1.3. Again the Arabic mentality, with its acceptance of Fate and tendency to leave things unchanged, seems to emerge in the Arabic completions.

3.3.3.3 Material Values

The respondents also express rather different attitudes towards money according to which language they are using. In the Arabic completions, money, as a symbol of wealth and as something strongly desired, is repeatedly mentioned even in contexts where it might not seem a very obvious response. Table 20 (overleaf) illustrates this tendency.

Table 20.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
What I like most in life is (money)	6.41%	16.66%
Everybody dreams of (money)	17.72%	34.17%
The future depends on (money)	2.77%	12.5%
What annoys me is (lack of money)	2.53%	8.86%
My aim in life is (to have money)	0%	6.32%
Children must (have money)	0%	7.59%
Studies(are to make money)	0%	5%

Here are a few individual contrasting pairs where the notion of money, in the Arabic completion, is set against some other aspect of life, such as love, marriage or work, in the French one.

R.13:

French: Every man needs love.

Arabic: Every man needs money.

R.41:

French: My aim in life is to get married.

Arabic: My aim in life is to be rich.

R.12:

French: The future depends on work.

Arabic: The future depends entirely on money.

R.9:

French: Most men are strong.

Arabic: Most men are savers of money.

This interest in money can be linked with a concern with appearances which is also mentioned more frequently in the Arabic completions than in the French ones. For instance, in completing the sentence "What is important for a Moroccan woman...", 42.3% of the respondents mentioned clothes, make up and appearances in Arabic, as opposed to 25.64% in French.

e.g. R.16:

French: What is important for a Moroccan woman is to participate in her country's development.

Arabic: What is important for a Moroccan woman is to have the best clothes.

R.67:

French: What is important for a Moroccan woman is to get married.

Arabic: What is important for a Moroccan woman is to have the best clothes.

In Moroccan society, clothes directly reflect wealth to a much greater degree than in European cultures; in traditional circles, what is of interest is not so much the fashion, but the opulence of a woman's clothes, how much gold thread is used, how many gold chains she has, and most of all the width of her gold belt - all these are direct indications of the status of her family.

Other obvious status symbols, such as cars and property, also crop up more in the Arabic completions than in the French ones.

e.g. R.37:

French: Everybody dreams of success in life.

Arabic: Everybody dreams of a nice car.

R.68:

French: Everybody dreams of happiness and a good future.

Arabic: Everybody dreams of a villa, a car and beautiful women.

R.72:

French: Everybody dreams of peace.

Arabic: Everybody dreams of a villa and a car.

There is at the same time a correspondingly greater tendency to criticise this kind of deliberate display of wealth in the Arabic completions than in the French ones. In completing "What annoys me in people...", 27.27% mentioned showing off in Arabic, while only 2.5% did so in French. Perhaps since

the showing off tends to be a feature of traditional Arab-style gatherings, it is more prevalent in people's minds when they use Arabic than when they use French.

Overall, the views of material values expressed in French seem to be more abstract and idealistic than those expressed in Arabic. Whereas in Arabic the respondents mention concrete things like gold, money and clothes, in French they tend to be more concerned with prestige, success and fulfilment. Table 21 shows some contrasts.

Table 21.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
Everybody dreams of (success/prestige)	26.58%	10.12%
My aim in life is (importance)	31.64%	16.45%
One needs a good job (for success)	14.1%	2.56%

The following are examples of individual contrasts.

R.43:

French: Everybody dreams of being bourgeois.

Arabic: Everybody dreams of money.

R.7:

French: My aim in life is to be someone important in the future.

Arabic: My aim in life is to live in prosperity.

R.23:

French: One needs a good job to succeed.

Arabic: One needs a good job to carry out one's duty in society.

R.52:

French: What I like most in life is success.

Arabic: What I like most in life is money.

The French completions thus show evidence of more concern for gaining importance, while the Arabic ones show evidence of more concern for gaining wealth.

3.3.3.4 Relations between the Sexes

The importance of marriage and love seems to be stressed more frequently in the French completions than in the Arabic ones, as is illustrated in Table 22:

Table 22.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
What is important for a Moroccan woman is (marriage)	26.92%	16.66%
Every man needs (marriage)	35%	22.5%
Every man needs (love)	10%	0%

On the other hand, in the completions of the same two sentences, children are given more importance in the Arabic versions:

Table 23.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
What is important for a Moroccan woman is (children)	7.69%	14.1%
Every man needs (children)	1.25%	8.75%

In Islamic culture, marriage is seen as a step towards the goal of having children, rather than as an end in itself; and having children is seen as an automatic consequence of being married, so that lack of children is typically assumed to be due to physical disability. The Arabic view of the importance of children is noted by Adam (1968), who also points out that failure to produce offspring is typically blamed on the woman rather than the man. "Dans la famille traditionnelle, la fécondité était considérée comme une bénédiction. Avoir une nombreuse descendance était l'espoir de tous les couples et la stérilité, toujours imputée à la femme, la cause de la plupart des répudiations" (Adam 1968, p.762). In European cultures, on the other hand, it is more generally recognised that the lack of children need not be a curse, and may be the result of a deliberate choice. These different

outlooks are reflected in the completions by the fact that in Arabic 26% of the respondents wrote "A woman without children is sterile", whereas in French only 2.63% gave this answer. e.g. R.12:

French: A woman without children must have some.

Arabic: A woman without children is sterile.

R.79:

French: A woman without children is free.

Arabic: A woman without children is sterile.

R.7:

French: A woman without children is a queen.

Arabic: A woman without children is sterile.

In the Arabic ideology, too, a woman who fails to produce children is failing to fulfil the purpose for which her husband married her, which means that, being dissatisfied with her, he may divorce her to marry another woman who can bear children. This may be reflected in the fact that in Arabic 15.78% of the respondents suggested that a woman without children would have problems with her marriage, as opposed to 6.57% in French. In the Arabic mentality, she may be seen as a completely useless member of society, and among the Arabic completions we find descriptions reflecting this view; so the woman is described as "a tent without poles" (R.36), as "like a well without water" (R.57), as "in the eyes of men a paralysed limb" (R.55) and even as "the enemy of man" (R.59). In French, on the other hand, they largely content themselves with saying that she is "unfortunate" or "unhappy"; and 10.25% wrote in French that "A woman without children is free", whereas no one made this remark in Arabic.

3.3.3.5 Traditional Stereotypes

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the differences between the French and the Arabic completions reflect some types of attitude and behaviour which are so commonly associated with Arabic culture that they form part of the stereotype

view of the Arab. There is, for example, the extravagant hospitality of the Arabs, among whom it is a matter of honour, not mere politeness, to demonstrate one's pleasure at being visited by offering guests ample supplies of the best food available. This Moroccan custom has been observed by Landau (1956), who writes that

"the social characteristic most apparent to foreigners is Moorish hospitality, a hospitality that is expended not merely on the special or formal occasion, but is a conspicuous feature of daily life. To share what you have with a guest is regarded as not merely a duty, but also as one of life's joys."

(Landau 1956, p.43)

Westermarck (1926), in his study of Moroccan ritual and belief, also refers to "the duty of hospitality" (p.537), where "the host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do it at once" (p.538). This tradition is reflected in the fact that in completing the sentence "When we receive guests...", 27.27% mentioned the provision of food in Arabic, as opposed to only 6.49% in French. On the other hand, some respondents seem to adopt a more European approach in their French completions; for instance, 5.19% suggest in French that they would only offer a drink, while only one suggests this in Arabic. This contrast in generosity is reflected in pairs like the following:

R.45:

French: When we have guests, we give them a drink.

Arabic: When we have guests, we feed them very well.

R.52:

French: When we have guests, we give them tea.

Arabic: When we have guests, we feed them well.

R.55:

French: When we have guests, we offer them drinks.

Arabic: When we have guests, we wonder what to give them to eat.

Another frequently alleged contrast between Arabic and

North European cultures concerns their attitude to animals. Whereas French people keep dogs in their homes, as pets, Arabs are typically thought to consider them to be, not man's friends, but nuisances to be despised. These two different outlooks were reflected in the way the sentence "Dogs must be..." was completed. In French, 25% of the respondents said that dogs must be well looked-after, as opposed to 11.84% in Arabic. Examples include the following:

R.37:

French: Dogs must be looked after with love.

Arabic: Dogs must be thrown out of the house.

R.47:

French: Dogs must be well looked-after.

Arabic: Dogs must be beaten with a stick.

Good qualities of dogs, such as faithfulness, intelligence and courage, were mentioned by 27.63% of the respondents in French, but by only 3.94% in Arabic. These results may reflect the different connotations the word dog possesses in the two languages. In speaking French, some bilinguals seem also to adopt the kinds of association belonging to the French culture, rather than transferring the associations of their Arabic culture. Thus, in examples like this, when they speak French they also adopt a French outlook.

3.3.4 Conclusion

The contrasts mentioned in the preceding section offer some confirmation of the hypothesis that the Moroccan bilingual's attitude towards the world varies depending upon which language he is using. We have found a tendency for his world-view to be somewhat more modern and westernised when he uses French, but more traditional and bound by Islamic doctrines when he uses Arabic. It seems that the same bilingual is able to adopt a more European way of conceiving life or a more traditional Arabic one; in fact, then, he may experience something like what Julien Green felt on switching languages: "it was as if, writing in English, I had become another person" (Green

1941, p.402).

Of course, this is not to claim that language controls thought and determines culture, as did Whorf (1956); rather, it is evidence for a weaker hypothesis, that language reflects culture. Language is simply one part of the whole culture of a society, and as such will naturally be linked with other aspects of that culture. For instance, religion plays a very important role in Arabic culture; but one would hardly want to suggest that it is the fact of speaking Arabic which makes a Moroccan religious. Of course the religious beliefs of a society may well be reflected in the language it uses; the fact that in Arabic greetings, farewells, wishes, predictions and congratulations can hardly be expressed without reference to God may be one example. But there seems no way of proving that it is linguistic experience rather than other cultural experience which engenders religious concepts for the individual.

The Moroccan bilingual is familiar with both French and Arabic cultures. Naturally he will look upon the French language as one aspect of the general concept he has of "Frenchness", and accordingly he will tend to associate it with other aspects of French culture and ideology. Similarly, the Arabic language is for him one part of his own cultural heritage, to be associated with other typically Arabic ideas and traditions. It would seem quite natural then that when a Moroccan bilingual adopts one aspect of French culture, namely the French language, other aspects of this culture will also tend to become uppermost in his mind. The fact that he is using French rather than Arabic in a particular situation may well lead him to adopt French ideas as well, simply as a result of his automatic, and perhaps unconscious, association of one with the other.

This does not mean that the actual structure of the French language is such as to impose a certain world view on the mind of a bilingual whenever he speaks it; it is simply that for him the French language is very closely linked to other things French, and so in turning to the language he

also turns to the culture from which, in his mind, the language is inseparable. Nor does it mean that these French ideas and values can be acquired only through speaking the French language; there is no inherent reason why they should not be conveyed equally well through Arabic. It may well be that the Moroccan does not necessarily have to be bilingual in order to have some familiarity with European culture; there are some monolinguals who are to some extent westernised without being able to speak French. One may acquire new concepts and new behaviour outside the sphere of language.

All that can be said is that the results of this completion test highlight the importance of the bicultural experience of the Moroccan bilingual, demonstrating quite salient differences of outlook associated with the difference of language. The Moroccan Arabic-French bilingual partakes of two contrasting cultures, and it would seem that to some extent they are separated in his mind. An Arabic ideology may tend to come to the fore when he speaks Arabic, while more European ideas tend to dominate when he uses French. The Moroccan bilingual can then probably be described as a co-ordinate bilingual on at least one level - that of affective meaning; for the results of this test suggest that each of his two languages possesses a separate associative system. Moroccans are both bilingual and bicultural; they use their two languages in the same general environment, but they associate each with different values and beliefs.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter we examined some aspects of Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes to their languages, using a questionnaire and a multiple choice test. The respondents were found to have quite distinct attitudes towards each of the three languages. Classical Arabic is prized for its beauty and richness, as the language of the Arabs' literary heritage and as a symbol of their identity. Moroccan Arabic is held in much lower esteem than Classical Arabic, but is considered to be an easy and practical language for the Moroccan's

everyday needs. French is valued for its utility, and derives prestige from its association with education, science and technology. The three languages all seem to be judged necessary by these bilinguals, each having its own important role to play in Moroccan society.

We also investigated the hypothesis that the bilingual's outlook may vary according to which language he is using. Evidence to support this was found in the existence of certain contrasts between the French and Arabic completions of certain sentences, the attitudes expressed in the French versions being different from those expressed in the Arabic ones. The bilinguals tended to express different views about such matters as moral and material values and personal interests and relationships, depending on which language they were using.

CHAPTER FOUR

An Examination of Language Choice

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will attempt to examine the Moroccan bilingual's choice of language in a variety of situations. I will consider various aspects of the speech situation to see what factors influence language choice; for instance, an examination will be made of the effect of various types of interlocutor, setting and topic of conversation on the choice of language, to determine whether any or all of these have an effect on the choice of language, what these effects are, and to what extent they are significant. There will also be some examination of the bilingual's preferences for one language or another in various receptive contexts, and of the reasons why he might prefer material presented in one language rather than the other. The investigation was carried out by means of three questionnaires of differing formats.

4.1 Previous Studies

Any speaker of any language has at his disposition a range of language varieties to choose from. As Hymes (1967, p.9) observes, "no normal person and no normal community is limited in repertoire to a single variety of code, to an unchanging monotony which would preclude the possibility of indicating respect, insolence, mock seriousness, humour, role distance, etc, by switching from one code variety to another". Gumperz (1964) uses the term "linguistic repertoire" to describe the full range of linguistic forms, varieties and styles which an individual needs to fulfil all his communicative needs in the most appropriate way. The speaker's ability to choose the appropriate variety for any particular

purpose is part of his communicative competence; the choice is not random, but has been shown to be determined by various factors present in the social organisation of the community and the social situation where the discourse takes place. In all this, the bilingual is not strikingly different from the monolingual; it is simply that he has to choose not only between different varieties of one language, but also between two languages.

4.1.1 Factors found to influence Language Choice

Fishman (1972) introduces the concept of domain in discussing the question of language choice in bilingual communities. Domains are defined as "the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings" which "enable us to understand that language choice and topic...are...related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations" (Fishman 1972, p.19). For any particular domain, there will be particular types of participant, place and topic of discussion which will be typically associated with it.

Attention has therefore been paid to the effect of such variables as interlocutor, setting and topic on the choice of language in particular situations. In some situations the nature of the interlocutor, perhaps his age, sex or proficiency in a language, may influence the bilingual's choice of language. For instance, when speaking to a monolingual, the bilingual will be forced to use the language of his interlocutor in order to be understood; this is what Weinreich (1974, p.81) has called "interlocutory constraint". The choice may also be influenced by the type of relationship which exists between the participants in a conversation. Brown and Gilman (1968) demonstrate how the power/solidarity dimension in interpersonal relationships is reflected in language use, illustrating this from languages which offer a choice of second person pronoun forms, one of which is used in formal situations or with superiors, and the other in more intimate situations or with inferiors. Rubin (1968)

finds that Puerto Ricans' choice of either Spanish or Guarani is influenced by the power/solidarity component; for instance, courting begins in Spanish, but when greater intimacy has been reached Guarani is used instead. Some rather similar distinctions have been drawn by Stewart (1962) between public and private relationships and between formal and informal behaviour.

The choice of language may also be influenced by the social value of a given language, as is found in a diglossic situation. Here the choice of one language or variety rather than the other is closely related to the sets of values attributed to the H and L varieties, H being associated with formality and prestige and L with the converse (see Ferguson 1959). From a social psychological viewpoint, the bilingual's attitudes towards his two languages, his preferences for one rather than the other, and even his motivation for mastering the prestigious language may also be important variables in determining language choice.

Herman (1968), in his discussion of language choice among Israelis, outlines three major types of situation and their effects on language choice.

(a) The "background situation" where social considerations are more important than language facility or present needs. Here the individual finds himself in a public setting and he has to conform to the rules of usage of the group so that he can identify with it; use of the language becomes a symbol of identity with the group, while not to use it would mean dissociation from it. Giles has used the term convergence to refer to this tendency for a speaker to make his speech approximate more closely to that of his interlocutors, in order to show his favourable attitude towards them (see Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), Giles and St Clair (1979).

(b) The situation where the personal needs of the speaker prevail. In this case, greater proficiency in a particular language may induce the individual to use this one, especially when emotional needs require the most spontaneous and readily available means of expression. This is typical of private

settings, where there is no conforming to social rules; the individual's personal needs control the whole situation.

(c) The "immediate situation" where the individual is not interested in identifying with the group, or concerned with personal needs. For instance, if the speaker's aim is purely instrumental (e.g. to obtain information) he will not bother considering social or personal requirements, but will simply respond to the immediate needs of the situation. Similarly, if it is the speaker's established habit to use one language with a particular acquaintance, he will use this regardless of background situation, from sheer habit.

According to Herman (1968), when two or more of these situations coincide, the situation which has "the highest potency" is likely to determine the choice of language. However, in overlapping situations, where the choice of one language or the other is not clearly prescribed, some of the other variables mentioned above may also influence the final choice. Ultimately, as Herman claims is the case among immigrants to Israel, "the choice of language may in its turn serve - subject to certain qualifications - as a behavioural index of group preferences and social adjustments" (Herman 1968, p.510).

Choice of language may thus be influenced by factors relating to the individual himself, to the languages, or to external factors of the social situation. It will probably be necessary to list a number of possible variables, perhaps of varying weights, as Hasselmo (1970, pp.183.4) does in his description of code-switching and modes of speaking among Swedish-American bilinguals:

"the choice of language is dependent on whom the speaker is addressing, what channel he is using, in what setting he finds himself, what he is communicating about, what are the functions of his communication, and what are the linguistic resources at his disposal".

4.1.2 Studies of Language Choice among Arabic-French Bilinguals

Stevens (1974) provides detailed comments about Tunisians' use of French, Tunisian Arabic and Classical Arabic in both

formal and informal situations. Looking at the influence of subject matter on choice of language, he notes that technical and quasi-technical topics favour the use of French, while non-technical or what he calls "traditional" topics favour the use of "arabe-français"¹. For religious topics, greetings, and jokes, he finds Tunisian Arabic to be the most used. He also makes some comments on the relative importance of one factor of a situation as opposed to others; for instance, he observes that, in the domain of work, the influence of topic is not as great when a worker is talking to his boss as it is when he is talking to his work-mates.

Unfortunately, Stevens' claims are not accompanied by very strong evidence. Some are based only on rather trivial personal observations. For example, he has observed that French is used in a hospital with doctors and nurses when discussing "les choses sérieuses", but Tunisian Arabic is used for greetings in the same circumstances; and he has also noticed that even in the setting of the French Embassy, French is not the only language spoken. From his observation of these incidents, he concludes that setting may not play such a decisive role as topic in determining language choice. Moreover, even though he supplements his observations with a questionnaire, his respondents are very few indeed. His conclusions about the languages used by teachers with pupils and colleagues, for example, are based on the responses of only two informants, while even his questions about language choice at work and with friends - the areas he investigates in most detail - are answered by only twelve informants. These numbers seem far too small to represent fair samples.²

Abbassi (1977) and Gravel (1979) also included questions about language choice in various situations in their questionnaires. Their descriptions of situations sometimes specify

¹By which term he designates a mixture of French and Arabic.

²See also the criticisms of his investigation of attitudes in 3.1.3.

a type of interlocutor, sometimes a particular setting and sometimes a topic of conversation. However, there is no systematic attempt to isolate the contribution of any one of these or to compare it with that of the others. They also both included questions about the respondents' preferences for languages to be used in the media. Other studies include those by Riahi (1970) and Ounali (1970), who also included in their questionnaires items about language use. Again, these specified sometimes setting, sometimes topic, sometimes interlocutor, and sometimes a combination of these, but there was no comparison of the effects of these different components.

Other studies of language choice rely on personal observation, and do not use questionnaires at all. We have already mentioned Bounfour's study of Moroccan schoolchildren's views of their languages; this also includes some observations about language use, notably the remarks that French is used for scientific topics, while Arabic is the language of the home and of religion. Similarly, Mazouni (1973), discussing the language choice of Algerian bilinguals, notes that scientific topics require French, while Classical Arabic is favoured for poetic and theological topics: "le français est l'instrument du travail du technicien, l'arabe celui de la poésie et de la prière" (p.35).

4.2 First Questionnaire

4.2.1 Form of the Questionnaire

The first questionnaire sought to obtain information about whether there were certain types of situation in which one language tended to be used more than the other, and what features of a situation might influence the choice of language. For this purpose, we selected a wide range of situations which would arise in everyday life, in the hope that the respondents would be sufficiently familiar with these situations to be able to state with reasonable accuracy the languages they would typically use in them. Questionnaires of this type

have been used in many language surveys; besides those mentioned in 4.1.2, we could cite Rubin's (1968) survey of language use among Paraguay bilinguals, and the many studies described in Ohannessian, Ferguson and Polomé (1975).

The first part of the questionnaire was intended to elicit essential background information about the respondents. They were questioned about their proficiency in both French and Arabic,³ about the way they had learnt each of these, and about the language background of their families.

The actual questions concerning language choice were of two types. In the first section the respondents were asked to say which language they normally used in certain situations, in the second they were asked to say which language they would prefer to use or to have used to them in certain circumstances. Most of the situations were ones which involved spoken language, but we also included some where written language was called for.

The situations presented were characterised in various ways. Sometimes the respondents were asked what language they would use with a particular type of interlocutor, while in other cases a particular type of setting was specified. Other questions concerned the language that would be used for particular communicative purposes, and others the language used when in a particular state of mind. The questions concerning use of the written language all specified types of letter which the respondents might have cause to write.

³There are of course other ways in which the respondents' proficiency could have been assessed. Rubin (1968, p.71) assessed her respondents' proficiency by means of subjective observation while interviewing them. Other techniques which might provide useful information include the methods based on measuring respondents' speed of production in the two languages, which have been used to assess bilinguals' proficiency and their dominant language (see Fishman 1968). These techniques may well be a more accurate method of assessing proficiency. However, it was not practicable to give individual interviews to the numbers of respondents completing my questionnaire, which was administered in written form.

The questions concerning language preferences all described situations where the respondents' own abilities were being tested, since it was felt that in such circumstances the language chosen might influence the respondents' performance, and so they might well have grounds for preferring one to the other.

Finally, there was also a section in which the respondents were asked about their preferences in receptive situations, where they might choose to have material presented to them in one language rather than another. These concerned both spoken material (on radio, television and in films) and written material (in newspapers and books).

4.2.2 Problems with the Form of the Questionnaire

Length was not a problem with this questionnaire, which was deliberately kept brief in order to avoid the danger of the respondents' becoming bored and hurrying through the questions, with the likelihood of diminishing accuracy in their responses. The entire questionnaire consisted of 66 questions, and most respondents seemed quite willing to spare the time required for a questionnaire of this length. On the other hand, this length made it possible to obtain information about a fairly wide range of situations, as required in a preliminary investigation.

The questionnaire was written entirely in French; this was purely for convenience, because using Classical Arabic would have involved problems of terminology.⁴ However, the respondents were told that they could write their answers in either Arabic or French. In fact, only one respondent out of 109 chose to use Arabic to complete the questionnaire, and no one commented on or protested at the choice of French as the vehicle of enquiry.

One ambiguity found in the responses was the fact that no respondent distinguished between Moroccan Arabic and Classical

⁴See also fn. 6 in 3.2.1.1.

Arabic in giving his choice of languages, although it was obvious that in questions concerning written material the language referred to must be Classical Arabic and that in most of the others the only possibility would be Moroccan Arabic.⁵ However, in any case the main concern of the investigation was to explore the contrast between the use of French, on the one hand, and that of Arabic, whether Classical or Moroccan, on the other. Since we were not primarily interested in the relationship between the two types of Arabic, it was felt that this lack of specification was not a problem.

Some problems encountered in analysing the results could be attributed to the format of the questionnaire. The respondents were simply given the relevant situation and asked to write in themselves the languages they would use and the relative frequency with which each would be used; for this purpose they were instructed to use the adverbs always, very often, often or sometimes.⁶ However, this "free choice" type of format proved problematic in a number of respects. A number of respondents failed to give complete answers of the type asked for, but tended to merely list the languages they used without giving a complete adverbial specification of how often they used each. Thus a number of responses had to be discarded because of confusion as to what exactly the respondent had intended. This format also meant that the respondents were free to specify languages other than French or Arabic if they wished, and some of them did so; for instance, some respondents claimed to use English to their friends. This too meant that some of the information obtained was not of central interest to our investigation, and had to be discarded.

⁵A similar problem was encountered by Gravel (1979), who also found that his respondents failed to draw the distinction between the two types of Arabic in their responses.

⁶This method of grading the frequency of use of languages was used by Jones (1966) in his survey of bilingualism in Welsh education.

Finally, there was the inevitable problem that some respondents avoided answering certain questions, claiming that they had never been in such a situation and could never imagine themselves in one. So, for instance, a number of respondents claimed that they never insulted anyone or that they had never courted girls. There seems no way of overcoming this problem in a questionnaire of this type and size.

4.2.3 Respondents

The respondents were 109 males and females aged between 17 and 38, of various occupations; they included teachers, secretaries, technicians, clerks, pilots and others. They originated from various regions of Morocco, and included some from each of the main cities (Casablanca, Rabat, Fez, Marrakech, Tangier, Agadir, Oujda) as well as some from country areas in both north and south.

4.2.3.1 Proficiency

The respondents were asked to rate their proficiency in French and Classical Arabic, the two languages they had learnt at school. It was not felt necessary to ask them about their proficiency in Moroccan Arabic since this was their mother tongue.⁷ Table 1 (given overleaf) shows how well the respondents rated themselves for the skills of speaking, understanding and writing the two languages. As can be seen from these figures, the vast majority of the respondents were quite confident of their proficiency in all these skills.

⁷ There were a small number of respondents for whom the first language learnt had been Berber; but even these had acquired a knowledge of Moroccan Arabic in the first two or three years of their life, rather than learning it at school, as they had done French and Classical Arabic. So for our purposes these too can be regarded as native speakers of Moroccan Arabic.

Table 1: Respondents' Ratings of their own Proficiency

<u>Skill</u>	<u>Rating</u>			
	Very well	Fairly well	Little	Not at all
Speak French	19.2%	74.3%	6.4%	-
Understand French	44%	52.2%	3.6%	-
Write French	26.6%	68.8%	2.7%	-
Speak Cl. Arabic	24.7%	52.2%	16.5%	5.5%
Understand Cl. A.	53.2%	34.8%	10%	1.8%
Write Cl. Arabic	38.5%	47.7%	11.9%	-

To summarise, the percentages of respondents who felt they were fairly or very proficient in each skill were as follows:

Speak French	93.5%	Speak Classical Arabic	76.9%
Understand French	96.2%	Understand Classical A.	88%
Write French	98.1%	Write Classical Arabic	86.2%

It is interesting that overall the respondents seem to be more confident of their proficiency in French than in Classical Arabic, perhaps because they tend to use French more regularly than Classical Arabic in their everyday life, especially in speech. The respondents who said that they did not speak Classical Arabic presumably did so because they never had any occasion to use it in conversation, though they could still write it.

Of course, these figures cannot be seen as evidence of the respondents' actual proficiency, but only of their view of their proficiency. However, we can be confident that they had all achieved certain standards of proficiency in the two languages from the fact that they had all reached a fairly high level of education, the vast majority of them in the bilingual state schools (Table 4 shows that they all received secondary education and 70.5% a university education). It is of course important that the respondents be representative of this type of relatively balanced bilingual, fairly fluent in both languages, for their questionnaire responses to be

of interest; if not, their use of one language rather than the other in various situations might be determined merely by the fact that they were not sufficiently fluent in one language to use it effectively.

4.2.3.2 Language Background

Information was also sought about the languages spoken by members of the respondents' families, and this is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Languages spoken by Respondents' Families

	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Grandparents</u>	<u>Siblings</u>
Arabic Monolinguals	70.6%	70.6%	27.5%
Arabic-French Bilinguals	10%	0%	60.5%
Arabic-Berber Bilinguals	14.6%	13.7%	5.5%
Berber Monolinguals	5.5%	11%	1.8%

These figures reveal a clear contrast between the respondents and others of their generation, on the one hand, and their parents and grandparents on the other. Only a small minority (10%) of the respondents' parents could speak French, while none of their grandparents had any knowledge of French at all. Most brothers and sisters, on the other hand, are Arabic-French bilinguals, like the respondents themselves. In this respect the respondents are typical of Moroccan Arabic-French bilinguals. Since the opportunity to be educated in French has been open to most Moroccans only over the last three decades, very few people over the age of forty are bilingual. This means that the Moroccan typically learns French only in school and not from his parents.

This is clearly reflected in the respondents' answers to the question of what language(s) were used in their homes, which are presented in Table 3 (overleaf).

Table 3: Languages used in the Respondents' Homes

Arabic only	63.3%
Arabic and French	19.2%
French only	0%
Berber only	5.5%
Arabic and Berber	6.4%

Clearly, for the majority of the respondents Arabic is the language of the home, not surprisingly in view of the fact that so many of their parents are monolingual Arabic speakers. In most cases the only French spoken in the home will be between brothers and sisters.

When asked at what age they began to learn French, the respondents mentioned ages ranging from four to twelve, while they claimed to have begun learning Classical Arabic at ages ranging from three to twelve. However, the most common age for beginning French seems to be nine (mentioned by 37.61%) and that for beginning Classical Arabic seven (cited by 35.77%). 80% of the respondents said that they began learning Classical Arabic before they began French; only 14.67% claimed to have begun French first, and these were exceptional in that they had attended French-run nursery schools before starting their primary education. All the respondents said that they had begun each of the languages at school.

The respondents were also asked about what languages had constituted the media of instruction throughout their education; their responses are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Languages used as the Media of Instruction

	Arabic	French & Arabic	French	Blank
Primary School	22.9%	68.9%	7.3%	0.9%
Secondary School	3.6%	84.5%	11.9%	0%
University	2.7%	32.1%	35.7%	20.1%

4.2.4 Results and Discussion

4.2.4.1 Choice of Language in Speech

4.2.4.1.1 Types of Interlocutor

Some of the responses obtained in the questionnaire can be seen to illustrate cases where the Moroccan bilingual is subject to the law of "interlocutory constraint, which requires that he somehow make himself understood in his unilingual interlocutor's tongue" (Weinreich 1974, p.81). Thus the choices shown in Table 5 can be explained in this way; here the use of French would normally be excluded by the fact that the interlocutor would be unlikely to understand it.

Table 5.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u> ⁸				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Beggars	Arabic	101	1	-	-
	French	-	-	-	-
Maids	Arabic	88	1	3	-
	French	-	-	-	2
Grandparents	Arabic	81	1	4	-
	French	-	-	-	-
Parents	Arabic	81	10	8	2
	French	-	1	3	7

These results would seem to accord with a comment made by Guessous (1976, p.6) in a tirade against bilingualism: "Arabic is the language of maids, of poor people, of beggars and of old people".

Even when this interlocutory constraint does not strictly

⁸ A few respondents mentioned Berber in their answers to these questions, while others gave no answer. Such responses are omitted here and in the following tables.

apply, when two bilinguals are in conversation, they may still be led to avoid speaking French by the presence of another person who does not know it. This might partly explain why the respondents claim to use Arabic much more than French with their brothers and sisters, since perhaps most such conversations will take place in the home, in front of older relatives who are not bilingual.

Table 6.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Siblings	Arabic	32	28	28	15
	French	-	4	15	43

This tendency to use Arabic with siblings could also be related to the fact that conversations between brothers and sisters will often be associated with the domain of home and family, and this in itself could be expected to favour the use of Arabic.⁹ Arabic is the language the respondents first learnt in the home, and was used exclusively among brothers and sisters long before they began to learn French at school. The childhood bond established between them before they learn French may mean that even in later years they still tend to use Arabic to one another more frequently than French.

In this respect, brothers and sisters can be contrasted with friends. These two types of interlocutor would seem to have much in common; they are probably both of the same generation as the respondents, both on equal and intimate terms with them, in what Brown and Gilman (1968) would call a solidary relationship, and probably share the same kind of lifestyle and interests. However, there is a clear contrast between the language choices made when speaking to a sibling and those made when speaking to a friend, as can be seen by

⁹The fact that Arabic is typically the language of the home has been observed by many other investigators of Arabic-French bilingualism, including Bounfour (1973), Lahjomri (1974), Stevens (1974), Abbassi (1977) and Gravel (1979).

comparing Table 6 and Table 7.

Table 7.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Friends	Arabic	6	19	34	30
	French	6	13	31	49

While Arabic is the most commonly used language with siblings, Table 7 shows that with friends, on the other hand, the majority of the respondents use both Arabic and French. However, it is of course not possible to know whether this means that in some situations they tend to use exclusively Arabic, and in others exclusively French, or that in most situations they use both together. Some light will be shed on this by the results of the third questionnaire (see 4.4).

When the respondents speak to their children or their neighbours, Arabic again seems to be the most favoured language:

Table 8.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Children	Arabic	15	9	8	7
	French	-	2	5	15
Neighbours	Arabic	55	10	25	8
	French	-	1	11	22

This tendency could also be related to the link between Arabic and the domain of home and family. The respondents' parents do not use French with them, and evidently they do not much use French with their own children either.

French is also less commonly used than Arabic when the interlocutor is an elder or a stranger, as can be seen from Table 9 (overleaf).

Table 9.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>					
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	
Elders	Arabic	72	9	12	8	
	French	1	-	6	16	
Strangers	Arabic	51	9	21	12	
	French	1	2	8	28	

Here too the choice of Arabic may be imposed by the law of interlocutory constraint. Older people are generally assumed to have little if any knowledge of French, so a bilingual may feel it is safest to stick to Arabic when talking to them. It may also be the case that the use of Arabic rather than French is motivated by a concern to show respect and politeness to elders, a concern which is deeply rooted in Arabic culture, as is observed by Landau (1956).¹⁰ That such a strategy exists is suggested by Abbassi (1977). The use of Arabic with strangers could be seen as the unmarked case, this being perhaps an instance of what Herman (1968) calls a "background situation", "where the person involved in the activity wishes to identify (or to be identified) with a particular group or to be dissociated from it, or desires (or feels obliged) to conform to the needs of a reference group" (p.495). The norm of the Moroccan community is to speak Arabic, and so the bilingual may find it safer to use Arabic wherever possible with a stranger, to avoid the risk of embarrassment if he is monolingual or holds negative attitudes towards the use of French. Gravel (1979) also finds that Moroccan Arabic is the language used to speak to strangers in the street.

Similar reasons may explain the tendency to use Arabic with a policeman, as shown in Table 10 (overleaf). Here the bilingual may perhaps be particularly concerned to be polite

¹⁰Landau notes that, in Moroccan society, "a young man addressing an older one is supposed to keep his eyes down, and to speak only when addressed by the senior" (1956, p.43).

and avoid offending the policeman by using the wrong language.

Table 10.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Policeman	Arabic	68	10	13	7
	French	3	-	12	12

It is also possible that he is influenced here by a feeling of what Weinreich (1974, p.99) calls "language loyalty", "a phenomenon which corresponds to language approximately as nationalism corresponds to nationality". The policeman is viewed as a representative of the state, of national interests and authority; and Arabic is after all the national language of Morocco. In talking to a policeman, then, the bilingual, wishing to show himself a worthy citizen, might demonstrate his patriotism and his essentially Moroccan identity by using Arabic rather than French. It was seen in Chapter 3 that Arabic is the language the respondents felt Moroccans should use above all (see 3.2.1.4, Table 5), in contrast to French, which is, as some respondents' comments pointed out, the language of the colonisers. Stevens (1974) claims that Tunisian Arabic rather than French is used in addressing policemen or passers-by, simply because this is the principal language in informal situations; but conversations with policemen are probably usually more formal than ones with, say, friends, and yet French seems to be more used in the latter case than in the former.

French seems to be used more than Arabic in conversations with a doctor or an employer, as Table 11 shows.

Table 11.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Doctor	Arabic	11	4	11	26
	French	34	22	22	16
Employer	Arabic	18	8	5	10
	French	25	12	15	6

In seeking an explanation for the tendency to use more French with an employer, one might refer to the notion of the power semantic. The relationship between employer and employee is not solidary, but is one between superior and inferior (see Brown and Gilman 1968); and it could be that the use of French with one's employer is partly motivated by the need to maintain an impersonal and distant relationship with him. Stevens (1974), who also claims that French is the language Tunisians typically use to their employer,¹¹ suggests that "it is the denial of solidarity along with technicality of topic which may be responsible for the use of French with one's employer while on the job" (p.310). There are other instances where French seems to be used with the aim of achieving this kind of distance between speakers. For example, according to Riahi and Ounali (1973), secondary school pupils in Tunisia tend to use French with their teachers even outside lessons, and they suggest that the aim in doing this is to maintain some kind of social distance and so get the teachers to take them more seriously than they would if they used Arabic. They claim that "l'arabe dialectal, trop familier, manque de neutralité et brise immédiatement l'anonymat puisqu'il révèle l'origine socio-géographique de ses énonciateurs, tandis que le français officialiserait alors la relation scolaire et les rapports d'autorité et de travail" (Riahi and Ounali 1973, p.30). Ounali (1970) also notes that French is used more than Arabic by students to talk to teachers or academic staff, who are their superiors, whereas in the same university environment they use more Tunisian Arabic when talking to the lower grades of administrative staff (les agents du service) who are not considered to be superior to the students. One could also mention the fact that, in Moroccan schools, the older pupils who act as monitors in charge of the younger ones (répétiteurs) encounter discipline problems if they

¹¹ Although he bases his claim on answers by only ten office workers, of whom six claimed to use French more than Arabic, and four to use French exclusively.

address their charges in Moroccan Arabic, so they tend to use French instead. Evidently, in using Arabic, they encourage the younger pupils to be familiar with them, whereas by using French they can maintain a certain distance and so obtain some respect. Using French to one's employer may perhaps similarly symbolise social distance and so serve as recognition of his authority.

If French fulfils this role of marking impersonality and social distance, then this might also help to explain why it tends to be used more than Arabic with doctors. Conversations between doctor and patient, like those between employer and employee, are likely to involve greater formality than those between friends and relatives. In addition, the use of French in discussions of a medical nature may enable the layman to distance himself from topics which might otherwise cause him embarrassment. In talking about certain personal ailments, parts of the body and so on, the English speaker can choose between using the colloquial terms which may have offensive or embarrassing overtones, or using the conventional euphemistic equivalents, or neutral technical terms, if he knows them. The speaker of Moroccan Arabic, however, has perhaps rather less choice, since there is often only one commonly known term, which is taboo except in very intimate circumstances,¹² the only other solution being to use obscure euphemisms which may not be explicit enough. The bilingual can, however, solve this problem by using French terms; since these do not carry the same connotations for him as the Arabic ones do, he can be explicit without being embarrassed. Stevens also claims that French is used where an Arabic word would be taboo, since "it lacks the potentially embarrassing connotations associated with the native Arabic terms" (1974, p.305).

In fact, then, the tendency to use French with doctors may be related, not merely to the nature of the doctor himself

¹²This is true, for instance, of the Arabic words for diarrhoea, breasts, and menstruation.

as an interlocutor, but also to the kinds of topic likely to arise in such conversations. The technicality often characteristic of medical discussions may also favour the use of French here. French technical terms are required in talking about treatments and medicines because there are simply no commonly used Arabic equivalents.¹³ (see Lakhdar 1976).

Arabic seems to be used more than French with a mechanic.

Table 12.

<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Mechanic	Arabic	52	7	11	6
	French	2	3	10	10

In Morocco a mechanic is not likely to have reached a high level of education, and will have only a limited knowledge of French. The fact that some French is used to him can again best be explained in terms of the kind of subject matter people are likely to be discussing with a mechanic. Arabic is poor in the technical terminology of machinery,¹⁴ so conversations about the mechanic's work are likely to require the use of French terms. Because the mechanic himself is unlikely to be very fluent in French, however, the result is more likely to be a mixture of Arabic and French than pure French. Indeed, a number of the respondents added the further remark that in speaking to a mechanic they found it necessary to mix the two languages rather than using just one or the other. The mechanic can thus be contrasted with the doctor. In both cases, the subject matter is likely to demand the use of some French; but whereas with the doctor, the respondents will therefore use French alone, with the mechanic the result

¹³For instance, there are in Morocco no Arabic terms in common use for X ray, blood group, or blood pressure.

¹⁴There are for instance no Arabic equivalents for the French words for parts of engines, or even for words like steering wheel, brakes and servicing.

is more likely to be a mixture of French and Arabic. This contrast can be linked to the difference between the doctor's proficiency in French and that of the mechanic.

The range of interlocutors considered here has thus revealed a number of factors which may influence the bilingual's choice of language. In the first place, the language background of the interlocutor will naturally play an important part in determining the speaker's choice, in that the law of interlocutory constraint will be operant with people who do not know French. This also makes Moroccan Arabic the safest choice with older people and strangers, while it may also be used as a marker of group identity, to show loyalty to the Moroccan community. Association with the domain of home and family also seems to favour the use of Arabic rather than French. There is some evidence to suggest that the power/solidarity variable in relationships between speaker and interlocutor may also affect the choice of language. It is interesting that while Arabic seems to be used more than French in conversations with friends and siblings, who are in a solidary relationship with the speaker, more French than Arabic is used with employers and doctors, where it may perhaps serve as a marker of formality and distance. However, it was also suggested that the use of French with doctors (and also with mechanics) might be motivated by the kind of subject matter typical of such exchanges as well as the nature of the interlocutor himself. Some of these possibilities will be investigated in greater detail in the later questionnaire (see 4.4).

4.2.4.1.2 Types of Setting

The respondents seem to use French more than Arabic in the setting of a chemist's shop, as is shown in Table 13.

Table 13.

<u>Setting</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
	Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	
Chemist's	Arabic	16	6	12	22
	French	31	18	23	16

Certainly all the staff in a chemist's will be fluent in French; even if they are not all chemists, they will be reasonably well educated. This may be one reason why more French is chosen in this setting than in that of a hospital (see Table 14). The choice of French here may again be influenced by the kind of topic likely to be discussed in the chemist's. As was noted earlier (see 1.2.2), French is the language of science and medicine in Morocco; all medical prescriptions are written in French, so discussion of them is likely to favour French too. A number of respondents in fact mentioned that when they use Arabic in the chemist's, they cannot avoid mixing it with French, because they find their Arabic vocabulary insufficient for their needs in this situation.¹⁵

At the hospital, on the other hand, Arabic seems to be used rather more than French:

Table 14.

<u>Setting</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Hospital	Arabic	28	12	14	22
	French	16	16	15	22

The variety of answers here may reflect the variety of situations commonly encountered within the hospital; the respondents may be visualising conversations with patients or orderlies where Moroccan Arabic may be the only natural or feasible choice, or ones with doctors and nurses where French may be more convenient. This illustrates the drawbacks of questions like this, which specify only one aspect of a situation, whether this is setting or interlocutor; the vagueness of such a description may make the responses less enlightening than might be desired. The later questionnaire (see 4.4) attempts to remedy this.

¹⁵For instance Respondent 1 said "I often use Arabic but resort to French terms when necessary" (original comment in Arabic).

In restaurants and hotels, again Arabic is the most used, though French is also quite popular.

Table 15.

<u>Setting</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Hotel	Arabic	25	12	16	17
	French	18	10	17	26
Restaurant (to waiter)	Arabic	36	12	14	15
	French	13	11	16	23

One factor which may influence the language choice in restaurants and hotels was hinted at in the answers of a number of respondents who said that they would use French in superior restaurants but Arabic in shabby cafés in the old city.

Comfort and luxury seem to favour the use of French, while Arabic is felt to be more appropriate in a common neighbourhood café where the radio blares and street-sellers flock around the customers. Likewise, many respondents said that their choice of Arabic or French in a hotel would vary according to the grade of the hotel, French being favoured in a four or five star hotel and Arabic in a simple boarding house; the following comments are typical:

R. 10: Ça dépend du confort de l'hotel ou du restaurant.

R. 11: J'utilise l'arabe souvent dans un hotel d'une étoile.

R. 15: Ça dépend du restaurant, comme il est, 2, 3 ou 4 étoiles.

At the grocer's, Arabic clearly dominates.

Table 16.

<u>Setting</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Grocer's	Arabic	69	7	16	4
	French	2	2	5	12

Here the topics are likely to be everyday matters of food and shopping. Moreover, in Morocco a grocer is not likely to be educated and will probably be much more at ease in Arabic. If addressed in French by a customer, he may well feel at a disadvantage and imagine that the customer is being condescending or showing off his superior education.¹⁶ If the customer wants to be friendly and establish a solidary relationship, then, he will avoid this possibility by using Arabic, so that grocer and customer are on equal terms. This strategy can be contrasted with that used when speaking to an employer, discussed in the preceding section. While one may choose French to talk to one's employer in order to establish a kind of distance, Arabic seems to be chosen with a grocer for quite the opposite effect, to give the impression of identifying oneself with the grocer rather than distancing oneself from him.

Again, it is difficult to distinguish the effect of the setting itself on the choice of language from that of the likely interlocutor and topic. However, some respondents commented on the particular kind of setting where they might use French in a grocer's shop, this being when the shop was of the superior kind found in the new towns.¹⁷ This is a further example of the tendency, already observed with regard to hotels, to associate French with elevated, sophisticated environments and Arabic with simple, shabby ones.

4.2.4.1.3 Different Communicative Purposes and Moods

Table 17 (overleaf) shows that jokes and insults tend to be more commonly expressed in Arabic than in French.

¹⁶ Indeed, the choice of Arabic rather than French can have more concrete effects, for it is a commonly recognised fact that customers who speak French in a grocer's shop will be charged more, in reward for their supposed showing off!

¹⁷ For instance, Respondent 41 wrote: "J'utilise le français dans une épicerie en ville nouvelle et l'arabe dans une épicerie au médina."

Table 17.

<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Telling jokes	Arabic	53	16	20	7
	French	2	2	6	22
Insulting	Arabic	52	11	9	13
	French	2	-	7	21

As is widely recognised, the jokes that one finds amusing tend to be very closely linked with one's culture, and are often untranslatable. Thus Moroccan bilinguals, even if they are quite westernised in outlook, may not achieve the kind of cultural integration which would give them a French sense of humour.

Insults too tend not to be readily transferable from one language to another. They often depend for their effect on the use of taboo words, but, as was noted earlier, for a Moroccan French words may lack the connotations of their Arabic equivalents. While a Moroccan will use French terms to a doctor to avoid the lack of politeness a taboo Arabic word would cause, when insulting someone he wants to create quite the opposite effect, so Arabic will probably serve his purpose better. Gravel (1979) similarly found that 66% of his respondents said they used Arabic for insults, while only 19% said they used French.

Arabic also seems to be used more than French for greetings.

Table 18.

<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Greetings	Arabic	23	18	24	20
	French	8	5	12	32

Stevens (1974) finds the same tendency among his Tunisian respondents.

The respondents also claim to use Arabic more than French for a number of other communicative purposes, as is shown in Table 19.

Table 19.

<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
	Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	
To intimidate	Arabic	43	10	17	12
	French	7	7	14	15
To flatter	Arabic	40	13	23	14
	French	4	6	20	18
To be intimate	Arabic	39	16	20	14
	French	6	5	18	22
To be serious	Arabic	38	12	23	15
	French	8	10	16	23
To encourage	Arabic	27	12	27	21
	French	7	8	20	32
To court girls	Arabic	20	8	17	19
	French	10	11	5	25

This might be attributed to the fact that emotional reactions are perhaps more readily expressed in one's mother tongue (see for instance Herman 1968, p.503). Of all these purposes, that of courting girls seems to involve the greatest use of French. This might be felt to reflect the tendency, noted by Bounfour (1973) and by Abbassi (1977), for some Moroccans to find French more liberating in such a context. Both these authors suggest that Moroccan schoolboys use French to flirt with girls in order to avoid being vulgar - another instance of where French may be used to avoid the bad connotations which Arabic might carry, and so to achieve some psychological distance. "Le français sert à communiquer les choses qui

sont vulgaires en arabe" (Bounfour 1973, p.24).

Finally, Arabic also seems to be favoured by the respondents when they are not at their best, for instance when they are tired or angry.

Table 20.

<u>State</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
		Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes
Tired	Arabic	45	16	22	7
	French	4	4	5	19
Angry	Arabic	36	12	20	15
	French	5	7	18	23

The tendency to resort to one's mother tongue when tired or angry has often been noted. Riahi and Ounali (1973) observe of their Tunisian schoolchildren: "Quand ils sont fatigués, les lycéens préfèrent parler en arabe, comme si l'usage du français demandait une tension particulière" (p.29). Similarly, Herman, from his observation of bilingual immigrants to Israel, maintains that "when the state of the person is one of extreme fatigue or excessive excitement or in cases of severe frustration" (1968, p.502), he resorts to his native language. Rubin's (1968) survey of bilinguals in Paraguay also finds that "angry discourse is usually conducted in the first language acquired" (p.107). It is therefore not surprising to find that Moroccan bilinguals exhibit the same tendency.

4.2.4.2 Choice of Language in Writing

Among the three types of letter on which the respondents were consulted, a clear contrast emerged between job applications and love letters, on the one hand, and family letters on the other; there was a strong preference for using French for the former and Arabic for the latter, as can be seen from

Table 21.¹⁸Table 21.

<u>Type of Letter</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>			
	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Job Application	90	7	7	5
	$\chi^2 = 132.5$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$			
Love letter	67	9	21	12
	$\chi^2 = 57.98$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$			
Family letter	15	14	72	8
	$\chi^2 = 65.49$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$			

For job applications, what is important is to show one's education, literacy and intelligence. There are a number of reasons why the respondents might choose French for this purpose. It may be that some chose French because they judge themselves to be more proficient at writing French than at writing Classical Arabic, as is suggested by their ratings of their own proficiency in Table 1 (4.2.3.1), where 98.1% are seen to be confident of their proficiency at writing French, as opposed to 86.2% at writing Arabic. Moreover, the fact of writing in French may serve to show that they are well educated bilinguals and that their French is of a high standard. It was noted in 1.2.3 that a knowledge of French is invaluable for many types of job. Finally, there is the tendency, observed in the tests reported in Chapter 3, to look upon French as a prestigious language, one which is associated with education and advancement.

The choice of French rather than Arabic for love letters may again reflect the fact that French carries more permissive and less vulgar connotations as a language of courtship, as has already been noted (see 3.1.3, 3.3 (fn.12) and 4.2.4.1.3). As for the preference for Arabic in letters to the family, this accords with the earlier findings that Arabic is the language of the home, that which dominates in conversations

¹⁸The degree of significance of the contrasts between the three language choices here and in the results given later was calculated by means of the Chi-Squared Test.

not only with parents and grandparents, who probably do not know French, but also with siblings, who may well do.

4.2.4.3 Preferences for Language Use

As well as being consulted about the language(s) they habitually used in certain circumstances, the respondents were also asked which language(s) they would prefer to use in certain circumstances if the choice were available to them.

As Table 22 show, there seems to be no overall preference as to what language should be used when taking a driving test. The respondents seem to be divided into two more or less equal groups, one preferring French and the other Arabic.

Table 22.

<u>Task</u>	<u>Language Preferred</u>			
	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Taking driving test	50	4	46	9
	$\chi^2 = 38.93, df = 2, p < .001$			

On the other hand, there seems to be an overall preference for lessons and lectures to be in French:

Table 23.

<u>Task</u>	<u>Language Preferred</u>			
	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Receiving lessons/lectures	57	7	24	21
	$\chi^2 = 44, df = 2, p < .001$			

This preference for French in education may result from the way in which the respondents themselves have been taught; French is associated with modern teaching methods, while Arabic is associated with traditional and rather old-fashioned ones (see Lahjomri 1974 and Sawri 1977, p.83). It may also be a matter of habit; the dominance of French in the Moroccan education system, both now and in the past (see 1.2.2) may mean that the habit of studying in French is so well established in most Moroccan bilinguals that this may be what comes

most naturally to them.¹⁹

Similarly, as is shown in Table 24, French is more favoured than Arabic as the language in which to take examinations, both written and oral, presumably for the same reasons.

Table 24.

<u>Task</u>	<u>Language Preferred</u>			
	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Taking written examinations	55	10	29	15
	$\chi^2 = 32.57, df = 2, p < .001.$			
Taking oral examinations	55	11	26	17
	$\chi^2 = 32.63, df = 2, p < .001$			

The same overall pattern emerges among the preferences for using the languages for self-expression, though the preference for French is rather less pronounced here.

Table 25.

<u>Task</u>	<u>Language Preferred</u>			
	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Self-expression	44	20	34	11
	$\chi^2 = 8.94, df = 2, p < .02$			

It might be thought rather surprising that more respondents favour French than favour Arabic for expressing themselves, in view of the fact that Arabic seems to be the most frequently used for expressing various emotional states (see Table 19). However, the French language seems to be reputed for its precision and analytic nature. Abou (1962) claims that it is through learning to express himself in French that the

¹⁹The bilinguals' preference for French in the domain of education, and some possible explanations of this, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Lebanese bilingual develops a critical and analytic mind. Similarly, Gordon (1962) observes that the French education offered in North African countries "emphasises intellectualism and memorisation and it fosters verbalism" (p.8). Moroccan bilinguals who have been trained in the writing of "la dissertation" and "le commentaire de texte" might well find French most convenient for showing their critical powers. Perhaps, then, the use of French is preferred when the bilingual is not simply reacting spontaneously to a situation, but wants to be very clear, precise and organised in his expression.

4.2.4.4 Preferences for the Media

The respondents were asked about their habits as well as their preferences for the various media. Table 26 shows that, while most of the respondents read newspapers and books in both French and Arabic, those written in French are more popular.

Table 26.

	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Newspapers read	37	53	15	4
	$X^2 = 20.8$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$			
Newspapers preferred	58	13	26	12
	$X^2 = 33.17$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$			
Books read	45	54	7	3
	$X^2 = 35.22$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$			
Books preferred	62	14	20	13
	$X^2 = 42.75$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$			

The reasons which the respondents give in commenting on their answers here can be divided into three main types.

The first point which emerges is that relatively few respondents attribute their preference for material in one language rather than the other to the simple fact that they like one language better than the other. Only one respondent mentions his fondness for French itself as the reason why

he prefers French newspapers to Arabic ones:

R.39: Je préfère les journaux en français, la langue la plus sincère et la plus saine.

Slightly more give their positive attitudes to Arabic as the reason for preferring the Arabic materials (7.83% in the case of newspapers and 1.83% in the case of books), and their comments show that they are motivated by patriotism. They express the view that the Arabic publications are to be valued, not because of their content, but just because they are written in Arabic, the respondents' mother tongue; and some seem to feel that they should somehow prefer to read in Arabic, that this is what is expected of them as Moroccans.

R.100: Je préfère les journaux arabes parce que l'arabe est la langue intime, la langue mère; on est Marocain quand même.

A rather more important factor in their preferences seems to be the more practical consideration of ease of comprehension. Thus 14.67% of the respondents mention that they find it easier to read and understand the newspapers in French, and 12.84% give this reason for preferring to read books in French. This is perhaps due to the fact that they have had more practice at reading French than at reading Arabic, both because of the importance of French in the Moroccan education system, and because the French materials seem anyway to be found more appealing, as will be seen below.

R. 104: En français, je comprends bien ce que je lis, contrairement aux journaux en arabe où il faut perdre beaucoup de temps pour comprendre.

R.29: Je préfère les journaux en français parce que je ne trouve pas de difficulté en lisant le français.

The overall preference for French is reflected in the fact that fewer respondents claim that they find Arabic easier to read (6.42% in the case of newspapers and 4.58% in the case of books).

The factor which seems to influence the respondents' preferences most decisively, however, is the content of the material. Few of the respondents say that they prefer the content of the Arabic publications (only 1.83% for newspapers

and 4.81% for books). Those who do claim that this is because it contains familiar subject matter which they find easier to understand and which reflects their history and cultural values; they feel more at home with it. The following comments are typical:

R.3: Je préfère les livres en arabe parce qu'ils intéressent ma personne en tant qu'Arabe, musulman et Marocain.

R.52: Je préfère les livres en arabe parce que je peux mieux comprendre les idées exprimés dans ces livres.

Comments about the superiority of the content of the French publications are much more frequent; 27.52% praise the content of the French newspapers and 26.6% that of the French books. Some point to the greater number of publications available in French:

R.109: Je préfère les livres en français - pour le moment, il n'y a pas de livres arabes au sens large.

Many respondents mention that newspapers and books in French present a wide range of views, new ideas, educational interests, which enable them to broaden their horizons; in short, their content brings the respondents into contact with something new.

R.37: Les livres en français attirent, intéressent et résolvent quelques problèmes internationaux et culturels.

Moreover, a number of respondents claim that French papers and books are more modern and deal with the problems of youth more than do the Arabic ones.

R.98: Les livres en français sont plus vivants et plus modernes.

R.87: Je préfère le journal en français parce qu'il aborde beaucoup de sujets importants et certains problèmes juvéniles dont souffre notre génération.

R.104: Les livres en français sont modernes et bien écrits.

Evidently, then, while the majority of the respondents prefer French newspapers and books to Arabic ones, this should not be seen as reflecting merely arbitrary preferences for one language over the other. Rather, the respondents seem

to be motivated by practical considerations. The French material is more popular, firstly because some respondents find it easier to read French, and secondly and most importantly, because of its content, which is felt to be more appealing and more satisfying than that of the Arabic material. The greater appeal of the material to which French gives access may provide one answer to those, like Abou (1962), who wonder why Morocco has continued to make such wide use of French even after independence. The implications of this contrast between the two languages with regard to the material available in each will be discussed in 7.4.

Table 27 shows the respondents' preferences for sound media. It can be seen that the majority of the respondents listen to the radio in both French and Arabic, but that there is an overall preference for the French programmes over the Arabic ones. The same preference for French can be seen with television and films.

Table 27.

	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Radio programmes listened to	25	60	19	5
	$\chi^2 = 28.29, df = 2, p < .001$			
Radio programmes preferred	54	14	27	14
	$\chi^2 = 26.29, df = 2, p < .001$			
T.V. programmes preferred	55	26	20	8
	$\chi^2 = 20.81, df = 2, p < .001$			
Films preferred	79	13	6	11
	$\chi^2 = 99.34, df = 2, p < .001$			

The reasons given for these preferences are similar to those mentioned in connection with the written material, but here the importance of content in determining preferences seems even greater. Thus 41.28% of the respondents refer to the superiority of content of the radio programmes in French²⁰, 42.2% say that the content of the television

²⁰This figure excludes those who praised the musical content of the French programmes.

programmes in French is superior, and 43.11% express a preference for the content of films in French. The comments made about the attractiveness of this content are similar to those made about the written material. Most striking is the fact that the French broadcasts are frequently described as being more modern and in touch with the younger generation. They are also described as more professionally produced and presented than the Arabic ones.

e.g. R.3: La radio en français est plus attirante, plus animée, plus agitée et plus moderne.

R.80: Je préfère la radio en français parce qu'elle convient à mon âge.

R.2: Je préfère les émissions en français parce qu'il y a plus d'animations, beaucoup d'informations, de variété et de richesse.

R.37: La télévision en français est moderne.

Films in French are similarly described as entertaining and modern.

e.g. R.11: Les films français ne sont pas ennuyants et parlent de l'actualité.

R.17: Les films en français sont des films culturels qui reflètent la civilisation européenne.

R.35: Les films en français sont modernes.

In contrast, there is little praise for the content of Arabic films and broadcasts. The only favourable comment is made by respondent 65 who describes the radio station in Arabic as "plus familial"; perhaps he feels that it harmonises better with the home atmosphere because, as was seen in 4.2.4.1.1, Arabic is the language associated with the home. Another respondent, 69, says that he prefers television programmes in Arabic because "toute ma famille parle l'arabe", but he prefers films in French. It seems that at home he considers above all the interests of his family, but naturally when he goes to the cinema he can indulge his own preferences. The only other reason given for favouring Arabic programmes is again the view that Arabic should be used because it is their language. Such patriotic reasons are given by 6.42% for preferring Arabic radio, while 2.75% give such reasons

for preferring Arabic television.²¹

R.9: Je préfère la radio en arabe parce que je suis d'origine arabe.

R.19: Je préfère la radio en arabe parce que l'arabe est la langue de ma patrie.

R.15: Il faut que toutes les émissions du pays soient en arabe; nous sommes dans un pays arabe.

Films in Arabic are strongly criticised by 20.18% of the respondents, who find them boring and loaded with sentimental themes which do not suit their tastes.

R.23: Les films arabes sont ennuyeux et peu intéressants, sinon ridicules par les thèmes et par la mise en scène.

Some respondents say that they have difficulty in understanding the language of these films (5.5%). This is because there is no film industry in Morocco, so that films in Arabic have to be imported from Egypt and the Middle East, and usually feature the Egyptian dialect of Arabic. Ironically enough, it is judged necessary to provide subtitles in French to enable Moroccans to understand them.

The same tendency to prefer French, though to a lesser extent, can be seen in the respondents' answers about which language they prefer for their television advertisements.

Table 28.

	French	Arabic & French	Arabic	Blank
Television advertisements	31	18	25	35
	$\chi^2 = 3.43, df = 2, \text{non-significant}$			

The reasons they advance for their preference for French are

²¹ Those respondents who watch Arabic programmes just because they are in Arabic could be compared with some Welsh people whom I have observed to watch current affairs programmes in Welsh immediately after hearing the same kind of information in English. Evidently they watch not so much for the content of the programmes as for the language per se.

that the advertisements in French are more professionally done and more lively. Those who prefer advertisements in Arabic, on the other hand, claim that this is because Arabic publicity can be understood by a larger number of people.

R.38: La publicité en arabe est plus proche de la réalité du pays.

R.17: Je préfère la publicité en arabe parce qu'elle est plus efficace pour moi en tant que Marocain dont la langue maternelle est l'arabe.

R.3: Je préfère la publicité en arabe parce que l'arabe est compris par tout le monde et pour que nos jeunes enfants apprennent à penser en arabe.

This last remark might seem quite puzzling, for one would hardly expect there to be any need for children to require television advertisements to assist them in acquiring their native language, which they can hear about them in the home and in the street. Interestingly enough, the same respondent says he prefers radio and television programmes and films in French because of their superior content, educational and entertainment value. On the other hand, since advertisements are not primarily considered sources of entertainment or education, he does not have these reasons for preferring French advertisements; so perhaps, all things being equal, he feels that the advertisements should be in Arabic so that his children, even if bombarded with French radio and television programmes, will sometimes hear some Arabic on television. Still, the very idea that Arabic advertisements are needed to reinforce children's experience of Arabic suggests that he feels the position of Arabic, as their first language, is somehow endangered and needs to be reinforced in such ways.²² In fact, his responses to other questions show that he feels that children's whole way of thinking is spoilt if they learn French at an early age as well as Arabic.

Other surveys have obtained results which are similar to those given here. For example, Adam's (1963) survey of secondary school pupils found that they read more newspapers

²² Again, this attitude is reminiscent of that of some Welsh people.

and books in French than they did in Arabic, and from the reasons they advanced for this, Adam concluded that the explanation was the greater availability of French literature and the variety of its content. "L'édition française est beaucoup plus riche que l'édition arabe qui ne comprend guère pour certaines branches que des traductions" (Adam 1963, p.72). Gravel (1979) found that 55.3% of his respondents preferred to read newspapers in French, while only 38.2% preferred those in Arabic, and Abbassi (1977) also claims that French is preferred for newspapers. The same preference among Tunisians is noted by Tessler (1969) and Riahi (1970). Similarly, Adam's respondents also said they preferred films in French, because they were well made, interesting, educational and varied. Gravel's respondents also favoured films in French, but were not asked to give reasons for this; and Tessler and Riahi found the same was true of their Tunisian respondents.

This small survey suggests that Moroccan bilinguals tend to prefer the material available to them through the medium of French to that provided in Arabic. The main reason for this preference seems to be, not a greater liking for one language than the other, but the fact that the material offered in French is judged to be superior to that in Arabic, in that it is more varied, interesting, educational, entertaining and modern.

4.3 Second Questionnaire

4.3.1 Form of the Questionnaire

This was intended to obtain information about the influence of various kinds of topic of conversation on the bilingual's choice of language. Eleven types of topic were listed in the questionnaire,²³ These were intended to represent a wide range of subject matter, and were as follows:

²³The questionnaire was presented in French; this was for the same reasons which were mentioned in connection with the other tests (see 3.2.1.1 and 4.2.2).

scientific	religious
technical	cultural and artistic
sociological	domestic and family matters
philosophical	personal and emotional
industrial	moral
	sports

The choice of topics was influenced by the findings of the first questionnaire and of the tests described in Chapter 3, as well as by some remarks in the literature which has been previously mentioned. For instance, it was felt worthwhile to compare some topics relating to areas which previous work had shown to be associated with Arabic (domestic and religious topics)²⁴ with others which, it was suspected, would tend to favour the use of French (scientific and technical topics).²⁵ It was also thought useful to compare casual everyday topics (domestic, personal, sports) with more specialised ones; of the latter, some could be described as intellectual (philosophical, sociological, scientific, technical, cultural), some as technical (industrial, scientific, technical), some were concerned with personal values (moral, religious) and some with leisure interests (sports, cultural).

To avoid the problems arising from the free choice format used in the first questionnaire, where the respondents were free to write in any answer they wished, this second questionnaire used instead a multiple choice method of eliciting responses. The respondent was presented with the list of topics, and beside each topic a list of the four choices open to him, these being Moroccan Arabic, French, Classical Arabic, and Arabic & French; he was asked simply to encircle

²⁴ See Chapters 3 and 4, especially 3.3.3.1 for the link between Arabic and religion and 4.2.4.1.1 for the relationship between Arabic and the home.

²⁵ The role of French as a vehicle for science has been noted in many places, including 1.2.2.

the appropriate answer. This avoided the problem of incomplete answers encountered with the first questionnaire, and also the problem of irrelevant responses.

The form of the questionnaire did, however, have some drawbacks. In the first place, some of the descriptions of topics are extremely general and could be criticised for their vagueness. Secondly, it must be recognised that it might have been difficult for some respondents to provide confident answers about some of these topics, for there may well have been some topics which they were not regularly in the habit of discussing. Indeed, it was partly for this reason that the characterisations given were left rather vague. It was also felt that the descriptions should be kept as brief and as simple as possible, for ease and speed of reading the questionnaire. In fact, however, it seems that the respondents, all of whom were reasonably well-educated (see 4.3.2 below), did not find it too difficult to select a most used language for each topic, for very few of the questions were left unanswered.

Despite these shortcomings, it was felt that the questionnaire might well serve to reveal some general tendencies for certain types of topic to favour different language choices from others. These problems would in any case be difficult to avoid in this kind of preliminary investigation by questionnaire. They are, for instance, also inherent in the questionnaires conducted by Abbassi (1977, in Morocco) and Riahi (1970, in Tunisia) to investigate the influence of topic on language choice. Each of these authors similarly provided a list of topics, some of which were similar to some of those in my questionnaire, asking the respondents to select the language they would choose to discuss each of these.

4.3.2 Respondents

The respondents were 87 males and females, with ages ranging from 18 to 34. All were fairly balanced Arabic-French bilinguals. They originated from various parts of Morocco,

and included clerks, secretaries, laboratory technicians, teachers and students.

4.3.3 Results and Discussion

The results were analysed using the Chi Squared Test. It was found that there were significant contrasts between the frequencies with which the different languages were chosen in all but two cases, these being the philosophical and moral topics, the results for which are shown in Table 29.

Table 29.

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
	M.Arabic	French	Arabic & French	Cl.Arabic	Blank
Philosophical	16.3%	25.5%	23.2%	34.9%	1.1%
	$X^2 = 6.09, df = 3$ (non-significant)				
Moral	19.8%	23.2%	32.6%	23.2%	1.1%
	$X^2 = 2.23, df = 3$ (non-significant)				

An examination of the results suggests that the various topics can be divided into two main groups, which show clearly contrasting patterns of language choice. However, first we should mention one kind of topic which must be contrasted with all the others, the religious topics for which the results are given in Table 30.

Table 30.

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
	M.Arabic	French	Arabic & French	Cl.Arabic	Blank
Religious	47.2%	8%	11.5%	33.3%	0%
	$X^2 = 35.8, df = 3, p < .001$				

Religious topics are distinguished from all the other topics by the fact that here both Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic receive much higher ratings than do French and Arabic & French. This shows a clear tendency for the respondents to favour Arabic for religious topics to the exclusion of French - a pattern which can be seen to reflect the very

close association between Arabic and Islam. Riahi (1970) in his survey of Tunisian bilinguals also found that Arabic received higher ratings than French or Arabic & French for religious and metaphysical topics.

From the other topics, it seems appropriate to identify one group, the members of which are characterised by the fact that they favour the use of French and of Arabic & French to a much greater extent than that of Arabic, whether Classical or Moroccan. The topics exhibiting this tendency are the scientific, technical, industrial, sociological and cultural ones, and their ratings for the various languages are shown in Table 31.

Table 31.

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
	M. Arabic	French	Arabic & French	Cl. Arabic	Blank
Scientific	0%	68.6%	24.4%	7%	0%
	$X^2 = 98, df = 3, p < .001$				
Technical	2.2%	66.3%	31.5%	0%	0%
	$X^2 = 122.23, df = 3, p < .001$				
Industrial	12.6%	43.7%	35.6%	4.6%	3.5%
	$X^2 = 37, df = 3, p < .001$				
Sociological	14.9%	28.8%	37.9%	17.3%	1.1%
	$X^2 = 12, df = 3, p < .01$				
Cultural and Artistic	10.4%	33.3%	35.7%	19.5%	1.1%
	$X^2 = 15, df = 3, p < .01$				

As was noted in 4.3.1, all these could be said to be specialised and somewhat intellectual topics. Within the group, a further subdivision can be made. The tendency for French to be chosen at the expense of Arabic is most pronounced in the case of scientific and technical topics, where a clear majority of the respondents chose French alone, with very few or none at all choosing Moroccan Arabic or Classical Arabic, so that nearly all the rest chose Arabic & French. This result suggests that the respondents find it essential to use French, whether

or not this is mixed with Arabic, in discussing this kind of topic. This could be linked to the fact that in the Moroccan education system the study of science and technology is carried out through the medium of French (see 1.2.2). Riahi's questionnaire revealed a similar tendency among Tunisian bilinguals; 73% of his respondents chose French for scientific topics, 14% Arabic and French, and only 11% Tunisian Arabic. Stevens (1974) reports that 100% of his respondents chose French for scientific topics, but he only consulted twelve people on this point.

Industrial topics show the same pattern as the scientific and technical ones, with French and Arabic & French being rated highest. This similarly seems attributable to the technical nature of such topics, although the tendency to use French to the exclusion of Arabic is less pronounced than with the scientific and technical topics. In the case of the other two intellectual topics, the sociological and cultural ones, the tendency to favour French is less pronounced, so that there is a correspondingly greater use of Arabic. Here Arabic & French gets the highest rating, followed closely by French, and Moroccan Arabic gets the lowest rating of all. The fact that more respondents choose Classical Arabic than choose Moroccan Arabic here probably reflects the relatively highbrow, scholarly nature of the topics, which is judged to demand the high variety of Arabic rather than the low one.

A second category of topic can be distinguished by a pattern of language choices which contrast sharply with those discussed above. The characteristics of this group can be seen in Table 32 below.

Table 32.

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Language Chosen</u>				
	M. Arabic	French	Arabic & French	Cl. Arabic	Blank
Domestic	59.5%	10.1%	27.8%	1.3%	1.3%
	$X^2 = 58.27, df = 3, p < .001$				
Sports	40.8%	18.6%	34.4%	1.1%	1.1%
	$X^2 = 35.2, df = 3, p < .001$				
Personal	31.8%	26.1%	37.5%	3.5%	1.1%
	$X^2 = 23.85, df = 3, p < .001$				

Here Moroccan Arabic receives higher ratings than French, while Classical Arabic is rarely mentioned at all. Thus in the case of domestic and sports topics, Moroccan Arabic is chosen by more respondents than any of the other languages, followed by Arabic & French, with French in third place and Classical Arabic last of all. For personal topics, Moroccan Arabic is again rated higher than French, but the rating for Arabic & French is the highest of all. These three types of topic clearly differ from the earlier category in that, far from being specialised and intellectual, they have in common that they are all commonplace everyday subjects, likely to provoke casual rather than formal discussion. The language contrasts between these two sets of topics suggest that an important factor in determining language choice is the distinction between specialised and everyday topics, formal and casual ones. There is clearly a tendency for French to be used more than Moroccan Arabic for the specialised, intellectual topics, and for more Moroccan Arabic than French to be used for the everyday, informal ones. This may also reflect a tendency for Moroccan Arabic to dominate in the domain of home and family while French dominates in the domain of education.

4.4 Third Questionnaire

The two questionnaires discussed in the preceding sections have revealed a number of interesting tendencies in the choice of language by Moroccan bilinguals in various types of situation. From the results of these two questionnaires, it seems that the choice of language in a particular exchange may be significantly affected by any of a range of factors, including the speaker's interlocutor, the setting, and the topic under discussion. However, one of the shortcomings of these questionnaires was that since in each case only one element of the situation was specified, whether interlocutor, setting or topic, it was not possible to know what the respondents were imagining the other elements of the situation to be. In fact, in some cases there was doubt as to whether the

decisive factor in determining the responses was that specified in the question or not; for instance, while most respondents said they would use Arabic less than French with a doctor, it was recognised that this choice might well have been influenced by the type of subject matter they would associate with doctors as well as by the characteristics of doctors themselves.

To obtain more precise information about what aspect of a situation determines the choice, then, it seems necessary to isolate the three components, interlocutor, setting and topic, as independent variables. The third questionnaire attempts to do this by providing characterisations of situations where not just one but all three of these are specified. Then by comparing situations where two of these components are the same and the third is different, it will be possible to see more clearly the effect of this one component, isolated from the others. This method will allow us to investigate language choice in situations where the various components appear to have conflicting effects, for example where the topic is such as to favour the use of French while the interlocutor and setting are ones which seem to favour the use of Arabic.

It is also hoped that this third questionnaire will provide some further insights into some aspects of the findings of the preceding ones, from which a more general pattern may emerge. While we have so far considered separately the effect on language choice of various types of interlocutor, various types of setting, and various types of topic, there are certain similarities between the kinds of factor found to lead to contrasting choices in each of these cases. For instance, one of the distinctions between different types of interlocutor which was found to correlate with interesting differences of language choice was that between relationships of power and solidarity, or intimacy and non-intimacy. It was seen that Moroccan Arabic tends to be used more when there is a solidary, intimate relationship between speaker and interlocutor, while French appears to be favoured where the speaker

wishes to emphasise formality, impersonality and distance in his relationship with the interlocutor. A contrast which to some extent parallels this one was also established between two types of topic and their effects on language choice. It was observed that Moroccan Arabic tends to be used more with casual, everyday topics, while French was much more favoured with more specialised, academic or technical ones. This too could be related to the contrast between casual and formal, intimate and non-intimate - the informal discussion of commonplace matters contrasting with the greater distance involved in discussing more intellectual questions. As for the aspects of setting which affect language choice, the parallel here seems perhaps less clear-cut, but it was mentioned that there seems to be a contrast between relatively unsophisticated, everyday settings, where Moroccan Arabic seems to be favoured, and more refined, luxurious ones, where French dominates. This contrast too could be seen to reflect a distinction between casual and more formal settings.

From these various contrasts, then, it seems possible to detect a single more general distinction. French seems to be favoured in situations involving formality, sophistication, and specialisation, while Moroccan Arabic in contrast is favoured in situations involving intimacy, informality and everyday matters. This could be considered to reflect a fundamental distinction, which could for convenience be represented as that between intimacy and non-intimacy, or formality and informality, and which appears to correlate with the distribution of Moroccan Arabic and French in the speech of bilinguals. In designing and analysing the third questionnaire, then, I was particularly concerned to examine this distinction more systematically and to test the hypothesis that there is a correlation between the formal/informal distinction and the choice of French or Moroccan Arabic.

4.4.1 Form of the Questionnaire

The third questionnaire thus had two main aims: to

examine and compare the roles of interlocutor, setting and topic in influencing language choice, and to investigate the significance of this general distinction between formal and informal components of situations in determining language choice. To achieve these ends, I used a method involving specification of various combinations of interlocutor, setting and topic, the format of which was suggested to me by some experiments carried out by Greenfield and Fishman (1971), who conducted two tests to examine the effect of topic, interlocutor and setting on the choice of Spanish and English by Puerto Rican bilinguals. First they isolated five domains²⁶ (family, friends, religion, education and employment), and for each domain they selected an interlocutor, a setting and a topic which were felt to represent it. The five sets of interlocutor, topic and setting thereby obtained were felt to constitute "congruent situations", these being defined as "situations in which individuals interacting in societally appropriate role-relationships with each other, and in the societally appropriate locales for these role-relationships, discuss topics that are considered societally appropriate to these role-relationships and locales" (Greenfield and Fishman 1971, p.236). For instance, the domain of family was represented by the interlocutor parent, the setting home, and the topic of how to be a good son or daughter.

In the first of their tests, the respondents were given two components of a given situation and were asked to select a third component (from those listed) to produce a congruent situation, and then to show which language they would use for such a situation. Where the third component selected was the congruent one, it was found that Spanish was decreasingly associated with the domains of family, friendship, religion, employment and education, in that order, regardless of whether the third component was an interlocutor, a setting or a topic.

²⁶Fishman's use of the concept of domains was mentioned in 4.1.1.

The second experiment was designed to examine the effect of each of the separate components (topic, setting and interlocutor) on the choice of language. The respondents were given 41 situations, each of which involved three components selected from those used to represent the five domains mentioned above, and were asked to indicate on a scale from one to five how much Spanish and/or English they would be likely to use in each situation. The components were divided into intimacy-related components (those related to the domains of family and friends, e.g. parent and friend) and status-related components (those related to the domains of religion, education and employment, such as priest, teacher and employer). For the purposes of comparison, each of the intimacy-related components was combined with the same other two components as was each of the corresponding status-related components. Thus parent and friend were combined with the same topics and settings as were priest, teacher and employer; the intimacy-related settings (home, beach) were combined with the same interlocutors and topics as were the status-related settings of school, church and work-place; and similarly the intimacy-related topics were combined with the same settings and interlocutors as were the status-related topics. The combinations provided were thus arrived at by varying one of the three components while holding the others constant. The results, submitted to an analysis of variance, showed that Spanish is used most in situations representing the domain of family, rather less in those representing friendship and religion, and least of all in those of education and employment, while the distribution of English was the reverse. Of the three components in any situation, it was found that only the interlocutor had a significant effect on the choice of language, the effects of setting and topic being much less important.

The test I constructed was similar to Greenfield and Fishman's second experiment. I first selected five domains, which can conveniently be labelled home, friendship, work education and medicine. These were chosen on the basis of

the results of the previous questionnaires, to represent the contrast between formality and informality outlined above. The previous findings had suggested that situations related to home and family, or to friends, could be contrasted with those related to education, medicine or work, the latter being characterised as formal and the former as informal. To represent each of these domains, I selected one interlocutor, one setting and one topic which were judged typical. Some of these had already appeared in the previous questionnaires. The five sets of three components, each of which could be said to represent what Greenfield and Fishman called a congruent situation, were as shown in Table 33.

Table 33. Congruent Situations representing Five Domains

<u>Domain</u>	<u>Interlocutor</u>	<u>Setting</u>	<u>Topic</u>
<u>(a) Informal</u>			
1. Home	Brother/sister	Home	Children's duties towards their parents
2. Friends	Friend	Café	Driving a car
<u>(b) Formal</u>			
3. Education	Teacher	School or College	Mathematics problem
4. Medicine	Doctor	Hospital	Medicines (Drugs)
5. Work	Employer	Office	Office work

The same components were then used to construct sixty other situations, which were not congruent, since the three components making up each situation were not all associated with the same domain. Each interlocutor was combined with the same combinations of setting and topic, each setting with the same combinations of interlocutor and topic, and each topic with the same combinations of interlocutor and setting, and this made it possible to compare the effects of the different categories of each type of component. Thus the formal interlocutors - teacher, doctor and employer - were combined with the same pairs of setting and topic as were the informal

interlocutors - brother and friend, so that the contrast between the two types could be revealed, and so on.

It was felt to be too much to present the respondents with the full 65 situations, each containing three components, at one sitting. So the situations were divided between two questionnaires, each of which contained a total of 35 situations, made up of the five congruent situations, which were repeated in each of the two questionnaires, and 30 of the non-congruent ones. These two questionnaires were administered to the respondents on two separate occasions. It was felt to be preferable to break up the questionnaire in this way so that the respondents would not find their task too long, become bored, and so rush through it without giving it their full consideration. The 35 combinations in each questionnaire were then listed in random order. The order of the three components in each combination was also varied; sometimes interlocutor was listed first, sometimes setting, and sometimes topic. This was to avoid giving overall prominence to any one type of component.

The respondents were told to imagine themselves holding a conversation in the various situations specified. They were given as an example the following situation:

Person: Teacher

Place: School/college

Topic: A mathematics problem

and told that in this case they should imagine themselves in school or at college, discussing a mathematics problem with a teacher. They were then asked to indicate which language or languages they would be most likely to use in this situation by encircling one of the following: Moroccan Arabic, French, Arabic & French (mixed), or Classical Arabic. It was emphasised in the instructions that in each case they should assume that the person they were supposedly talking to was a Moroccan who was bilingual in Arabic and French. This method of indicating language choice was the same as that used in the second questionnaire; it was found to be simple

and convenient, and to avoid the problems encountered in the first questionnaire, where the respondents had to write in their chosen language(s) themselves.²⁷

4.4.2 Respondents

The respondents were 86 males and females, aged between 17 and 38. They were all balanced Arabic-French bilinguals of various occupations, including teachers, clerks, technicians, chemists, secretaries and students. They came from various parts of Morocco.

4.4.3 Analysis of Results

For each of the 65 situations, we added up the total scores for each language. For the purposes of comparison, the various combinations were then grouped into sets of five, such that all the members of a set had two components in common. Fifteen sets of five situations were thus obtained. The five situations in any set contrast with regard to only one component, this being either interlocutor or setting or topic. This arrangement made it possible to see the effect of any one component on the choice of language by comparing the results in a particular set.²⁸

These contrasts can conveniently be set out in graph form. A number of graphs were therefore drawn up, each representing the effect of varying one component (either topic, setting or interlocutor) on the use of one of the languages (French, Moroccan Arabic or French & Arabic). The results for Classical Arabic were not presented in this way, since the number of times it was mentioned by the respondents was

²⁷This test, like the others, was administered in French, although, to counterbalance this, the oral instructions were also issued in Arabic. The reasons for using French alone in writing were the same as those mentioned before (see 3.2.1.1 and 4.2.2).

²⁸The figures obtained for each set of situations are set out in the Appendix.

always very small. We thus obtained nine graphs showing how the number of respondents using a particular language varied with a difference of interlocutor, setting or topic. We also compared the five congruent situations which we initially established to represent the five domains, and another graph was constructed to show all language choices in just these five situations. The graphs are helpful in that they reveal clear patterns, making it possible to see at a glance the general correlations between the nature of the topic, setting or interlocutor and the extent to which particular languages are chosen.

To establish an overall rating for each domain with regard to the use of a particular language, we used a system of ranking. From the information in each graph, two sets of rankings were obtained. For example, from the graph representing the relationship between the type of interlocutor and the use of French, we first held the the congruent components constant and ranked each kind of interlocutor for the amount of French used when it was combined with each particular pair; and then we held each interlocutor constant and ranked the setting-topic combinations in the same way. The same was done with the graphs representing the relationship between setting and use of French and topic and use of French. We then added together all the rankings for the components and pairs of components for each particular domain to obtain a total of thirty rankings for each domain. These were added together and a combined ranking was found. To measure how good the agreement between the thirty rankings was, we calculated the coefficient of concordance, as outlined in Chambers (1964), and tested the significance of this by calculating z and using a table from Fisher and Yates (1942).

Finally, to investigate the interaction between language choice and the formal/informal distinction as represented in each of the three components of the speech situation (interlocutor, setting, topic), a four-way analysis of variance was used. The variables interlocutor, topic and setting were grouped into two categories, formal and informal, while the

fourth variable, language, possessed four categories, these being Moroccan Arabic, French, Arabic & French, and Classical Arabic. The scores obtained then represented the mean language usage ratings of the respondents using a particular language. The results were set out in tabular form so that the significant interactions could be examined.²⁹

4.4.4 Results and Discussion

4.4.4.1 Graphs and Rankings

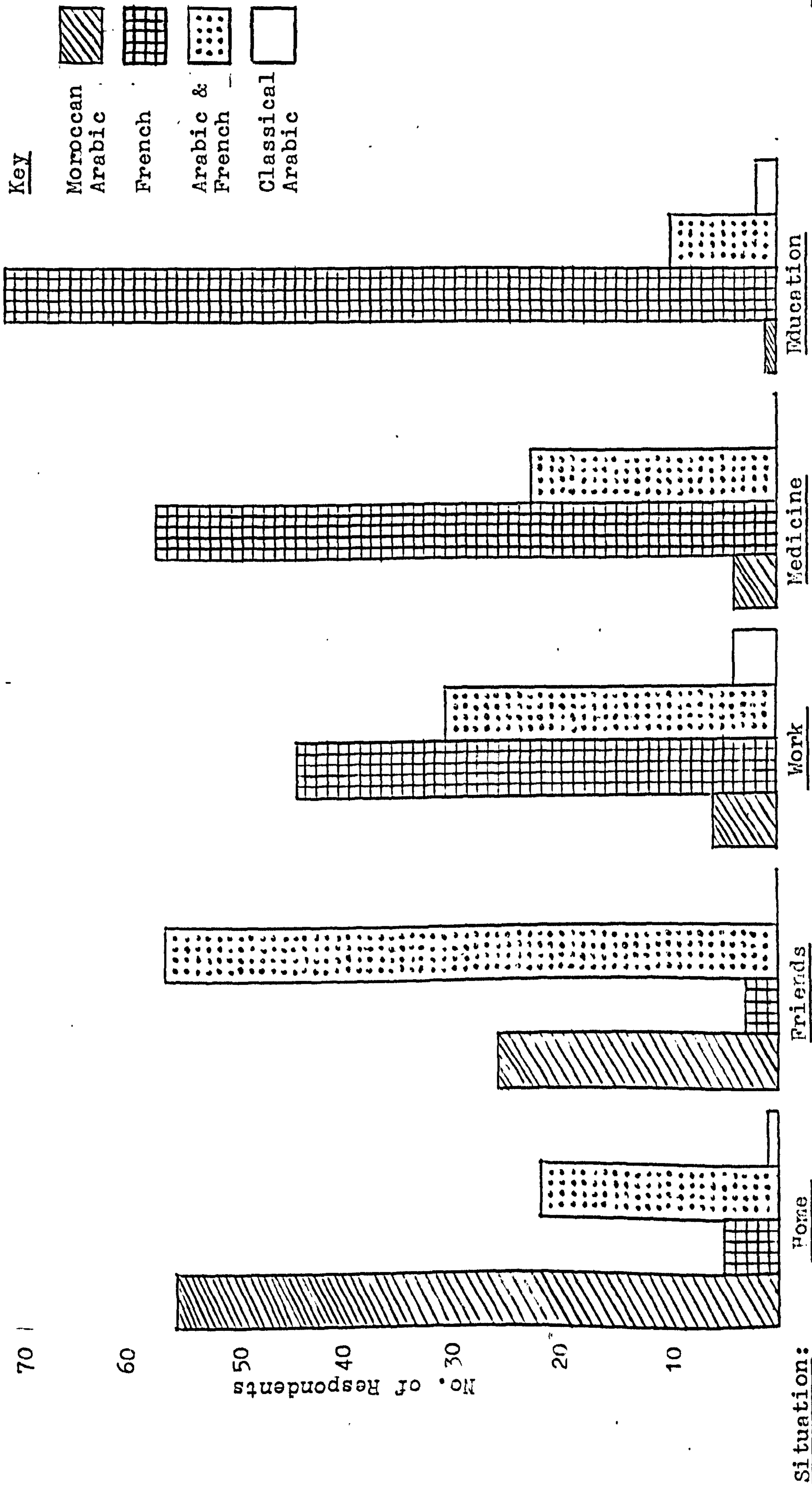
As was described in 4.4.3, graphs and rankings were drawn up to represent the way in which the use of a particular language was influenced by variations in the components of a situation. Before examining the distribution of each particular language, however, we may look at the full results for the five congruent situations, the components of which were used to make up all the other situations. These, it will be recalled, were chosen to represent the domains of home, friends, education, medicine and work. The overall ratings for each language in each of these five situations are shown in Graph 1 (overleaf).

The most obvious contrast visible here is that between the two situations representing the domains of home and friends, which we suggested could be characterised as informal, and those representing the other three domains (education, medicine and work) which could be described as formal. The obvious difference between the two sets of situations is that in the two informal ones both Moroccan Arabic and Arabic & French receive much higher ratings than does French, whereas in each of the formal ones the opposite is true, French receiving higher ratings than either Moroccan Arabic or Arabic & French. This clear contrast provides more evidence to suggest that the formal/informal distinction is important in accounting for differences of language choice.

As well as the more general distinction between formal and informal, however, there are clear differences between each of the five situations, which can be ordered according

²⁹The tables are included in the Appendix.

Graph 1. Language Choice in the Five Congruent Situations



(for full details of situations, see Table 33)

to the different ratings each language receives in each situation. Table 34 shows the rank orders of the five congruent situations with regard to the use of French, Moroccan Arabic and Arabic & French.³⁰

Table 34. Rankings of Congruent Situations ³¹

(a) Rankings for use of Moroccan Arabic

1. Teacher/School/Mathematics
2. Doctor/Hospital/Medicines
3. Employer/Office/Work
4. Friend/Café/Driving
5. Brother/Home/Duties

(b) Rankings for use of French

1. Friend/Café/Driving
2. Brother/Home/Duties
3. Employer/Office/Work
4. Doctor/Hospital/Medicines
5. Teacher/School/Mathematics

(c) Rankings for use of Arabic & French

1. Teacher/School/Mathematics
2. Brother/Home/Duties
3. Doctor/Hospital/Medicines
4. Employer/Office/Work
5. Friend/Café/Driving

As was described in 4.4.3, overall combined rankings for each domain were also obtained by summing those for each component or pair of components representing that domain.

³⁰The ratings for Classical Arabic are all so low that they are not of interest to us here.

³¹The lowest rank, 1, represents the case where the language is least used, and the highest, 5, that where it is most used. The components listed in full in Table 33 have here been designated by abbreviations, for convenience. These abbreviated labels are also used on the graphs.

The combined rankings, together with the results of the test of concordance between them, are shown in Table 35.³²

Table 35. Overall Rankings of Domains

	Domain	Overall Ranking	Sum of Individual Rankings
<u>(a) Moroccan Arabic</u>			
	Education	1	48
	Medicine	2	66½
	Work	3	80½
	Friends	4	114
	Home	5	141

$$W = 0.622$$

$$z = 2.54$$

$$p < .001$$

(b) French

Friends	1	43
Home	2	52½
Work	3	94½
Medicine	4	115½
Education	5	144½

$$W = 0.807$$

$$z = 3.152$$

$$p < .001$$

(c) Arabic & French

Education	1	49
Home	2	87½
Work	3	88½
Medicine	4	90½
Friends	5	134½

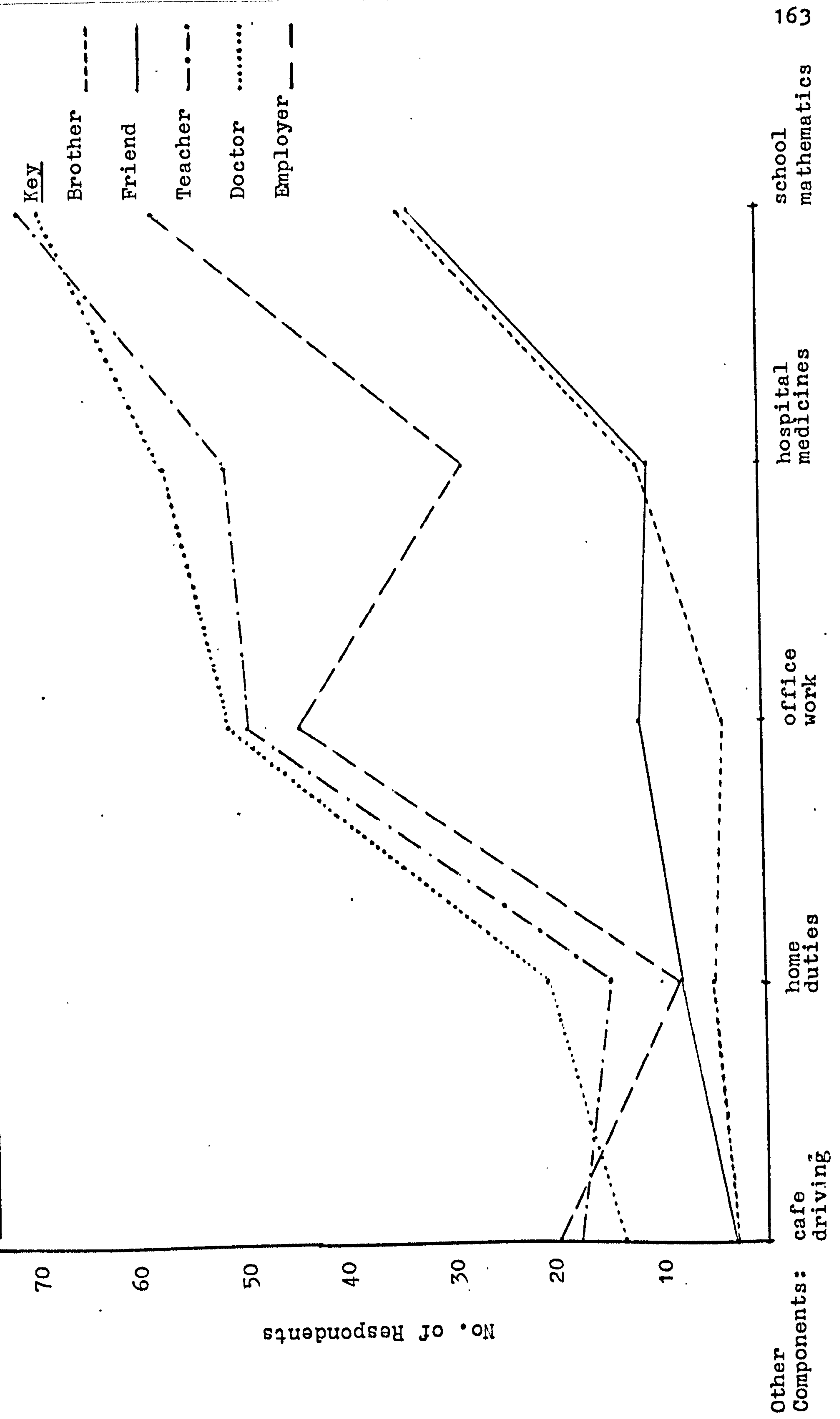
$$W = 0.408$$

$$z = 1.968$$

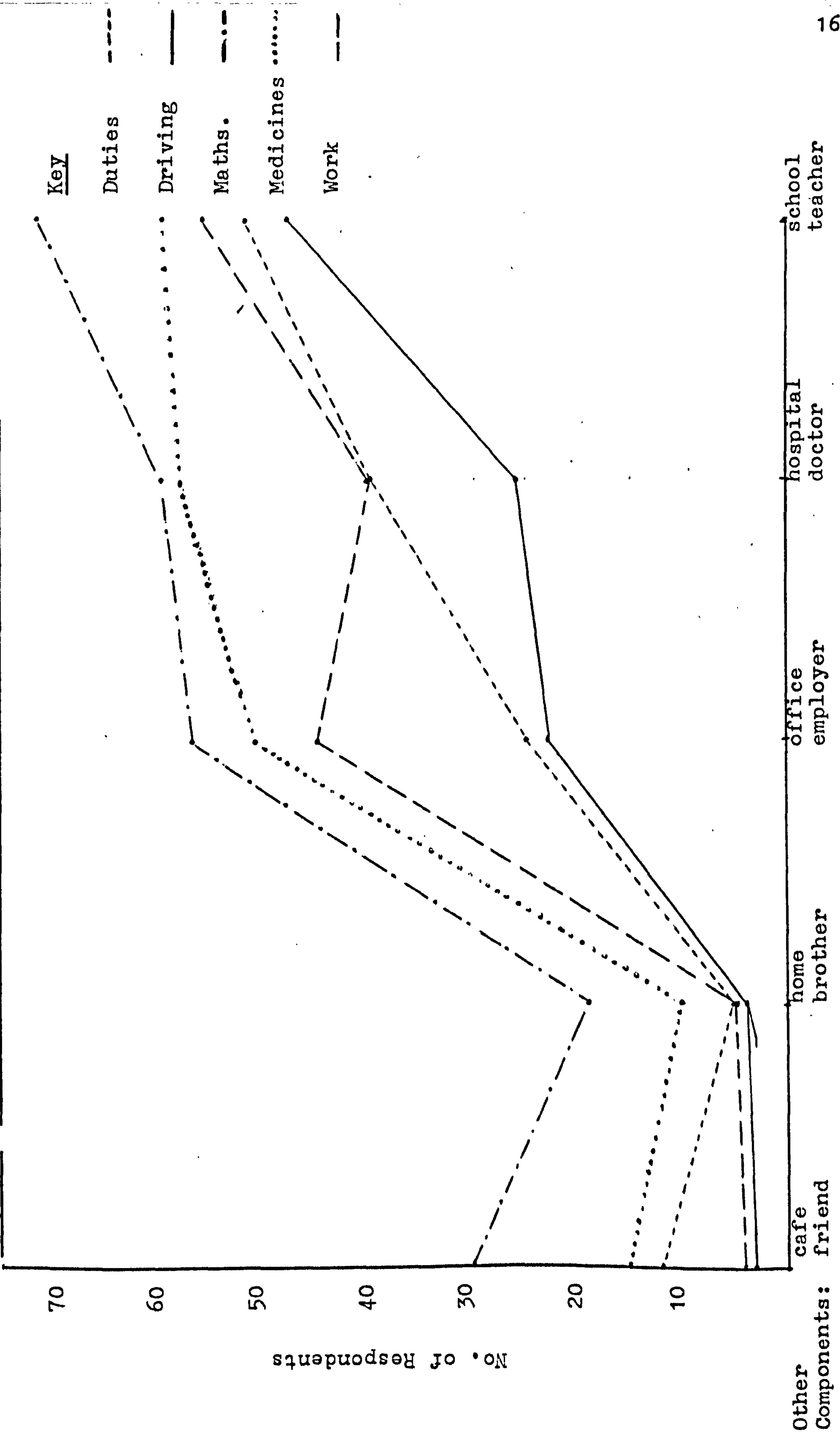
$$p < .001$$

³²Tables of the full sets of rankings are provided in the Appendix.

Graph 2. Use of French, showing effect of differences of interlocutor

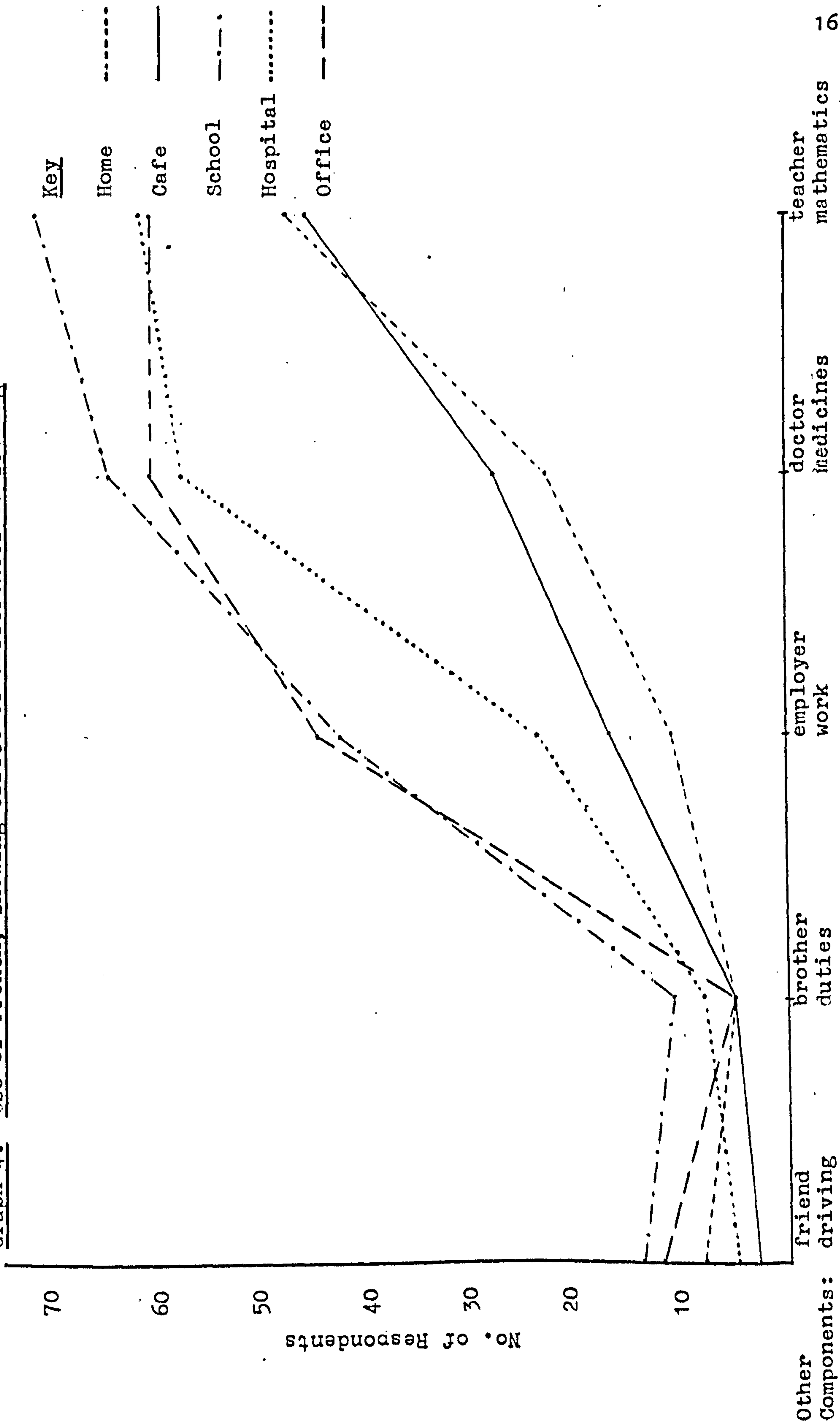


Graph 3. Use of French, showing effect of differences of topic

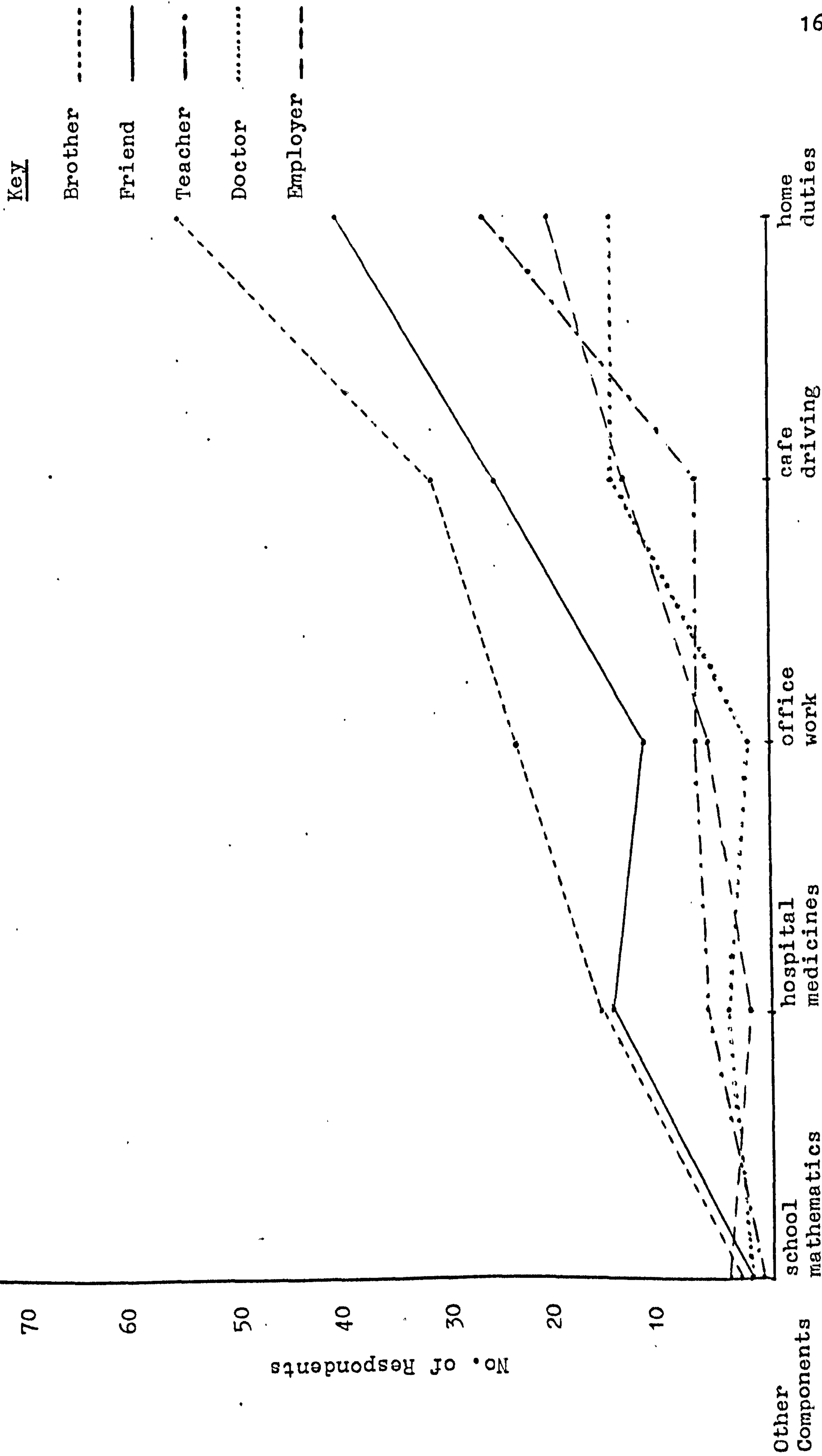


Other Components: cafe friend home brother office employer hospital doctor school teacher

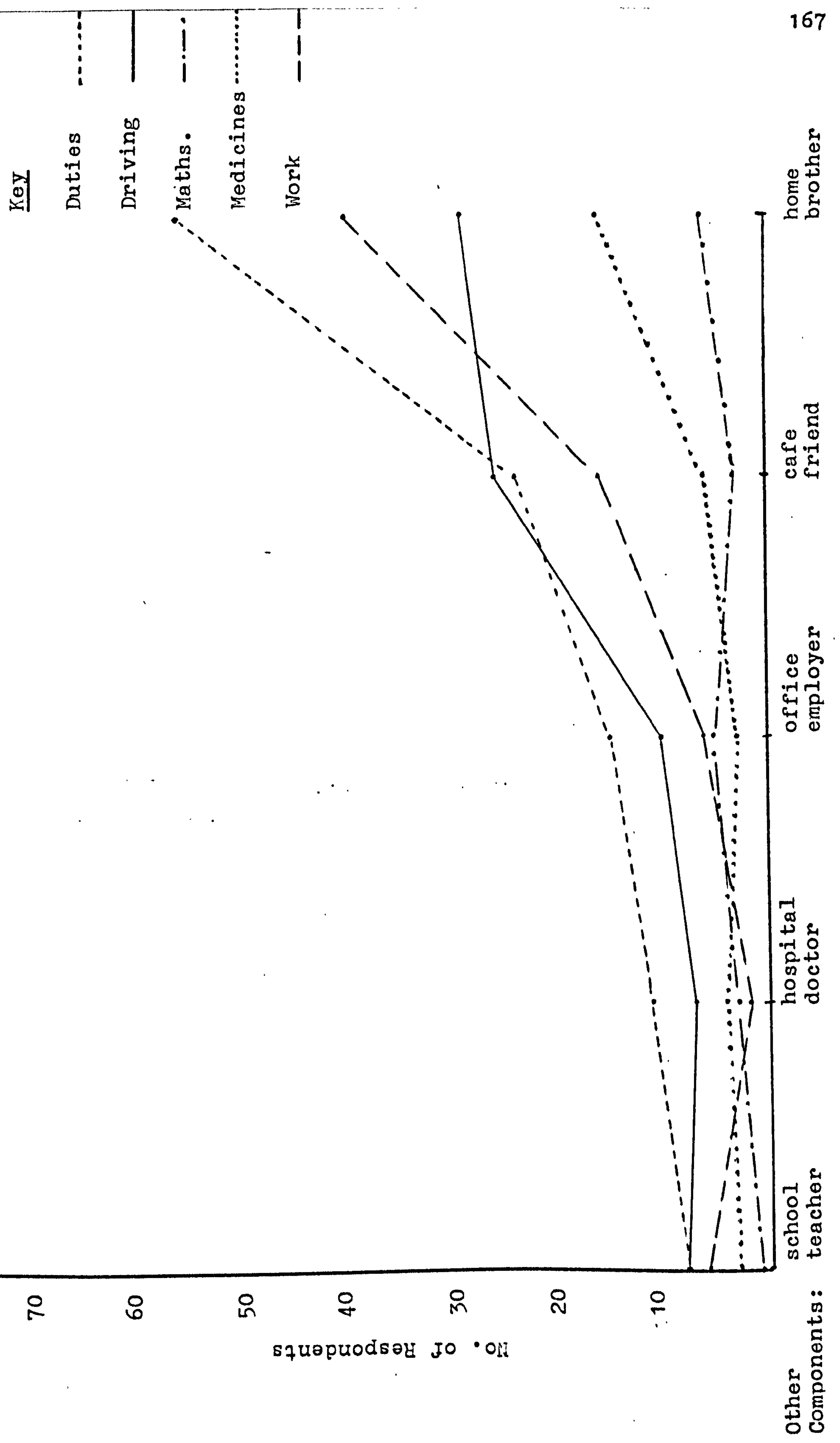
Graph 4. Use of French, showing effect of differences of setting



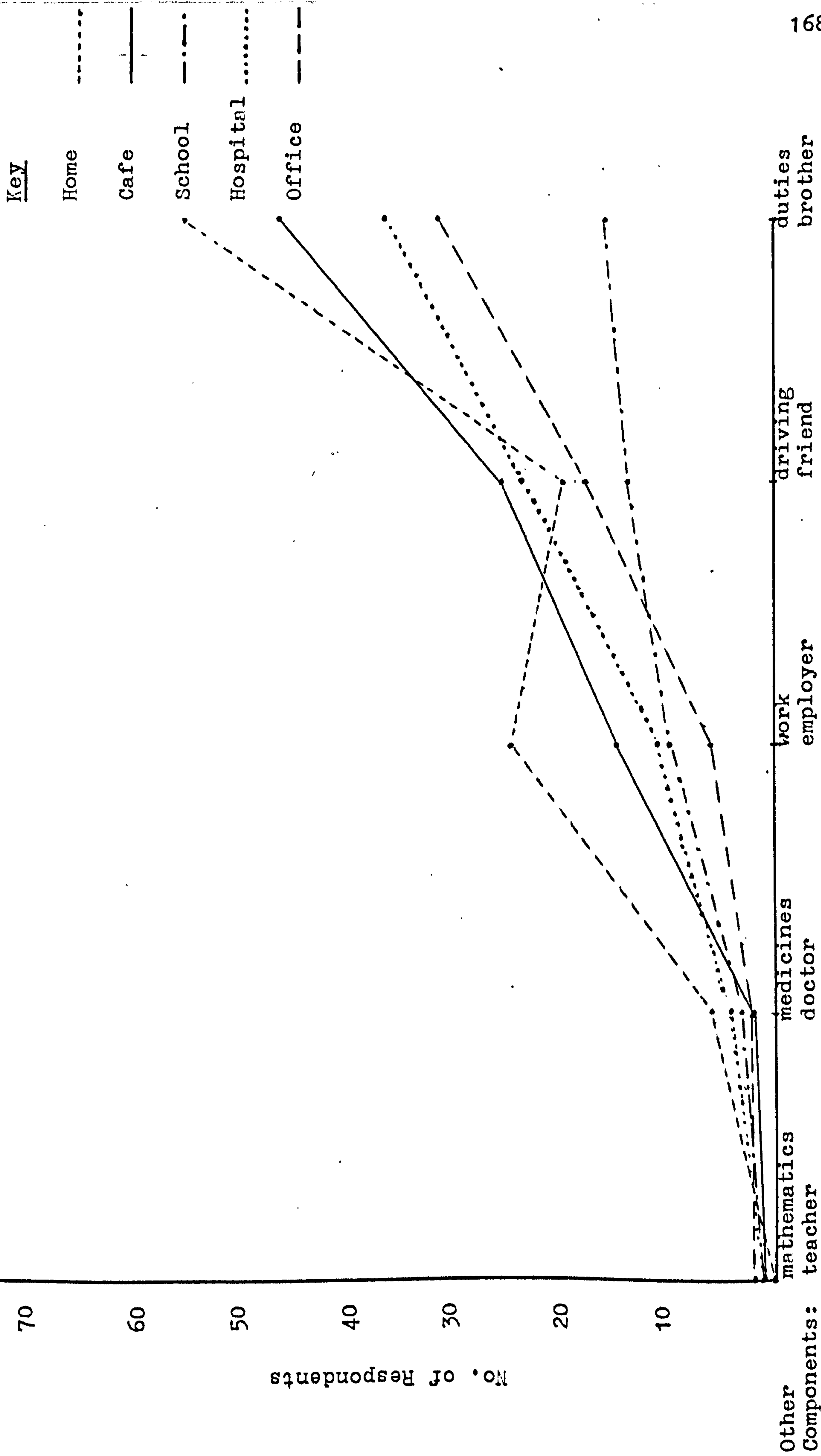
Graph 5. Use of Moroccan Arabic, showing effect of interlocutor



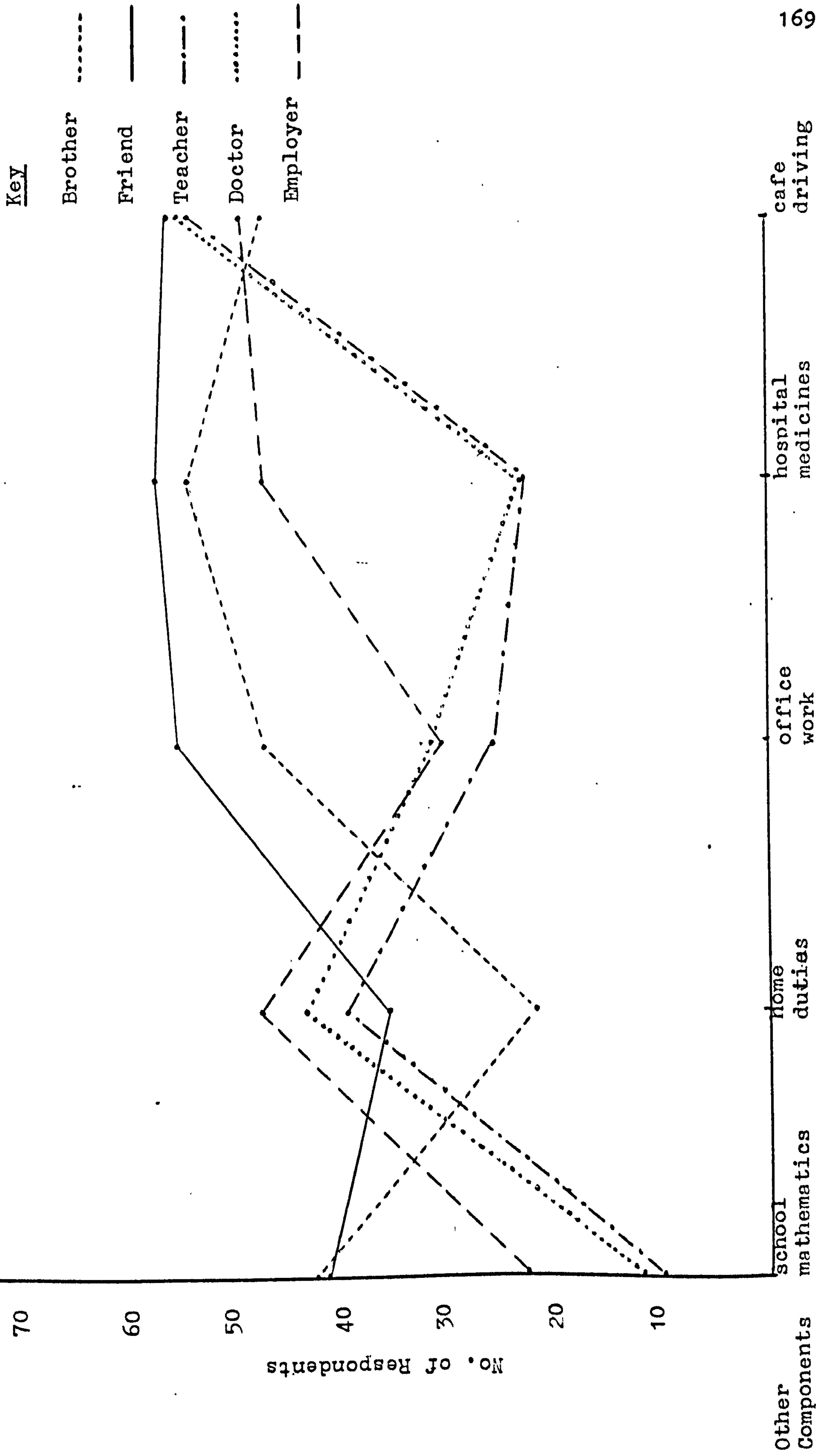
Graph 6. Use of Moroccan Arabic, showing effect of differences of topic



Graph 7. Use of Moroccan Arabic, showing effect of differences of setting



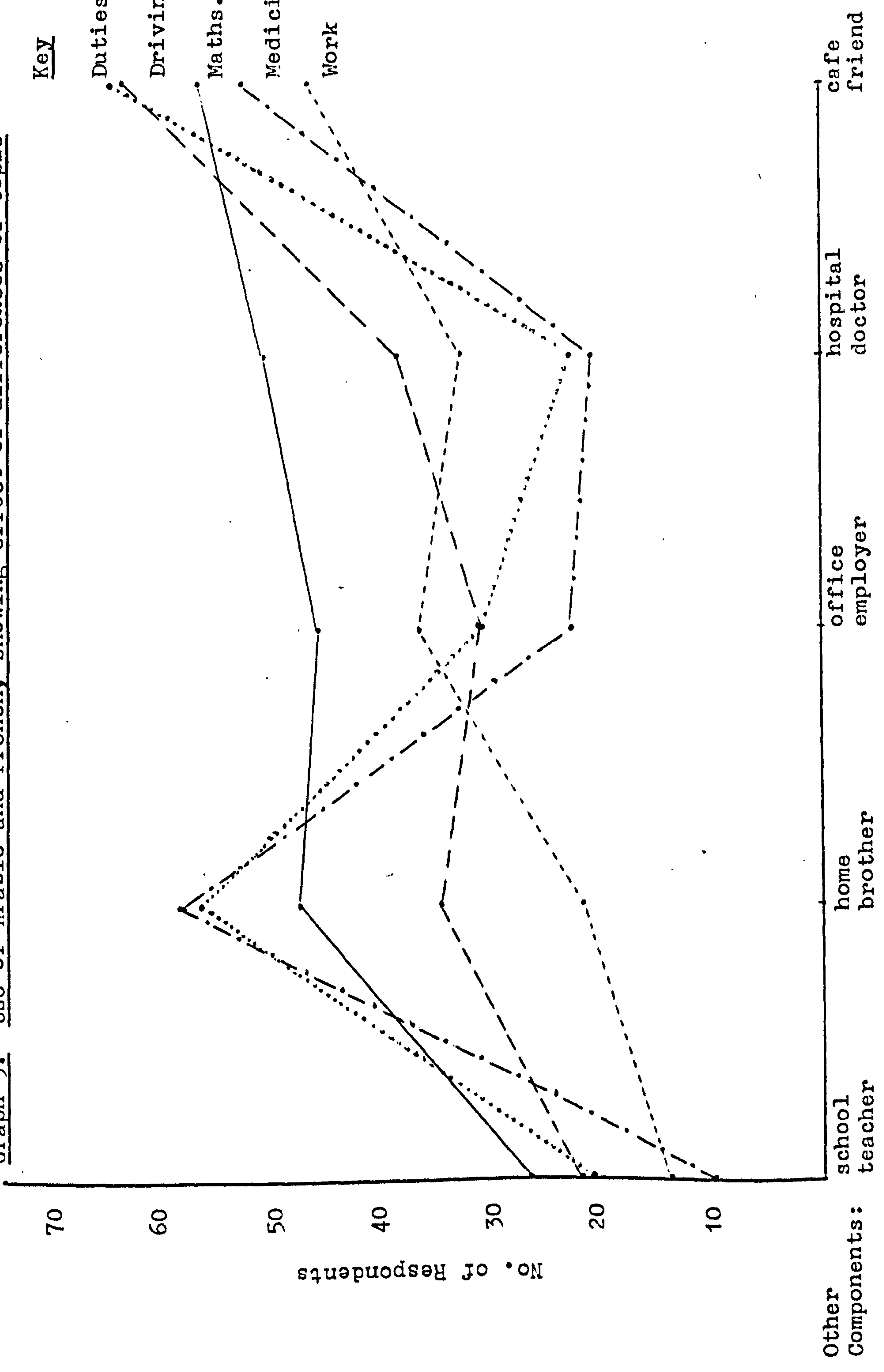
Graph 8. Use of Arabic & French, showing effect of differences of interlocutor



Graph 9. Use of Arabic and French, showing effect of differences of topic

Key

Duties
 Driving ———
 Maths. - - - -
 Medicines
 Work - - - -



Other Components:

Graph 10. Use of Arabic & French, showing effect of differences of setting

Key

Home

Cafe

School

Hospital

Office

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

No. of Respondents

driving
friend

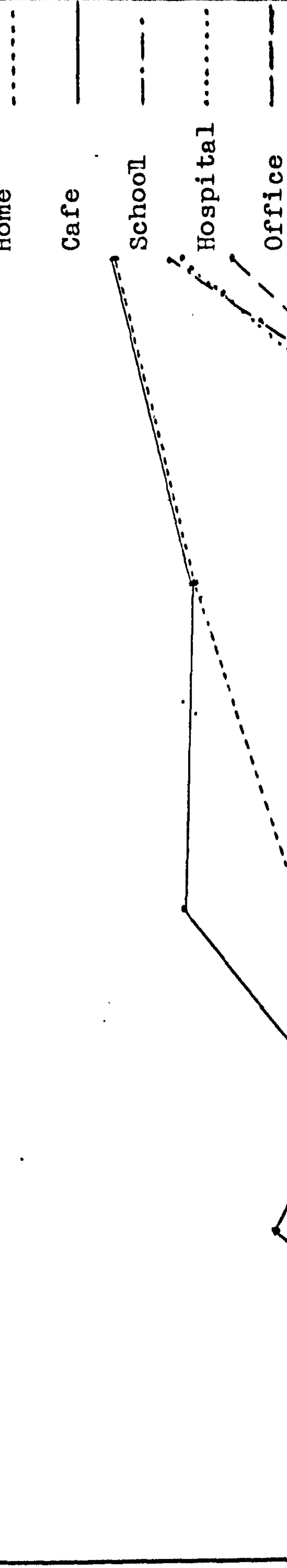
medicines
doctor

work
employer

duties
brother

mathematics
teacher

Other
Components:



It can be seen that the degree of agreement between the rankings is highly significant in the case of all three language choices; the agreement is greatest in the case of French and rather less good in the case of Arabic & French. It is interesting that in the cases of Moroccan Arabic and French the overall rank order corresponds exactly with that suggested by the ranking of the five congruent situations, while in the case of Arabic & French there is a difference, ranks 3 and 4 being reversed. In the case of Moroccan Arabic and of French, the overall rankings clearly reflect the distinction between formal and informal domains, in that the two informal domains, friends and home, are in both cases grouped at one end of the scale. The ranking for French is the converse of that for Moroccan Arabic except that the domain of friends is ranked lowest for French whereas it is that of home which is ranked highest for Moroccan Arabic. The ranking for Arabic & French, however, does not so obviously reflect the formal/informal distinction, which may suggest that the use of Arabic & French is not as closely related to this variable as is that of each language separately.

The graphs are designed to show the variation in use of a particular language relating to differences of either interlocutor, setting or topic. In each case, pairs of congruent components (ones representing the same domain) are set along the horizontal axis, while the vertical axis represents numbers of respondents. The five lines plotted on the graph then each trace the numbers of respondents who claim to use a particular language in situations involving one of these pairs together with a third component as shown in the key. The ordering for the elements on the horizontal axis was that suggested by the overall ranking of the five domains for each language.

The graphs show in more detail the contrasts between the various domains and the specific components representing them. In the first place, they clearly show the effect of any one interlocutor, setting or topic in contrast to that of the others. So, for instance, it can be seen from Graph 2 that more people use French when their interlocutor is a teacher, doctor or employer than when he is a brother or

friend, and from Graph 7 it can be seen that the effect of differences of setting on the use of Moroccan Arabic is far more pronounced where the other components are from the home domain than when they are from that of education.

In addition, they also show contrasts between situations involving different pairs of congruent components. In the case of Moroccan Arabic and French, these contrasts closely correspond to the overall rank order. Thus in the graphs representing the use of French (Graphs 2, 3 and 4), it is easy to see the gradation from situations involving two components representing the friends domain, where the use of French is rarest, to situations where there are two components representing education, where it is most prevalent. A similar gradation can be seen in the graphs representing the use of Moroccan Arabic (Graphs 5, 6 and 7), which show that Moroccan Arabic is least used in situations with two education components and most used in those with two home components. Within this gradation, the most clear-cut contrast is that between situations involving two formal components and those involving two informal components. This is seen in the fact that the lines representing informal interlocutors, topics or settings rarely cross over those representing formal ones.³³

The graphs and rankings representing the use of Arabic & French, (Graphs 8, 9 and 10), however, do not show such obvious patterns. In the first place, the overall ranking of domains for the use of Arabic & French does not reflect the formal/informal distinction very clearly, as was noted above. The two extremes of the ranking are indeed the informal domain of friends and the formal one of education, just as they are in the ranking for French; but the other informal domain, that of home, is ranked second, next to education, instead of next to friends. Moreover, despite the fact that, here as in the other graphs, congruent components on the

³³Those cases where they do can be seen in the tables of rankings in the Appendix.

horizontal axis are placed in overall rank order, there are many cases where the lines representing different components cross over - far more than in the French and Moroccan Arabic graphs. At first sight, then, the graphs representing Arabic & French reveal far less regularity than do those for French and Moroccan Arabic. A further contrast can be seen by comparing the sums of individual rankings, shown in Table 35. The Arabic & French rankings contrast with those for French and Moroccan Arabic by the fact that in the former case the three middle rankings are barely differentiated at all. While education clearly has the lowest ranking at 49, and friends the highest at $134\frac{1}{2}$, the other three, home, work and medicine, are very close together at $87\frac{1}{2}$, $88\frac{1}{2}$ and $90\frac{1}{2}$ respectively. Thus there would seem to be only three well defined ranks here, with the three middle domains getting very similar ratings. This is clearly in contrast to the pattern which emerges along the formal/informal dimension with the other two languages, and suggests that perhaps some other opposition should be recognised here.

A closer look at the full set of rankings for Arabic & French provides some support for this idea. An examination of the individual rankings reveals a contrast between the orderings obtained for the domains of home and friends, on the one hand, and those obtained for the domains of education, medicine and work on the other. This can be shown more clearly by totalling these two groups separately, obtaining one overall ranking for all the situations involving components of the home and friends domains, and another for all the situations containing education, medicine or work components. These two overall rankings, together with the sums of individual rankings on which they are based, are set out in Table 36 (overleaf).

Table 36. Rankings for Arabic & French(a) Situations involving one or more home or friends components

Domain	Overall Ranking	Sum of Individual Rankings
Home	1	18½
Education	2	30
Work	3	38½
Medicine	4	46
Friends	5	47

$$W = 0.395, z = .9855, p < .001$$

(b) Situations involving one or more education, medicine or work components

Domain	Overall Ranking	Sum of Individual Rankings
Education	1	19
Medicine	2	44½
Work	3	50
Home	4	69
Friends	5	87½

$$W = 0.828, z = 2.2, p < .001$$

(c) Full Set of Rankings

Domain	Overall Ranking	Sum of Individual Rankings
Education	1	49
Home	2	87½
Work	3	88½
Medicine	4	90½
Friends	5	134½

$$W = 0.408, z = 1.968, p < .001$$

It can be seen immediately that these two groupings both produce overall rank orders which differ from that obtained for the full set of rankings, repeated here as (c) from Table 35. Moreover, in the grouping of situations containing one or more education, medicine or work components, a much higher degree of agreement between the rankings is obtained than is the case when all the situations are grouped together;

this can be seen by comparing the values of W in each case. In the education/medicine/work group, in fact, the overall ranking for Arabic & French turns out to be similar to that for Moroccan Arabic alone (see Table 35(a)), the only difference being that here the domain of friends is ranked highest whereas for Moroccan Arabic that of home is ranked highest. This suggests that in situations containing one or more formal components the use of Arabic & French is regarded as very like the use of Moroccan Arabic alone; like Moroccan Arabic, Arabic & French is most compatible with the informal domains of home and friends, rather less compatible with the formal ones of work and medicine, and least compatible of all with that of education. In situations like these, then, the contrast between formal and informal can be seen to correlate with differences in the amount of Arabic & French used, just as it correlates with variations in the use of French and Moroccan Arabic alone.

However, the rankings obtained for the group of situations involving one or more home or friends components are in a quite different order, which suggests that some other factor is influencing the use of Arabic & French here. It could be postulated that this further factor is the contrast between what we might call variable and invariable situations, the latter being situations where variation of language is controlled and limited, and the former being "free" situations where language variation is most acceptable and is maximised. For the ordering here, while clearly not corresponding to the formal/informal opposition, does seem to correspond to what one might intuitively feel about the relative variability of behaviour in the five domains. Thus while the domains of home and friends are both classed as informal, one can see that in Morocco it is likely for the domain of home to exert more control over behaviour and allow less variation than the domain of friends. In the home situation, there are clearly defined norms of behaviour, one of which seems to be to use Moroccan Arabic (see Table 35(a)); but it seems natural that such norms should be far less pronounced outside

the home situation, in situations involving friends, where people are more free to be themselves and vary their behaviour, including their language behaviour. Similarly, the school situation is clearly one in which behaviour is governed by many regulations and restrictions, language choice being one aspect of this behaviour, while in the domain of work one might expect the individual to have rather more freedom for variation, and in the domain of medicine one might expect the restrictions to be less clearly formalised because the individual is perhaps likely to encounter this domain less regularly than the others. The postulation of an opposition between variable and relatively less variable situations thus does seem to have some plausibility, and can be used to explain the fact that the rankings for use of Arabic & French do not reflect the formal/informal opposition as clearly as do those for use of French and of Moroccan Arabic. Table 36 shows that there are two different tendencies affecting the rankings for the use of Arabic & French, neither of which clearly emerges from the overall ranking shown in (c).

4.4.4.2 Analysis of Variance

The results of the analysis of variance, carried out as described in 4.4.3, are summarised in Table 37 (overleaf). The analysis of variance shows that there are great differences between the sets of figures for the different languages, as represented by component D: $F(3,3) = 963.62$, $p < .001$. There are significant first order interactions between this and each of the other three components (AD, BD, CD), showing that the formality/informality contrasts in interlocutor, setting and topic each significantly influence the choice of language. However, of these three the most significant interaction was AD, that of interlocutor and language, where $F(3,3) = 184.28$, ($p < .001$). An examination of the data for this particular interaction³⁴ shows that besides the overall variation

³⁴ Tables showing each of the significant interactions are included in the Appendix. The raw data for the Anova is the frequency of subjects selecting a language according to the situational question asked. The data may well not conform to the most stringent criteria for adoption of the Anova, but the uniqueness of the data urged us to conduct this speculative and tentative analysis.

Table 37.

Four-Way Analysis of Variance of Mean Language Choice Ratings
given for various situations involving Formal and Informal
Components

<u>Source</u>	<u>S.S.</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>M.S.</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p <</u>
Component (A)	0.01	1	0.01	-	n.s.
Component (B)	1.17	1	1.17	0.45	n.s.
Component (C)	0.15	1	0.15	0.06	n.s.
Component (D)	7545.13	3	2515.04	963.62	.001
<u>First Order Interactions</u>					
AB	3.95	1	3.95	1.51	n.s.
AC	0.02	1	0.02	-	n.s.
AD	1442.95	3	480.98	184.28	.001
BC	0.08	1	0.08	-	n.s.
BD	566.04	3	188.68	72.29	.01
CD	541.25	3	180.42	69.13	.01
<u>Second Order Interactions</u>					
ABC	0.00	1	0.00	-	n.s.
ABD	288.74	3	96.25	36.88	.01
ACD	180.75	3	60.25	23.08	.05
BCD	41.06	3	13.68	5.24	n.s.
ABCD	7.82	3	2.61		
Total	10619.14	31			

- (A) Interlocutor
 (B) Setting
 (C) Topic
 (D) Language

between the different languages, there are also variations depending on whether the interlocutor is formal or informal. Thus while Arabic & French gets the highest and Classical Arabic the lowest ratings with both types of interlocutor, the positions of Moroccan Arabic and French differ according to the type of interlocutor. With formal interlocutors, French gets a much higher rating than Moroccan Arabic, while with informal interlocutors the reverse is the case. Arabic & French also gets higher ratings with informal interlocutors than with formal ones.

Similar patterns can be seen when the other significant first order interactions are examined. The significance of BD, where $F(3,3) = 72.29$ ($p < .01$), shows that the formality or informality of the setting has an important effect on the choice of language. Here too, a look at the relevant figures reveals that for the informal settings Moroccan Arabic gets higher ratings than French, while for the formal settings French gets higher ratings than Moroccan Arabic. Again, Arabic & French gets the highest ratings in all cases while Classical Arabic gets the lowest ones.

Finally, interaction CD, where $F(3,3) = 69.13$ ($p < .01$), shows that the formality or informality of topic also has a significant effect on the choice of language. Once again Classical Arabic gets the lowest and Arabic & French the highest ratings in all cases, and once again the formal/informal contrast is seen to have a dramatic effect on the choice of French or Moroccan Arabic. Predictably, French gets higher ratings than Moroccan Arabic for the formal topics, while Moroccan Arabic gets higher ratings than French for the informal topics.

Second order interactions were also found to be significant. For ABD, $F(3,3) = 36.88$ ($p < .01$), showing that the language figures for the types of interlocutor also differ from one another according to the setting. The figures obtained here show that, as well as the contrast between the ratings for Moroccan Arabic and French which depends on whether the interlocutor is formal or informal, there are further

contrasts within these ratings according to whether the setting is formal or informal. Thus Moroccan Arabic gets its highest rating with informal interlocutor and informal setting, next highest with informal interlocutor and formal setting, next highest with formal interlocutor and informal setting, and lowest with formal interlocutor and formal setting. The reverse is true of French, which gets its highest rating when both interlocutor and setting are formal, and its lowest ratings when both are informal. These differences are shown in Table 38.³⁵

Table 38. Interaction of Interlocutor, Setting and Language Choice

	<u>Moroccan Arabic</u>	<u>French</u>
Interlocutor +F, Setting +F	13.88	89.34
Interlocutor +F, Setting -F	24.67	44.83
Interlocutor -F, Setting +F	33.5	27.16
Interlocutor -F, Setting -F	48.88	19.83

(+F = formal, -F = informal)

A similar pattern emerges from the ACD interaction, where $F(3,3) = 23.08$ ($p < .05$), showing that the language differences for interlocutors also differ according to the type of topic. Thus within the language ratings for each of the two types of interlocutor, there are also contrasts depending on the type of topic. French gets its highest rating when both interlocutor and topic are formal, next highest when the interlocutor is formal and the topic informal, next highest when the interlocutor is informal and the topic formal, and lowest when both interlocutor and topic are informal. Again, the reverse is true of Moroccan Arabic, which is most highly rated when both interlocutor and topic are informal and least highly rated when both are formal. The pattern can be seen

³⁵The full sets of figures are to be found in the Appendix.

in Table 39.³⁶

Table 39. Interaction of Interlocutor, Topic and Language Choice

	<u>Moroccan Arabic</u>	<u>French</u>
Interlocutor +F, Topic +F	12.22	82.5
Interlocutor +F, Topic -F	26.33	51.67
Interlocutor -F, Topic +F	26.5	31.83
Interlocutor -F, Topic -F	57.88	15.16

(+F = formal, -F = informal)

The analysis of variance, then, reveals that all three components of a situation, the interlocutor, the setting and the topic, significantly influence the Moroccan bilingual's choice of language in that situation. Among these three the most significant effect was that of the interlocutor. Our results can thus be contrasted with those obtained by Greenfield and Fishman (1971), who found that the only one of these three components which significantly affected language choice among Puerto Ricans was the interlocutor. Moreover, it can be seen that the contrast between formality and informality in each of these three components has a consistent effect on the choice of language. For each of the three components, interlocutor, setting and topic, the formal categories were found to produce higher ratings for French than for Moroccan Arabic, while the informal categories produced higher ratings for Moroccan Arabic than for French.

4.5 Summary

The results of the three questionnaires described in this chapter provide some interesting information about the kinds of factor which may influence the Moroccan bilingual's choice of language in any situation. The responses obtained for the first two questionnaires suggested that the speaker's choice of language in a particular situation could be influenced by a variety of aspects of this situation, such as the

³⁶ See Appendix for the full sets of figures.

setting in which the conversation takes place, the persons participating in it, the topic under discussion, and the speaker's mood or purpose. The third questionnaire, the form of which was influenced by the findings of the other two, was able to obtain more precise information about the contribution of three factors, interlocutor, setting and topic, in determining the choice of language. The main conclusions about the effects of these on language choice can be summarised as follows.

It was found that all three factors - interlocutor, setting and topic - may significantly affect language choice. A distinction which proved to be very useful in describing their effects was that between formality and informality, which was found to be important within each of these three components. This distinction was found to correlate significantly with differences of language choice. In particular, the presence of informal components was seen to favour the use of Moroccan Arabic over that of French, while the presence of formal components favoured the use of French over that of Moroccan Arabic. This contrast suggests that Moroccan Arabic and French have clearly distinct roles to play in the bilingual's speech behaviour, and that they can thus be said to stand in a diglossic relationship in the sense in which Fishman (1971) uses this term.³⁷

Besides this general distinction between the domains of family and friends, on the one hand, which were identified as informal, and those of work, medicine and education on the other, which were classed as formal, there are other contrasts between the individual domains. For instance, of the three formal domains, education is always at the extreme end of the rankings (being the domain where most French is used and least Moroccan Arabic), which suggests that this domain is marked for the greatest degree of formality, while the other two, medicine and work, occupy intermediate positions between education and the informal domains.

³⁷ See 2.1 for an outline of this.

The use of a mixture of Arabic & French, however, was found to be rather less closely related to the formal/informal opposition than the use of the two separate languages was. While this distinction clearly did affect the distribution of Arabic & French in situations containing at least one formal component, it was seen that it was also necessary to recognise a further opposition, which we suggested was that between variable and invariable situations, with those involving components relating to home and education as the least variable, and those involving friends as the most variable.

Finally, as well as looking at the Moroccan bilingual's choice of language in particular situations, the first questionnaire also obtained some information about their preferences for one language or another in certain contexts. It was found that the majority of the respondents expressed preferences for newspapers, books, films, radio and television programmes in French rather than those in Arabic. Particularly interesting were the reasons given for these preferences; these suggested that the French media were favoured above all because of the quality of their content rather than because they were in French.

CHAPTER FIVE

An Examination of Code-Switching

5.0 Introduction

It was seen in the previous chapter that the choice of language may be influenced by a number of aspects of a situation, such as the setting, topic under discussion, and interlocutor. It was found that in many situations a number of respondents claimed to use a mixture of Arabic and French. In this chapter we will look more closely at the phenomenon of code-switching, which is involved in this alternation of the two languages.

The aims of the present investigation are threefold. In the first place, it is necessary to examine the theoretical possibilities for code-switching, to determine whether the possibilities for code-switching are limited by the existence of syntactic constraints, which exclude switches from certain environments. Secondly, I will try to make some generalisations about the kinds of factor which may provoke a switch from one language to the other, and the kinds of effect a switch may produce. Samples of speech by Moroccan bilinguals will provide the instances of code-switching on which the discussion is based. Finally, we will examine the attitudes of Moroccan bilinguals towards code-switching, as revealed in their responses to a questionnaire.¹

5.1 The Phenomenon of Code-Switching

5.1.1 Definitions

¹Further information about the attitudes of bilinguals towards those who code-switch is provided in 6.4, where we describe the results of a matched guise test used to investigate just this.

There has been a great deal of discussion of the range of phenomena which may result from a situation where two languages are in contact. Unfortunately, these phenomena remain somewhat ill-defined because the terminology used to identify them is so diffuse and inconsistent. In the first place, there is the phenomenon of interference, which has been defined as "instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language" (Weinreich 1974, p.1). Haugen (1956, p.40) defines interference as the "linguistic overlapping" of codes or languages, distinguishing it from code-switching which occurs "when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech" (p.40). Code-switching is also contrasted with integration (referred to by others as borrowing), which involves "the regular use of material from one language in another so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping except in a historical sense" (p.40). Clyne (1967), on the other hand, objects to the use of the term interference on the grounds that it refers partly to the cause of the phenomenon, and adopts instead the term "transference", which he feels more accurately describes it. He defines transference as "the adoption of elements from another language" (Clyne 1967, p.19), drawing further distinctions within this category which correspond to Haugen's distinctions between interference, code-switching and integration.

Kachru defines code-switching as entailing "the ability to switch from code A to code B" (1977, pp.107.108) when this is required by situational factors, contrasting this with code-mixing, which he says "entails transferring linguistic units from one code into another" (p,108). The distinction he is making seems to be that between the act of choosing one code rather than another in a particular situation and the act of mixing the two codes to produce something which might itself be called a third code. This also seems to be

the way in which Abbassi (1977) uses the terms code-switching and code-mixing, though he also introduces the further term code-shifting, which he seems to use interchangeably with code-switching. McClure and Wentz (1975) draw another distinction. They prefer to use the term code-mixing to describe the use of certain L2 terms in an utterance which is nevertheless still identifiable as an utterance in L1 - the mixture being due to the absence of any equivalent terms in the L1. This is to be contrasted with code-changing, where the change of language occurs between constituent boundaries (e.g. between NP and VP), and the result is an utterance which is clearly to be identified as partly in L1 and partly in L2. This seems to correspond to some extent to one of the proposed contrasts between borrowing and switching, to be discussed in 5.1.2 below.

Having exemplified the multiplicity of terms and distinctions which have been proposed, I would now like to make clear that I will be using the term code-switching to refer to the use of two languages within a single utterance, exchange or conversation - perhaps more broadly than Di Pietro (1977, p.3), who describes code-switching as "the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act". However, it remains for me to distinguish code-switching from the phenomenon known as borrowing, which may also appear to be describable as the use of more than one language within one utterance.

5.1.2 The Distinction between Code-switching and Borrowing

In the literature there has been some disagreement about the kind of criteria which should be used to distinguish code-switching from borrowing. However, that the distinction can and should be made is illustrated simply by the fact that monolinguals as well as bilinguals may use borrowings, whereas only bilinguals can be said to code-switch.² Thus French words

²In the sense in which the term is used here, to refer to switching between two languages, rather than two varieties.

which are regularly used by Moroccan Arabic monolinguals must be recognised as borrowings which have become part of the competence of the Arabic speaker.

It is usually easy to see the motivation behind such borrowings. Words are usually borrowed from one language into another to fill a lexical gap in the second language, which may possess no simple term for the concept represented by the borrowed word. For example, many of the French words which have been borrowed into Moroccan Arabic refer to entities which were introduced into Morocco along with the French language and culture; there was no Moroccan Arabic word for them simply because they had not previously been well known in Morocco. Obvious examples are words like the French limonade, appartement, immeuble, étage. On the other hand, it would have been very surprising if French words for such items as milk, oranges or children had been borrowed into Arabic, since the latter already had well-established terms for these. French words have also been borrowed in order to designate a particularly French type of entity, as opposed to the indigenous Arabic one; so, for instance, the French villa is used for a European style house as opposed to a traditional Arab one, which is called by the Arabic [Da:r], and the French flute is used for a French style loaf while [xobz] is used for an Arab one.

Code-switching, on the other hand, need not be motivated by the need to fill some such lexical gap; on the contrary, a bilingual may switch from one language to another even though he is perfectly able to convey the whole of his message in the first language, and may in fact sometimes demonstrate this by making a switch and then returning to his original language and providing a translation of the switched material. As Gumperz (1976, p.7) points out, "Only in relatively few passages is code alternation motivated by a speaker's inability to find words to express what he/she wants to say in one or the other code. In the great majority of cases, the code-switched information could be equally well expressed in either

language".

One feature which may sometimes serve to distinguish borrowed items from instances of code-switching is phonological adaptation. Words which are borrowed from one language into another often become integrated into the host language to such an extent that they become adapted to the phonological system of this language. For instance, the words épicerie and télévision are pronounced in French as [episəri] and [televizjɔ̃], but they have been borrowed into Moroccan Arabic where they are pronounced [bisri] and [tilifizju:n]; the French phonemes /v/ and /p/, which have no exact equivalents in Moroccan Arabic, have been replaced by the "nearest" Moroccan Arabic phonemes, /f/ and /b/, and the vowels have been similarly adapted. The extent of such integration is of course such that monolinguals may not be aware that the word was originally borrowed from French. The bilingual, as well as using the borrowed word, may of course on occasion code-switch to use the French one; and phonological characteristics may thus be useful in determining whether a particular instance should be classed as one or the other.

Words may also become morphologically adapted to the host language; for instance, a French word may be used with Moroccan Arabic inflections. However, as Pfaff (1979) points out, this may not be a particularly useful criterion for distinguishing borrowing from switching; it may not always be appropriate to assume that those elements of one language which undergo morphological processes belonging to another are borrowed words, while those which have not are switches. For example, it may not always correlate with the phonological criterion; the French word, with its Arabic inflection, may still be pronounced in accordance with the French phonological system.

Pfaff (1979) mentions some other factors which may on occasion help to determine whether a particular case is to be regarded as involving borrowing or switching. For example, she suggests that a hesitation immediately before the item

may indicate that the speaker regards the word as foreign, rather than as an integrated borrowing. This feeling may also be made explicit in a parenthetical (e.g. as they say) Similarly, if the speaker uses the word and then provides a translation of it in the other language, this suggests that the utterance involves a code-switch.

A further distinction between code-switching and borrowing is that drawn by Shaffer (1975). He notes that code-switching rarely occurs in writing or formal registers, whereas borrowed words often do. He suggests that this is because, in writing or speaking formally, a person will take more time to monitor his output and seek out the most appropriate words and constructions, and will thus avoid switching, which occurs when he is simply interested in getting his message across; switching, he claims, "follows the line of least resistance" (Shaffer 1975, p.489).

Another criterion which has been used to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing is the contrast between single lexical items and longer stretches of language. Gingrás (1974) feels that where the change of language extends over only a single element, this element must be identified as a borrowing, whereas if it extends over more than one element it is an instance of code-switching. However, this does not seem to accord with the facts, as has been remarked by Pfaff (1979). Surely it is possible for whole phrases to be borrowed and become integrated into another language; obvious examples in English are phrases like French tête-à-tête, faux pas, savoir faire, or even whole sentences (Italian che sera, sera), which are regularly used by monolingual English speakers, who cannot be said to code-switch between two languages. Nor does there seem any reason to exclude the possibility of a code-switch which involves a single item; many examples of this will be seen in our data (see 5.3).

In practice, of course, it may sometimes be very difficult to decide whether a particular utterance contains an instance of borrowing or one of code-switching, in cases

where none of the above criteria seem to be useful. However, this does not detract from the validity of the theoretical distinction, which I feel is a necessary one. Borrowing is a diachronic process, one aspect of language change, and borrowed words therefore have their place in a descriptive study of the language itself; once borrowed, a word actually becomes incorporated as part of the other language. Code-switching, on the other hand, is a phenomenon of language use, one aspect of the way in which bilinguals use their two languages, and is not something which can be described within the form and structure of either language. Since in the present study I am interested in the way in which Moroccans use their languages, rather than in a descriptive study of either Moroccan Arabic or Moroccan French, it is code-switching which will be my concern in the rest of this chapter.

5.1.3 Previous Studies

Some studies of code-switching have examined the question of what may provoke a switch from one language to another. In the first place one may look at linguistic influences on whether or not a code-switch occurs. For instance, Clyne (1967, 1972) looks at the way some aspect of an utterance may influence the language used in another part of it. He uses the term "trigger" for something which provokes a switch, and distinguishes between anticipational triggering and consequential triggering, noting that "what is said is often determined by a previous utterance or by anticipation of what is to follow" (Clyne 1967, p.84). Secondly, one may consider the role of situational factors in provoking a code-switch. We have already seen in Chapter 4 that certain situations or components of situations tend to favour the use of one language rather than another. Thus a development in the circumstances of a discussion, such as a change of topic or interlocutor, might well be expected to provoke a code-switch. Verma (1976), for instance, claims that the topic of discussion has an important effect on Hindi-English code-switching.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) draw a distinction between situational switching, where changes of language signal "changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligation" (p.424), and what they call metaphorical switching, where the participants' relationship does not change, but the changes of language reflect different aspects of their relationship (e.g. business v. private), or different topics or purposes.

Other work on code-switching has focussed on the kinds of communicative purposes a switch can fulfil. Rayfield (1970), in his study of Yiddish speakers in California, observes the tendency for code-switching to occur with greetings, partings and quotations. He draws attention to its use as a rhetorical device, claiming that the bilingual may code-switch in order to emphasise, dramatise, include a parenthetical remark or convey taboo notions, a tactic Kachru (1977) calls neutralisation. Kachru observes that code-switching in India is used as a communicative strategy to show one's identity, to reveal or conceal one's economic class or religion, and even to suggest modernity, authority, power and membership of the élite. Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975) demonstrate how code-switching may enable the speaker to assess his interlocutor's ethnic identity, age, sex, degree of solidarity or confidentiality. Timm considers her study of code-switching among Mexican-Americans in California (Timm 1975) to confirm this, showing that a switch to Spanish may be a device used to show personal feelings such as affection, loyalty or religious devotion. Scotton and Ury (1977) also observe that a code-switch can give the interaction a different social meaning, but also suggest that continual code-switching may serve to leave the situation unspecified, a strategy employed when the speaker is uncertain about the status and the appropriate norms of the interaction. Code-switching may result from one participant's desire to show solidarity by reciprocating or "converging" (Giles 1979) with his interlocutor, making his speech patterns resemble more closely those of his interlocutor, or to show the opposite by "diverging", adopting

a code different from that of the interlocutor. Di Pietro (1977) suggests that among Italian-American bilinguals code-switching may be used to produce special effects such as mockery, ridicule or comic effect; and Gumperz (1976) similarly notes the use of code-switching between Yiddish and English for humorous effect in the writing of Canadian Jews.

Interest has also been shown in the grammatical parameters of code-switching. Lance (1975) concludes from his analysis of Spanish-English code-switching that such switching is not subject to syntactic constraints. "There are perhaps no syntactic restrictions on where the switching can occur" (Lance 1975, p.143). However, others have disagreed with him and claim that specific grammatical rules are required to account for the fact that a code-switch can occur in some syntactic environments but not in others. Such constraints on intra-sentential switching have been proposed for Spanish-English code-switching by Timm (1975), McClure and Wentz (1975), Pfaff (1976, 1979) and Poplack (1980), for Hindi-English code-switching by Kachru (1977), for Russian-French code-switching by Timm (1977), and for Arabic-French code-switching by Abbassi (1977), while Gumperz (1976) identifies some general constraints based on consideration of Spanish-English, Hindi-English and Slovenian-German code-switching. The details of some of these proposed constraints will be discussed in 5.3.

5.2 Arabic-French Code-Switching

5.2.1 Previous Work

Among North-Africans, the phenomenon of code-switching has been generally looked upon as a kind of language distortion, frequently described in popular literature as one of the unfortunate consequences of colonisation. Perhaps because of this type of attitude, very few have considered it an area worthy of study. Many North African writers, in discussing bilingualism and its effects, content themselves with a mere

passing reference to the phenomenon, dismissing it as something to be deplored and regretted. Special terms have been coined which reflect the view that it is neither one language nor the other. For example, Moatassime, in an interesting article on "le bilinguisme sauvage", refers to it as "une forme d'expression appauvrie: 'petit nègre' pour les uns, 'francarabe' pour les autres" (Moatassime 1974, p.654). Ismail (1977, p.4) uses the terms [alṣarnsi], franaçais or arafrançais, while Garmadi (1971, p.19) identifies it as "l'emploi de sabir franco-arabe". Guessous (1976, p.6) observes that "bilingualism has given rise to a bastard language and culture, i.e., a mixture of Arabic and French", while Lahjomri (1976, p.5) refers in a deprecating way to "the use of a strange language resulting from the mixture of Moroccan Arabic and French". Micaud (1974, p.94) comments on the nature of this language mixture: "the most popular tongue of Tunisians has become the hybrid Franco-Arabic where the speaker uses alternately groups of French words that form correct grammatical constructions followed by an equally correct group of words in dialect, and vice versa".

I have come across no substantial studies of the use of Arabic-French code-switching in North Africa. Stevens (1974), in his study of Tunisian bilingualism, mentions code-switching, but from his examples it becomes clear that he does not distinguish between this and borrowing. His approach is in any case not very methodical; he bases his description of code-switching purely on a collection of anecdotes about his experiences in Tunisia, listing examples of utterances he overheard, which hardly seem sufficient to justify the generalisations he draws from them.

Abbassi (1977) used a more systematic method of investigating code-switching by Moroccan bilinguals, obtaining his data by tape-recording conversations between Moroccan bilinguals. He lists some of the syntactic constructions in which code-switching can occur, and postulates quite a number of syntactic

constraints to account for the limited possibilities. However, the examples he chooses to demonstrate his proposed constraints are not always well-chosen, as will be seen in 5.3.

5.2.2 Method of Investigation

5.2.2.1 Obtaining the Data

Seven and a half hours of recording, made up of a variety of conversations, were obtained by means of a small portable cassette recorder. Care was taken to ensure that the recorder always remained hidden, so that those taking part in the conversations remained unaware that they were being recorded. It was felt that only in these circumstances could the recorded samples be considered examples of spontaneous, unselfconscious speech, and it was considered important to obtain natural samples of everyday conversations. The method differed in this respect from that adopted by some other investigators, such as Fallis (1976), Redlinger (1976) and Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975), in collecting samples of Spanish-English code-switching. In their investigations the speakers involved were aware that they were being recorded, and moreover, had even been told that the investigator was interested in hearing some examples of code-switching. I feel strongly that this is not a desirable approach, since it may result in the speakers' adopting special styles of speech through self-consciousness, in which case the amount, distribution and nature of their code-switching may not be representative of that which occurs in their natural everyday speech. My aim in keeping the recording completely secret was thus to ensure that there was no danger of such artificiality.

5.2.2.2 Settings

The recorded conversations took place in various houses in Morocco, mostly in my own. This location was found to be the most convenient as it was not easy to hide the tape

recorder elsewhere. Recording was also found to be impractical in streets, shops and cafés because of the high level of background noise. The house constitutes an ideal place for informal, friendly, casual chats between peers, and it was felt that this type of informal setting, rather than a more formal one, would leave the participants most free to adopt the style of speech with which they felt most relaxed.

5.2.2.3 Interlocutors

The total number of participants in the conversations was fifteen; a number of these took part in several different conversations, recorded on different occasions. Each conversation involved two, three or four persons; the recordings were all made in such small groups because it was observed that, when the number of speakers exceeded four, confusion arose, as there was a tendency for more than one of the participants to speak at the same time.

The only criterion used in selecting the speakers was their degree of bilingualism. All of them were fluent in French as well as Arabic, and there were no monolinguals taking part in any of the recorded conversations. These bilinguals were randomly chosen; they were just visitors who happened to call. Their ages ranged from 17 to about 40. The vast majority of the balanced bilinguals in Morocco are of course in this age range, since few people older than this have received an advanced education in both languages,³ and those younger than this may be less than totally fluent in French. The participants were all fairly well educated, as most balanced bilinguals are; they included schoolchildren, students, teachers, business executives, a doctor, a pharmacist, a nurse an army officer and a travel courier.

³The reasons why this is the case are made clear in the description of the Moroccan education system in 1.2.1 and 1.2.2.

5.2.2.4 Topics

The conversations recorded covered a wide range of subjects, from idle chat about food, weather and everyday events to discussions about work, education, politics, holidays and so on. The topic of conversation sometimes shifted to the recounting of anecdotes and narratives by a particular speaker; at other times, it turned into an argument, evoking some degree of agitation among the participants. The tone of the speakers thus varied from humorous and light-hearted to serious, argumentative and even dramatic.

5.2.2.5 Presentation of Data

All the recorded material was transcribed and examined thoroughly. Parts which were of particular interest and relevance to my investigation were then collected. In all the extracts from the data which are quoted here, the French parts of utterances are reproduced using conventional orthography, while the Arabic parts are for convenience presented in phonetic transcription. For purposes of clarity, all French items are underlined, to distinguish them from Arabic ones; this makes it easy to see at a glance where the switches occur. This convention is also observed in the translations which are provided with each extract, translations of French but not of Arabic items being underlined. The translations provided are of the literal, word-for-word type which will shed most light on the structure of the original. Where the meaning is not immediately clear from such a translation, a further gloss is provided.

5.2.2.6 Use of Respondents

While most of the work described in this chapter was concerned with analysing and explaining parts of the corpus of data, it was also found useful to refer to respondents for certain information. In investigating the syntactic possibilities for code-switching, I occasionally found it useful to appeal

to the intuitions of some Moroccan bilinguals regarding the acceptability or naturalness of various invented utterances illustrating particular types of code-switch. The judges selected for this purpose were four balanced bilinguals who had been observed to use a lot of code-switching in their own speech.

It was also found necessary to seek the opinions of respondents in investigating Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes towards the phenomenon of code-switching. For this purpose a questionnaire was administered to 109 bilinguals. Full details of this part of the investigation are provided in 5.5.1.

5.3 Aspects of the Syntax of Code-Switching

In this section I shall examine the possibilities for code-switching in various specific syntactic environments, as these are exemplified in my data. Of particular interest is the question of whether it is necessary to postulate any constraints on code-switching, stated in syntactic terms, in order to account for these possibilities.

5.3.1 Noun Phrases

5.3.1.1 Determiners and Demonstratives

In Moroccan Arabic, the definite article is realised as [al] or [l] , except before nouns beginning with one of the following consonants: /š, ž, s, z, t, d, n, l, r/, in which case it is realised by a single consonant identical with this initial consonant.⁴ However, while Arabic and French are thus similar in that in both cases the definite article is a single morpheme which precedes the noun, there is no such simple correspondence with regard to indefinite articles.

⁴Thus we have [da:r] "house", but [dda:r] "the house".

While in French indefiniteness is also expressed by a single article preceding the noun (un, une, des), in Arabic there is more than one possibility. Indefiniteness may be expressed by a noun alone, with no article, as in (1); or by the article [š*ī*] which is prefixed to a noun, as in (2); or by the article [w*ahed*], which occurs before a noun which is accompanied by the definite article, as in (3).

- (1) bint "a girl"
 (2) š*ī* bint "some girl (or other)"
 (3) w*ahed* l bint "one the girl" (a girl)

Similarly, while in French a demonstrative (ce, cet, cette, ces) does not cooccur with other determiners, in Arabic the demonstratives behave like the indefinite [w*ahed*] in preceding a noun which is accompanied by the definite article, as in (4);

- (4) h*ad* l bint "this the girl" (this girl)

An examination of the data revealed examples where a determiner in Arabic accompanies a noun in French, a configuration which can be represented as $Det^A N^F$. The following are examples:

- (5) š*ī* semaine "some week"
 (6) š*ī* invité djal la famille "a guest of the family"
 (7) š*ī* machine à écrire "a typewriter"
 (8) f ddélégation "in the education office"
 (9) djal ddouche froide "of the shower cold"

French nouns may also be accompanied by two determiners in Arabic:

- (10) dak ddésodorant "that the deodorant"
 (11) w*ahed* ddragueur "one the flirt"

There are also examples where the determiner is in French and the noun in Arabic.

$Det^F N^A$

- (12) j'ai seulement le kerš "I have only the paunch"
 (13) tu ne veux pas de šlada "you don't want some salad"
 (14) žbert řandu des mraja:t "I found in his house some mirrors"
 (15) va parler à un řaskri "go talk to a soldier"

Switches between a determiner and a noun have also been found to be common in the speech of other types of bilingual. For instance, McClure and Wentz (1976), Timm (1975) and Pfaff (1979) all observe that code-switching occurs freely in this environment in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals; indeed, switches of this kind constitute by far the most common type occurring within NPs in the corpus of recordings on which Pfaff bases her analysis. On the other hand, while those who have been concerned mainly with Spanish-English code-switching all seem to agree that this kind of switching is not restricted in any way, Abbassi (1977), discussing the Arabic-French code-switching of Moroccan bilinguals, claims that there is a constraint governing switching here. He maintains that, while it is quite possible for the determiner to be in Arabic and the noun in French, the reverse does not occur; it is impossible for the determiner to be in French and the noun in Arabic. Examples like (12-15), however, show that, on the contrary, this is a real possibility, although the incidence of such forms in the data is not as great as that of examples where it is the determiner which is in Arabic.

Our data also provides numerous examples of where a switch occurs between two determiners. The following representative examples contain an Arabic demonstrative or indefinite article followed by a French article and noun.

	Dem ^A	Det ^F	N ^F	
(16)	haduk	<u>les</u>	<u>gens</u>	"these <u>the people</u> "
(17)	dak	<u>la</u>	<u>chemise</u>	"that <u>the shirt</u> "
(18)	wahed	<u>le</u>	<u>liquide</u>	"one <u>the liquid</u> "
(19)	wahed	<u>la</u>	<u>substance</u>	"one <u>the substance</u> "
(20)	wahed	<u>une</u>	<u>demi-heure</u>	"one <u>a half-hour</u> "
(21)	wahed	<u>une</u>	<u>cousine</u>	"one <u>a cousin</u> "

However, while this type of switching is very common in our corpus, the reverse pattern, where the first determiner is in French and the second in Arabic, does not occur at all. To check that this was not merely an incidental gap, I constructed some

hypothetical examples of this type, such as (22) and (23) below. These were judged to be entirely unacceptable by the Moroccan respondents.

*Dem^F Det^A N^A

(22) *ce l fqi "this the teacher"

(23) *cette l xubza "this the loaf"

We may postulate that the impossibility of examples like these is due to the fact that here a French determiner is followed by another determiner - in Arabic - whereas the rules of French do not allow such a sequence of two determiners; there are of course no grammatical strings of the form *cette la fille. In contrast, in the acceptable examples (16-21), the Arabic demonstrative or indefinite article is followed by another article, in French, just as it would be if the whole noun phrase were in Arabic; the structure of these examples corresponds to that of grammatical Arabic structures such as dak l qamiža.⁵

This hypothesis gains support from the respondents' judgements of some further invented examples involving a demonstrative immediately followed by a noun. They were unanimous in finding (24) acceptable but (25) impossible.

Dem^F N^A

(24) cette zitu:na "this olive"

*Dem^A N^F

(25) *Had pomme "this apple"

This contrast can be explained in the same way. In the case of (24), a French demonstrative is followed immediately by its noun, as would be the case if the whole structure was in French; this example, unlike ones like (23) is quite

⁵In (20) and (21), as opposed to (18) and (19), it is true that the second, French, article is not definite, as it would have to be in Arabic, but indefinite; however, these examples too seem to satisfy the structural requirement by the fact that there is a second article, of whatever type.

acceptable, because the whole conforms with the rules of French. On the other hand, in (25) an Arabic demonstrative is followed immediately by a noun, a configuration which, unlike that of (16), violates the requirement that such a demonstrative be followed by another article. While the structure following a French determiner must conform with the rules of French, that following an Arabic one must conform with those of Arabic. It would seem, then, that switching is only possible provided that the structure following the switch is equivalent to that which would have been grammatical in the original language, had no switch occurred.

5.3.1.2 Adjectives and Possessives

In Moroccan Arabic, an adjective must always follow the noun it modifies; the same is generally true in French, with the exception of a number of common adjectives which normally precede the noun. In both languages adjectives are inflected for number and gender to agree with the noun they modify.

The data contains examples where a noun in one language is modified by an adjective in the other.

N^A Adj^F

- (26) hwajž officiels "dress formal"
 (27) dak l warqableue "that the paper the blue"⁶
 (28) bhal ši waħda enceinte "like somebody pregnant"
 (29) dak ši très simple "something very simple"

N^F Adj^A

- (30) les immeubles l xri:n "the blocks of flats the other"⁶
 (31) dans les deux cent wagons ždad "about two hundred
carriages new"
 (32) les voisins kulhum "the neighbours all"
 (33) il avait un pantalon mqawd "he had some trousers
 awful"

The Arabic adjectives are inflected to agree with the French

⁶In Arabic, an adjective modifying a definite NP must itself be accompanied by a definite article, as is the case in (27) and (30).

ones; for instance, the adjective [ʒdad] in (31) is plural to agree with wagons.

Abbassi claims that there is a constraint which prevents a French adjective from being used to modify an Arabic noun, although an Arabic adjective may be used to modify a French noun. The existence of examples like (26-29) in our data, however, shows that this claim is not valid.

Pfaff (1979) suggests that code-switching is constrained so that, where a noun and its modifying adjective are in different languages, the order of the two "must match the surface word order of both the language of the adjective and the language of the head noun" (Pfaff 1979, p.306). Certainly all the examples listed above satisfy this requirement, for in each case the adjective follows the noun, in accordance with the rules of both French and Arabic. To check whether such a constraint was operating, however, I constructed some examples involving French adjectives which, to receive a particular interpretation, must precede the noun they qualify. These examples, given below as (34-37), were judged to be perfectly acceptable by the respondents.

Adj^F N^A

(34) J'ai vu un ancien tilmid djali "I saw an old student of mine"

(35) kajn un autre muškil "there is another problem"

(36) c'est une pauvre bint "she is a poor girl"

(37) c'est la seule bint "she is the only girl"

The acceptability of examples like these of course does not bear out Pfaff's claim, since here the ordering of adjective and noun is in accordance with the word order requirements of French but not with those of Arabic, where adjectives must follow the noun.

However, these facts do accord with the postulated requirement, mentioned in 5.3.1.1, that the structure following a switch must be the equivalent of that which would have been grammatical if there had been no switch. After the French adjectives in each of (34-37), one would expect to find a

noun, and so an Arabic noun is as acceptable in this position as a French one. On the other hand, the sequence Arabic adjective followed by French noun is impossible because it would not satisfy this requirement; in this case the structure after the switch would not be the one required if there were no switch, since an Arabic noun could not be preceded by its adjective.

Pfaff's postulated constraint on where switching is possible between adjective and noun could in fact be seen as a particular instance of what Poplack (1980) states as a far more general constraint, one of two constraints which she claims together account for all the possibilities for code-switching.⁷ This is what she calls the Equivalence Constraint, according to which a code-switch is possible only if it involves no violation of the surface syntactic rules of either language. This constraint is similarly shown to be invalid, at least for Arabic-French code-switching, by the possibility of examples like (34-37), which would appear to violate the Arabic rule on ordering of noun and adjective.

While French has a set of possessive adjectives, which precede the noun and in fact behave like determiners, possession in Arabic is expressed by the particle [djal], to which a suffix pronoun is attached, and which follows the noun, as is illustrated by (38).

(38) l wald djali "the son of me" (my son)

The data contains a number of examples where a switch occurs between a French noun and an accompanying Arabic possessive.

N^F Poss^A

(39) le copain djali "the friend of me" (my friend)

(40) le linge djalk "the washing of you" (your washing)

(41) hadak l pince djalu "those the pliers of him"

(42) tajfml rreport ntafu "he makes the report of him"

⁷The other, which she calls the Free Morpheme Constraint, states that a switch is possible after any constituent provided that the constituent is not a bound morpheme.

There were no examples of an Arabic noun accompanied by a French possessive, but invented examples like the following were judged acceptable by the respondents.

Poss^F N^A

- (43) Je n'ai pas vu leur xadama "I haven't seen their maid"
 (44) Salue votre ġaila de notre part "greet your family on our behalf"
 (45) Donne ça à leurs xalat wla xwatat "Give that to their aunts or sisters"

5.3.1.3 Whole NPs

While the word order typical of simple declaratives in French is SVO,⁸ so that (46) is possible but not (47), in Arabic the word order in declaratives may be either SVO or VSO, so that both (48) and (49) are possible.

- (46) Le garçon mange le pain.
 (47) *Mange le garçon le pain.
 (48) l wld kla l xubz "the boy ate the bread"
 (49) kla l wld l xubz "ate the boy the bread"

Switches between a subject NP, in French, and a verb, in Arabic, are frequent in the data, and these exemplify both of the possible Arabic word orders.

S^F V^A

- (50) l'autobus kajmši "the bus is going"
 (51) les gens mabqaw jxalSu: "people stopped paying"
 (52) mon père ža "my father came"

V^A S^F

- (53) ža le control "came the control time"
 (54) na:Du: les privés "arose the private practitioners"
 (55) bqa:t l'appartement "remained the apartment"

However, I found no examples with the verb in French and its subject in Arabic, so I constructed hypothetical instances of this pattern, such as the following; the respondents judged these to be acceptable without any hesitation.

⁸ Subject-Verb-Object

S^A V^F(56) waħed xiji est venu "somebody came"(57) Saħbi m'a donné de l'argent "my friend has given
me some money"(58) haħ l marSa sent dégueulasse "this port smells re-
voltling"

Abbassi (1977) suggests that a constraint is required to exclude the possibility of VSO order where the verb is in Arabic. However, the example he gives to illustrate the fact that French word order is required when the verb is in French is the following:

(59) *pensent les gens yir f - rashum (Abbassi 1977, p.152)
"think people only of themselves"

This is hardly an appropriate example, since the switch is in any case not between subject and verb here. The string *pensent les gens is ungrammatical even in French, so there seems no reason to expect it to be grammatical in a mixed French and Arabic structure. A more appropriate example would have been something like (60), where the subject is in Arabic, and where one might therefore have expected it to occur in the post-verbal position which is permitted in Arabic.

(60) *vient waħed rraħel "comes a man"

I would agree with Abbassi that such examples are impossible; there are no such examples in my data, and the respondents found them unacceptable. However, there is no need to postulate a special constraint, as suggested by Abbassi, to account for the impossibility of (60); once again it can be shown to follow naturally from the restriction described earlier, which we could label the Structure Preserving Constraint,⁹ and which requires that the structure following a switch be of the type which would be required had there been no switch. Examples like (60), of course, do not satisfy

⁹With apologies to Emonds (1976). Of course this bears no relation to his Structure-Preserving Constraint, but the label seems equally appropriate for our purposes.

this requirement because here a French verb is followed by its subject, contrary to the ordering rules of French.

Switching is also common between a verb and its object. The data offer examples of a verb in French with its object in Arabic, and the converse.

$V^A O^F$

(61) $\{aTeik$ une enveloppe "I gave you an envelope"

(62) $\{andk$ le golf, $\{andk$ tennis, $\{andk$ les hotels w Sa:fi
"you have golf, you have tennis, you have hotels, and
that's it"

(63) $tajhlu$ du pain "he cuts for him some bread"

$V^F O^A$

(64) elle va lui faire l kr̥i:n "she is going to make
for him cow heel"

(65) il ne faut pas changer ttwSe:l "you must not change
the receipt"

5.3.2 Prepositional Phrases

In Arabic, as in French, prepositions precede the NPs they govern.

(66) f l bit "in the room"
dans la chambre

The data contain numerous examples where the preposition is in Arabic and the noun in French.

Prep^A NP^F

(67) djal la personne "of the person"

(68) fuq le drap "on the sheet"

(69) bla autorisation "without authorization"

(70) f le début "in the beginning"

(71) mša l Paris "he went to Paris"¹⁰

There are also examples where the preposition is in French and the noun in Arabic, though these are less frequent than the first type.

¹⁰We can regard Paris as a French word here, as the corresponding Arabic form is [ba:ri:z].

Prep^F NP^A

- (72) Il nous a emmené de l marSa "he brought us from
the port"
- (73) Ils sont des hommes de peine avec žžfa:fa "they
are men of drudgery with the floorcloth"

Abbassi (1977) claims that switching involving a preposition in French and the noun in Arabic is impossible, but examples like (72) and (73) prove him to be wrong.

Pfaff (1979) claims that switches involving a preposition alone are never made by Spanish-English bilinguals. However, this does not seem to be true for Arabic-French code-switching, for the data contain examples like the following, where the preposition is the only item in the whole sentence to be in Arabic:

- (74) Il devient bhal un perroquet "he becomes like a
parrot"
- (75) Elle te pique min fuq le drap "it bites you through
the sheet"

The data also include many examples where a switch covers a whole prepositional phrase. These switches too seem possible in both directions.

- (76) kuna Ÿadji:n en ville "we were going into town"
- (77) avant l'examen hziť qšawšha "before the examination
she took her belongings"
- (78) jmšī de l'autre côté "he went on the other side"
- (79) il n'y a pas de réduction fi:ha "there is no
reduction in it"
- (80) tu veux aller šand l qajd "you want to go to the
judge"
- (81) tu peux le regarder tħt l ma "you can see it
under water"

Pfaff (1979) finds switches of this kind to be rare in the language of Spanish-English bilinguals, but they seem quite common in Arabic-French bilinguals' speech.

5.3.3 Adverbials and Adverbial Phrases

Switches involving adverbials are very common in the data; an Arabic adverbial may occur in an otherwise French sentence, or vice versa. The examples below illustrate switches

involving Arabic adverbials of place, time, degree and manner and sentence adverbials.

- (82) c'est plus propre tmaja "it is cleaner there"
 (83) j'avais un invité hnaja "I had a guest here"
 (84) tu es tma:k isolé "you are there isolated"
 (85) daba tu n'as aucune préoccupation "now you have no worries"
 (86) c'est un plaisir řawd "it is a pleasure again"
 (87) je connais un qui vient de se marier lba:řh "I know somebody who just got married yesterday"
 (88) f Sbař on s'est réveillé "in the morning we woke up"
 (89) ce n'est plus de service gař "it is no longer in use at all"
 (90) ils veulent être recrutés hakda "they want to be recruited like that"
 (91) il place son arme kif makan "he places his weapon in whatever way he likes"
 (92) bařda les infirmiers ne sont pas des infirmiers "after all, the nurses are not nurses"
 (93) zařma f la façon de se conduire avec ses enfants "supposedly in the way she behaves with her children"

This range of examples shows that the switched adverbial can occur in initial, medial or final position in the sentence. The possibilities are similar where the switch is to a French adverbial, as in the following examples:

- (94) ici makajňš nza:ha "here there is no fun"
 (95) wdu:z tout droit "and go straight on"
 (96) nta matatřiř souvent lhna "you don't come often here"
 (97) jgls fiha de temps en temps "he stays there from time to time"
 (98) sur place Tařu nna:s f le piège "at once people fell into the trap"
 (99) une fois tři tlqa mulaj bi:h "once you arrive you find nothing"
 (100) ainsi de suite hadři ili w qař "and so afterwards that is what will happen"
 (101) donc ma:ři jfiqum řařli:n "so they will wake up late"

- (102) alors ʔadi nqul "so I am going to say"
 (103) en plus bda f l kra "in addition start to pay
 the rent"
 (104) taDrqʕli:h ddwla au contraire "the state protects
 him on the contrary"

Adverbials seem to be one of the most freely "switchable" elements, French adverbials in Arabic environments being just as common as Arabic adverbials in French environments.

5.3.4 Pronouns

Arabic possesses a set of personal pronouns (in the singular ana (1p), nta, nti (2p m/f), huwa, hiya (3p m/f) and in the plural hna (1p), ntu:ma (2p) and huma (3p)), which may function as subjects. However, their presence is not obligatory to designate a pronominal subject, since the tense inflection on the verb in any case indicates the person of its subject. Thus either (105) or (106) can be used to express I write, and either (107) or (108) to express they ate, and so on.

- (105) ana nkteb
 (106) nkteb
 (107) huma klaw
 (108) klaw

In fact, the forms without an overt pronoun are those most commonly used; the pronoun is usually specified only where it is desired to convey particular emphasis.

In French, on the other hand, while the person of the subject is again clear from the inflection of the verb, an accompanying subject pronoun is also obligatory (except in the imperative). These subject pronouns (Singular: je, tu, il, elle, Plural: nous, vous, ils, elles) behave as clitics and cannot occur without a verb. French also possesses a further set, the disjunctive pronouns (Singular: moi, toi, lui, elle, Plural: nous, vous, eux, elles), which can occur alone and serve to convey emphasis; in these respects they resemble the Arabic pronouns. Thus Arabic examples like

(105) and (107) are closer to French ones like (109) and (111), while (106) and (108) parallel (110) and (112).

- (109) Moi j'écris
 (110) J'écris
 (111) Eux ils mangeaient
 (112) Ils mangeaient

Finally, in both Arabic and French the object pronouns behave as clitics; in Arabic they follow the verb, in French they precede it (except in the imperative).

There are no examples in the data of switching between a subject or object pronoun and a verb, and the respondents judged invented examples of such switches, like the following, to be quite impossible.

- *Prn^A V^F *Prn^F V^A
 (113) *ana vais "I am going"
 (114) *je Yadi "I am going"
 (115) *(ana) les nšuf "(I) them 1pTense see"
 *(ana) n les šuf "(I) 1pTense them see"
 (116) *je vois hum "I see them"

The impossibility of this kind of switching has also been attested for other languages. Timm (1975), describing Spanish-English code-switching, notes that "one of the strongest restrictions against switching applies to pronominal subjects or objects (direct or indirect) and the finite verbs to which they belong" (p.477). Similarly, Pfaff (1979) postulates a structural constraint on code-switching which she states as follows:

"Clitic pronoun objects are realized in the same language as the verb to which they are cliticized, and in the position required by the syntactic rules of that language."
 (Pfaff 1979, p.303)

Gumperz (1976), who examines code-switching in three different pairs of languages, finds that in each case switching can occur between all kinds of subject NP and verb except where the subject is an unemphatic pronoun. Whether this restriction can be shown to be the result of some more general constraint is not clear at present.

However, while switching between pronoun and verb is not possible, one striking characteristic of Moroccan bilinguals' speech is that they use the Arabic personal pronouns to accompany the French clitic pronouns. They convey the same kind of emphasis as they do in Arabic, and in fact function just as the French disjunctive pronouns would. Thus they may immediately precede the clitic pronoun or occur elsewhere in the sentence, typically at the beginning or end. The instances of this usage in the data include the following:

- (117) ana je vais raconter "me I am going to tell"
 (118) nta tu vas travailler "you' you are going to work"
 (119) huwa il s'en fout "him he doesn't care"
 (120) hna on n'a pas bougé "us we haven't moved"
 (121) il a fait huwa Bac A "he did him Bac A"
 (122) ana ça m'énerve "me it annoys me"

In (117-121), the Arabic pronoun is coreferential with the French subject, in (122) with the object. An Arabic pronoun may also be used anaphorically to a French possessive adjective, as in the following example from the data:

- (123) ana à mon avis "me in my opinion"

This use of the Arabic pronouns is very typical of the speech of Moroccan bilinguals, occurring even in discourse which does not contain much other switching, but is almost purely French.

On the other hand, the reverse pattern, where a French disjunctive pronoun accompanies an Arabic verb with its understood subject, is not exemplified in the data at all. However, invented examples like the following were found perfectly acceptable by the respondents.

- (124) moi dxlt "me I went in"
 (125) lui ža "him he arrived"
 (126) qrat elle ktab "she read her a book"

5.3.5 Verb Phrases

In both French and Arabic there are verbs which take

another verb as their complement. In French the complement verb takes the form of a subjectless infinitive, as in (127).

(127) Il peut venir "he can come"

In Arabic, however, there is no non-finite form of the verb corresponding to the French infinitive, the only non-finite forms being the participles (see 5.3.6). The complement verb in an Arabic construction will thus be finite in form, inflected for tense. For example, in (128) the complement verb, like the main verb, exhibits the third person singular imperfect inflection.

(128) jbqa jkteb "he keeps he writes" (he keeps writing)

In the data there are a number of examples where the main verb is in Arabic and the complement verb in French.

MV^A CV^F

(129) tajbqa jdiscuter huwa w raši:d hakda
"he keeps discussing him and Rachid like that"

(130) tatbqa tatgratter "you keep scratching"

(131) tajbqa jperdre sa personnalité "he keeps losing
his personality"

(132) tajbqa jconfronter ces idées "he keeps opposing
these ideas"

(133) mbqa:š jfonctioner "it stopped functioning"

(134) xs l wahed jsauver "one needs to save"

(135) šad xsu: jredoubler "again he needs to repeat"

These examples are particularly interesting because the French infinitive in each case is accompanied by an Arabic inflection; in (130), this is {tat}, the second person singular durative, while in the other cases it is {j}, the third person singular imperfect. The French verbs have thus been subjected to Arabic morphological rules.

One might perhaps suppose that this morphological adaptation is evidence that the French verbs are not instances of code-switching at all, but are words which have been borrowed into Arabic. This is the conclusion that Pfaff (1979) reaches about the English words with Spanish inflections which she encounters in her data. However, in all her examples

there is other evidence that the words have the status of borrowings; she notes that all of them "are to be found in dictionaries of Mexican-American Spanish...and appear to be fully incorporated into the Spanish lexicon of the speakers" (Pfaff 1979, p.302). In the cases of our examples, however, all the evidence suggests that they cannot be classed as borrowed words, but do constitute genuine instances of switching (see the discussion in 5.1.2). In the first place, the French infinitives here are in no way adapted to the phonological system of Arabic, but are pronounced as they would be in French. In this respect they contrast clearly with other examples in the data, such as (136):

(136) xsha t marki "she needs to mark (it)"

This might be considered to contain an instance of the French verb marquer; but the word uttered conforms to the phonological system of Arabic, being pronounced [marki], instead of [maʕke], as would be the case in French, which suggests that it has been borrowed into Arabic and integrated as an Arabic word. Moreover, the verbs in (129-135) are not ones which would seem likely to be borrowed into Arabic; they are not needed to fill lexical gaps, for quite common equivalents exist in Moroccan Arabic, with the exception of redoubler in (135). This semi-technical term has in fact been borrowed into Arabic, but as a borrowed word it has been integrated into Arabic and is pronounced [Dobl]. The form in (135), on the contrary, is quite distinct from this borrowed word and is unmistakably the original French word. Finally, in examples like (131) and (132), there is not merely an isolated French infinitive, but a whole phrase in French; it would hardly seem feasible to identify such entire phrases as borrowings, given that they are not particularly idiomatic or fixed expressions.

We can conclude, then, that in Arabic-French code-switching, it is possible for a switch to occur between an Arabic inflection and a French verb.¹¹ It is however noticeable that all the examples of this are ones where the French verb is in the complement of another, Arabic verb; perhaps this environment,

¹¹Such switches of course violate Poplack's (1980) Free Morpheme Constraint (see 5.3.1.2, fn.7), which suggests that no such absolute constraint can be postulated for Arabic-French code-switching, at any rate.

where the French verb is immediately preceded by a similarly inflected Arabic verb, is specially conducive to such switching. There are no convincing examples of such switches involving a French main verb rather than one which is the complement of an Arabic one. In the following examples from the data, an etymologically French verb exhibits Arabic inflections; but these can be clearly contrasted with ones like (129-135), in that in each case the verb is phonologically adapted to Arabic, and clearly has the status of a borrowed word.

- (137) Tlaʃli zzaʃf w nksiliri:ʃla mu:
"I got angry and I accelerated like hell"
- (138) jtnirva mzja:n "he was very annoyed"
- (139) ʃTeiwh cing dirhams b jtiri:na li byi:na
"give him five dirhams and he will produce as many as we want"
- (140) tfiksi l ʃadw "you aim at the enemy"

Thus the French verb accélérer "accelerate", in French [akseleʁe], has become in Arabic [ksiliri:]; s'énervé "get angry", in French [senʁve], becomes in Arabic [tnirvi]; tirer, "produce (stencil copies)", in French [tiʁe], becomes [tiri:], and fixer "aim", in French [fikse], is here [fiksi]. Some of these (accélérer, tirer) are technical words which had to be borrowed into Arabic, which contains no equivalents; and all are used commonly by monolinguals. The contrast between examples like these and ones like (129-135) supports the conclusion that examples (129-135) are genuine examples of switching rather than borrowing.

Others, however, have claimed that it is not possible to code-switch between a main verb and its complement verb. Timm (1975) maintains that such switches are not possible in Spanish-English code-switching; however, Pfaff (1979) comes across a number of examples of just this in her corpus of the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals.

As for Arabic-French code-switching, Abbassi (1977) similarly maintains that switches of this type are impossible. The existence of examples like (129-135) in our data clearly show his claim to be false. Nevertheless, it does seem necessary to recognise some kind of restriction on switches of

this kind. So, while it clearly is possible to use an Arabic main verb with a French complement verb, our data contain no examples where the switch is between a French main verb and an Arabic complement one. Moreover, invented examples of the latter type of switch were judged quite unacceptable by the respondents:

*MV^F CV^A

- (141) *je dois nSeLi "I must pray"
 (142) *nous pouvons nysel lwani bzerba "we can wash
 the dishes quickly"
 (143) *elle désire tzwež had lšam "she wants to get
 married this year"

An explanation for this disparity can, however, be provided in terms of the very general Structure-Preserving Constraint proposed earlier. As was mentioned above, Arabic verbs take finite complements while French ones take infinitive complements. We might then attribute the impossibility of examples like (141-143) to the fact that here the French main verb, which requires an infinitive complement, is instead given a finite Arabic one, marked for Tense. There is of course no Arabic infinitive form such as might satisfy the structural requirement of the French main verb. These examples can be contrasted with those like (129-135). In the latter cases, the Arabic main verb requires a finite, tense-marked complement; and in each case the presence of an Arabic inflection means that this requirement is indeed satisfied across the switch. Comparable examples where the French infinitive was not accompanied by an Arabic inflection, such as the following, were judged impossible by the respondents:

- (144) *tatbqa gratter
 (145) *tajbqa confronter ces idées
 (146) *xs l wahed sauver¹²

Evidently, then, it is possible to "convert" a French infinitive into the kind of finite complement required to preserve the Arabic structure introduced by the Arabic main verb, though

¹² cf. examples (130), (132) and (134).

it does not seem possible to convert a tensed Arabic verb into the kind of infinitive required in a structure introduced by a French main verb. The fact that a switch between Arabic inflection and French verb is possible only in this kind of complement environment, then, could be linked to the fact that here there is a strong motivation for such an inflection; if the inflection is not included the structure preserving constraint will be violated and the result will not be acceptable.

The possibilities for switching across the main verb - complement verb boundary, then, can be quite naturally explained in terms of this very general constraint. This can account both for the impossibility of (141-146) and for the necessity for the Arabic tense inflection in examples like (129-135).

5.3.6 Participial Phrases

Both Arabic and French possess two types of participle, active and passive. So from the Arabic verb [ktb], we derive [ka:tb] "writing" and [mktu:b] "(having been) written", and from the French verb influencer we derive influençant "influencing" and influencé "(having been) influenced". In both languages, participles may function as adjectives, in which case they follow the noun they modify and are inflected for gender and number to agree with this noun.

Switches may involve a participle in either Arabic or French, as illustrated by the following examples from the data.

- (147) On a vu un type ga:ls tma "we saw a man sitting there"
- (148) tSebhum les mêmes personnes ga:lsi:n f les mêmes places
"you find the same people sitting in the same places"
- (149) ana mši:t Sand un type xada:m f les trains
"I went (to see) a bloke working in the trains"
- (150) bqa ga:ls hakak figé "he stayed sitting like that
fixed (motionless)"
- (151) kajkfr, influencé wqtama: Sandu ši problème
"he gets angry, influenced whenever he has a problem"

However, there are fewer examples of French participles in Arabic environments than there are of Arabic ones in French environments.

5.3.7 Interrogatives

Arabic, like French, contains a number of interrogative elements - pronouns, adverbs and adjectives - which occur in initial position in interrogative sentences. The data provide some examples of a switch immediately following one of these elements; in each case the interrogative word is in Arabic and what follows in French.

- (152) šmin voiture? "which car?"
 (153) fajn domaine? "in which domain?
 (154) šmin jolie?" "in what respect pretty?"
 (155) šhal min waḥed étaient...? "how many were...?"

Abbassi (1977) claims that there is a constraint governing switching in interrogative sentences, which requires an interrogative word to be in the same language as the following VP.¹³ The existence of examples like (155) would seem to refute this. Since this was the only such example in the data, I attempted to find out if there was any justification for Abbassi's constraint by constructing a number of other examples where switching occurs between the interrogative word and the rest of the sentence. All of the following examples were judged to be quite normal by the respondents:

- (156) škun a dit ça? "who said that?"
 (157) škun lli tu as invité? "who that you have invited?
 (158) fuqaš le train part? "when the train leaves?
 (159) šlaš tu es triste? "why you are sad?"
 (160) fajen tu vas partir maintenant? "where you are going to set off (to) now?"

¹³It is, however, rather difficult to know exactly what Abbassi means by the term VP; he seems to use the term rather inconsistently, sometimes referring to a string containing both subject and predicate as a VP.

- (161) kifaš il est venu? "how he came?"
 (162) waš tu le connais? "whether you know him?" (do
 you know him?)
 (163) šnu tu vas faire? "what you are going to do?"
 (164) quand daxel ttra:n? "when leaves the train?"
 (165) pourquoi Talšilha zšaf? "why she is angry?"
 (166) comment huwa ža? "how he came?"
 (167) est-ce que tatšarfu? "is it that you know him?"
 (do you know him?)

However, switching after an interrogative word in French seems to be rather less free than switching after one in Arabic, for the respondents judged the following examples to be unacceptable, in contrast to their counterparts where the interrogative word is in Arabic, (156), (157), (160) and (163).

- (168) *qui qal had šī? "who said that?"
 (169) *qui lli šarDti šlih? "who that you invited him?"
 (170) *où Ÿadi tamšī daba? "where you are going to go
 now?"
 (171) *qu'est-ce que šamlti? "what is it that you did?"

It is not at all clear to me why, of all these structures, only these four should be rejected. However, it is at least clear that there is no reason to postulate a general constraint against switching after an interrogative word, as proposed by Abbassi (1977).

We might also mention some examples of switching involving tags. French uses as a tag the interrogative structure n'est-ce pas?, while in Arabic the particle [jak] serves a similar purpose; in both cases the tag is appended at the end of a declarative sentence and serves to seek confirmation from the addressee that what is asserted is indeed the case. There were in the data many examples where the Arabic tag was attached to a French sentence, including the following:

S^F Tag^A

- (172) je croyais bižana je faisais ça exprès jak?¹⁴
 "I thought that I was doing it on purpose, didn't I?"

¹⁴ For comments on the other type of switch exemplified in this sentence, see 5.3.10.4.

- (173) c'est lui qui l'envoyait ballader jak?
 "it's him who sent her packing, isn't it?"
- (174) ton cousin jak?
 "your cousin, isn't it?" (it's your cousin, isn't it?)

Although there were no examples of French tags accompanying Arabic sentences in the data, all the respondents judged examples like the following to be perfectly normal:

S^A Tag^F

- (175) mšī:t l fa:s n'est-ce pas? "I went to Fez, didn't I?"
- (176) qriti wahed l kta:b n'est-ce pas?
 "you read a book, didn't you?"

5.3.8 Parentheticals

We may mention under this heading the kinds of fixed phrase often used as fillers, interjections, and so on, which occur very frequently in the speech of Moroccans, regardless of what language they are using. The need to use one of these fillers often seems to motivate a switch.

In the following examples, a parenthetical in Arabic is inserted into an otherwise French sentence:

- (177) Elle veut imposer ses croyances, smijtu, aux autres
 "she wants to impose her beliefs, what do you call it, on others"
- (178) Je n'admettrais pas à, smijtu, ce que ça se passe
comme ça
 "I wouldn't admit to, what do you call it, that things
happen like that"
- (179) Elle a, manšrf , dix ans
 "she is, I don't know, ten years old"
- (180) Un couple qui étaient avec moi en classe en deuxième
année, lmuhim, la femme...
 "a couple who were with me at college in the second
 year, in short, the wife..."
- (181) Ça doit être formel, jšni, protocolaire
 "it must be formal, I mean, official"
- (182) C'est un aspect, jšni, de ce qui existe ici
 "it's one aspect, I mean, of what exists here"
- (183) La plupart, fhmti, c'est pas des agents
 "most of them, do you understand, are not agents"

In my data, it seems to be relatively less common for a French parenthetical to occur in an otherwise Arabic utterance.

Examples include the following:

- (184) w xla:h, tu vois, w bqa tajšuf
 "and he left him, you see, and kept looking around"
- (185) xlaqlhum wahed l wli:jd, tu vois, řa:d xlaqlhum
 "they've had a little baby, you see, they've just had it"

Hasselmo (1970) notes the tendency for Swedish-American bilinguals to use these kinds of parenthetical or what he calls "discourse markers" in English when the rest of their speech is in Swedish, and he suggests that this strategy is to allow them to maintain an "American-Swedish mode of speaking".

In a similar way, Moroccan bilinguals seem to preserve Arabic discourse markers even when the rest of their speech is largely in French; the resulting patterns are of course particularly typical of Moroccans' speech.

5.3.9 Coordination

The coordinating conjunctions in Arabic are [w] (and), [wla] (or) and [walkin] (but), the corresponding French coordinators being et, ou and mais. Many examples of switching occur in structures involving the coordination of two sentences. Where the two sentences are in different languages, the coordinating conjunction is most often in the same language as the second sentence, as in the following examples.

S^F Conj^A S^A

- (186) Il n'a rien à faire w mša "he hasn't anything to do and he left"

- (187) j'avais faim w xft nakul "I was hungry and I was afraid to eat"

S^A Conj^F S^F

- (188) txruž et elle me pique f la figure
 "it comes out and it bites me on the face"

- (189) řandna bza:f ddrija et je ne m'entends pas avec ma mère

"we've got a lot of children and I don't get on well with my mother"

There are also examples where the conjunction is in the same language as the first clause, like (190):

S^A Conj^A S^F

(190) {Teitulu w il l'a analysé

"I gave it to him and he analysed it"

The existence of examples like this one conflict with the claim made by Gumperz (1976, p.34) that when a switch occurs between two conjoined sentences, the conjunction must always be in the same language as the second sentence. Pfaff(1979) also notes that Gumperz' constraint is not valid, as she too finds examples on the pattern of (190) in her Spanish-English data.

In other cases, both sentences are in the same language, with only the conjunction in the other language.

S^A Conj^F S^A

(191) ana tanxarž hadši kulu et tan dir lma

"I take everything out and pour water over"

S^F Conj^A S^F

(192) je me suis mis au lit w j'ai dormi

"I went to bed and I slept"

(193) je me rase wla je ne me rase pas

"I shave or I don't shave"

(194) elle t'attend wla elle attend n'importe qui

"she is waiting for you or she is waiting for anybody"

Kachru(1977)'s discussion of code-switching by Indians claims that it is impossible^{for} the conjunction to be in a different language from both of the sentences it conjoins; but examples like (191-194) show that this is not a general constraint; certainly it is not valid for Arabic-French code-switching.

Switches were also found in other types of coordinated structure. In (195), a French NP is coordinated with an Arabic one, the conjunction being in the language of the second conjunct.

NP^F Conj^A NP^A

(195) l'architecture w nxwa "the architecture and the affectation"

There are a number of examples where two French NPs or adjectives are coordinated by an Arabic conjunction; these too illustrate the invalidity of Kachru's (1977) constraint.

NP^F Conj^A NP^F

(196) le niveau supérieur w le niveau inférieur
 "the higher level and the lower level"

(197) le pair wla l'impair "the even or the odd"

(198) soit tu te spécialises en écologie wla biologie
wla géologie
 "either you specialise in ecology or biology or geology"

Adj^F Conj^A Adj^F

(199) elle était moderne w intelligente
 "she was modern and intelligent"

There were no examples of the converse, with the conjunction alone in French, but examples like (200) were judged perfectly normal:

NP^A Conj^F NP^A

(200) lxubz sxu:n et zzi:t lbldja
 "hot bread and olive oil"

Other instances of switching involving coordinating conjunctions include cases where a French sentence is introduced by the Arabic conjunction [w], as in the following:

Conj^A S^F

(201) w ça c'est psychologique "and that is psychological"

(202) w tu sais on couvre avec le drap
 "and you know we cover (ourselves) with the sheet"

There are also instances where a French sentence is followed by the Arabic conjunction [wla]. In Arabic the use of this conjunction at the end of a declarative sentence serves to give the whole the effect of a question; and it serves the same purpose when appended to a French declarative, as in the following:

S^F Conj^A

(203) tu es en vacances wla? "you are on holidays or (not)?"
 (are you on holiday?)

- (204) c'est vrai wla? "it's true or (not)?"
(is it true or not?)

5.3.10 Complex Sentences

5.3.10.1 Conditionals

In French, the protasis of a conditional construction is introduced by si (if). Arabic, however, has two different particles which serve this purpose, [ila] which is used in ordinary conditions and [kun] which is used in counterfactual conditions. There is also another particle, [waxa], which introduces concessive clauses, parallel with French même si (even if).

The data reveal many examples of switches between the two clauses of a conditional construction. In the following examples, the protasis is in French and the apodosis in Arabic:

Prot^F Apod^A

- (205) si on n'a pas un sens d'autorité, kifa:š l?insa:n
j?imel
"if one has no sense of authority, how can one act?"
- (206) si ça t'intéresse, hi: sa:šef
"if you are interested, just take it easy"
- (207) si j'avais la maison, mašamri: na:kul tama
"if I had the house, I would never eat there"
- (208) si tu passes à deux heures, tatSi:b duk les gens
"if you call at two o'clock, you will find those people"

Other examples have the protasis in Arabic and the apodosis in French:

Prot^A Apod^F

- (209) ila ža raši:d, on fera un petit méchoui
"if Rachid comes, we will have a little barbecue"
- (210) il sera très content surtout ila kunti tatšraf A.
"he will be very happy especially if you happened to know A."
- (211) ils la suivent bhal daba ila mšat džib šmaša
"they follow her like now if she went to bring a candle"

(212) waxa tajfaDu:k les moustiques, tu ne sens rien du tout
 "even if mosquitoes bite, you'll feel nothing at all"

(213) elle te pique waxa tibs le drap ʕli:k
 "it bites you even if you put the sheet over you"

Finally, there is one example where the switch is between the conjunction si and the rest of the sentence.

(214) et si wahed ton inférieur jži jhDar mfiak
 "and if one your inferior (one of your inferiors) comes you'll speak to him"

5.3.10.2 Relative Clauses

In both Arabic and French, relative clauses follow their antecedent nouns, and are introduced by a relative pronoun (in Arabic [lil], in French qui and que). There are many examples in the data where a switch occurs between a main clause and a relative clause. In (215-218) the antecedent is in French and the relative clause in Arabic, while in (219-222) the switch is in the other direction.

NP^F Rel^A

(215) voilà la première chose lil drti
 "here is the first thing that you did"

(216) en lisant les chapitres lil ktbti
 "in reading the chapters which you wrote"

(217) wahed le trajet lil ʕadi: ndi:r
 "a journey which I am going to make"

(218) il y a les gens lil tajmšiw les clubs
 "there are people who go to the clubs"

NP^A Rel^F

(219) les étrangers tajbʕiw jšufu šihaža qui est différente
 "foreigners enjoy looking at something which is different"

(220) wahed min l groupe djal Einstein qui ne peut pas répondre
 "one from the group of Einstein who cannot answer"

(221) kul haduk qui répondent aux questions
 "all those who answer the questions"

- (222) hadak xiji qui est parti en Suisse
 "that man who went to Switzerland"

Pfaff (1979) finds that switches involving a full relative clause, like those in the above examples, are very rare in her Spanish-English data, but this certainly does not seem to be the case with Arabic-French switching.

Abbassi (1977) claims that there is a constraint on switching in relative constructions, which requires that the relative pronoun be in the same language as the rest of the relative clause. However, there is one example in the data which does not conform with this requirement:

- (223) bza:f djal l hmi:r daba lli ignore l mʔa:rba
 "many of the fools now who do not know Moroccans"

Other examples where the relative pronoun was in Arabic but the rest of the clause in French were also judged to be acceptable by the respondents, such as (224):

- (224) kajn bza:f djal nna:s lli ne font rien
 "there are many people who don't do anything"

However, they were not as happy about the converse, with the relative pronoun in French and the rest in Arabic, as in (225):

- (225) ?il y a des gens qui tajhDru bza:f
 "there are people who talk a lot"

In view of the possibility of examples like (223) and (224), we should not postulate an absolute constraint such as Abbassi's to explain why (225) is felt to be dubious.

In Arabic a relative pronoun may be omitted altogether, and we find a number of examples of switches between main clause and relative, in both directions, where no relative pronoun is present.

- (226) il y a des quartiers bna:whum žda:d
 "there are some districts they have built new (newly built)"

- (227) c'est un type xsek tšufu
 "he's a chap you must see"

- (228) c'est un type Berbère majtlq frnk
 "he's a Berber type (who) won't part with a penny"

- (229) šft wahed ssiyd je connais
 "I saw a man I know"

Finally, there are also examples of switches involving a free relative:

- (230) ktb ce que vous voulez "write what you want"

5.3.10.3 Embedded Interrogatives

As was noted in 5.3.7, interrogatives in both French and Arabic are introduced by special interrogative words. There are in the data examples of embedded interrogatives in which the main clause is in one language and the interrogative in the other.

- (231) il faut voir ki dajra "it is necessary to see
 how it is made"
- (232) je ne sais pas waš bhal daba qulti šTawni deux millions
 "I don't know whether for example you said they'd
 given you two million"
- (233) matajšrfšaj qu'est-ce qu'il est en train de faire
 "he doesn't know what he is doing"
- (234) mašrftš combien de temps "I didn't know how
much time"

5.3.10.4 Other Subordinate Clauses

Switches between a main clause and a subordinate clause can follow any of a number of patterns. In the first place, there are examples like the following, where the conjunction is in the same language as the subordinate clause it introduces.

S^F Conj^A S^A

- (235) je vais plonger dans l'eau baš nšuf l magana
 "I am going to dive into the water in order to see
 the watch"
- (236) On fera un petit méchoui baš tži mzjana
 "we'll have a little barbecue in order to be nice"
- (237) il va comprendre bi?ana tandfaš
 "he's going to understand that we spend (a lot)"
- (238) il a compris bi?ana dak xiji la:h l bana:na
 "he has understood that that man has thrown a banana"

S^A Conj^F S^F

- (239) qTTašhum pour enseigner les mots
 "you cut them out in order to teach words"
- (240) tanšajnu waħed xiji pour qu'on lui téléphone
 "we are waiting for somebody in order that we phone him"
- (241) ana šTeitulu parce que j'ai trouvé un type
 "I've given it to him because I've found a man"
- (242) dak la question xšhum jħTuha pour qu'il marque un but
 "that question they must ask so that he scores a goal"

Secondly, there are examples where the conjunction is in the same language as the first clause, such as the following:

S^F Conj^F S^A

- (243) lorsque j'ai vu que mabqaš
 "when I saw that there was nothing left"
- (244) je dors à moins tkun šī ħaža
 "I sleep unless there is something"
- (245) c'est normal parce que nta tatšufha
 "it's normal because you see her"

S^A Conj^A S^F

- (246) w za:d f ħa:latu li?ana il est tellement bête
 "and he went away because he is so stupid"
- (247) šalaš? li?ana je fuis dak le milieu
 "why? because I escape that place"

The third pattern is where both clauses are in the same language, yet the conjunction is in the other. Again, these examples demonstrate the invalidity of Kachru's constraint excluding such structures (Kachru 1977), which was discussed in 5.3.9.

S^A Conj^F S^A

- (248) matkunš zjada parce que kulši qal zjada
 "there would be no increase because everybody said
 (there would be) an increase"
- (249) makajnš lli ttaswl šlija à moins la kunt mSa:fr
 "there isn't anyone who asks after me unless if I
 was away"

S^F Conj^A S^F(250) il croyait bi?ana je faisais ça exprès"he thought that I was doing that on purpose"(251) le petit a tendance à croire bi?ana il veut lui
casser la gueule"the little one tends to think that he wants to beat
him up "(252) je peux le dire had le truc hada baš je commence
à apprendre"I can say it this thing this in order that I start
to learn"

It is claimed by Abbassi (1977) that the Arabic complementiser introducing purpose clauses, [baš], and the corresponding French pour, must always be in the same language as the rest of the subordinate clause they introduce, and that the same is true of French que (that), though not of the corresponding Arabic [belli] (that).¹⁵ However, my data include examples of just the kind of switches after que (see for instance (243)) and after [baš] (see (252)), which Abbassi suggests are impossible; so it seems inappropriate to postulate such a constraint. It seems to me significant, however, that in (252), where there is a switch after [baš], the structure following the switch is a French finite clause. The hypothetical example which Abbassi uses to illustrate the validity of his constraint, on the other hand, is (253), where the structure following [baš] is a French infinitival clause.

(253) *On est allé au café baš boire un pot (Abbassi 1977, p.158) "we went to the café in order to have a drink"

I would agree with Abbassi that examples like (253) are not possible; my respondents judged a similar example, (254), to be quite unacceptable.

(254) *nqra šwiya baš réussir à l'examen

"we work a bit in order to succeed in the examination"

¹⁵This form is equivalent to the form [bi?ana] which occurs in my data (for instance in examples like (250) and (251)), the two being dialectal variants.

The contrast between forms like (252), which are used, and ones like (253-254), which are not, can in fact be explained in terms of the general Structure-Preserving Constraint. The point is that, as was noted in 5.3.5, Arabic possesses no infinitive clauses, and [baš], like other subordinating conjunctions, must introduce a finite clause containing a tensed verb. Examples like (253) and (254), then, are impossible because here the Arabic finite clause structure which is introduced by [baš] is not preserved; instead the switch is to a French infinitive clause. On the other hand, an example like (252) is acceptable because here the French clause following the switch is a finite one, so that the structure is preserved across the switch. Similarly, as some of the respondents themselves pointed out, while (254) is not permissible, a form like (255) is acceptable:

(255) nqra šwija baš nréussir à l'examen

"we work a bit in order that we succeed in the examination"

(255) exemplifies the same kind of strategy as that shown in examples (129-135), which were discussed in 5.3.5. Here the Structure-Preserving Constraint is observed, for although the verb in the subordinate clause is an infinitive in French, it is here accompanied by the Arabic inflection {n}, which marks it for first person plural imperfect tense; thus the overall effect is of a finite verb, and the requirement that a clause introduced by [baš] be finite is satisfied despite the switch.

A similar explanation can be found for the impossibility of a switch after French pour which was noted by Abbassi. There were indeed no examples of a switch after pour in my data, and the respondents judged examples like the following to be quite unacceptable.

(256) *mšina l dda:r pour nrtahu šwija

"we went home in order to have some rest"

(257) *je vais courir pour ndša:f šwija

"I'm going to run in order to lose some weight"

The problem here is that pour can only introduce an infinitival clause, but is here followed by a finite Arabic clause, which does not preserve the French structure. On the other

hand, pour can be contrasted with pour que, which does introduce finite clauses; as we might expect, a switch to Arabic after pour que is acceptable, since the finite clause available in Arabic will in this case not violate the Structure-Preserving Constraint. Thus the respondents judged the following examples acceptable:

- (258) je vais me coucher tôt pour que nxdem mxja:n Ÿda
 "I'm going to bed early in order to work well tomorrow"
- (259) elle va rester à la maison pour que Teijbna šl Taži:n
 "she's going to stay at home in order to cook us a dish"

Similar contrasts were found with other pairs of subordinating conjunctions; thus, switches were judged unacceptable after sans, which introduces an infinitive clause, but quite possible after sans que, which introduces a finite one.

Abbassi's account of the possibilities is thus not satisfactory; firstly, it is inaccurate to say that no switch is possible after [baš], and secondly, the restrictions on switching are certainly not as arbitrary as he suggests from his ad hoc constraints. Consideration of a wider range of data shows that Abbassi's own examples are unacceptable because they constitute violations of the Structure-Preserving Constraint, but that other comparable examples which do not violate this constraint are perfectly acceptable. This constraint provides a useful account of what might otherwise appear to be merely arbitrary restrictions on what kinds of switch are possible.

5.3.11 Morphological Agreement across Switches

Finally, it is worth looking at what happens to the inflections marking agreement in structures involving a switch. We have already seen that the rules of agreement, for instance between adjective and noun (5.3.1.2) or between subject and verb (5.3.1.3) apply to structures involving more than one language just as they do to ones involving a single language. However, it is particularly interesting to look at a number of examples from the data in which there is lack of the expected agreement. The following are three examples where

an adjective's inflection is not that which would be required to agree with its noun.

- (260) les moustaches xaburi "the yellow moustache"
 (261) f dak le trajet kulha "in that whole journey"
 (262) un français mqawda "an awful French"

In (260) the adjective is marked as singular and thus does not agree with the noun moustaches which is plural; and in the other two cases, the adjective is in each case marked as feminine, whereas the French noun it modifies is masculine. However, these differences seem not to be the arbitrary results of mere carelessness, but can be attributed to conflicts between the grammar of French and that of Arabic. Thus the motivation for making the Arabic adjective in (260) masculine singular seems to be the fact that the Arabic term [ša:rb], (moustache) is a masculine singular noun. Similarly, the Arabic noun [tri:q], equivalent to French trajet (journey), is feminine, as is the Arabic [fransa:wija], equivalent to French français, and this could explain the choice of the feminine forms of the Arabic adjectives in (261) and (262).

Some similar conflicts of agreement are seen in the choice of pronominal forms coreferential to preceding NPs.

- (263) (A): avant, oui, j'aimais le soleil, mais daba...
 (B): hija c'est bien, il fait guérir
 "(A): before, yes, I liked the sun, but now...
 (B): it, it's good, it cures"
- (264) (la baguette) il l'introduit f ttuyau d'échappement
 w xali:h
 "(the French loaf) he puts it into the exhaust pipe
 and leaves it"
- (265) et l'état ne peut pas agir, mxalja had les choses
 "and the state cannot act, leaving these things"
- (266) des anchois, sardines, hta huwa
 "anchovies, sardines, even it (even these)"
- (267) des urgences dajrin fi:h
 "emergencies, they have put in it (in them)..."

In (263), the masculine French noun le soleil, mentioned by speaker (A), is referred back to by speaker (B) using the

feminine Arabic pronoun [hija]. In (264), the masculine object clitic pronoun [h] is used to refer back to a feminine French noun, la baguette. Similarly, in (265), the Arabic participle [mxalja] is inflected to agree with a feminine noun, yet the noun it qualifies, l'état, is masculine. (266) provides an example of lack of number concord; the feminine plural noun sardines is referred back to by the singular masculine pronoun [huwa]. Again, in (267), the French noun urgences is feminine plural, yet the clitic object pronoun [h] which refers to it is masculine singular.

Again the contrasts do not seem to be arbitrary, but can all be explained by reference to Arabic. The Arabic equivalent of soleil is the feminine [šms], while baguette corresponds to the masculine Arabic noun [xubz], and état to the feminine Arabic noun [dwla]. Similarly, the Arabic word for sardines is a collective plural, which behaves like a masculine singular noun, as does the Arabic equivalent of urgences. The inflections on the anaphoric elements are thus in each case those which would have been appropriate if the whole had been in Arabic.

This cannot be simply attributed to the bilinguals' ignorance of the French gender and number systems,¹⁶ for it is often clear that they are aware of the gender and number specification of the French nouns concerned (see for instance examples (263), where speaker (B) correctly uses the masculine pronoun in French to refer to soleil, and (266) and (267), where the speakers correctly use French plural articles for the nouns they later refer to by means of singular pronouns. It is also interesting that, in each example, the antecedent noun is in French, while the elements exhibiting the incorrect agreement are in each case in Arabic. There are no instances

¹⁶ For a discussion of the usefulness of the Ignorance Hypothesis in explaining second language learners' errors, see James (1977).

where a French adjective or pronoun is made to agree, not with its Arabic antecedent, but with the French equivalent. The tendency to use forms which would accord with the grammar of Arabic rather than that of French, then, could perhaps be thought to suggest that the Arabic constructions are in some way more dominant in the bilingual's language processing, so that sometimes the Arabic patterns of gender and number may override previously used French ones.

5.3.12 Conclusions

The preceding examination of some of the data has shown that switches may occur in a wide variety of environments. In the course of this examination, we have had occasion to look at various proposals for constraining switching from occurring in certain specific environments, put forward by Timm (1975), Gumperz (1976), Abbassi (1977), Kachru (1977) and Pfaff (1979). In addition, we also considered the more general constraints proposed by Poplack (1980). However, instead of providing more support for the constraints suggested by these authors, my data suggest that most of them cannot be said to be valid, at any rate for Arabic-French code-switching. Evidently, then, the generality of the claims made by these authors is not as great as they sometimes suggest.

Instead of numerous highly specific constraints which each account for the possibilities in a particular environment, as suggested for instance by Abbassi (1977), we found that it was in fact possible to explain a wide range of phenomena in terms of a single very general constraint, which we labelled the Structure-Preserving Constraint, and which can be stated as follows:

The Structure-Preserving Constraint

The structure bisected by a switch must be equivalent to one which would have been grammatical in the pre-switch language had no switch occurred. This constraint is able to explain why certain structures never occur in a more enlightening way than do more specific

constraints which make the patterns appear totally arbitrary. For instance, the possibilities for switching after a conjunction are seen to be the natural result of the fact that Arabic subordinating conjunctions always introduce finite clauses, whereas certain French ones introduce non-finite clauses, and that any switch after a conjunction must not violate these requirements. It also accounts for what might otherwise appear to be certain asymmetries in the distribution of switches; for instance, the fact that a switch between two determiners is possible when the first one is in Arabic but not when it is in French is explained by the fact that the latter type of switch would not preserve the structure of French, where one determiner cannot be followed by another. It has also been found useful in explaining the possibilities for switching between adjective and noun and between subject and verb, in that it predicts the correct ordering possibilities in each case. I therefore feel that the identification of such a general constraint is an improvement on previous studies, which have had to list a series of seemingly unrelated and apparently arbitrary constraints.

An examination of the data also suggests some interesting patterning behind the distribution and frequency of the various kinds of switch. French nouns seem to occur more frequently as subjects or objects of Arabic verbs than the converse. Arabic prepositions are seen to accompany French nouns more frequently than French prepositions accompany Arabic ones, and similarly, Arabic conjunctions join two French sentences more often than French conjunctions join two Arabic ones. French nouns with Arabic demonstratives or possessives were found much more frequently than the converse. We might also mention the tendencies to use Arabic tags on French sentences, and Arabic emphatic pronouns in stretches of French, neither of which is balanced by a corresponding use of French tags or pronouns in otherwise Arabic environments. Similarly, Arabic parentheticals crop up in French environments more frequently than the converse. These are of course only

tendencies; the rarer types of switch nevertheless do occur and are judged no less acceptable than the more common ones.¹⁷

These kinds of variation in frequency cannot be related to any syntactic constraints, but may perhaps be related to differences between the roles of the two languages in the bilingual's speech. The Moroccan bilingual seems to feel the need to resort to French for lexical items, or content words, when speaking predominantly in Arabic, far more frequently than he has to resort to Arabic lexical items when speaking mainly French.¹⁸ On the other hand, when speaking mainly French he evidently resorts very frequently to Arabic grammatical words, or function words, such as prepositions, conjunctions, determiners and pronouns, whereas the reverse tendency is not evident when he is speaking mainly Arabic. Similarly, fillers and interjections seem to spring readily to his lips in Arabic even when he is otherwise using French, but again the reverse is not as common. These patterns of usage may perhaps be related to the fact that Arabic is his first language, learned in his earliest years, whereas French was learned at a later date, in school. One could hypothesise that somehow the grammatical formators of the first-learned language remain more basic even after the assimilation of the second language is also complete, and so tend to crop up frequently even when this second language is being used. The same tendency evidently appears in the speech of Mexican bilingual speakers of Spanish (their first learned language) and English (their second), for Pfaff (1979, pp.313-314)

¹⁷ Abbassi, however, seems to have taken too rigid a view of the possibilities in several cases. In a number of cases he claims that a particular type of switch is not possible at all in one direction, and therefore postulates a special constraint to exclude it, when in fact our data have yielded examples of just this type, though they are much less frequent than those where the switch is in the other direction.

¹⁸ Some explanations of why this is the case will be offered in 5.4.2.1.

refers to "the tendency...for function words, sentence adverbials, tags, and loosely-bound interjections to be realized in Spanish even in predominantly English sentences", though she does not discuss the implications of this. It would be interesting to know more about the differences between the roles of the first and second languages in bilinguals' use of code-switching, and to see if this tendency is exhibited by other types of bilingual as well; so far there seems to have been no discussion of this topic at all.

5.4 Factors which motivate Code-switching

A careful examination of the nature and distribution of the code-switches in the data enables us to draw some conclusion about the kinds of factor which may provoke a code-switch. In fact, the explanations which suggest themselves from such observation can be divided into two types. In the first place, it seems possible to attribute many switches to the influence of external factors of various kinds, such as aspects of the languages themselves or of the topics under discussion. In other cases, however, the switch seems to be deliberately chosen and exploited by the speaker to achieve a particular type of effect or make a particular kind of contribution to the discourse.

5.4.1 Switching caused by External Factors

5.4.1.1 Switches to French

It was concluded in Chapter 4 that the bilingual's choice of one language rather than another is significantly influenced by the nature of the topic he is discussing. It was seen that Moroccan bilinguals may be better able to handle certain topics in one language than in the other; for instance, French seems to be preferred to Arabic for technical topics. One reason for this may be that the lexical items associated with a particular topic may be more readily available in

one language than in the other; and this seems in fact to be one of the major factors influencing code-switching. In particular, it seems that many switches which introduce a French lexical item into an Arabic environment can be explained in terms of the greater availability of the French item. This is of course not to say that the speaker switches because there are lexical gaps in his vocabulary in the other language. In most of the examples considered here, appropriate terms exist in both languages; it is simply that the speaker seems to recall those in one language more immediately than those in the other. This point is made by Lance (1975, p.138), who observes from his examination of Spanish-English code-switching that "the word or phrase that is most readily available at the moment for some usually unexplainable reason is the one that comes out". Clyne (1967) also notes that the bilingual may resort to use of the more readily available items in order to reduce the strain on his memory. "The bilingual is familiar with constructions from both languages, and he will frequently use whichever represents the least strain on his temporary memory" (p.81). Below, I examine some specific areas in which the data suggest that French lexical items are more available to the Moroccan bilingual than are Arabic ones.

5.4.1.1.1 Technical Matters

In discussions about technical topics such as medicine, agriculture, and school subjects, many of the switches from Arabic to French seem to be motivated by the tendency to favour French for technical terms rather than Arabic. The following are a selection of examples taken from the data; of particular interest is the use of medical terms in French, which is illustrated by examples (270-274).

- (268) huwa maṣadiš jdrs l'agriculture
 "he is not going to study agriculture"

- (269) kajn l'école djal le pilotage
 "there is the school for pilots"
- (270) min hi:t tatSwb le vaccin baš jšuf l réaction positive
 "as soon as he has the vaccination in order to see
the positive reaction"
- (271) j'avais fait l'opération; ža šandi ll'hôpital w šafni
 "I had had the operation; he came to me to the hospital
 and he saw me"
- (272) šandna min hi:t tatšadna la réaction négative
 "we have, as soon as it bites us, the negative reaction"
- (273) des urgences dajri:n fi:h le personnel tajšql šla
 žed nml
 "the emergencies, there they put the staff who have
 been there so long they remember the ancestors of ants
 (for donkey's years)"
- (274) šnuwa šandu? šandu une angine
 "what does he have? he has a sore throat"

Although there are Arabic terms corresponding to each of the French terms used in the above extracts, the French terms have evidently sprung to the speaker's mind first. This can probably be related to the fact that technical subjects are studied through the medium of French in Morocco, and that French is generally the main language used in medical administration.¹⁹

5.4.1.1.2 Education, Administration and Banking

The present systems of banking, education and general administration in Morocco were introduced by the French during the Protectorate, and have largely maintained the organisation and terminology which they inherited from the French.²⁰ This may help to explain why in these domains bilinguals seem to use French technical terms more readily than Arabic ones. Our data include a large number of cases where a French lexical item associated with one of these domains is used in

¹⁹See 1.2.2 and 4.2.4.1.1.

²⁰See 1.2.2 and 1.2.3.

an otherwise Arabic environment. Some examples are given below.

- (275) w nta šnuwa kunti drti tamak kunti drti la terminale
 "and you, what did you do there? you did the final year (of school)"
- (276) hada wld šamu w nta docteur jmši jxli:hk gaš
 "this is his cousin, and you're a doctor, he'll give it to you for sure"
- (277) bhal daba f la faculté fhmti tadxul tšuf le doyen
 "for example, at the university, you understand, you go to see the dean"
- (278) baqi f le comité nta
 "you are still in the committee, you"
- (279) tanži ma tanžbrš raši:d bhal daba žit šawd xli:tlu un petit mot bašntšadaw wa saša mši:t
 "I call in, I don't find Rachid; for example, I called in and I left a little note so that we could lunch together, but in the end I went away"
- (280) šTani la carte de visite ntašu l muhim qulthalu
 "he gave me the visiting card belonging to him, in short I told him about it"
- (281) la: sknti hnak šuf trente mille francs tkun šandk liquide ma tajšžbuš chèque min hi:t tatšTeih liquide ma tajšTeiš dak šilla banque tajmši jDrbu mašrftši fajn
 "if you live there see that you have thirty thousand francs ready in cash; he doesn't like a cheque; as soon as you give him cash he doesn't give it to the bank, he spends it I don't know where"

5.4.1.1.3 Modern Trends and Inventions

The introduction of new concepts into Moroccan life and culture from Europe, through the medium of the French language, seems to have given rise to the greater availability of the French lexical items designating these concepts.

This can explain switches like those in the following examples.

- (282) šti l' autoroute šadji:n tajtsaraw fiha w tajbišu fiha l hendija
 "have you seen the motorway? they go walking on it and they sell cactus fruit on it"

- (283) haža blhaq šandi had le frigidaire wLa:h hi la
 "one thing truly I have - that refrigerator, I
 swear to God"
- (284) Sbaht na:šs w mšit drt sport f Sbah
 "In the morning I slept late, and I went to do some
sport in the morning"
- (285) waħed xiji waħed nuba kan tajšml les jumelles w
 tajbqa jmSeq
 "there was once a man who used to look through the
binoculars and he used to keep staring"

There are Moroccan Arabic terms corresponding to these French ones, but the French terms may perhaps carry connotations of modernity which are absent from the Arabic ones.

5.4.1.1.4 Concepts associated with Europe

There is also a tendency to switch to a French term in order to refer to things which are associated with France or with Europe in general. In the following examples, for instance, French is used to refer to types of food which are not traditionally Moroccan and which are still associated in people's minds with Europe.

- (286) daba had le thé noir xalih šwiĵa
 "now leave that black tea for a little while"
- (287) wšTana waħed l'hors d'oeuvre mqawd
 "and he gave us an awful starter"
- (288) šnu dessert šTawkum
 "what dessert did they give you?"

Sometimes a French word seems to be preferred because it conveys certain European connotations. The following examples illustrate the use of French terms for flats of various kinds; these are used to refer to the type of modern accommodation in recent buildings, while the corresponding Arabic terms would instead suggest the idea of private rooms in a house of the traditional style.

- (289) w bqat l'appartement
 "and the apartment remained"
- (290) bšhal asidi had l'appartement
 "how much, sir, is this apartment ?"

- (291) daba tajqulk kifaš šnu bʔiti waš trois pièces bʔiti
 "now he asks you what sort you want, whether you
 want a three-roomed flat"
- (292) deux pièces fajen quartier
 "a two-roomed flat in what district?"
- (293) baʔda f awl ana huwa lišTeitu dak sstudio li?ana
 kunt sa:kn hna
 "after all, in the beginning it was me who gave him
 that one-roomed flat because I was living here"
- (294) jqullu ana šandi garconnière w hada jqdar gaš jTlaš
 šwija
 "he'll tell him I have a one-room flat and whatever,
 maybe he'll increase the rent a bit"

In the following examples, it is striking that the switch to French is to refer to rooms and furniture, again in a modern flat. Clearly it is not a matter of availability here, for the Arabic words for all these items are of course everyday terms; but the reference is to a very modern flat, and the French terms are evidently found more appropriate because of their connotations of modernity and the European life style.

- (295) w kajna une salle tama šandu
 "and there is a room there he has"
- (296) c'est la seule, darha cuisine
 "it's the only one (room), he made it into a kitchen"
- (297) xalšlha duk les banquettes djalha
 "he paid her for those settees of hers"
- (298) tqlšu les rideaux ma bʔawš jtqlišulhum les coussins
 qlšu l mraja:t
 "the curtains were torn; as it was not possible to
 take the cushions away, they took the mirrors off
 the wall"

5.4.1.1.5 Names of Countries and Nationalities

There are many examples in the data where a speaker switches to French in order to refer to a foreign country or nationality. The sample below also includes examples of the use of French for semi-technical terms associated with travel.

- (299) mša l tama l Paris w lqa un groupe w ržafmīahum
 "he went there to Paris²¹ and he found a group and
 he came back with them"
- (300) mšiti l l'Egypte, šnu dessert šTawkum
 "you went to Egypt, what dessert did they give you?"
- (301) wahed l'hotesse de l'air qaltli šaTeiha:li
 "an air hostess asked me to give it to her"
- (302) hi Tlašt ža le contrôleur kunt žajšajan šamlt la
Tchécoslovaquie, l'Autriche w da:xl l Zurich w Ya:di
à Lyon Tlašt le control...billet xda le billet²²
 "as soon as I got on the ticket inspector came; I
 was tired, I did Czechoslovakia, Austria and I got
 to Zurich and I was going to Lyon. I got on, the
ticket inspection was going on..."ticket". He took
the ticket"
- (303) i:h w kunt mqTaš le supplément min hi:t šandi le
retour min Zurich"
 "yes, I had paid the supplement since I had the return
 from Zurich"
- (304) walakin les Russes šawtani tajšrbu ataj ktir min
 had šī hada
 "but the Russians drink more tea than that again"

The fact that placenames are more available in French than in Arabic may again perhaps be explained in terms of the education the bilingual speaker has received. Bilinguals like those speaking here will have been taught Geography and History exclusively through the medium of French,²³ and this may mean that they find it easier to recall the French terms than the Arabic ones. It is particularly striking that even the Arabic country Egypt is referred to in French rather than by its Arabic name. As for the use of French terms to refer to details of international travel, this could be seen to reflect the foreign environment where the travel

²¹ See fn. 10 in 5.3.1.3.

²² The pronunciation of the names Zurich and Lyon here is such as to identify them as French words rather than Arabic ones.

²³ More recently, these subjects have been arabised.

described took place.

5.4.1.1.6 Numbers, Dates and Times

One of the most striking tendencies in bilinguals' speech is for them to switch to French in order to refer to a number, a date or a time. There are numerous examples where an expression of this kind in French occurs in what is otherwise an Arabic utterance.

The following illustrate the use of French to give numbers or sums of money.

- (305) šī quatorze wla quinze bouquins
 "about fourteen or fifteen books"
- (306) šml fi:h six djal Toba:t
 "put six lumps (of sugar) in it"
- (307) groupe un bhal daba tajxdu dix-huit
 "group one scores, for example, eighteen"
- (308) wLa:h ma šriṯha la b cent quatre vingts francs Suisses
 tfala šilja din Mu
 "I swear to God, I bought it at a hundred and eighty Swiss francs. He swindled me, damn him"
- (309) w xa:f min lli ša:f wšlt hi l un million six cents
 qalk la: ana šTeitu deux millions w huwa qalk šTawh
deux millions et demi iwa huwa Tahet šli:h b cinquante
mille francs
 "and he was afraid when he saw that I only went up to one million six hundred. He said no, I gave him two million and he said that they'd given him two and a half million. Well, he got it first at fifty thousand francs"
- (310) šsbt trente mille francs d'essence
 "I estimated thirty thousand francs for petrol"
- (311) huwa qalk la: majmknš nTeih cinquante pour cent w
 hada fhmti hi šTeih tqri:ban trente mille francs
 djal l kra?
 "he said to you no, it is not possible to make a reduction of fifty percent and whatever, do you understand? just give him approximately thirty thousand francs for the rent"

In other examples, the switch to French is to give an age:

- (312) Ya:di dxul la trentaine
 "I'm getting on for thirty"

(313) a:bnadm rah řandk vingt-six ans
 "hey, man, you're twenty-six"

(314) řandu cinquante ans
 "he's fifty"

There are many examples where a switch results from giving an expression of time or the name of a year in French.

(315) řhal hadi řandk c'est onze heures trois
 "what time do you make it? it's three minutes past eleven"

(316) la: xrř mřa ři quatre heures moins cinq
 "no, he went out about five to four"

(317) tatsdha f lřřija f trois heures de l'après-midi
 "she locked it in the afternoon, at three o'clock in the afternoon"

(318) f mille neuf cent soixante et onze min kunt min ři:t
 tanhřa
 "in 1971 when I used to put it on"

(319) kunt f Rabat f mille neuf cent soixante six
 "I was in Rabat in 1966"

Finally, there is also a clear tendency to use French rather than Arabic to refer to days of the week, months and seasons of the year, as is illustrated in the following examples:

(320) iwa drna mřah lundi řad řa:di jkun tama
 "well, we fixed it with him for Monday, and he'll be here right then"

(321) mřa samedi soir w ana mřit dimanche
 "he went on Saturday night and me I went on Sunday"

(322) had mardi hada
 "this Tuesday, this one coming"

(323) kunt f le neuf juillet f ifra:n
 "I was in Ifrane on the ninth of July"

(324) min ři:t tajři le printemps makajn walu
 "as soon as Spring comes there is nothing"

The fact that French numbers are used rather than Arabic ones could perhaps be related to the fact that the speakers would all have been taught their arithmetic in school exclusively

through the medium of French. Nevertheless, one might imagine that referring to dates, ages, and sums of money would be something which would frequently crop up in everyday home life, not merely in school, and so could be done just as readily in Arabic as in French. Whatever the reason, there is clearly a very strong tendency to make such references in French rather than in Arabic; the above examples are only a few of those in the data. Stevens (1974) observes the same tendency to use French for numbers, dates and times in the speech of Tunisian bilinguals, noting that this is a frequent cause of code-switching.

The tendency to use French for dates, names of days of the week and months is more easily explained, in terms of the difference between the European Julian calendar and the Muslim one. The Muslim calendar, for which there are indigenous Arabic terms, is little used in Morocco except in religious contexts. In administration and public services, the European system is almost exclusively used, and it is for this that bilinguals seem to prefer to use French terms rather than those which have been borrowed into Arabic.

5.4.1.1.7 Taboo Words

Among the data there are a number of examples where a switch to French seems to be motivated by the desire to avoid using what would be a taboo word in Moroccan Arabic.²⁴ The fact that switching may be provoked by the need to mention such a subject is also recognised by Rayfield (1970), who observes that in Yiddish-English code-switching, "mention of some unpleasant or slightly indelicate matter is often made in the other language" (Rayfield 1970, p.57). The following are some examples of switches motivated by this consideration.

(325) wla bhal šī whda enceinte
"or like someone pregnant"

(326) une poule lqitha waqfa b 'Tunobil
"a whore, I found her standing by the car"

²⁴The tendency to use French for this purpose was noted at earlier points (see 4.2.4.1.1. and 4.2.4.1.3).

(327) w kajn lli mšaw l la toilette
 "there are those who went to the toilet"

(328) wahed lli šandu la diarrhée tajSwb šwiija
 "someone who has diarrhoea can take a bit of it"

Switches like these may be used to avoid any embarrassment which might result from using the corresponding Moroccan Arabic words, which some speakers might judge to be rather impolite. For example, the French enceinte is a neutral term, but the Arabic equivalent [ħbla] carries some rather peculiar connotations, being an old fashioned word used mostly by older women; a male speaker may well feel embarrassed to use it.

5.4.1.2 Switches to Arabic

The use of Arabic lexical items in French environments is far less common than the converse. Where it does occur, there is usually an obvious reason why the speaker has chosen to use an Arabic word rather than a French one.

5.4.1.2.1 Special Connotations

In the following examples from the data, the switch to Arabic in each case involves an Arabic word which carries special connotations which make it particularly suitable for the speaker's purpose.

(329) je ne pense pas qu'il y a plusieurs sortes d'arabe,
parce que dda:riža ça existe partout
 "I don't think that there are several kinds of Arabic,
because the colloquial exists everywhere"

(330) il va parler à un šaskri , qu'est-ce que tu veux?
 "he'll speak to a soldier, what do you expect?"

(331) les infirmiers ne sont pas des infirmiers, ce sont
des hommes de peine avec žžafa:fa, d'ailleurs je
connais des types

"the nurses aren't nurses, they are men of drudgery
with a floorcloth, besides I know people"

In (329), the term [dda:riža] is used rather than the corresponding French dialecte, because it is particularly appropriate for referring to the colloquial form of Arabic. The Arabic word [šaskri], used in (330), conveys the idea of a soldier

of very low grade, who is unrefined and ignorant, connotations which the French soldat lacks. Similarly, the word [ʒʒafa:fa] in (331) suggests something very dirty and degrading, and in this respect contrasts with the French chiffon.

5.4.1.2.2 Religious Topics

Many switches to Arabic occur when there is mention of a religious topic of some kind. The following are some examples.

- (332) c'est une femme de marque qui est f ši škl tmši tzur SSalhi:n
 "she is a special kind of woman who is the sort who²⁵ goes to visit saints' tombs"
- (333) ce n'est pas religieux...le fanatisme, elle croit f SSalhi:n ɣla:š
 "it's not religious...fanaticism, she believes in the saints' power, why?"
- (334) quelqu'un qui est malade wla SSDa:š fih lhlaqm qullu jaLLah tzuru mais ça ne va pas tzuru šnu maši jɣmal
 "someone who is ill or in pain, who has a sore throat, say to him 'let's go to visit the saints' tombs', but this doesn't work. You visit them, what can they do for you?"
- (335) on est plus civilisé wLa:h man kdb ɣlik malgré la misère qu'il y a dedans wLa:h mankdb ɣlik c'est des gens bien accueillants qui ont un bon cœur, sais pas
 "we are more civilised, I swear to God, I don't want to lie to you, despite the misery in which we live I swear to God I don't want to lie to you, they're very hospitable people who have a good heart, I don't know"

In (332-334), Arabic is used to refer to religious customs and beliefs which are specific to Islam, and in (335) it is used to invoke God's name as an assurance of the speaker's sincerity.

²⁵This is a reference to the religious custom which involves paying a visit to the tomb of one of the saints in order to ask for a favour or to mediate for another.

5.4.1.2.3 Food and Hospitality

In examples (286-288), discussed in 5.4.1.1.4, a switch to French was motivated by a reference to an aspect of non-Moroccan cuisine. In (336), on the other hand, the speaker resorts to Arabic for the name of a traditional Moroccan dish. In (337), Arabic is used for expressions intended to encourage a guest to eat, illustrating the traditional Moroccan hospitality.²⁶

(336) ma mère xalitha va lui faire l'kr̥i:n huwa il aime
l kr̥i:n

"my mother, I left her, is going to cook for him
cow heel, he loves cow heel"

(337) je sais tajqul wLa:h tatakul par exemple kul wLa:h
tatakul et toi tu n'as pas envie, c'est dégueulasse
ra:h kr̥sk ɔa va te faire mal wLa:h tatakul sinon...

"I know he keeps saying 'in the name of God go on
eating', for instance, 'eat, in the name of God go
on eating', and you don't feel like it, it's awful,
oh, your stomach is going to hurt you, 'in the name
of God go on eating', otherwise..."

5.4.1.2.4 Swearing and Insults

It was noted in 4.2.4.1.3 that bilinguals tend to use Arabic more than French for expressing insults. The fact that Arabic is found more convenient for this purpose is reflected in the data here, where in many cases a switch from French to Arabic seems to be motivated by the need to express an insult, to swear or to provide a very offensive description of someone. This strategy can be seen to complement that noted in 5.4.1.1.7; bilinguals switch to French to avoid giving offence by using a taboo word, while they switch to Arabic to achieve quite the opposite purpose, where they deliberately intend to be offensive.

(338) je lui dis j'ai mon billet aller-retour et j'ai de
l'argent avec mon billet, je suis en règle jma:k
hma:r

²⁶ See 3.3.3.5.

"I tell him I have my return ticket and I have some money with my ticket, I am all in order, damn your mother, you stupid ass"

- (339) elle m'a énervé had l hma:ra hadi wqaltli vous avez vu une émission à la télévision

"she got on my nerves, this stupid ass, and she said to me 'have you seen a programme on television?'"

- (340) elle n'a qu'à étudier un peu d'histoire n'ial bu:ha avant de me poser des questions, c'est énervant, c'est vrai

"she'd better study a bit of history, damn her father, before asking me questions, it's annoying, it's true"

5.4.1.2.5 Idioms and Stereotyped Phrases

Among the expressions which seem to be more available to bilinguals in Arabic than in French are a number of stereotyped phrases which are used frequently even when they necessitate a switch from French. These are typically used as fillers; evidently they spring to mind more readily than the corresponding French expressions. A similar tendency has been noted by Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975) in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals, who apparently also often switch to their first language, Spanish, for stereotyped or idiomatic phrases. The following examples illustrate this tendency with some of the more common such expressions, such as [bhal daba], "for instance" (literally "like now") and [wdakšī], "and so on" (literally "and that thing").

- (341) en commençant d'abord par une étape, puis enseigner les deux...enseigner bhal daba qu'est-ce qu'on fait... bhal daba fhmti hna bhal daba on nous a conseillé de traduire la médecine

"starting first with one step, then teach the two... teach, for example, what do we usually do...for example, do you understand? us, for example, we have been advised to translate medicine"

- (342) non, non, la conception bhal daba hadi c'est très difficile c'est à dire de comparer la mentalité

"no, no, the outlook, for example, this, it's very difficult to compare the mentality"

- (343) mais il n'y a pas de malentendu bhal daba un type qui apprend un mot français
 "but there is no misunderstanding, for example, a person who learns a French word"
- (344) on a des dessinateurs w dak ši je leur parle tout le temps en français
 "we have draughtsmen and so on, I speak French to them all the time"
- (345) c'est un type qui aime commander la femme w dak ši tout en étant moderne w dak ši elle n'a pas accepté
 "he is a man who likes to command his wife and so on, while still being modern and so on; she didn't accept that"
- (346) c'est qu'il va placer son arme kif ma ka:n et il va tirer dessus
 "it's that he's going to aim his weapon however he wants and he's going to fire away"
- (347) c'est un type de chez nous ma sandna varaD c'est un célibataire
 "he is a man from our area, that's none of our business, he is a bachelor"

5.4.1.3 Triggering

The preceding discussion has illustrated how a switch may be provoked by such factors as aspects of the languages themselves and the speakers' habits of using them, such as differences in availability between terms from the two languages, or aspects of the subject matter and its associations. However, it is also possible that, within a single utterance, a switch which is motivated by some such factor may in fact trigger another switch or a continuation of the switch. This phenomenon of triggering, whereby the need for some particular element to be in one language rather than the other triggers a switch involving some other elements as well, has been much discussed by Clyne (1967), who gives examples from German-English code-switching, and is also mentioned by Fallis (1976) who finds some instances of it in Spanish-English code-switching. Clyne draws a distinction between consequential triggering and anticipational triggering.

5.4.1.3.1 Consequential Triggering

This occurs where a particular item triggers a switch which extends beyond it. For instance, the initial switch may be motivated by the fact that there is some reason why a particular word should be in one language rather than the other; but after this word the speaker may, instead of returning to his original language, continue in the same language as that used for this item. There are some examples in the data which seem to illustrate this kind of triggering.

For instance, in (348) and (349), the initial switch is to use a stereotyped Arabic phrase of the type exemplified in 5.4.1.2.5, but after this the speaker in each case continues in Arabic instead of returning to the original French.

- (348) je fais trois kilomètres, quatre kilomètres pour²⁷
prendre un café parce que bhal l qadija djal nnukta
dj al ssijd kan tajskr f l bar

"I do three kilometres, four kilometres to have a coffee because, like the case of that joke of the chap who used to get drunk in the bar"

- (349) je crois vingt-neuf ans en tout l muhim Vadi ndxul
la trentaine

"I think twenty nine years altogether, the important thing is, I'm getting on for thirty"

In (350), the switch to Arabic is for a reference to God (see the similar example (335) discussed in 5.4.1.2.2), and again this seems to trigger a continuation in Arabic.

- (350) les restaurants maintenant c'est ça wLa:h kli:na
f Rabat

"the restaurants now are like that, I swear to God, we ate in Rabat"

In (351), the switch to French is motivated by the fact that there is no real equivalent to the French term weekend in Arabic; but once he has used this French word, he goes on in French.

- (351) ana ma rftš fuqaš jži raši:d qalk l weekend je ne
sais pas quand est-ce que le weekend d'après lui

"I don't know when Rachid is coming; he said at the weekend, I don't know when the weekend is according to him"

²⁷In each example, the trigger element is marked by broken underlining, and the arrow indicates the direction of the trigger's effect.

Finally, in an example like (352), the use of an Arabic proper name, in this case Hamid, seems to motivate the use of Arabic before and after it as well.

(352) celui que j'ai vu m'ia hami:d kuna galsi:n hami:d w
ana

"the one I saw with Hamid, as we were sitting Hamid and I"

5.4.1.3.2 Anticipational Triggering

In other cases, where there is a particular item for which one language is favoured rather than the other, the switch may occur, not on this item itself, but before it is reached. This is what Clyne calls anticipational switching. For instance, in (353) the speaker seems to choose to use the Arabic word [šmisa], diminutive of [šms] ("sun"), because it conveys connotations of affection and pleasantness which are not associated with the French word soleil. It may be the need to use this Arabic word which causes him to switch to Arabic before he reaches it.

(353) tu vois, j'aime regarder de loin tat žbni šmisa
ra:ha šarqa

"you see, I like looking at it from a distance, I enjoy the sun, here it is shining"

In (354), the speaker uses the Arabic term [šmaš] ("candles"); here the use of Arabic rather than French is motivated by the fact that the reference is to the religious significance of candles, which are bought and lit at saints' tombs as offerings. This seems to trigger the switch to Arabic even before the word is reached.

(354) au lieu d'acheter des antibiotiques tatšri šmaš²⁸

"instead of buying antibiotics, she buys candles"

In (355), the expression which seems to have motivated the

²⁸This example also illustrates the effectiveness of code-switching as a device for emphasising a contrast; see the discussion in 5.4.2.4.

switch is the Arabic phrase [mula:j bih], a commonly used idiom which conveys the idea of a legendary non-existent person, but again the switch comes before this is reached.

(355) tu as vérifié si tu as les mêmes choses parce qu'une fois tzi tlqa, mula:j bih

"have you checked if you have the same things, because once you come, you'll find not a single soul"

In other cases the switch seems to be motivated by the need to use a French technical term. For instance, the Arabic verb corresponding to French recruter, as used in (356), is not in common use. One reason why the switch in fact occurs before this term is reached may be that it is simpler in structural terms to switch between one sentence and another rather than to switch in the middle of a verb phrase, particularly a passive one; there were no examples in the data of a French verb being used in an Arabic passive construction.

(356) ža:jn m'andhum la: convocation wla walu w ils veulent être recrutés

"we were coming from their house without an invitation or anything and they wanted to be recruited".

Similarly, in (357) the switch seems to anticipate the need to use the French term licence ("degree"), which is more readily available than its Arabic counterpart [li?iža:za], which is a Classical Arabic word not very familiar to most Moroccans.

(357) ana wka:n lqa sskna ana je dois préparer une licence

"me, if I find the accommodation I must prepare a degree"

There are then in the data examples of switches which could be explained in terms of triggering, as defined by Clyne (1967). However, this remains a speculative view rather than an inevitable conclusion. Certainly the phenomenon of triggering is not as obvious or as common in the Moroccan data as Clyne seems to feel it is in his German-English code-switching examples. The examples discussed above can be set alongside many of the earlier examples, which contain one-word switches in which the need to use a particular language for

a particular item did not trigger a more extensive switch in either anticipation or consequence; so triggering cannot be considered the normal function of such single words.

5.4.2 Switching as a Rhetorical Device

An examination of the data also reveals that code-switching is sometimes used as a stylistic device, by a speaker who wishes to achieve some particular kind of effect. This rhetorical function of code-switching has also been observed by Rayfield (1970) in the speech of Yiddish-English bilinguals, and Timm (1975) and Fallis (1976) both note the same kind of strategy in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals. Both Timm and Fallis use the term "metaphorical switching" to refer to this phenomenon. Below we will look at some of the rhetorical effects to which the use of code-switching may make a contribution.

5.4.2.1 Repetition

There are numerous examples in the data where a speaker first says something in one language and then repeats the same message in another. The following illustrate the use of repetition in French of what has already been said in Arabic.

- (358) l muhim swltu je lui ai demandé
 "the important thing is I've asked him, I've asked him"
- (359) bqa jšawT f srwalu fhmti il l'ajuste
 "he kept adjusting his trousers, do you understand, adjusting them"
- (360) qultlu waxa d'accord
 "I said to him OK, OK"
- (361) jaLLah mšaja yeda demain
 "Come with me tomorrow, tomorrow"

The converse, where something said in French is then repeated in Arabic, is also very common. The following are some examples.

- (362) je ne lui plais pas, quoi, mařžbtuš
 "he doesn't like me, what, he doesn't like me"
- (363) pourquoi tu les as jaunes řla:ř
 "why do you have them yellow? why?"
- (364) le prix neuf, c'est à dire řdi:d
 "the price (for something) new, that is, new"
- (365) à vingt heures, ř twnja djal li:l
 "at twenty hours, at eight o'clock in the evening"
- (366) nta tu seras ici hna
 "you, you'll be here, here"

Kachru (1977) suggests that this kind of repetition involving the saying of the same thing in both of the bilingual's languages may be motivated by a desire "to avoid vagueness or ambiguity" (p.111). However, this does not seem to be a very plausible view to take of many of the above examples, where what is repeated is something very simple which could not have been misunderstood the first time, and where the version provided in the second language is certainly no more clear or specific than that first given. Instead the purpose of the repetition in examples like the above seems to be that of conveying a certain emphasis on what is repeated. A similar tendency to use code-switched repetition for emphasis was observed by Rayfield (1970), and he suggests that the Yiddish-English bilinguals he studied are, in using this device, probably influenced by the fact that it is commonly used in Biblical Hebrew. One might similarly suggest that this tendency among Moroccan bilinguals could be related to the frequency with which the device of repetition is used in Arabic literary texts.²⁹ On the other hand, the use of code-switched repetition of this kind is also attested for Spanish-English bilinguals, so perhaps it is simply a very general strategy of code-switching. Redlinger (1976) notes that the repetition

²⁹For instance, Monteuil (1960) writes that "l'arabe est voué à l'insistence, à l'inlassable répétition où la tradition voit toujours un profit (fi l-iřada ifâda)" (Monteuil 1960, p.269.

in Spanish of something first said in English serves this emphatic function. Gumperz (1976) also notes the use of this kind of repetition and code-switching "to amplify or emphasize a message" (p.22), as does Timm (1975, p.475).

5.4.2.2. Emphatic Denial and Other Reactions

There are also other environments where a switch may serve an emphatic function. There are many cases where a speaker addressed in one language responds in the other and thereby emphasises his disagreement with or denial of a previous statement. The following examples illustrate this.

- (367) A: tu ne lui dis pas
 B: la: la: je ne lui dis pas
 "You 'don't tell him
 No, no, I don't tell him"
- (368) A: il cause des problèmes de compréhension
 B: la: il est si jeune, mais au bout d'une année...
 "It causes problems of comprehension
 No, he is so young, but after a year..."
- (369) A: ça fait rien
 B: la: ils sont tous instruits en français
 "That doesn't matter
 No, they are all educated in French"

In each of these examples, the second speaker is emphatically denying something; and in each case, although the rest of the exchange is in French, he switches to Arabic for just this purpose.

There are other examples, too, where a speaker conveys some emotional reaction to another's comment by switching languages, and in each case this switch seems to add emphasis to his response. In (370), for example, the second speaker resorts to Arabic to express his astonishment and indignance:

- (370) A: il double sa première et maintenant ils l'ont jeté
 B: sjbu:h et ça coûte déjà là-bas trop cher
 "He's repeating his first year, and now they've thrown him out"
 "They've thrown him out, and it already costs too much there"

The Arabic response of the second speaker here is of course in fact equivalent to the remark by the first speaker in French, so that the effect is once again one of repetition,

which serves to dramatise the second speaker's response. Similarly, in (371) speaker B switches to French to express his surprise. In (372) the switch is to Arabic for a humorous, sarcastic comment; the exploitation of code-switching for mockery or comic effect is also noted by Timm (1975) and Di Pietro (1977). Finally, in (373), the switch to Arabic for a strongly approving response seems to emphasise the degree of the speaker's appreciation of the story he has just heard.

- (371) A: mša w qal l ši mécanicien hajdli wahed žuž
l mraja:t wla qbl ma jrkbhum xda:hum
B: c'est incroyable

"He goes to see a mechanic and tells him: 'Remove those two mirrors', or else he removes them himself before going to see the mechanic
It's unbelievable"

- (372) A: après il est saouł, il n'est pas là
B: mzja:n

"afterwards he's drunk, he's not there
great"

- (373) A: je vous dis que vous êtes plus drôle que le billet
B: řazi:ba

"I tell you, you're funnier than the ticket
wonderful"

5.4.2.3 Interruptions

Another common exploitation of code-switching is to make an interruption. In such cases the break between languages reflects the break in the interrupted speaker's flow of speech, and the second speaker finds the change of language a means of obtaining attention and gaining the floor. The following examples illustrate this strategy.

- (374) A: il m'a énervé
B: tSant

"He annoyed me
Listen!"

- (375) A: toi, en tout cas, lorsqu'il pleuvait...
B: la: řrfti Ta:h l křT

"you, in any case, when it rained...
No! you know, hailstones fell"

- (376) A: et ça continue comme ça...
 B: īlaš
 A: comme ça
"and it goes on like that...
Why?
Like that"
- (377) A: il y a Nouzha qui habite à Mohammedia...
 B: skun had nzha?
 A: celle qui a été à Rabat
"there is Nouzha who lives in Mohammedia...
Who is this Nouzha?
the one who was in Rabat"
- (378) A: elle est bien sauf moi je colle un peu partout
alors ce qui fait...
 B: šuf šandi wahed l jacket šuf waštži mīak
"she is fine, except me, I mess about here and
there, so what happens is that...
Look, I have a jacket - see if it suits you
- (379) A: rester sans rien faire ce n'est pas...
 B: la: la: ana šandi mandir ana w kan lqa sskna
"to stay doing nothing is not...
No, no, I have something to do, me, if I find
accommodation"

In examples like (374) and (378), the second speaker's switch to Arabic coincides with his introduction of an entirely new topic, and may help to draw attention to the importance of his new message. In (376) and (377), B interrupts with a question seeking further clarification of a point mentioned by A; in (376) his interruption does not seem to be immediately successful, in (377) it does, but even in the latter case speaker A, in responding, continues in French; the use of Arabic for the interruption alone seems to mark it as separate from the general flow of information. In (375) and (379), the interruption is to correct a false assumption by A, and here the switch, as well as serving to draw attention to the interruption, may also emphasise the element of contradiction, as it does in examples like (367-369). It is interesting to note that in each of these examples, where a speaker switches languages to make an interruption, the switch is into Arabic - as indeed it is in most of the examples discussed in 5.4.2.2.

5.4.2.4 Dramatic Effects

Code-switching may also contribute to a variety of other special effects, often serving to heighten the dramatic quality of a narrative or comment. Its rhetorical potential can be seen even in short utterances. For example, in (380) the switch helps to emphasis a progression:

(380) comment je vais passer? nži ĩla ržli ?

"how shall I get there? shall I come on foot?"

The speaker first asks how he should get there, making the point that he has no means of transport, and then develops his complaint more emphatically, and rather ironically, by asking, this time in Arabic, if he should come on foot - something which in the circumstances is clearly impossible. The change of language seems to emphasise this progression. In other cases, the contrast between the two languages is exploited for effect. In (381), the two parts of the utterance describe two alternative modes of behaviour, first the rational way of reacting to someone's illness, by using available medical technology, and secondly the religious solution of offering candles to a saint.

(381) au lieu d'acheter des antibiotiques tatšri šmaġ

"instead of buying antibiotics, she buys candles"

The contrast of languages here perfectly accords with the contrast of content, the modern, technological solution being described in French and the traditional religious one in Arabic. Thus the choice of language here at once harmonises with the content and serves to emphasise the contrast between the two alternatives most effectively.

The rhetorical effects of code-switching are even more striking in some longer stretches of speech, where the patterns created by switching from one language to the other and back play a very important part in the overall effect. The following passage, which is one speaker's description of an acquaintance's character, will serve to illustrate the effects of code-switching over a longer piece of discourse.

- (382) 1 Comme Ahmed, tu le connais, c'est le Berbère
 2 type majTlq frank. Il fait mathématiques, il
 3 est généraliste, quandu dda:r, il a deux appartements,
 4 ša:ri l ?arD, mais walu. Il n'a même pas
 5 la télévision en couleurs:il a une petite radio
 6 bhal hadak. C'est le Soussi pur; et pourtant
 7 il est cultivé, il a un très bon poste. Il se
 8 fait beaucoup d'argent et tout, mais makajñš.
 9 Les affaires pour lui: hadik lxdma, il voudrait
 10 bien la balancer et avoir une épicerie.

"Like Ahmed, you know him, he's the typical Berber, who doesn't spend a single penny. He does mathematics, he is a general practitioner, he has a house, he has two apartments, he's bought some land, but - nothing. He doesn't even have a colour television, he has a little radio like this one (pointing to one in the room). He is a real Soussi,³⁰ and yet he is cultivated, he has a very good job. He makes himself a lot of money and everything, but there is nothing. Business for him: he would like to abandon that job and have a little grocer's shop."

The main point being made by the speaker here is that, although Ahmed has plenty of money, he is reluctant to spend it and prefers to live a very simple life. After first introducing the subject - Ahmed - in French, he switches to Arabic to make his essential point, that Ahmed does not like to spend money (line 2). He then proceeds to make the point, very dramatically, that Ahmed is very rich. This he does by listing one by one the signs of his wealth, progressing from the fact that he is educated and a doctor, through the fact that he owns his own house, and, even more remarkable, other property as well, to what in Morocco is one of the ultimate signs of wealth, the fact that he has bought some land. The dramatic effect of this tirade is greatly enhanced by the speaker's use of switching; he first makes a point in French, then one in Arabic, another in French and a final one in Arabic, and

³⁰The Soussis, who come from the south of Morocco, are notorious throughout Morocco for their meanness.

the alternation of the two languages serves to add to the impact of each point by contrasting it with the previous one. It is interesting too, that it is the references to his education and to his possession of modern, European style property, in the form of apartments, which are in French, while the other points, which have no such modern connotations, are in Arabic.

When this progression reaches its height (line 4), he switches again to French to introduce the contradiction with mais, and then, in contrast to the lengthy enumeration of details which preceded it, comes the single Arabic word [walu] -nothing. Again the essential point, Ahmed's lack of expenditure, is made succinctly and in Arabic. The speaker then goes on to add further details exemplifying Ahmed's meanness. He switches to Arabic to make an aside, pointing contemptuously to a nearby radio; Arabic seems to be used here to keep the aside separate from the mainstream of his speech (see 5.4.2.5). He then returns to his description of Ahmed's wealth and status, still in French, and then again there is a dramatic switch to Arabic to repeat once more, even more emphatically, the fact that there is no evidence of this wealth: [makajnš] (line 8). It is striking that this fundamental point is made three times in the course of the speech, each time very briefly, and each time with a switch to Arabic (lines 2, 4, 8). Finally, he returns to French for the final illustrative details, but makes one more switch to Arabic which allows him to make a reference to Ahmed's work which reflects Ahmed's own disparaging view of it. This is achieved through the connotations of the word [xdma] (line 9), which tends to be used more often to refer to manual work than to a profession. The effect of the description as a whole seems to owe much to the speaker's judicious use of code-switching, which adds emphasis, brings out contrasts, and increases the dramatic impact.

5.4.2.5 Asides

A switch can also be used to mark an aside or parenthetical interpolation, where a speaker temporarily abandons the general topic of a discussion to make some comment on another, possibly quite unrelated one, before returning to the main one. The change of language seems to be a useful device for marking such a change of topic. The following examples from the data illustrate this strategy.

- (383) Sawd qadja. A propos, vous voulez un thé noir?
 "Again another thing. By the way, would you like some black tea?"
- (384) f Luwl kanu gaɪma kajbanu. Tu veux un peu de coca?
 "At the beginning they weren't seen at all. Do you want some Coke?"
- (385) min hit tankmi garu tajžini rTeb min baɪd l biba.
Tu es comfortable tama wla?
 "when I smoke a cigarette after a pipe, it tastes mild. Are you comfortable there?"
- (386) de toutes les façons, ana demain je monte ndu:z l
la fac. thersat dak ža:ža
 "in any case, I'll go up to the university tomorrow. That light bulb is broken" (to someone trying to put light on)
- (387) Sabdlqa:dr n'a pas de krš gaɪ . Rien. klitu mzja:n?
 "Abdelqader has no paunch at all. Nothing. Did you eat well?"
- (388) j'ai l'habitude d'écrire des demandes et de ne pas y aller. la: wLa:h hila dak zzitu:n il faut les jeter
 "I am in the habit of writing applications and not going there. No, I swear to God, those olives must be thrown away" (to someone bringing olives out of cupboard)

In each of these examples, the switch marks a break in the narrative where the speaker instead responds to some event in his immediate environment. The switch serves to mark this comment as clearly distinct from the previous discourse. Kachru (1977) also notes the tendency for code-switching to be used to mark an aside.

5.4.2.6 Quotations

Another very common strategy is to make a switch which coincides with a quotation, so that the quotation itself is in a different language from whatever introduced it. This has the effect of separating the quotation from the rest of the utterance and making it stand out against the narrative background. In examples like (389-391), the quotation itself is in Arabic and what precedes it in French, while in (392-394) the switch is in the other direction, from Arabic to French.

- (389) il' va dire: hada j'iraf l frma:sija
 "he's going to say 'this one knows the chemist's'"
- (390) le matin si quelqu'un me cherche, tu leur dis: ana
 mSa:fra
 "in the morning, if anybody is looking for me, you
 say 'I am on holiday'"
- (391) je t'ai dit xSk ta'ml šwija šaqlk
 "I told you, 'you must be logical'"
- (392) qali tu n'as pas d'albumine, tu n'as rien du tout
 "he said to me 'you don't have any albumin, you don't
 have anything (wrong with you)'"
- (393) qultlu écoute, j'ai parlé toute la journée avec
ces gens
 "I said to him 'Listen, I've been speaking to these
 people all morning'"
- (394) qali qu'est-ce qu'il y a
 "he said to me 'What's the matter?'"

In some cases, there seem to be good reasons for why the quotation is made in one language rather than the other. In (389), the person quoted is a low-grade soldier, who would not be fluent in French, and whose original words would have been in Arabic, as they are reported here. In (391), the quotation contains an Arabic idiomatic expression, typically used by older people to youngsters, which is not easily transferred into French. Examples (392-394), on the other hand, report a conversation between doctor and patient, concerning technical medical matters; the discussion would undoubtedly

have taken place in French,³¹ and this is recreated in the reported version by this speaker.

In other cases, where a conversation is reported at some length, it often happens that, while all the quotations are in French, they are introduced by the Arabic verb [qal] "say". Again this has the effect of emphasising the division between the quotations themselves and the minimum background which is required to introduce them; the introductory verbs remain unobtrusively in the background, while the real information stands out. The frequency of this kind of switch after [qal] is illustrated from the following examples.

- (395) qali il demande deux millions . J'ai trouvé que c'était raisonnable. je n'ai pas voulu autrement faire. qultlu d'accord

"he said to me 'He's asking for two million', I found it reasonable. I didn't want to do otherwise. I said to him 'All right'"

- (396) qultlu qu'est-ce qui ne va pas qali vous savez votre billet est drôle, oh là là. qultlu vous savez je crois que vous êtes plus drôle que le billet

"I said to him 'What's the matter?', He said to me 'you know, your ticket is funny'. I said to him 'you know, I think you are funnier than the ticket'"

- (397) qali vous êtes du Maroc. qali vous habitez où qultlu eh bien j' habite à Casablanca. qali vous comptez rester combien de temps en France

"He said to me 'Are you from Morocco?'. He said to me 'Where do you live?' I said to him 'Well, I live in Casablanca'. He said to me 'How long are you thinking of staying in France?'"

The tendency for code-switching to be used to set off a quotation is also noted by Gumperz (1976), who gives examples from Slovenian-German, Hindi-English and Spanish-English bilinguals' speech, and by Timm (1975).

5.4.3 Switching after Hesitation

Another aspect of the distribution of code-switching

³¹ See 4.2.4.1.1.

which emerges from an examination of the data is that switching frequently occurs after a hesitation. There are many instances in the data where a speaker pauses in mid-utterance, as if uncertain how to continue, and then finally begins again in the other language. The following examples illustrate this tendency.

- (398) wqaʃtli f ... lorsque je rentrais de la Tchécoslovaquie
 "it happened to me in... when I was coming back from Czechoslovakia"
- (399) la: maʃi ... ce n'est pas lui. Non, hadak wahed axur
 "no, it isn't ... it isn't him. No, it's somebody else"
- (400) jʃini ce n'est pas ... hadʃi lli fsrtlu
 "I mean, it isn't ... the thing I explained to him"
- (401) qTaʃt min ... de Casa à Vienne
 "I had my ticket from ... from Casa to Vienna"
- (402) tadewz l'enfance djalk... par exemple... ana kunt f ʔagadi:r ... les gens sont ... zaʃma matajlf buʃhadʃi
 "you spend your childhood ... for example ... I was in Agadir ... people are ... supposedly, they don't play with things like that"
- (403) il y a une grande différence ... hta f la bouffrance...
hta f la bouffrance... smijtu... il y a des choses qui... zaʃma... ont plus de qualité
 "there is a big difference... even in the food... even in the food... what do you call it?... there are things which... supposedly... are of better quality"
- (404) c'est tout... i:h... walu... même... zaʃma... il veut s'imposer
 "that's all... yes... nothing... even... supposedly... he wants to impose himself"

In examples like (403) and (404), some of the switches after the hesitations are simply to use Arabic filler words and phrases, while the speaker reflects on how best to express his main point; in each case he goes back to French when he finally continues with his message. The tendency to use such Arabic fillers in otherwise Arabic utterances was noted in 5.3.8. The other examples illustrate a rather different

strategy, whereby the speaker, after seeming to experience difficulty in expressing his message in one language, pauses and then continues with the same message in the other language. In some cases, the material in the second used language simply follows directly on from what was said in the first (as in (400)), in others part of what was said in the first language is repeated in the second (as in (399) and (401)), and in others the switch also accompanies a change of structure (in (398)) or a fresh start altogether (in (402)). The reason for the hesitation in the first place can sometimes be the lack of availability of an item in one language, or the anticipation of a trigger word to follow shortly (see 5.4.1.3); for instance, one could speculate that the need to refer to placenames, which, as noted in 5.4.1.1.5, tend to be in French rather than in Arabic, may have caused the hesitations in examples (398) and (401). It appears that once the speaker has lost the thread of his remark in one language, he often finds it easier to start again in the other. Clyne (1967) observes that a code-switch may be motivated by this desire to find the easiest way of expressing something, claiming that the use of code-switching is influenced by the amount of effort or strain involved in the expression of certain ideas, in that "bilinguals tend to employ the forms that require the least effort (strain) or number of decisions" (Clyne 1967, p.82). Some of the examples of switching after a hesitation may be motivated by this desire for avoidance of effort.

5.4.4 Switching for no Apparent Reason

The examples of code-switching discussed so far have been ones in which it is fairly easy to see a motivation for the switch. However, as has been pointed out by Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1975), there are many instances where it is difficult to perceive any reason for a switch; the speaker constantly alternates between the two languages, and "there

seems to be no linguistic reason for the switch" (Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez 1975, p.158).

There are many passages in the data which exhibit extensive use of switching, to such an extent that there sometimes seems no way of knowing which is the basic language of the interaction, since both languages seem to be used to a similar extent. While the alternation between Arabic and French seems to be regularly maintained throughout such passages, it is often impossible to offer any explanation for the occurrence of particular individual switches within them. The following passages, extracted from the data, are chosen to show the overall effect of a stretch of conversation involving much code-switching. Four of the passages are speeches by particular individuals, the fifth is a dialogue.³²

- (405) On a vu un type tama ga:ls, comme ça, à table, ga:ls avec... Il a déjà bu son verre de café, comme ça, mabqaš, mabqa ma jšrub walu, assis, figé, comme ça, en train de regarder les gens circuler"

"We saw a man sitting there, like that, at the table, sitting with... He had already drunk his cup of coffee, like that, there was nothing left. There was nothing left for him to drink, nothing, sitting, motionless, like that, watching the people go by"

- (406) Šla:š li?ana les moustiques daba šrfti fajn huma mxbš i:n taht le lit et là, donc pour pouvoir être sûr qu'il n'y a pas de moustiques... C'était la pou-
belle xSha tkun vide...wtanqbD ana tanxarz hadši kulu et tandir lma, alors automatiquement la kajn

³²Another such passage, taken from this recorded data, which contains much code-switching, can be found in the Appendix; this was used as the text in the third matched guise test, which is described in 6.4.

š'i moustique hnaja mxbaš elle cherche l'ombre, elle
fout le camp f la journée

"Why? because mosquitoes, now you know where they
are hiding, under the bed and there, so to be able
to be sure that there are no mosquitoes...It was
the bin, it must be kept empty...I took everything
and I put it outside and I poured water over it,
so automatically if there is a mosquito here hiding
it looks for the shade, it goes away during the day"

- (407) lorsqu'elle est zařma au stade adulte elle te pique
waxa tšbes le drap řalik. Elle te pique min fuq le
drap w elle t'envoie wařed le liquide qui lui permet
hadak de sucer ton sang comme elle voudra wařed
la substance qui hadak inhibe un peu le sang bař
ma jtkwagulař w tajbqa dima liquide

"when it is supposedly in the adult stage it bites
you even if you put the sheet over you. It bites
you through the sheet and it sends out into you a
liquid which allows it , like that, to suck your
blood as it wishes, a substance which for example
inhibits the blood a little so that it won't clot
and will always stay liquid".

- (408) řarfti řlař la: c'est pas řa le problėme puisque
řlal huma f haduk djal l bnat gařkul une place tajklu
řu:ř wla tšata djal nna:s alors řrrestaurant djal
l wla:d blasa wřda min tnařl řu:ř tajklu f la mėme
place dix personnes sans qu'elle soit lavėe

"Do you know why? No, it's not that which is the
problem, since there are only a few of them. In the
girls' place, in each one place two or three people

eat, whereas in the boys' restaurant, in one place, from twelve to two, ten people eat in the same place without it being cleaned"

(409) A: il faut éviter smijtu les heures d'affluence

B: řarft

A: il faut par exemple à midi wla midi et quart
hi rijh mřa qubk

B: i:h

A: qu'est-ce que tu perds? tu perds wahed une
une demi-heure li?anaja mazal řaql kuna tanxržu
f midi min le lycée w min hit nlqaw dak le dix-
septième étage řhal min mra dzt f le feu rouge
f dak le dix-septième étage wahed nuba kunt
ana w thami on s'est arrêté juste au feu rouge
on parlait kuna břina nmřiw l mra:kř ma nmřiw
l mra:kř w kunt qarri:t il m'a vu enseigner
w dakři w řaji:n lhna on habitait ici wa:qf
il faut voir řda le dix-septième étage f dak
le feu rouge fařzwlu řřarda l wřTa:nija

"A: you must avoid, what do you call it, the rush
hour

B: I know

A: You must for example at twelve or quarter past
twelve just rest

B: Yes

A: What do you lose? you lose a half-hour, because
I still remember we used to leave about twelve
from the school, and when we got to the seventeen
storey building, how many times I went through
the red light. At that seventeen storey building
once I was with Thami, we stopped just in front
of the red light, we were talking, we were wondering
whether to go to Marrakech or not. I had been

teaching, he saw me teaching and so on, and we were coming here, we lived here. I was waiting, you should have seen that, near the seventeen storey building at that red light where the garden in the centre has been removed"

In examples like these, switching seems to occur quite regularly, whether or not it is possible to see some motivation for each particular switch. Indeed, our data suggest that in casual conversations between friends, this style of speaking, involving frequent changes of language is the norm; certainly, among bilinguals who are fluent in French, like those recorded on our tapes, for a conversation to continue for any length of time either wholly in Arabic or wholly in French seems to be the exception rather than the rule. In fact, code-switching seems to be an essential part of informal conversation between such bilinguals, and a deeply rooted speech habit, which may well be unconscious but will be exercised unless there is some particular reason for avoiding it. There is then no need and no reason to assume that, whenever a switch occurs, there must be some specific reason for its occurrence in this particular environment; it is just a characteristic feature of the speech of bilinguals, and one which may serve to identify them as such, that unless otherwise constrained they tend to change languages frequently. A similar observation is made by Poplack (1980), who suggests that the generalised use of code-switching may constitute "an overall discourse MODE", and that "the very fact that a speaker makes alternate use of both codes itself has interactional motivations and implications, beyond any particular effects of specific switches" (Poplack 1980, p.614).

5.4.5 Conclusion

The examination of the data on which the preceding discussion was based has suggested a variety of explanations for why particular code-switches occur. In the first place, it

was seen that a switch may be motivated by the fact that the bilingual finds it easier, or is accustomed to designate certain things in one language rather than the other. We observed certain areas in which French terms seem to be more available or more appropriate than Arabic terms, and others in which Arabic terms predominate. Secondly, we saw the use of code-switching as a device to produce special effects, to add emphasis or heighten a contrast, to draw attention to a point or to separate one point from another. Thirdly, it was seen that switching may be a strategy adopted when the speaker gets lost for words; if he finds it difficult to express himself in one language on a particular occasion, he can make a second attempt in the other language. Finally, it was suggested that in some cases particular switches may not be motivated by anything more than the fact that code-switching is a regular feature of bilinguals' everyday speech, and indeed that frequent changes from one language to the other constitute the normal speech behaviour of this group in certain situations. Thus the discussion here has revealed that code-switching can fulfil a wide range of functions and certainly plays an important part in the bilingual's speech repertoire.

5.5 Attitudes to Code-Switching

It was mentioned in 5.2.1 that North African writers who refer to Arabic-French code-switching tend to view it as something to be disapproved of or deplored. Those who have considered bilinguals' attitudes to this phenomenon elsewhere have also encountered negative attitudes. Kachru (1977) remarks that code-switching is not favourably viewed in India or in Texas. Gumperz (1976) reports that in interviews many Spanish-English bilinguals living in Jersey City expressed negative attitudes towards code-switching, considering it to be "attributable to lack of education, bad manners, or improper control of the two grammars" (Gumperz 1976, p.4), although

others found it to be a legitimate way of talking. It was therefore felt worthwhile to carry out a small scale investigation of the attitudes of Moroccan bilinguals towards this habit of constantly changing languages and mixing the two in the course of a single utterance.

5.5.1 Method of Investigation

Information about bilinguals' attitudes was sought by eliciting explicit comments about those who use code-switching and the reasons why they do so.³³ For this purpose, respondents were asked to write their answers to two simple questions. The respondents concerned were 109 bilinguals, aged between 17 and 38, of various professions, including office-workers, teachers, students and technicians. The two questions they were given were as follows:

- (1) What do you think of Moroccans who make use of French words when speaking Arabic?
- (2) What do you think of Moroccans who mix French and Arabic in the course of their conversation, or even in the course of a single sentence? (e.g. j'ai vu dak l bint)

The questions were left open-ended so that the respondents could answer in any way and at whatever length they wished. They were deliberately phrased in very simple, if rather vague, terms, to ensure that the respondents, very few of whom had had any linguistic training, would understand the general phenomenon being referred to. This was felt to be very important. One might compare these questions with the one used by Abbassi (1977) in his questionnaire, also with the intention of eliciting views about code-switching, which was as follows:

Pratiquez-vous le "Franco-arabe" comme moyen de communication?

"Do you use "Franco-arabic" as a means of communication?

I feel strongly that the use of a specialised term like "Franco-arabe" is a serious mistake in a questionnaire of this type. This is not a term in general use in Morocco, and it is not

³³ Another method of obtaining information about bilinguals' attitudes towards code-switching was also used, but this is described in 6.4.

at all sure that the average Moroccan bilingual, whatever his standard of education, would be able to guess what Abbassi was referring to by this term.³⁴ In fact, Abbassi admits himself that the responses to this question were probably distorted by the fact that many respondents did not understand the question.

5.5.2 The Respondents' Comments

5.5.2.1 Disapproval

75.22% of the respondents claimed to disapprove of code-switching, to varying degrees. Their expressions of disapproval range from pity to disgust. For instance, respondent (16) says that those who code-switch "sont à plaindre, comme moi". Code-switching is described as "une mauvaise habitude à corriger", and provokes comments like that by respondent (6), who says, "ce n'est pas une façon de parler". Others express stronger opposition to the phenomenon, qualifying those who code-switch as "ridicules" (respondent (75)) or as "des vauriens" (respondent (86)). Others seem to feel disgust, such as respondent (84) who writes "c'est honteux", and respondent (109), who says of those who code-switch, "je ne les considère pas comme des Marocains". This last comment, though doubtless intended to convey the writer's view that code-switching is a despicable habit, can be seen as ironical, in view of the fact that this speech pattern could be seen as a distinctive characteristic of Moroccans (see 5.4.4). As well as expressing their disapproval, the respondents justified their feelings by attributing the use of code-switching to various weaknesses of those who practise it. Their comments about what they consider to be the reasons for code-switching are worth

³⁴ Abbassi himself seems to have borrowed the term, not from any Moroccan writer, but from the Tunisian writers Garmadi (1971) or Micaud (1974) (see the discussion in 5.2.1).

looking at in more detail. The main reasons suggested are given below.

5.5.2.1.1 Ignorance and Lack of Education

27.52% of the respondents suggest that code-switching is a sign of ignorance. Some suggest that those who code-switch do this simply because they have an inadequate knowledge of their two languages. This view is illustrated by remarks like the following:

- R.92: Ils ne connaissent aucun ni le français ni l'arabe.
 R.33: Ils ne sont forts en aucun des deux langues.
 R.91: C'est question d'instruction, car les gens peu instruits utilisent souvent le français mélangé avec l'arabe, peut-être ils veulent se montrer. Mais les gens bien instruits utilisent le français seulement au cas nécessaire.

The view that code-switching is a feature of the speech of those who are not well educated, expressed in the comment by respondent (91) quoted above, is also echoed by other respondents. This view is interesting in that it is manifestly untrue; for example, my tapes provide examples of very frequent code-switching by such highly educated people as a doctor, a pharmacist, a university lecturer, a teacher and others. The fact that some respondents nevertheless regard it as a sign of poor education must be attributed to their strong disapproval of the phenomenon, which leads them to feel that no properly educated person would use it. Three respondents protested that those who code-switch are somehow spoiling or even destroying the two languages, making comments like the following:

- R.17: Ce sont des individus qui détruisent et l'arabe et le français.

Some of the respondents make the point that, although code-switching is to be disapproved of, those who do it cannot really be blamed as it is not their fault. They suggest that it is the fault of the Moroccan education system - presumably blaming its bilingual policies for this result.

- R.106: Ils sont des cons innocents
 R.33: Ils sont victimes des planificateurs.
 R.77: C'est une cause de l'éducation.
 R.46: C'est un défaut de bilinguisme.

5.5.2.1.2 Personality Problems

An interesting suggestion, which is made by as many as 9.25% of the respondents, is that those who mix the two languages suffer from psychological problems of some kind. In particular, there are suggestions that these people must lack confidence or have no sense of identity, as illustrated by the following comments:

- R.39: Ils ne sont pas sûrs d'eux-mêmes, sinon ils pourraient maîtriser leur langue.
 R.77: Ils n'ont pas la conscience tranquille.
 R.12: Ils n'ont aucun identité linguistique.
 R.94: Ils ont un complexe.

Some take an even more extreme view:

- R.93: Je crois qu'ils sont tous malades.
 R.70: Ils ont besoin de voir un psychiatre.

Such comments may perhaps reflect the view that a mixture of two languages also entails a mixture of the two cultures associated with them. It was noted in 2.4 that the view that this mixture of two cultures can have harmful effects on the individual has been expressed by writers discussing Arabic-French bilingualism. Evidently respondents like those quoted above share this view that cultural conflicts may be damaging to the bilingual's personality, and see code-switching as evidence of such problems.

5.5.2.1.3 Patriotism

Others object to code-switching on the grounds that it is a reflection of the fact that Morocco has been colonised by the French. 14.81% of the respondents reveal this kind of viewpoint in their comments. They evidently disapprove

of those who code-switch because they feel that this suggests that they have been strongly marked by French colonialism, to the point where they are not able to express themselves without resorting to the colonisers' language. They feel that Moroccans who mix French and Arabic are failing to show a proper pride in their nationality and their national language.

R.67: Ils sont encore colonisés.

R.9: Ils sont dominés, pour ne pas dire colonisés.

R.62: Je pense que l'occupation française du Maroc est la cause de ce mélange.

R.109: Je ne les considère pas comme des Marocains.

R.75: Ils sont bâtards, car ils ne savent pas leur langue.

5.5.2.1.4 Laziness

While the respondents quoted earlier tend to attribute code-switching to something beyond the control of the individual, whether this is his own ignorance or the influence of colonialism, others lay the blame for code-switching directly on the individuals who practise it. Thus 7.4% of the respondents describe those who code-switch as being clumsy or lazy, taking the view that they do not make the effort they feel is required to keep the two languages separate.

R.22: Ils sont paresseux.

R.58: Ce sont des maladroits et des ignorants.

We may recall the view expressed by Clyne (1967), that much code-switching is the result of seeking the easiest way of saying something and avoiding effort wherever possible (see 5.4.3). The respondents who make this objection to code-switching may be aware of this kind of strategy.

5.5.2.1.5 Affectation

Another criticism of those who code-switch is the allegation that they do this to show off and to attempt to appear sophisticated. 12.96% of the respondents make suggestions

of this kind. It does indeed seem possible that the less-educated might have this motive for code-switching, since inserting elements of French into one's speech might be judged to give the impression that one has studied French and achieved certain educational standards; although there is also the danger that the impression given is instead one of ignorance, a view which many are evidently ready to take (see 5.5.2.1.1). Comments like the following are typical of those who feel that code-switching is a form of showing-off.

- R.55: Ils veulent se montrer supérieurs.
 R.44: Ils veulent se montrer supérieurs.
 R.74: C'est par snobisme. Certains Marocains veulent à tout prix montrer qu'ils connaissent la langue française qui est très valorisée par la société.
 R.81: Ils sont des vaniteux.
 R.88: Ce qui peut les pousser à parler de cette façon est, sans doute, un désir d'importance.
 R.101: Ces Marocains veulent montrer qu'ils connaissent le français, qu'ils sont instruits. Ils sont vaniteux avec leur français.

These respondents suggest that code-switching is nothing but an affectation, used to give an impression of education and social status.

5.5.2.2 Lack of Disapproval

While, as was noted above, a large majority of the respondents express their disapproval of code-switching, only 9.17% state that they have no objections to this mode of speech, but find it an acceptable strategy of communication. The following exemplify the comments of those who take this kind of view.

- R.15: Ce phénomène est devenu naturel dans notre pays.
 R.44: C'est normal, car ils sont bilingues.
 R.43: Du moment qu'ils sont compris il n'y a pas de problèmes.

In the light of what was discovered earlier, namely the fact that code-switching is often very useful to communication, allowing the achievement of greater clarity, the conveying of special nuances, and the development of emphasis and contrast, it may be seen as quite surprising that hardly any of the respondents acknowledge the fact that code-switching

can serve to improve communication. In fact, only two of the respondents note that code-switching can serve a useful purpose:

R.41: Ils font ça pour mieux s'exprimer.

R.38: C'est pour mieux clarifier ce qu'il veut dire.

Perhaps the strong feeling that code-switching is something to be condemned prevents Moroccans from recognising its usefulness.

5.5.2 3 Admission of Code-Switching

It is quite remarkable that, although all the respondents were bilinguals with a reasonable degree of fluency in French, only 4.63% of them admitted to code-switching themselves. Of course, the questions they were given did not actually ask them to state whether or not they used code-switching themselves, but nevertheless this seems a very small proportion. Those few who do admit to it express regret for the habit:

R.10: Je n'aime pas l'entendre chez les autres malgré que je le fais moi-même.

R.72: J'essaie de ne pas les imiter sauf en cas de nécessité.

R.16: Ils sont à plaindre, comme moi.

It is possible that some of the respondents are unaware of the fact that they themselves code-switch, as is suggested by one respondent's comment:

R.65: On ne se rend pas compte qu'on mélange les deux langues dans les discussions.

5.5.3 Conclusion

It can be concluded that code-switching tends to evoke overwhelmingly negative reactions among those asked to give their opinion of it. Very few seem to recognise any valuable properties of code-switching. The criticisms made by the respondents of those who use code-switching are of two types; some blame the individual for it, while others attribute the blame to external factors. On the one hand, there are remarks

to the effect that those who code-switch are ridiculous, lazy or ignorant, that they somehow harm the two languages by mixing them, and that they are psychologically disturbed, subject to complexes and problems of identity and concerned to show off before others. On the other hand, there are the complaints that code-switching is an unfortunate legacy of colonisation and the bilingual education system, which poor Moroccans have to suffer. It is clear from the results of this small-scale survey that code-switching is an attitudinally loaded subject, which provokes strong emotions among the type of bilinguals who are nevertheless likely to code-switch themselves. These findings accord with the conclusion drawn by Gumperz (1970), from his examination of code-switching in Texas, that "language mixture tends to be disparaged and referred to by pejorative terms" (p.187).

5.6 Summary

This chapter has examined the phenomenon of code-switching among Moroccan bilinguals from a number of viewpoints. In the first place we examined the theoretical possibilities for code-switching in various kinds of syntactic environment. It was concluded from this that many of the seemingly ad hoc syntactic constraints on code-switching which have been proposed by others are in fact unnecessary, and that many apparent restrictions on Arabic-French code-switching can in fact be seen to result from the application of a single very general constraint, which we labelled the Structure-Preserving Constraint. With regard to the frequency and distribution of the various types of switch, it was found that French lexical items, especially nouns, were more commonly used in otherwise Arabic environments than the converse, while Arabic grammatical items and parentheticals were more common in otherwise French environments than the converse.

Secondly, we examined a number of factors which can be said to provoke code-switching. It was seen that switching involving lexical items may be motivated by the greater

availability, appropriateness or specificity of an item in one language rather than the other. Moreover, such properties of a single word may trigger a longer switch. It was also seen that code-switching may sometimes be attributed to a strategy of avoidance of effort. Moreover, many cases were seen in which code-switching serves to achieve particular stylistic effects; it can be used to show emphasis, contrast or other dramatic effects.

Finally, we made a small survey to discover the attitudes of Moroccan bilinguals to code-switching and those who use it. It was found that the majority of the respondents were strongly opposed to the mixture of their two languages, and criticised those who used it; they attributed this phenomenon to a number of problems, such as ignorance, laziness, personality problems and the influence of the French colonisers.

This study has thus shown that, on the one hand, code-switching is a very characteristic feature of the speech of bilinguals when engaged in informal discussion, and occurs in a wide range of syntactic environments, and on the other hand, it is very generally disapproved of. The explanation for why it is so widely used, despite its apparently bad connotations, can perhaps be found in the wide range of useful functions which it can and does fulfil.

CHAPTER SIX

Reactions to Moroccans' Use of Arabic, French and Code-Switching

6.0 Introduction

In Chapter 3 we examined Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes towards Arabic and French using information obtained by direct questioning, and in 5.5 we did the same for their attitudes to code-switching between the two languages. In this chapter, we will be able to check whether these openly expressed attitudes correspond to those revealed by a more indirect method of investigation, using the matched guise technique. The intention here is to probe the unconscious attitudes of Moroccan bilinguals towards Arabic, French and code-switching.

6.1 Previous Work

It has often been noted that the conscious attitudes expressed by respondents in answer to direct questions may not always correlate exactly with the possibly unconscious attitudes which they may reveal more indirectly. As Cohen (1974, p.33) points out, "clearly there is an inherent weakness in asking people their language attitudes directly. They may not wish to tell the investigator or may not be able to put their attitudes into words". Lieberman (1975, pp.471-472) also draws attention to the importance of indirect measures.

"If data on language behaviour are collected only by observation and direct questioning, there may be apparent incongruity between how respondents use language and how they say they use language. Attitude studies are useful in helping to explain this incongruity when they uncover language values which respondents are unaware of or are unwilling to admit for prestige reasons".

Accordingly, investigators have developed some more indirect ways of eliciting information about people's language attitudes.

One technique is the "commitment measure" devised by

Fishman (1971), which is intended to evaluate the action or conative component of attitudes.¹ The respondents are not merely asked to express attitudes towards types of language behaviour, but are also questioned about their willingness to commit themselves to actions which would seem to accord with these attitudes. For instance, in one survey carried out by Fishman among Puerto Ricans in New York, the respondents were asked whether they would be prepared to take various positive steps to improve their Spanish, such as attending meetings, joining clubs, and inviting other Puerto Ricans to their home, and were finally asked to give their names and addresses, whereupon they were invited to attend an evening of Puerto Rican songs and recitations. It was found that the scores on this commitment test correlated more closely than those on an ordinary attitude questionnaire did with the respondents' actual willingness to participate in activities, as revealed by the attendance at the meeting.

Other methods have involved asking the respondents to evaluate aspects of speech samples. Williams (1970, 1974) used a two-factor model in investigating teachers' evaluations of children's speech. This technique involves the use of the semantic differential scale developed by Osgood et al. (1957), which allows the respondent to evaluate a stimulus (in this case a child's speech) in terms of bipolar adjectival opposites, by placing a check-mark in one of seven cells (e.g. Pronunciation is good - - - - -bad) according to his judgement. A neutral judgement will be a check-mark in the central cell of the scale. Williams discovered (1974) that teachers' evaluations of pupils' speech were affected by stereotyped concepts:

"when a person was presented with a speech sample as a stimulus, this would elicit first a stereotyped reaction, and this stereotyped reaction would subsequently serve more or less as an anchor point for their (teachers') evaluation of the characteristics of a particular child

¹See 3.1.1.

who would fit into the category of the stereotype"
(Williams 1974, p.26)

Cooper and Fishman (1974) report on a number of language attitude studies carried out in Jerusalem. To investigate the effect of language on persuasion, respondents were asked to listen to two short passages recoded in Arabic and Hebrew by an Arabic-Hebrew bilingual; one passage was about the evils of tobacco, accompanied by scientific evidence in support of this evidence, while the other was about the effects of liquor and drew on traditional arguments against this. The respondents were told that both passages were spoken by the same person, a muslim from Jerusalem, in order to ensure that their reactions to the texts would not be attributable to differences between the speakers' ethnic identities, but only to differences of language. They were then asked to answer direct and indirect questions. In answer to the direct questions, they all claimed to agree with the content of the messages, regardless of the language in which they were presented. However, when their opinions were sought more indirectly, in that they were asked how much tax should be paid on these two products to discourage consumption, the difference between their reactions to Arabic and to Hebrew became clear. Hebrew was found to be more effective than Arabic in conveying arguments based on scientific evidence, while Arabic was found to be more effective than Hebrew for arguments based on traditional values.²

The matched guise technique is another instrument used in the evaluation of the reactions of speakers towards various

²In fact, however, it seems to me that the fact that Arabic was found more effective than Hebrew in conveying the argument against alcohol might be related to the fact that alcohol is forbidden by Islamic doctrine and that Arabic is of course the language of Islam. It might have been more appropriate to select a more neutral topic, which was not a tenet of either of the religions associated with the two languages.

languages, dialects or accents; it was first developed by Lambert et al. (1960). This technique involves the use of tape recordings reading versions of the same text in two languages (or dialects or accents). Groups of respondents are then asked to listen to these recordings and, on the basis of voice cues only, to evaluate the speakers in terms of given personality traits, or other variables such as prejudices, personal attitudes, language or accent preferences. Unlike in the Cooper and Fishman test reported above, here the judges are kept unaware that the recorded voices are not all of separate individuals, but are the matched guises of bilingual speakers.

Lambert (1967, p.94) believes that the matched guise technique "appears to reveal judges' more private reactions to the contrasting group than direct questionnaires do, but much more research is needed to adequately assess its power in this regard". The matched guise technique can be a useful complement to methods of data-gathering such as interviews and questionnaires. An interesting example is provided by a matched guise test carried out by Lieberman (1975) with St. Lucian bilinguals, to investigate their attitudes to their two languages, English and French-based creole. His study found a discrepancy between observations of the St. Lucians' use of language and the responses they gave in answering questionnaires about how they used the two languages. The matched guise test revealed that St. Lucian bilinguals rate their Patois higher than English, despite the commonly expressed view in language questionnaires that English is preferred to Patois. Lieberman concludes that the matched guise technique is valuable in showing what the St. Lucians actually do rather than what they say they do with their languages.

The judges' subjective judgements of the matched guises may reflect a variety of connotative associations relating to the languages of a community. Shuy and Williams (1973, p.85) observe that "a person's reactions to a dialect may not only reflect his attitudes about the social stratum of

that dialect, but may also include clusters of attitudes related to apparent qualities of the dialect or of the people who speak that dialect". These subjective evaluations are generally based on previously formed attitudes about particular languages, the social class or ethnic identity of the speaker, for it is possible to identify the social status or ethnic group of a speaker without visual cues (see Palmer 1973, p.41). For instance, Labov (1966) establishes a set of phonological variables to define the speech styles of New York, and shows that on hearing these cues a listener may be able to predict the speaker's social status. The stereotyped attitudes that people have about a particular dialect or language may in turn influence the way they perceive others. For instance, Ortego (1970) observes that the majority of Mexican-American bilinguals in the Southwest speak English with a Spanish accent, and that this evokes a prejudiced reaction in the listener towards such a speaker, whose chances for social success are drastically reduced by the stigma of his accent.

The matched guise technique may reveal that two languages or dialects are associated with two quite different sets of values. Wölck (1973), in investigating Spanish-Quechua bilinguals' attitudes to their two languages by means of such a test, found that Spanish was rated higher than Quechua on the social status dimension, but that Quechua was rated higher than Spanish on the affective dimension. In fact, the bilinguals, when speaking Quechua, were perceived as stronger, more sincere, less arrogant, more ambitious and smarter than when they spoke Spanish.

El Dash and Tucker (1976) report an interesting study of the attitudes of Egyptians towards Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian English, British English and American English. They selected four groups of judges - grade-school, high school, National University and American University groups. Using the matched guise technique, they first investigated the ability of their respondents to identify the nationality of the speakers of all these varieties. The respondents were able to identify American speakers more accurately

than either British or Egyptian speakers. Secondly, all the speakers were judged on four personality traits - intelligence, likeability, religiousness and leadership. The speakers of Classical Arabic were judged to be more likeable, intelligent and religious and as possessing significantly more leadership qualities than the others. The authors note that the grade-school children (aged 11 and 12) tend to rate all the speakers higher on all the traits than the other, older groups of judges. This finding seems to support that of Lambert et al. (1966) who report the same conclusion in their study of Canadian French speakers.

Strongman and Woosley (1967) used the matched guise technique to determine the reactions of two groups of respondents - one from the north of England and the other from the south - towards two regional accents of English. These two groups were asked to rate four voices (actually one Londoner and one Yorkshireman) reading a passage in Yorkshire and London accents. The results show that both groups hold the common stereotyped views about the two regional accents, but when the two groups were considered separately, some differences between the two sets of results were found. Both groups of judges found the Yorkshire guises more honest and more reliable than the Londoner ones, which were judged more self-confident. Only the northern group found the Yorkshire speakers to be more industrious, more generous, good-natured and kind-hearted than the London speakers, who were perceived as harder, meaner and more irritable.

Matched guise tests have also been used to obtain interesting information about a minority group's view of itself. Carranza and Ryan (1976), in their study of the attitudes of bilingual Anglo and Mexican-American adolescents towards speakers of Spanish and English, attempt to explain, in terms of political, social and economic necessities, why Mexican-Americans neglect their mother tongue and resort to English. A matched guise test was administered to 32 Mexican-Americans

and 32 Anglos from a high school in Chicago. Overall, Spanish was more highly rated in the context of home, while English received higher scores in the context of school.³ Moreover, English was rated higher than Spanish on both power and solidarity dimensions. This sheds some light on the tendency to use English outside the home context; for a Mexican-American, the need to use English even to be solidary outside the home context seems to be imposed on him by the prestige of English as the dominant language of the society in which he lives. The tendency, among speakers of two languages of which the second language is the most prestigious, to downgrade speakers of their own mother tongue would seem to reflect the negative orientation they have towards their mother tongue because of the inferior position it holds in the community.

The tendency for members of a minority group to under-rate speakers of their own group has also been demonstrated by other matched guise tests. Tucker and Lambert (1969), for instance, discovered that Blacks in the U.S.A. rate speakers of Black English lower than speakers of Standard White American English. Much evidence has been collected about the attitudes of French Canadians. Lambert et al. (1960, 1966) used matched guise tests among French and English Canadians in Montreal. Lambert et al. (1960) asked a group of French and English Canadians to evaluate a number of male French and English guises on certain personality traits, and found that French Canadians downgraded their own language group, while English Canadians rated their own group more favourably. Basing themselves on previous investigations, Lambert et al. (1966) attempted to determine when and how this unfavourable attitude towards their own ethnic and linguistic group first appears among young French Canadians. A group of French Canadian girls aged from 9 to 18, subdivided into monolinguals and bilinguals, were asked to evaluate

³They gave one passage whose content was such as to suggest a home context and another which suggested a school context.

a number of speakers, including some girls about their own age and some adult men and women, reading passages in English and French. The English Canadian guises were rated higher on all traits than the French Canadian guises, and this preference seemed to be already established by the age of about twelve among upper middle class bilingual French Canadian girls.

These results illustrate the fact that French Canadians seem to have an inferiority complex about their own ethnic group, which seems to result from the inferior position assigned to them by the English Canadians who represent the majority cultural group. Interestingly, D'Anglejan and Tucker (1973) report that French Canadians have the same negative feeling to their own Quebec style French vis-à-vis Standard European French; evidently their sense of inferiority extends also to their status in relation to European French speakers. The adoption by a minority group of the stereotyped negative view of it which is held by the majority group has sometimes been considered to be an instance of the phenomenon of "self-hatred" which has typically been associated with the Jews. However, Tajfel (1959) argues that the phenomenon of self-hatred involves a greater degree of tension and friction than exists in the Montreal situation, and cannot be considered the source of the French Canadians' underrating of their own ethnic group.

However, such ethnic minority groups may sometimes change their attitudes and define themselves along new dimensions other than those assigned to them by the majority. Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973) refer to this change in attitude as a prise de conscience; the old inferiority feeling is abandoned and the notion of difference is emphasised, as is reflected in the slogan "Black is beautiful". Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973) and Bourhis and Giles (1974) made an attempt to specify the salient dimensions of Welsh identity, on the basis of this prise de conscience which the minority group will opt for in developing a positive view of themselves.

They used a matched guise test to investigate Welsh people's reactions towards three types of Welsh people: those who speak Welsh, those who cannot speak Welsh, but speak English with a recognisably Welsh accent, and those who do not know Welsh and speak English with an R.P. accent. The results show that the speakers using Welsh and those using English with a Welsh accent were more favourably evaluated than the R.P. speakers, and that all the respondents perceived themselves to be more similar to the first two of these groups than to the third. The authors conclude that these Welsh respondents have a positive self-image, preferring this to the image of the R.P. speaker, and that the Welsh language is an important salient dimension of Welsh identity. In possessing this image, they contrast sharply with the French Canadians, who seem instead to recognise the majority language as the prestigious one.

Saint-Jacques (1977), in his study of the attitudes of Japanese people to Japanese and English speakers, carried out what he calls a matched guise test. However, instead of using pairs of guises of the same speaker, he chose to use only native speakers of the languages concerned, and had three Americans and three Japanese reading a passage once each. The comparison his judges were being asked to make was thus not between the same voices presented in different guises, but between the voices of different people. Clearly, in this case, the differences in the speaker's ratings may be influenced not only by the language differences but also by the individual differences between speakers. The results of such a test then cannot provide any conclusive evidence that the different impressions are due to the different languages used. Saint-Jacques used the same technique in evaluating the attitudes of Japanese and American people towards Chinese and Canadian English speakers; he justifies his use of this technique by claiming that it is very difficult to find perfect guises in two languages and that the judges may easily identify the two guises as being the same voice.

However, the fact remains that his test fails to achieve the fundamental aim of the matched guise test, which is to compare pairs of voices where the only variable is the language used. In fact, he seems to have failed to grasp the basic principle of the matched guise technique, for his test simply does not use "matched guises" at all.

The matched guise technique could also be used to investigate people's reactions to code-switching or language mixture, but it has not to my knowledge been exploited for this purpose. The most common method of investigating people's attitudes towards code-switching seems to have been the direct measure method, where the respondents are simply asked quite straightforwardly what they think about code-switching. Amastae and Olivares (1977) used the two-factor model to investigate the attitudes of four groups of people towards various types of Spanish - including code-switching - in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in Texas. They played five samples of speech - one each of Standard Spanish, popular Spanish, Spanish with loan translations, code-switching and caló⁴ - to Pan American University foreign students (Spanish speakers) and Mexicans, who were given rating sheets with semantic differential scales for evaluation. Amastae and Olivares conclude from their results that caló and code-switching are perceived more negatively than the other varieties, while popular Spanish, Spanish with loan translation and code-switching are rated more favourably on the solidarity dimension than on the evaluative dimension. They also note the importance of sex as a variable influencing the evaluation of speech, since male judges seem to rate caló and code-switching more negatively than females do. The problem in drawing conclusions from such a test is of course that each of the different varieties is represented by a different speaker, so that

⁴"Caló" or "pocho" is the perjorative term for the variety of Spanish spoken by local Chicanos in the South West (see Gumperz 1976, p.5).

the respondents are rating not merely various types of speech but also different individual speakers. Thus here, as in Saint-Jacques' test, the differences in attitude to the various samples may be influenced not merely by differences between the varieties of Spanish but also by differences between the voice qualities of the five speakers.

Research into language attitudes in North Africa seems so far to have been limited to the use of simple direct measures. As was noted in 3.1.3, Stevens (1974), Abbassi (1977) and Gravel (1979) include in their questionnaires some items asking the respondents for their opinions of the relative beauty, richness and difficulty of French and Arabic. Gravel (1979, p.195) observes that the matched guise technique has not been used in the study of language attitudes in North Africa, and this seems indeed to be the case.

6.2 First Matched Guise Test

The aim of this test was to find out more about Moroccan bilinguals' attitudes towards French and Arabic and the values they associate with them. It was also hoped that this test might reveal some commonly held stereotypes associated with the two languages, which might not easily be investigated by means of a direct questionnaire.

6.2.1 Method of Investigation

6.2.1.1 Procedure

A one-minute passage of Moroccan Arabic, on an everyday topic, was translated into French. Three Moroccan bilinguals were each recorded reading the passage twice, once in Arabic and once in French. Recordings were also made of the voices of a Moroccan Arabic monolingual and a French native speaker reading the passage in Arabic and French respectively. There were thus eight voices, the three matched pairs (each bilingual reading the passage in both Arabic and French) and the voices of the two monolinguals, which were included as "filler" voices.

The eight voices were ordered so that Moroccan Arabic versions alternated with French ones, and no voice was followed immediately by its matched guise. The filler voice of the Arabic monolingual was presented as the first to be judged; this was intended to allow the respondents to get used to the format of the test before the important responses (those to the three matched pairs). The voice of the French native speaker was given last.

The respondents were told at the beginning of the test that they would hear eight speakers reading the same passage, some in Moroccan Arabic and some in French. The fact that some voices would be heard twice was concealed from the respondents. It was not felt necessary to give the respondents copies of the Moroccan Arabic and French versions of the passage because it was in any case very easy to follow.⁵ Before listening to each voice, the respondents were given a response sheet containing twenty traits on which they had to rate the speaker. Each voice was played once and the respondents were given enough time to complete all their ratings for this voice before the next one was played to them; some of them began their ratings while the voice was still playing. When the respondents had finished rating the eighth voice, they were given a short questionnaire to complete which was intended to elicit some basic information about the respondents. In this questionnaire they were asked to rate their own ability to speak and understand Arabic and French, and were questioned about their favourite language, their willingness to improve their knowledge of French, their opinions about arabisation and bilingualism in Morocco, and their views about what languages their children should learn.

6.2.1.2 The Stimulus Passage

⁵It would in any case have been difficult to provide a written transcript of the Moroccan Arabic text, since there is no standardly recognised method of writing Moroccan Arabic. Lambert et al. (1960) provided their respondents with a copy of each text because they used prose of a philosophical nature.

Care was taken to ensure that the content of the passage chosen was emotionally neutral, free from strong expressions of feeling or opinion which might affect the respondents' perception of the speaker's personality. The topic chosen was the description of a person sitting waiting to see somebody, drinking coffee, watching the sun, and thinking of his colleagues going to work. Although the style of the passage was informal and representative of everyday speech, it was free from colloquialisms. Agheysi and Fishman (1970) emphasise the importance of maintaining compatibility between topic and style of speaking in selecting passages for this purpose. "In the experimental matched guise setting, when the judges make their evaluations of speakers, some of the things they may be reacting to could well be the congruity, or lack of it, between the topic, speaker and the particular language variety" (p.146).⁶ The simple narrative of everyday events which our passage contained was judged to be compatible with the styles of both colloquial Moroccan Arabic and conversational French.

The passage was kept as brief as possible in order to avoid boring the respondents. Shuy (1969) observes that very brief samples of speech, of only three to ten seconds' duration, can permit reliable ratings by the respondents. Ellis (1967) also notes that it took his respondents no more than twenty seconds to identify the social status of various speakers.⁷

6.2.1.3 The Speakers

In previous studies there has been little discussion

⁶ A case where such incongruity might arise is where the varieties being compared are the high and low varieties of a diglossic situation, as is the case with Classical and Colloquial Arabic. For example, this problem arose in the investigation by El Dash and Tucker (1976) mentioned in 6.1; they found it very difficult to obtain any sample of the use of Classical Arabic in spontaneous speech.

⁷ Transcripts of the text are provided in the Appendix.

of the criteria used in selecting the speakers for a matched guise test; one can imagine that in many cases the crucial point would be that the speakers be able to present perfect guises in the two languages or dialects being compared, for in some cases finding such speakers might be quite difficult. Some studies took into account sociological criteria such as ethnic group membership and socio-economic class (see Ryan 1973).

The primary consideration in selecting speakers for our matched guise tests was that they be representative of the group of Moroccans who can be described as "balanced bilinguals" (see 2.1) - those who are able to converse in both Moroccan Arabic and French fluently and with ease.⁸ An incidental result of this selection was that the speakers were all of similar social status and educational backgrounds; all could be described as middle class, and were all office-workers aged about thirty.

There were however some discernible differences between the accents with which these three individuals spoke French. It was judged, impressionistically, that speaker (A) 's French exhibited less of a Moroccan accent than the other two speakers; in fact, his French was felt to approximate quite closely to that of a native speaker of French, with little trace of Moroccan accent. This accent, which is used only by Moroccans who have been in very close contact with the French, such as

⁸We were not interested in comparing the impressions given in Arabic and French by speakers who had a very limited knowledge of French and did not speak it fluently, because in such cases there would be too many obvious inherent contrasts between the speaker's guises, his fluency in Arabic and difficulty of self-expression in French. Instead it was felt to be more interesting to look for more subtle contrasts which might exist between two guises which were at any rate both equally fluent and confident. Accordingly the speakers selected were ones judged to be highly proficient in both Moroccan Arabic and French.

those educated in La Mission Française (see 1.2.1), can conveniently be described as High Moroccan French. Speaker (B) on the other hand spoke French with a recognisably Moroccan accent, and was felt to be typical of those Moroccans who, while they have received a large part of their education through the medium of French, have received this education in Franco-Islamic schools (see 1.2.1). However, his accent was not such as to mark him as coming from some particular region of Morocco, and in this respect he could be contrasted with Speaker(C). The latter, too, spoke French with a marked Moroccan accent, perhaps more pronounced than that of (B), but the most striking feature of his French was that it clearly marked him out as coming from the city of Fez. The French of both (B) and (C) could be described as Average Moroccan French. A similar contrast could be perceived between the Arabic spoken by (C) and that spoken by (A) and (B), in that the former spoke Arabic with a pronounced Fez accent whereas the other two did not possess any distinctive regional accent.

The categorisation given above was arrived at simply from impressionistic judgements about the speakers' accents. It would of course be possible to carry out a detailed phonological analysis of the French used by each speaker, in order to provide a precise description of his pronunciation and the ways in which it differed from that of the others.⁹ However,

⁹In fact, some distinguishing characteristics are evident from even a superficial examination of the three voices. For example, speaker (C) is distinguished by his pronunciation of the French /r/ phoneme. Instead of producing a uvular fricative [ʁ] he uses the Fez [r], which is a uvular frictionless continuant (see Bentahila 1975, p.43). This is recognised throughout Morocco as a characteristic of the Fez accent, as is reflected by the fact that it is the one aspect of pronunciation always adapted by those who wish to caricature this accent. While speaker (A) realises the French phoneme /y/ as a rounded close front vowel [y], neither (B) nor (C) uses this sound, which does not occur in Moroccan Arabic; they substitute instead a roughly half-close back rounded vowel (See Bentahila 1975, p.51). A full description of the varieties of Moroccan French remains to be attempted; this would be an interesting topic to examine, but is beyond the scope of the present work.

in the circumstances this was not considered necessary. In the first place, it was not our concern here to characterise the different varieties of Moroccan French, since our main interest was the contrast between all these varieties on the one hand and Moroccan Arabic on the other. Secondly, our interest was not in examining the characteristics of the speech of Moroccan bilinguals, but rather in investigating the impressions this speech produced in other bilinguals. What was important was not the physical characteristics of the speech but the way this was perceived by the respondents. Even if we isolated certain characteristics of the pronunciation of one speaker which contrasted with those of another, we could not be sure without much more detailed investigation that it was just these differences which resulted in the Moroccans' impression that one had a less pronounced Moroccan accent than the other, or that these differences were more or less crucial in leading to this impression. The important point was simply to check that Moroccans did agree in perceiving differences between the accents of the three speakers.

With this end in view, the three speakers' French guises were played to 20 respondents who came from various parts of Morocco. They were asked to rate the three by giving each a score from one to three according to the degree of "Frenchness" of their accent. The closer the accent is to that of a native speaker of French, the higher the score. The results are shown in the following table:

Table 1.

Speaker (A)	Speaker (B)	Speaker (C)
58	39	23

These results correspond with our own impressionistic judgement. The twenty respondents were also asked to indicate if they could detect the place of origin of any of the three speakers. Seventeen of them felt that Speaker (C) came from Fez, but there was no general agreement about the origin of

either of the others. This suggests that the Fez accent is easily identifiable.

6.2.1.4 Selection of the Traits to be evaluated

Various criteria have been used in selecting the appropriate adjectives for the semantic differential scales used in matched guise tests. One method is to base the selection on previous studies together with personal observation, as was done, for instance, by Carranza and Ryan (1976) in their test with Mexican-Americans. Other studies have simply adopted a combination of the traits which have been used in various other matched guise tests in different countries. For instance, Strongman and Woosley (1967), in their study of the stereotyped reactions to British regional accents, used a number of traits borrowed from Lambert et al.'s (1960) study of French Canadians in Montreal, together with some from Asch (1946). The problem with this approach, however, is that the types of characteristic used in one particular study may not be suitable for either the type of stimuli to be judged or the population sampled in an altogether different speech community.

Other studies have developed their own scales from various sources. Williams (1970), in his investigation of teachers' evaluation of children speaking in Detroit dialect, carried out a preliminary test in which teachers were asked to provide adjectives to describe children whose voices were played to them. Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973), in their study of Welsh people's attitudes towards speakers of Welsh, Welsh-accented English, and R.P., developed their scales on the basis of an open-ended questionnaire which described the three types of speaker and asked the respondents to provide adjectives and phrases to describe them. The most frequently offered descriptions were used in the scales.

Another type of elicitation was used by El Dash and Tucker (1976) in their study of Egyptians' attitudes to varieties of Arabic and English. Their scales were based on suggestions made by Egyptians who were asked to describe the personality characteristics to which they might react when

when hearing someone speak, the aspects of personality which could be detected from someone's voice.

Others based their selection on information available from other sources. For example, Amastae and Olivares (1977) in their study of attitudes to varieties of Spanish in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, grouped various traits which had been commonly referred to in previous literature about the area. They used factor analysis to test the validity of their a priori grouping of adjectives. Finally, some simply used their own general impressions of the kinds of property which might be relevant. Saint-Jacques, after discussions with Japanese people, simply selected the properties which he felt corresponded to the basic stereotypes in the perception of American and Japanese speakers. Similarly, Lieberman (1975), in his study of bilingual St. Lucians, selected commonly used adjectives after listening to many conversations.

For the present study, the selection of appropriate traits was based on information from a variety of sources. Perhaps the major source of ideas was the information obtained from the questionnaires described in Chapters 3 and 4, which suggested that Moroccan bilinguals have different feelings towards each of the two languages, that the two languages have different associations in the bilinguals' minds, and that they are used in different environments and fulfil different roles. From this information, for instance, it was judged that French rather than Arabic would be associated with modernity, education, sophistication and formality, while Arabic would be more closely linked with religion, tradition, national heritage, simplicity and solidarity. Account was also taken of observations about the roles and associations of the two languages in North African countries by others, including Gordon (1962), Abou (1962), Gallagher (1968), Tessler (1969), Bounfour (1973) and Ibaaquil (1978). Consideration was also given to Moroccans' conversations about the two languages and their users, and the qualities typically attributed in such conversations to both "Arabisants" who are reluctant to learn or

use French and those who enjoy using French and promote its use. A total of fifteen traits were finally selected for use on the rating sheets; these included status properties, solidary properties, and moral qualities. The adjectives were as follows:

Likeable	Intelligent
Entertaining	Educated
Sociable	Open-minded
Emotional	Important
Placid	Rich
Modest	Modern
Honest	Religious
	Patriotic

A further five scales were added to this list. The respondents were asked how much they would like the speaker to be their friend, how much they would like him as an employer, how much they desired to be like him, how much they considered themselves to resemble him, and how much they liked his way of speaking.

6.2.1.5 The Rating Scales

The semantic differential scaling was adopted as a measurement technique. However, instead of just writing down the two bipolar adjectival opposites and leaving the respondent to choose the appropriate cell for his rating, the various points on the scale were each given an explicit verbal description. The following example illustrates how this was done:

Très intelligent
 Intelligent
 Un peu intelligent
 Ni intelligent ni stupide
 Un peu stupide
 Stupide
 Très stupide

However, it was found difficult to characterise seven points

on some of the scales, so in some cases fewer points were distinguished.¹⁰ For example, it was felt to be impossible to provide a neutral point on the scale honest - dishonest, since one can hardly be neither honest nor dishonest. Accordingly, only four points were identified here:

Très honnête
 Honnête
 Malhonnête
 Très malhonnête

Similarly, only four points were identified on the scale educated - uneducated:

Très instruit
 Instruit
 Un peu instruit
 Ignorant

This kind of presentation was adopted because it was felt that this would be more readily intelligible to Moroccans than the more abstract representation by means of cells, and that the results obtained would therefore be more accurate. The semantic differential or its adaptation is very convenient because the respondents can rate the degree of their attitude along a continuum, which can then easily be converted into quantitative data and statistically analysed.¹¹ The respondents

¹⁰Lambert et al. (1960) used only six points on their scales, which ranged from fort peu to beaucoup.

¹¹However, Williams (1974) argues that "a single point on the semantic differential scale cannot adequately describe a person's attitude since an individual usually has a latitude of positions which he can accept" (Williams 1974, p.26). He suggests that, instead of just check-marking the single cell of the seven-point scale which accords with their view, they should show their ratings by marking a plus for all the cells they accept and a minus for all those they reject, while lack of decision can be shown by leaving cells blank.

e.g.

intelligent + + + - = = = stupide

This concept of "latitude of attitude" is interesting as it makes it possible to analyse the results using a graphic display rather than a numerical analysis. However, it requires a more complicated statistical analysis and so has not been used here.

were asked to underline the trait which, in their opinion, most appropriately described the speaker concerned. No problems arose with this method of elicitation.

6.2.1.6 The Respondents

The respondents were 51 Moroccans, males and females, aged between 14 and 30, of various occupations, including students, teachers, office workers, doctors and technicians. All were bilingual in Moroccan Arabic and French. The following table shows the respondents' ratings of their own proficiency in the two languages, which were elicited in the questionnaire following evaluation of all the voices.

Table 2. Respondents' Ratings of their Proficiency in French and Arabic

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>A little</u>	<u>Not at all</u>
<u>French</u>				
Speak	35.29%	52.94%	11.76%	-
Understand	41.17%	52.94%	5.88%	-
<u>Arabic</u>				
Speak	39.21%	54.9%	5.88%	-
Understand	56.86%	39.21%	3.92%	-

This table shows that the majority of the respondents were confident of their proficiency in both languages, the scatter of ratings being fairly similar in the two cases.

The questionnaire also obtained information about some other aspects of the respondents' language attitudes. Table 3 shows the languages the respondents named as their favourites.

Table 3. Respondents' Favourite Languages

Arabic .	47%
French	23.5%
Arabic & French	5.8%
Berber	5.8%
Others/Blank	17.6%

The comments given by these respondents to explain their preferences were very similar to those given by the respondents who completed the questionnaire reported on in 3.2.1.4: Of those who preferred Arabic, 66.6% said this was because Arabic was their national language, while of those choosing French 41.6% said that it was the language of education and 50% that it was a precise and easy language. The two sets of respondents thus seem to have similar views about the value of the two languages.

Table 4 shows that the majority of the respondents consider it desirable to improve their knowledge of French; of these, 65.8% give as the reason the access that French can give them to more advanced studies, revealing an instrumental motivation.

Table 4. Respondents' desire to improve their French

Desire to improve their French	80.39%
Do not wish to improve their French	9.8%
Blank	9.8%

Similarly, most of the respondents want their children to learn French.

Table 5. Respondents' desire for their children to learn French

Want children to learn French	78.43%
Do not want children to learn French	9.8%
Blank	11.7%

Of those who want their children to learn French, 55% mention the value of French for educational purposes, and 15% say that French is essential for access to the modern world and a successful future. Again the instrumental motivation is obvious in these comments.

Favourable attitudes towards the continuation of bilingual policies rather than arabisation were also expressed by a majority of the respondents, as is shown in Table 6 (overleaf).

Table 6. Respondents' attitudes towards arabisation

Favour bilingualism	64.7%
Favour arabisation	25.49%
Blank	9.81%

Similar comments about the instrumental value of French were given by those who supported the bilingual situation. We can conclude, therefore, that the majority of the judges taking part in the first matched guise test had favourable attitudes towards French and valued their bilingualism.¹²

6.2.1.7 Administration and Analysis of Results

The rating sheets issued to the respondents were in French. This was for the same reasons which were mentioned in connection with the earlier tests (see in particular 3.2.1.1). Producing a bilingual rating sheet would have been difficult because the nearest adjectival equivalents in the two languages might still have had rather different connotations, which would make it rather difficult to collate the judgements of those respondents who used the Arabic version with those which were in French.¹³ To counterbalance the fact that French alone was used on the rating sheets, the oral instructions given to the respondents before they began the test were all given in Moroccan Arabic. The respondents were told that they could use either French or Arabic when completing the final questionnaire, which required them to write in their own answers.

¹²A larger scale survey of the kinds of attitude shown in Tables 4, 5 and 6 is reported on in 7.3.1.1, where similar attitudes are discovered.

¹³For example, as the Arabic equivalent to the French sympathique, Moroccans might use either [mahbu:b] or [Dri:f], but neither of these seems quite appropriate; the first is better used to describe a lover than a friend, while the second is perhaps closer to English kind or gentle. The opposite would have to be either the "omnibus" term [qbi:h], which is very vague and general, or just the negated form of the same adjective, as in [ma:šī mahbu:b] ("not lovable").

Similarly, the word amusant is difficult to render in Arabic. The word [muDhi:k] is perhaps closer to hilarious, while [tajsli] has a wide range of meanings; a person who

The data was analysed by assigning a number from one to seven to each rating, as is illustrated by the following example.

très intelligent	7
intelligent	6
un peu intelligent	5
ni intelligent ni stupide	4
un peu stupide	3
stupide	2
très stupide	1

On each trait we thus obtained a pair of ratings from every respondent for each speaker, one for his Arabic version of the text and one for his French one. The entire set of judgements on a particular trait was listed for each speaker. The difference between each pair of judgements was calculated and the t-test was applied to determine the degree of significance of the overall differences between the two sets of judgements.¹⁴ Results were computed both for the differences between the two guises of each individual speaker, and for the overall differences between the set of three Arabic guises on the one hand and the three French ones on the other.

6.2.2 Results and Discussion

The full results are summarised in Table 7 (overleaf).

13 contd.

is [tajsli] can act as a clown to make people laugh, or he can just accompany a person to prevent him from being alone and miserable. The adjective which conveys the opposite, [mumil], is also less than adequate for our purpose; the main problem is that not only is it a rare expression, it cannot normally be used to describe a person.

¹⁴For computation and table of significant values, we used Siegel (1956). In using the t-test to analyse the results of a matched guise test, we are following the precedent set by others such as Lambert et al. (1960), Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert (1962), Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) and Strongman and Woosley (1967), all of whom also used this test.

Table 7.

t Values for Significance of Differences in Evaluations of Arabic and French Guises : First Test

<u>Trait</u>	Speaker (A)	Speaker (B)	Speaker (C)	Overall
Likeable	1.602	.3872	-1.547	.0375
Entertaining	2.856***	-2.581**	-2.146***	-.8702
Sociable	.5253	-1.753	-3.664****	-2.262*
Placid	-.1267	2.417**	-.7111	.9612
Emotional	.9948	-1.883	-2.685***	-1.968*
Modest	2.596**	1.012	.1294	2.145*
Honest	2.995***	1.224	-1.051	1.280
Religious	-2.342*	.8682	-1.612	-1.774
Modern	6.400****	-.4217	.4924	3.059***
Intelligent	5.109****	-1.480	-3.027***	.3687
Educated	4.437****	1.376	0	3.480****
Open-minded	1.869	2.062*	-1.925	.9846
Patriotic	1.302	.1175	-.4886	.6469
Rich	1.264	1	-1.588	.3338
Important	4.836****	2.223*	-1.497	3.271***
Desired as Friend	3.169***	0	-.6509	1.708
Desired as Employer	4.298****	1.043	-.3304	2.956***
Resemblance Desired	4.135****	.4166	.3400	2.562**
Resemblance Thought	1.947	.4166	-1.477	.7059
Way of speaking liked	3.357***	-1.561	-2.096*	.0864

Positive entries indicate that French guises are rated higher on the scale than Arabic guises, while minus entries indicate that Arabic guises are more highly rated than French ones.

For (A), (B) and (C), $df = 50$
For overall, $df = 152$

Key to Asterisks

* $p < .05$
** $p < .02$
*** $p < .01$
**** $p < .001$

Two-tailed Tests

Table 7 gives the values of t for the differences between the evaluations of the French and Arabic guises for each speaker and for the combination of all three speakers. Where the value of t indicates that the difference is significant, this is indicated by an asterisk or asterisks; the number of asterisks corresponds to the level of this significance. Thus * indicates a degree of probability equal to or less than .05, ** one which is equal to or less than .02, *** one equal to or less than .01, and **** one which is equal to or less than .001. This shorthand method of representing degrees of significance will also be used in the rest of the tables which follow.

6.2.2.1 Overall Evaluation of French and Arabic Guises

As can be seen from the column labelled Overall in Table 7, the French guises are rated significantly higher on six traits, and the Arabic guises on two. Table 8 summarises the results by listing just those traits where the differences between the two guises are significant. The traits are ordered according to the degree of significance of the result in each case.¹⁵

Table 8. Overall Evaluation of French and Arabic Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Educated****	Sociable*
Important***	Emotional*
Modern***	
Desired as Employer***	
Resemblance desired**	
Modest*	

¹⁵ Similarly, in all the other summary tables in this chapter, the traits receiving significant ratings are listed in order of the degree of this significance, the most highly significant result being listed first.

Of the traits for which the French guises were rated significantly higher, three clearly relate to the status dimension, these being educated, important and modern. This suggests that the fact that a speaker uses French rather than Arabic gives the respondents the impression that he is more educated, more important in Moroccan society and more modern in outlook. This finding obviously accords with the evidence obtained through the earlier tests (Chapters 3 and 4) that French is associated with education, modernity, prestige and power. It is possible to see a relationship between these traits denoting status qualities and two of the others, namely the fact that the respondents desire to resemble the speakers and to have them as employers more in their French guises than in their Arabic ones. Such desires may be due to the fact that the respondents perceive the speakers to have more status in their French guises. The French guises were also rated more highly for modest; there seems no straightforward explanation for this, though it may simply be related to the fact that the French guises seem to be generally more favourably judged than the Arabic ones.

The Arabic guises are more highly rated for two traits, sociable and emotional. The obvious contrast between these two traits and the three for which the French guises were most significantly highly rated is of course that while the latter relate to power and prestige, these two can be seen as indicative of solidarity rather than power. What we seem to have, then, is a contrast between the French guises, which give a stronger impression of power, and the Arabic ones, which give a stronger effect of solidarity. Again this accords with our earlier findings. For instance, the earlier questionnaire results suggested that bilinguals resort to Arabic more than to French when joking or expressing emotional reactions (see Tables 17, 19 and 20 in 4.2.4.1.3).

6.2.2.2 Ratings of the Individual Speakers

It is interesting that while there are clear overall

contrasts between the set of Arabic guises and the set of French ones, as demonstrated by the results in Table 8, there are also quite considerable variations between the results obtained for each individual speaker. If we consider just the results where a significant difference between the two guises was found, we see that in the case of speakers (A) and (B) the French guise was rated higher in all but one instance in each case. On the other hand, in the case of speaker (C) it is the Arabic guise which is rated higher in every case.

The significant contrasts in the case of speaker (A) are summarised in Table 9.

Table 9. Significant Contrasts between A's Arabic and French Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Modern****	Religious*
Intelligent****	
Important****	
Educated****	
Desired as Employer****	
Resemblance thought****	
Way of speaking liked***	
Desired as Friend***	
Honest***	
Entertaining***	
Modest**	

(A)'s French guise gets higher ratings on a number of traits associated with status; he is perceived to be more modern, more intelligent, more important and more educated when he speaks French than when he speaks Arabic. Besides this, he seems to have made a more favourable impression overall when speaking French, for in his French guise he is also preferred as a friend and as an employer, while the respondents also want to resemble him and like his way of speaking more in

this guise. He is also evaluated more highly in French for the moral qualities, modest and honest. Again this suggests that the impression he makes when speaking French is more favourable in a variety of respects, not merely with regard to the power dimension. That he is judged more religious in his Arabic guise is hardly surprising; this accords with our earlier findings that Arabic is closely associated with the domain of religion (see 3.3.3.1 and 4.3.3, Table 30). Of all three speakers, the contrasts between the two guises are most pronounced in the case of speaker(A), who receives significantly different evaluations on eleven out of the twenty traits.

With speaker (B), the contrast is less pronounced; his two guises receive significantly different ratings on just four traits, as can be seen from Table 10.

Table 10. Significant Contrasts between B's Arabic and French Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Placid**	Entertaining**
Important*	
Open-minded*	

These results can be seen to parallel to some extent those obtained with speaker (A). Again we find that two of the traits on which the French guise gets significantly higher ratings are ones associated with prestige and sophistication, namely important and open-minded. His French guise is also rated higher for placid; this finding might perhaps be related to the observation in 4.2.4.1.3 that bilinguals tend to resort to Arabic rather than French when irritable or angry. However, (B) contrasts with (A) in that while the latter receives a higher rating for entertaining in his French guise, with (B) it is the Arabic guise which is more highly rated on this trait. In this respect, the result obtained with (B) is perhaps the one we might have expected, since this quality

is one we associate with solidarity.

In considering the differences between the results for (A) and those for (B), it is worth recalling the differences between their manner of speaking French. As was noted in 6.2.1.3, (A) speaks High Moroccan French - the type of French spoken by only a small élite of Moroccans - while (B) speaks French with a more pronounced Moroccan accent. The sharpness of the contrasts between the two guises of (A) can probably be attributed to the rather marked character of his French. This High Moroccan French evidently creates a very much more favourable and prestigious impression than does his rather more everyday variety of Moroccan Arabic. With (B), on the other hand, the contrasts are perhaps not as remarkable because his French is of a more average and everyday type. The French guise still produces a more prestigious effect, but the degree of contrast is much less than in the case of (A). For example, the difference with regard to the trait of important is significant to $p < .001$ in the case of (A) but only to $p < .05$ in the case of (B); and with other traits, such as educated, for which (B)'s French guise is more highly rated than his Arabic one, the difference, in the case of (B) fails to be significant at all. Support for the view that the differences between (A) and (B) are related to their different accents is provided by the fact that with (A), but not with (B), the French guise is significantly more highly rated for the degree to which the respondents like his way of speaking. It can be concluded then that while there is clearly a general tendency for the French guises to be rated more highly for status qualities, the actual degree of contrast between the effects of the two guises varies according to the type of French spoken.

The results for speaker (C) provide further evidence for the view that the evaluations are influenced not merely by what language is spoken but also by the way in which it is spoken. (C)'s Arabic guise is rated higher on five traits

than his French one, as is shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Significant Contrasts between C's Arabic and French Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
None	Sociable****
	Intelligent***
	Emotional***
	Entertaining***
	Way of speaking liked*

Here, too, the tendency for the Arabic guises to give a more solidary effect is reflected in the higher ratings the Arabic guise receives for the traits sociable, emotional and entertaining. However, whereas it was the French guise of speaker (A) which was perceived as the more intelligent, here the Arabic guise is more highly rated for this quality. Here too this may be linked with the other significant difference, which is that the Arabic guise is liked more as a way of speaking.

The reasons for the contrasts between (A) and (B) on the one hand and (C) on the other may again be sought in the special qualities of each speaker. It was suggested in 6.1.2.3 that of the three speakers, (C)'s French has the most pronounced Moroccan accent; and it could be that French, when spoken with an accent as pronounced as this, is less highly regarded by Moroccans. It may be that for a French guise to give the more prestigious effect noted in the cases of (A) and (B) it has to exhibit a certain degree of "Frenchness". The results with (C) could then be seen as a further extension of the contrast already noted in the comparison of (A) and (B). The French guise of (A), which shows the least interference from Arabic, is more favourably perceived than his Arabic one; with (B) the tendency to rate the French guise higher is less pronounced; and with (C), whose French is the most highly accented, the ratings for the French guise actually fall

below those of the Arabic guise.

However, there is also another possible explanation for the contrast between (C) and the other two speakers. In both his guises, (C) is clearly recognisable as originating from Fez, and it may be that the respondents have been influenced by this characteristic, which distinguishes him from both (A) and (B).¹⁶ It is difficult to conclude decisively whether the contrasts between (A) and (C) are to be explained simply by the fact that (C) has a more pronounced Moroccan accent, or whether they can be attributed to the special connotations of (C)'s regional accent. However, the results of the second matched guise test may help to suggest which is the more likely explanation.

6.3 Second Matched Guise Test

A second matched guise test was carried out to obtain further evidence to verify the findings of the first test. It was also hoped that this second test would provide more information about the possibility, suggested by the results of the first test, that the nature of a speaker's French accent may influence the impression he makes on other bilinguals.

¹⁶In Moroccan culture, the people of Fez are seen as in some sense intellectually privileged, because Fez is thought of as the intellectual capital of Morocco (see for instance Berque 1967), possessing the oldest university in North Africa which attracted distinguished scholars (see 1.1.3). However, these associations do not hold within the context of French culture, where the people of Fez are no more reputed than any other Moroccans. In fact, the Fez accent in French seems to evoke strong negative reactions among Moroccans; it has been variously described to me as amusing, effeminate, affected and ridiculous. These negative attitudes may perhaps explain why the French guise of speaker (C) is not more highly evaluated. However, this is a complex question which we cannot investigate more deeply here, as our interest is mainly in the contrast between French and Arabic and not between the regional accents of Moroccan Arabic.

6.3.1 Method of Investigation

The method used in this test was the same as in the preceding one, except for a few modifications. In this test, there were no filler voices; it was felt that it was preferable to keep the test as short as possible by avoiding the use of filler voices, in order to reduce the risk that the respondents might become bored. Since the respondents in the previous test had not experienced any difficulty in grasping the nature of the task and carrying it out, it was not considered necessary to make the first voice a filler one for practice purposes. The same passage was used as in the first test, but it was modified to make it a little longer, so that the respondents would have a better chance to get acquainted with the speaker's voice.¹⁷ The same adjective scales were used as in the first test.

The selection of the speakers was again based on their proficiency in French and Arabic. Care was taken this time to avoid choosing any speaker with a pronounced regional accent such as that of Fez, because of the complications this was suspected to have caused in the first test. Three speakers were chosen - two males and one female. A female speaker was included in order to see whether Moroccan women's speech was perceived differently from that of men's. The inclusion of a female voice was also intended to provide some variety for the respondents.

Speaker (F) is a male primary school teacher who speaks French with a strong Moroccan accent, but without any distinctive regional accent. Speaker (E) is a female general practitioner whose accent in French is very close, indeed perhaps indistinguishable from that of a native speaker of French. Speaker (D) is an assistant lecturer at the university; he speaks French with a slight Moroccan intonation, but his Moroccan accent is far less pronounced than that of (F). Both (D) and (E) could be described as speakers of High

¹⁷ A copy of the extended text is provided in the Appendix.

Moroccan French, like speaker (A) in the first test, whereas (F) could be grouped with (B) and (C) from the first test as a speaker of Average Moroccan French. The generality of this impression was checked in the same way as in the first test, by asking twenty people to evaluate the "Frenchness" of the three accents. As the following figures show, speakers (D) and (E) were judged to have accents much closer to that of a native speaker of French than speaker (F).

Table 12.

Speaker (D)	Speaker (E)	Speaker (F)
53	48	20

The respondents for the second test were 22 bilinguals, males and females aged between 19 and 35. They were of various occupations, including students, teachers and office workers. Their ratings of their own proficiency in French and Arabic are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Respondents' Ratings of their own Proficiency in French and Arabic

	Very well	Fairly well	A little	Not at all
<u>French</u>				
Speak	9.09%	72.7%	18.1%	-
Understand	36.36%	54.54%	9.09%	-
<u>Arabic</u>				
Speak	45.45%	40.9%	13.6%	-
Understand	45.45%	40.9%	13.6%	-

These ratings seem fairly similar to those given by the respondents in the first matched guise test, except that this second set of respondents seem to be rather less confident of their proficiency at speaking French than was the first set.

Again, more respondents named Arabic as their favourite language than named French:

Table 14. Respondents' Favourite Languages

Arabic	54.54%
French	31.81%
Arabic & French	4.54%
Others/Blank	9.09%

However, the responses to the other questions suggest that the second group may have had overall rather more favourable attitudes towards French and the maintainance of bilingualism than the first group, as can be seen by comparing the following tables with Tables 4, 5 and 6 in 6.2.1.6.

Table 15. Respondents' desire to improve their French

Desire to improve their French	100%
Do not desire to improve their French	0%

Table 16. Respondents' desire for their children to learn French

Want children to learn French	95.45%
Do not want children to learn French	4.55%

Table 17. Respondents' attitudes towards Arabisation

Favour bilingualism	72.72%
Favour arabisation	22.72%
Blank	4.55%

The reasons given for these attitudes are similar to those mentioned by the first set of respondents, with particularly common references to the fact that Arabic is the Moroccans' national language, while French is valuable because of the access it gives to education and scientific progress.

6.3.2 Results and Discussion

The results were computed in the same way as were those of the first test. Table 18 (overleaf) shows the t values for each speaker separately and for the overall evaluation of the three speakers, and is set out in the same way as Table 7.

Table 18.

t Values for Significance of Differences in Evaluations of Arabic and French Guises: Second Test

<u>Trait</u>	Speaker (D)	Speaker (E)	Speaker (F)	Overall
Likeable	.9647	.9750	3.750***	2.915***
Entertaining	1.249	.5256	.2134	.4194
Sociable	2.338*	3.144***	.0881	2.530**
Placid	.5533	-.4703	2.46*	1.304
Emotional	2.644**	3.498***	1.111	3.707****
Modest	2.090*	.3808	.6627	1.831
Honest	1.626	-2.160*	2.309	1.744
Religious	-2.907***	-2.460*	-.4565	-3.203***
Modern	3.221***	1.747	.4044	3.055***
Intelligent	2.729**	1.701	1.835	3.637****
Educated	2.083*	2.338*	1.311	3.342***
Open-minded	1.546	1	1.667	2.419**
Patriotic	1.689	1.063	1.219	2.392**
Rich	2.160*	3.578***	1.439	3.565****
Important	4.465****	2*	.7195	3.791****
Desired as Friend	1.418	.6988	.7673	1.895
Desired as Employer	.2526	1.742	1.072	1.642
Resemblance Desired	2.880***	2.889***	1.546	4.183****
Resemblance Thought	2.246*	1.669	2.663**	3.814****
Way of speaking liked	2.215*	1.311	2.338*	3.456****

Positive entries indicate that French guises are rated higher on the scale than Arabic guises, while minus entries indicate that Arabic guises are more highly rated than French ones.

For (D), (E) and (F), $df = 21$
For overall, $df = 65$

Key to Asterisks

* $p < .05$

** $p < .02$

*** $p < .01$

**** $p < .001$

Two-tailed Tests

6.3.2.1 Overall Evaluation of French and Arabic Guises

The traits for which there were significant overall contrasts are set out in Table 19, in which they are listed in order of their degree of significance.

Table 19. Overall Evaluation of French and Arabic Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Resemblance desired****	Religious***
Resemblance thought****	
Important****	
Emotional****	
Intelligent****	
Rich****	
Way of speaking liked****	
Educated***	
Modern***	
Likeable***	
Sociable**	
Open-minded**	
Patriotic**	

As this table shows, this time there were significant differences between the assessments of the two guises on fourteen out of the twenty traits, as opposed to only eight in the first test (see 6.2.2.1, Table 8); and moreover, in this case most of the differences were of greater significance than those in the first test. Thus the contrast between the respondents' impressions of the French guises and their impressions of the Arabic ones is more pronounced in this second test.

A comparison with the results of the first test shows similar trends. The French guises here are again evaluated more highly than the Arabic ones on the traits related to prestige and sophistication. In addition to yielding significant results on the same status traits as the first test (modern, educated and important) the second test gives significant contrasts with other such traits, namely rich, intelligent

and open-minded. This finding once again suggests that bilinguals associate French with status and prestige and education. That the French guises here receive significantly higher ratings for the respondents' desire to resemble them and the degree to which they consider themselves to resemble them may also be related to this association of French with prestige, or to the more generally favourable impression which the French guises seem to give, as is reflected by the fact that the respondents also prefer the way of speaking of the French guises.

However, a striking fact about the second test's results is that here the French guises are more highly evaluated even on the kind of solidary traits for which the Arabic guises were more highly rated in the first test. The French guises are judged to be more emotional, more sociable and more likeable than the Arabic ones, which does not seem to support the hypothesis that Arabic rather than French is the language of solidarity. This difference between the two tests may perhaps be related to the fact that the respondents in the second test seem to have somewhat more favourable attitudes towards French than those in the first test, as can be seen by comparing Tables 3-6 in 6.2.1.6 with Tables 14-17 in 6.3.1.

The fact that the Arabic guises receive higher ratings for religious than the French ones is of course what one might expect, given the link between Arabic and religion for Moroccans. However, the French guises receive the higher rating for patriotic, which is perhaps somewhat surprising, since other findings have suggested that Arabic is the language which Moroccans associate with their national identity and heritage (see for instance 3.3.3.1 and many of the comments noted in Chapter 4).

6.3.2.2 Ratings of the Individual Speakers

An examination of the ratings of the three individual speakers (shown in Tables 20-22) reveals that speakers (D)

and (E) exhibit similar contrasts between their two guises. Both are more highly rated in French on traits relating to both status and solidarity qualities.

Table 20. Significant Contrasts between D's Arabic and French Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Important****	Religious***
Modern***	
Resemblance desired***	
Intelligent**	
Emotional**	
Sociable**	
Resemblance thought*	
Way of speaking liked*	
Rich*	
Modest*	
Educated*	

Table 21. Significant Contrasts between E's Arabic and French Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Rich***	Religious*
Emotional***	Honest*
Sociable***	
Resemblance desired***	
Educated*	
Important*	

However, the significant contrasts are more numerous in the case of (D) than they are in the case of (E), so evidently the contrast between the two guises of (D) is more pronounced than that between those of (E). As for the Arabic guises, in both cases these are predictably judged more religious than the French ones, but (E)'s Arabic guise is also judged more honest.

Speaker (F), however, presents a rather different pattern; his French guise is more highly rated for some solidary traits, but not for the kind of status trait which produces significant contrasts in the other cases.

Table 22. Significant Contrasts between F's Arabic and French Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Likeable***	None
Resemblance thought***	
Placid*	
Way of speaking liked*	
Honest*	

The contrast between (F) and the other two speakers in this respect may be related to the differences between the speakers' accents; for, as was noted in 6.3.1, (F) speaks what can be called Average Moroccan French, while (D) and (E) both use High Moroccan French. It could be that only the high variety of Moroccan French carries the association with prestige and education in a strong enough form to produce significant contrasts with a corresponding Arabic guise. This possibility has already been suggested by the results of the first test, in which (A)'s (High Moroccan) French guise significantly contrasted with his Arabic one on a number of status traits, while (B)'s French guise was significantly more highly rated on only one such trait, and (C)'s on none at all.

When speaker (F) is compared with speaker (C) of the first test, we find that although both speak what we have called Average Moroccan French, they are perceived in different ways. While (F) is more favourably viewed in his French guise, (C) seems to be more favoured when he speaks Arabic (compare Tables 11 and 22). This difference might be thought to lend some support to the view, put forward as a possibility in 6.2.2.2, that the fact that (C) was perceived less favourably in French than in Arabic was due to his pronounced Fez accent.

In every other case, the French guise seems to receive overall more favourable judgements than the Arabic one, and this is so even in the case of (F), whose Moroccan accent is as pronounced as that of (C); so it cannot simply be the case that French with a pronounced Moroccan accent is less favoured than Arabic. It seems that the speaker of French, whether of the High or Average variety, is more favourably perceived than the speaker of Arabic, except in the special case of French with a Fez accent.

6.4 Third Matched Guise Test

The third matched guise test was designed to obtain further information about bilinguals' attitudes towards code-switching. In 5.5 we reported on respondents' attitudes to this phenomenon as revealed in their explicitly elicited comments. However, as was noted in 6.1, one problem with this kind of investigation is that the respondents may be expressing, not what they personally feel about the matter, but rather what they imagine to be the normal or "correct" opinions; they may be giving what they think is the right answer, the one expected of intelligent people, rather than what they themselves feel. It was therefore decided to supplement this survey with a matched guise test, by which it was hoped to obtain information about bilinguals' possibly unconscious attitudes towards the use of code-switching, as might be revealed in their judgements of speakers using this way of speaking. In this case, of course, the respondents are not aware that the aim of the test is to investigate their attitudes towards code-switching. The investigation is of particular interest because, as far as I know, the matched guise technique has not previously been used in the examination of attitudes to code-switching.

6.4.1 Method of Investigation

The same procedure was used as in the other two matched guise tests, with of course different speakers, respondents

and stimulus passage. Different semantic differential scales were also introduced.

6.4.1.1 The Stimulus Passage

A one-minute sample of connected free speech including a lot of code-switching was selected as the stimulus passage.¹⁸ In order to ensure that the effect was that of natural spontaneous speech rather than something artificial, we used a passage which had been spoken spontaneously by a Moroccan bilingual and had been recorded in our samples of code-switching, examined in Chapter 5. Care was also taken to ensure that this sample did not present any peculiarity or idiosyncrasy. To check this, it was played to five Moroccans to ascertain that there was nothing unusual about it. They all agreed that it was natural everyday speech such as one might hear among Moroccan bilinguals in casual conversation.

The relevant parts of this passage were then translated to produce two further versions of it, one entirely in French and one entirely in Moroccan Arabic. Care was taken to ensure that the tone of these two versions was also conversational and not literary, so that the features of spontaneous natural speech were preserved in the new translated versions too. The content of the passage selected was felt to be emotionally neutral, so there seemed no danger of the respondents' reactions being particularly influenced by any ideas in the passage.

6.4.1.2 The Speakers

The criterion for selecting the speakers was their proficiency in French and Arabic and their ability to code-switch. Two speakers were chosen because they were observed to code-switch frequently and naturally in their own conversations. After much practice, they were asked to record the passage three times each, once in French, once in Moroccan Arabic and once

¹⁸ Transcripts of the passage are provided in the Appendix.

in the original code-switching version. Six voices were thus collected; this was felt to be a sufficient number, as more voices might have been too much for the respondents' patience.

6.4.1.3 Selection of Traits to be Evaluated

The selection of the traits to be included on the rating sheets for this matched guise test were based primarily on the findings reported on in 5.5 with regard to the views expressed by the respondents about code-switching. Their comments in response to direct questioning suggested a number of properties which it was felt might produce interesting information here. For instance, the frequent descriptions of people who code-switch as clumsy, lazy, influenced by colonisation, pretentious and mixed-up (5.5.2.1) among these comments suggested that these epithets could usefully be employed in the semantic differential scales for this test. There had also been comments about the personalities of people who use code-switching among these responses, including allegations that they are stupid, boring, incompetent and lacking in self-confidence, so adjectives like these were also included in the rating sheets. Other information mentioned in Chapter 5 suggested some further qualities; for instance, it was seen that code-switching is most common in casual, relaxed conversations (see 5.4.5), and that it may serve to convey various rhetorical effects and to express ideas with greater vividness, so the epithets relaxed and eloquent were added to the list. In addition, some of the adjectives used in the other two matched guise tests were included again. A total of nineteen properties were finally selected; these were as follows:

clumsy	self-confident
lazy	competent
boring	eloquent
mixed-up	educated
pretentious	intelligent
relaxed	patriotic

sociable worthy of respect
 likeable important
 influenced by colonisation

The respondents were also asked whether they liked the person's way of speaking and whether he expressed himself clearly.

6.4.1.4 The Respondents

The respondents consisted of 47 bilinguals, males and females, aged between 17 and 26. They included members of a number of professions, but the majority of them were students. Their ratings of their own proficiency in French and Arabic are shown in Table 23.

Table 23. Respondents' Ratings of their Proficiency in French and Arabic

	Very well	Fairly well	A little	Not at all
<u>French</u>				
Speak	6.38%	78.72%	14.89%	-
Understand	14.89%	76.59%	8.51%	-
<u>Arabic</u>				
Speak	57.44%	40.42%	2.12%	-
Understand	70.21%	27.65%	2.12%	-

It can be seen by comparing Table 23 with Tables 2 and 13 that the respondents in this third matched guise test are on the whole rather less confident about their proficiency in French and rather more confident about their proficiency in Arabic than the respondents in the other two tests. It is also noticeable that far fewer respondents in this third test named French as their favourite language than did so in the other tests (cf. Table 24 below with Tables 3 and 14).

Table 24. Respondents' Favourite Languages

Arabic	93.61%
French	6.38%

Their responses also suggest that as a group they tend to favour arabisation more than did the other two groups of respondents, as can be seen by comparing Table 27 with Tables 6 and 17.

Table 25. Respondents' desire to improve their French or Arabic

Desire to improve their French	31.91%
Desire to improve their Arabic	34.01%
Desire to improve both French and Arabic	31.91%
Blank	2.12%

Table 26. Respondents' desire for their children to learn French

Want children to learn French	89.36%
Do not want children to learn French	8.51%
Blank	2.12%

Table 27. Respondents' Attitudes towards Arabisation¹⁹

Favour bilingualism	55.31%
Favour arabisation	44.68%

In addition to these questions, the respondents of the third matched guise test were also asked to give their opinions about code-switching; the most frequent comments are listed in Table 28.

Table 28. Respondents' Opinions about Code-switching
Moroccans who code-switch are...

Victims of colonisation	31.91%
Incompetent in Arabic and French	29.78%
Showing off	23.4%
Stupid	17%
Uneducated	12.76%
Mixed-up	10.63%
Lacking in personality	6.38%

¹⁹The reasons given for these attitudes were similar to those mentioned by the other respondents.

It is immediately noticeable that all these comments reveal very negative attitudes towards code-switching; the ideas summarised in Table 28 are of course similar to the kinds of view expressed in the comments discussed in 5.5.2.1. A comment by one particular respondent, number 34, seems in fact to sum up all these negative views of code-switching in his answer, which is worth quoting in full:

R.34:

Ils (= Moroccans who code-switch) n'ont pas un sentiment patriote parce qu'ils laissent leur vraie langue et ils parlent en français et en arabe, et ça c'est une langue déchirée, et ils croient qu'ils sont modernes et plus hauts que les autres. Ils veulent montrer leur personnalité et si on les questionne sur l'arabe, peut-être ils ne savent pas; alors ils sont pas bien cultivés parce qu'ils ont laissé tomber l'arabe, et la cause de tout c'est parce qu'ils sont influencés par la colonisation.

6.4.1.5 The Rating Scales

The same kind of seven-point semantic differential scales were used as in the previous tests, but here they were set out in a different way. Instead of providing explicit adjectival descriptions for each of the seven points on the scale, and asking the respondents to underline the one they chose, it was decided to provide only a single epithet, and to ask the respondents to indicate the degree to which they felt this adjective was appropriate by means of a number. The seven points of the scale were thus represented by different numbers, as illustrated below:

très intelligent	+3
intelligent	+2
un peu intelligent	+1
ni intelligent ni stupide	0
un peu stupide	-1
stupide	-2
très stupide	-3

It was felt that this method of scaling was more practical than the previously used one, since it made it possible to

characterise seven points on any particular scale without problem, whereas with the other method it had been found difficult to provide seven different adjectival characterisations of the degrees to which certain properties could be present.

6.4.2 Results and Discussion

The results of the third matched guise test were grouped, analysed and computed in the same way as those of the first and second tests. For the purposes of clarity, the ratings of the code-switching guises are compared first with those of the French guises, secondly with those of the Arabic guises, and thirdly with those of both the French and the Arabic guises grouped together. Within each of these comparisons, we consider first the overall contrasts when both speakers are considered, and secondly the contrasts for each individual speaker. Finally, it was also thought worthwhile to compare the ratings of the French and Arabic guises, since, although the primary concern of this third test was not to investigate this contrast, it was felt that the relevant results were nevertheless of interest and could be compared with those of the first two tests. Again, both overall and individual contrasts were considered.

6.4.2.1 Comparison of the French and C.S.²⁰ Guises

Table 29 (overleaf) gives the values of t for the differences between the evaluations of the French and C.S. guises for each speaker individually and for the two combined.

6.4.2.1.1 Overall Evaluation of French and C.S. guises

The overall column in Table 29 shows that the differences between the two French guises on the one hand and the two C.S. ones on the other are significant in sixteen out of

²⁰We will henceforth use the abbreviation C.S. to refer to the guises which consist of a mixture of Arabic and French.

Table 29.

t Values for Significance of Differences in Evaluations of French and C.S. Guises

<u>Trait</u>	Speaker (G)	Speaker (H)	Overall
Mixed-up	1.919	2.005*	2.740***
Patriotic	-2.426**	-1.795	-3.020****
Pretentious	.6079	1.511	1.506
Self-confident	-2.048*	-4.557****	-4.398****
Boring	.3753	2.219*	1.861
Expresses self clearly	-5.408****	-7.123****	-8.840****
Influenced by colonisation	3.909****	3.209***	5.050****
Intelligent	-3.507****	-6.928****	-7.123****
Clumsy	1.485	1.882	2.392**
At ease	-.8928	-2.952***	-2.500**
Lazy	-.0550	2.950***	1.896
Competent	-1.663	-4.608****	-4.305****
Worthy of respect	-2.343**	-6.335****	-6.008****
Eloquent	-5.800****	-5.635****	-8.127****
Educated	-3.254***	-6.947****	-6.928****
Sociable	-3.747****	-3.278***	-4.987****
Likeable	-2.704***	-6.431****	-6.259****
Important	-3.963****	-4.310****	-5.881****
Way of speaking liked	-7.446****	-7.156****	-10.23****

Positive entries indicate that C.S. guises are rated higher on the scale than French guises, while minus entries indicate a higher evaluation for the French guises.

For (G) and (H), $df = 46$
For overall, $df = 93$

Key to Asterisks

*	$p < .05$	
**	$p < .02$	Two-tailed tests
***	$p < .01$	
****	$p < .001$	

the nineteen cases. The summary table 30 includes only the significant contrasts, listed in order of their degree of significance.

Table 30. Overall Evaluation of French and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation****
Expresses himself clearly****	Mixed-up***
Eloquent****	Clumsy**
Intelligent****	
Educated****	
Likeable****	
Worthy of respect****	
Important****	
Sociable****	
Self-confident****	
Competent****	
Patriotic****	
At ease**	

As can be seen from this table, the first three of the traits on which the French guises are more highly rated, which are those for which the difference was most significant, are those directly relating to the speech styles of the two types of guise. The C.S. guises contrast sharply with the French ones in that they are found to be much less eloquent and less clearly expressed, and most of all in that the way of speaking is much less liked in the former case than in the latter. This very pronounced contrast in attitudes reflects the strongly critical views of code-switching expressed by the respondents in their explicit comments on the phenomenon.

The fact that the French guises are perceived to be significantly more intelligent, more educated, more important and more competent than the C.S. ones of course accords with the overtly expressed views that people who code-switch are stupid and ignorant (see Table 28 and 5.5.2.1.1). Moreover,

the C.S. guises are also judged to be more mixed-up and more clumsy than the French ones, while the French guises are assessed as more at ease and more self-confident. This too correlates with the earlier findings, such as the comments to the effect that those who use code-switching are mixed-up and lacking in personality (Table 28), and the remarks about personality problems made by the respondents of the earlier questionnaire (5.5.2.1.2). Moreover, the C.S. guises are also more negatively evaluated for the solidary traits social and likeable, which suggests that those who code-switch may make such a bad impression that they are denied solidarity. The fact that the speakers in their C.S. guises are judged less worthy of respect recalls some of the hostile comments by respondents mentioned in 5.2.1, who feel that those who code-switch are to be despised or pitied.

It might at first appear surprising that the trait patriotic yields higher ratings for the French guises, for one might expect that a Moroccan would appear more patriotic when using his own language, Arabic, at least some of the time, than when using exclusively French. This result suggests instead that the respondents find it more patriotic to abandon French altogether than to mix it with French, an attitude which can be linked with the view that to mix Arabic with French is somehow to debase it or even to destroy it, which has been expressed by some of the other respondents (see 5.5.2.1.1). A Moroccan who takes pride in his national language may perhaps prefer not to hear it spoken at all than to hear it "polluted" with French.²¹ The C.S. guises also receive higher ratings than the French ones for the quality influenced by colonisation, presumably for similar reasons. Evidently, the Moroccan who speaks French fluently is not felt to exhibit the effects of colonisation to as great an extent as the one who makes it obvious that he cannot even speak his own language properly, which is what the use of code-switching apparently suggests to many of the respondents.

²¹ We may recall the comment (by respondent 109, quoted in 5.2.1) on those who code-switch: "Je ne les considère pas comme des Marocains".

6.4.2.1.2 Ratings of the Individual Speakers

The traits which produced significant contrasts in the case of speaker (G) and speaker (H) are listed in Tables 31 and 32 respectively.

Table 31. Significant Contrasts between G's French and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation****
Eloquent****	
Expresses self clearly****	
Important****	
Sociable****	
Intelligent****	
Educated***	
Likeable***	
Patriotic**	
Worthy of respect**	
Self-confident*	

Table 32. Significant Contrasts between H's French and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation***
Expresses self clearly****	Lazy***
Educated****	Boring*
Intelligent****	Mixed-up*
Likeable****	
Worthy of respect****	
Eloquent****	
Competent****	
Self-confident****	
Important****	
Sociable***	
At ease***	

These tables show that both speakers exhibit the same kinds of contrast; both seem to make a much more favourable impression when they speak French than when they use code-switching. The contrast between the two guises seems to be somewhat more pronounced in the case of (H) than in the case of (G), there being sixteen significant contrasts in the former case and twelve in the latter. (H)'s C.S. guise is more highly rated for boring and lazy than his French guise, whereas there is no significant contrast for (G) or for the overall evaluation in these respects. This further aspect of the negative view taken of the C.S. guise again accords with the comments made by the earlier respondents (see 5.5.2.1.4).

6.4.2.2 Comparison of the Arabic and C.S. Guises

The values of *t* for the differences between the evaluations of the Arabic and C.S. guises are listed in Table 33 (overleaf).

6.4.2.2.1 Overall Evaluation of Arabic and C.S. Guises

The summary table 34 sets out the significant overall contrasts between the two Arabic and the two C.S. guises, listed as usual in order of significance.

Table 34. Overall Evaluation of Arabic and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation****
Sociable****	Mixed-up***
Expresses self clearly****	
Worthy of respect****	
Eloquent****	
Likeable****	
Intelligent****	
At ease***	
Competent***	
Educated***	
Patriotic***	
Important**	

Table 33.

t Values for Significance of Differences in Evaluations of Arabic and C.S. Guises

<u>Trait</u>	Speaker (G)	Speaker (H)	Overall
Mixed-up	2.605**	1.274	2.745***
Patriotic	-2.770***	-1.176	-2.722***
Pretentious	.0610	0	.0429
Self-confident	-2.319**	.1549	-1.754
Boring	.6518	-.3471	.2292
Expresses self clearly	-3.904****	-4.376****	-5.897****
Influenced by colonisation	4.681****	3.703****	5.950****
Intelligent	-4.489****	-1.456	-3.988****
Clumsy	.3755	.6067	.6869
At ease	-2.859***	-1.433	-2.908***
Lazy	.2974	.6040	.6265
Competent	-3.525****	-.7491	-2.892***
Worthy of respect	-3.830****	-3.983****	-5.534****
Eloquent	-6.618****	-2.024*	-5.389****
Educated	-1.669	-2.215*	-2.724***
Sociable	-3.996****	-6.522****	-7.053****
Likeable	-3.743****	-2.043*	-4.127****
Important	-3.029***	-.5732	-2.394**
Way of speaking liked	-7.668****	-4.744****	-8.618****

Positive entries indicate that C.S. Guises are rated higher than Arabic ones, while negative entries indicate that Arabic guises are rated higher than C.S. ones.

For (G) and (H), $df = 46$
For overall, $df = 93$

Key to Asterisks

*	$p < .05$	
**	$p < .02$	Two-tailed tests
***	$p < .01$	
****	$p < .001$	

These results can be seen to parallel those obtained in contrasting the French and C.S. guise, the C.S. guises comparing very unfavourably with the Arabic ones just as they did with the French ones. The contrast between the Arabic and C.S. guises is, however, slightly less pronounced than that between the French and C.S. guises; there are fourteen significant contrasts here, as opposed to sixteen in the latter case, and the level of significance reaches $p < .001$ in only eight cases here as opposed to thirteen in the French - C.S. comparison. Two traits, namely self-confident and clumsy, for which the French and C.S. contrasted significantly, do not receive significantly different ratings in the case of the Arabic and C.S. guises; this is of course due to the fact that overall the French guises are rated higher for self-confident and lower for clumsy than the Arabic ones, as can be seen from the later Table 41 (6.4.2.4).

6.4.2.2.2 Ratings of the individual speakers

The significant contrasts between the Arabic and C.S. guises of speakers (G) and (H) individually are shown in Tables 35 and 36 respectively.

Table 35. Significant Contrasts between G's Arabic and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation****
Eloquent****	Mixed-up**
Intelligent****	
Sociable****	
Expresses self clearly****	
Worthy of respect****	
Likeable****	
Competent****	
Important***	
At ease***	
Patriotic***	
Self-confident**	

Table 36. Significant Contrast between H's Arabic and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Sociable****	Influenced by colonisation****
Way of speaking liked****	
Expresses self clearly****	
Worthy of respect****	
Educated*	
Likeable*	
Eloquent*	

Again, the same kinds of contrast emerge as in the other cases, since each speaker clearly makes a more favourable impression when he speaks Arabic than when he code-switches. It is interesting to compare the Arabic - C.S. contrasts for the two individuals with their French - C.S. contrasts (see Tables 31 and 32); for while in the latter case it was speaker (H) whose two guises made the most sharply differing impressions, here it can be seen that the difference is sharper in the case of (G) than in that of (H). (G)'s Arabic and C.S. guises contrast significantly on fourteen traits, (H)'s on only eight. This slight difference between the two speakers is more clearly revealed when their French and Arabic guises are contrasted (see 6.4.2.4).

6.4.2.3 Comparison of the C.S. Guises with all the other Guises

Having individually compared the effect of the C.S. guises with those of the French ones and those of the Arabic ones, we can now group the French and the Arabic guises together and examine the contrast between the use of a mixture of the two languages (code-switching) on the one hand and the use of a single language (whether French or Arabic) on the other. Table 37 (overleaf) shows the values of t for the differences between the evaluation of the mixed and "pure" languages.

Table 37.

t Values for Significance of Differences in Evaluations of
C.S. and French + Arabic Guises

	Speaker (G)	Speaker (H)	Overall
<u>Traits</u>			
Mixed-up	3.239***	2.360**	3.889****
Patriotic	-3.689****	-2.043*	-4.055****
Pretentious	.5318	1.061	1.122
Self-confident	-3.107***	-2.792***	-4.186****
Boring	.7370	1.368	1.488
Expresses self clearly	-6.536****	-8.083****	-10.31****
Influenced by colonisation	6.100****	4.862****	7.774****
Intelligent	-5.640****	-5.291****	-7.739****
Clumsy	1.308	1.799	2.191*
At ease	-2.407**	-2.998***	-3.822****
Lazy	.1624	2.554**	1.828
Competent	-3.661****	-3.462****	-5.046****
Worthy of respect	-4.344****	-7.220****	-7.958****
Eloquent	-8.800****	-5.009****	-9.386****
Educated	-3.418***	-6.095****	-6.619****
Sociable	-5.504****	-6.487****	-8.467****
Likeable	-4.597****	-5.685****	-7.272****
Important	-4.978****	-3.352***	-5.821****
Way of speaking liked	-10.70****	-8.336****	-13.31****

Positive entries indicate that C.S. guises are rated higher than French + Arabic ones, while negative entries indicate that the highest rating is for the French + Arabic guises.

For (G) and (H), $df = 93$
For overall, $df = 187$

Key to Asterisks

* $p < .05$
** $p < .02$ Two-tailed tests
*** $p < .01$
**** $p < .001$

6.2.4.3.1 Overall Evaluation of French+Arabic and C.S. Guises

Summary Table 38 lists the overall contrasts between the pure Arabic and pure French guises on the one hand, and the C.S. guises on the other.

Table 38. Overall Evaluation of French+Arabic and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French+Arabic</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation****
Expresses self clearly****	
Eloquent****	Mixed-up****
Sociable****	Clumsy*
Worthy of respect****	
Intelligent****	
Likeable****	
Educated****	
Important****	
Competent****	
Self-confident****	
Patriotic****	
At ease****	

This shows that the "pure" language guises contrast with the code-switching guises on sixteen out of the nineteen traits, and that fifteen of these contrasts reach a level of significance of $p < .001$. These results show even more clearly than the others the difference between the respondents' impression of people who mix two languages together, as opposed to those who stick to one language or the other. The former are judged to be inferior in all kinds of respects, in status, personality and above all in their manner of speaking. One could hardly seek more conclusive evidence of the low esteem in which code-switching appears to be held by bilinguals; the explicit criticisms expressed in response to direct questions (5.5.2 and 6.4.1.4) are fully backed up by the findings of these matched guise results.

6.4.2.3.2 Ratings of the Individual Speakers

The contrasts between the code-switching guises and the single language guises are similar for each speaker, as is shown in Tables 39 and 40.

Table 39. Significant Contrasts between (G)'s French+Arabic and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French+Arabic</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation****
Eloquent****	
Expresses self clearly****	Mixed-up***
Intelligent****	
Sociable****	
Important****	
Likeable****	
Worthy of respect****	
Patriotic****	
Competent****	
Educated***	
Self-confident***	
At ease**	

Table 40. Significant Contrasts between (H)'s French+Arabic and C.S. Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French+Arabic</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in C.S.</u>
Way of speaking liked****	Influenced by colonisation****
Expresses self clearly****	
Worthy of respect****	Lazy**
Sociable****	Mixed-up**
Educated****	
Likeable****	
Intelligent****	
Eloquent****	
Competent****	
Important****	
At ease***	
Self-confident***	
Patriotic*	

6.4.2.4 Comparison of French and Arabic Guises

Although this third matched guise test was designed primarily to investigate the contrasts between code-switching guises on the one hand and pure French or pure Arabic guises on the other, the results of course also provide further information about the contrast between French and Arabic guises which was the concern of the first and second matched guise tests. Accordingly, the t values were also calculated for the differences between the evaluations of the French and Arabic guises, both for the individual speakers and for both speakers together. The full set of these results is shown in Table 41 (overleaf).

6.4.2.4.1 Overall Evaluation of French and Arabic Guises

Summary Table 42 lists the six traits for which there are significant contrasts between the French guises and the Arabic ones.

Table 42. Overall Evaluation of French and Arabic Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Educated****	Sociable*
Important****	
Intelligent***	
Expresses self clearly**	
Influenced by colonisation**	

These findings are comparable to those obtained in the first matched guise test (see Table 8 in 6.2.2.1). Here, as was the case there, the French guises are more highly rated than the Arabic ones on traits related to status and sophistication - educated, important and intelligent. The fact that here the speakers are in their French guises perceived as better able to express themselves clearly could be explained in terms of the influence of the French-style system within which the bilinguals were educated, and in which particular stress is laid on clarity and coherence of expression in French. It was seen in 4.2.4.3 that respondents preferred

Table 41.

t Values for Significance of Differences in Evaluations of French and Arabic Guises

<u>Traits</u>	Speaker (G)	Speaker (H)	Overall
Mixed-up	.9502	-.7666	0
Patriotic	-.3234	.1322	0
Pretentious	-.6876	-1.750	-1.683
Self-confident	-.2450	3.314***	1.972
Boring	.0991	-3.246***	-1.778
Expresses self clearly	1.089	2.479**	2.560**
Influenced by colonisation	1.824	1.763	2.544**
Intelligent	-.6576	5.034****	2.988***
Clumsy	-1.306	1.215	-.769
At ease	-1.566	1.097	-.2638
Lazy	.3590	-2.408**	-1.397
Competent	-2.009*	4.042****	1.078
Worthy of respect	-1.455	4.889****	1.891
Eloquent	-.4027	2.514**	1.723
Educated	1.533	5.155****	4.492****
Sociable	-.5386	-2.448**	-2.000*
Likeable	-1.310	3.818****	1.313
Important	1.317	4.057****	3.709****
Way of speaking liked	-.7125	2.480**	1.166

Positive entries indicate that French guises are rated higher on the scale than Arabic ones, while negative entries indicate higher ratings for Arabic guises.

For (G) and (H), $df = 46$

For overall, $df = 93$

Key to Asterisks

*	$p < .05$	Two-tailed tests
**	$p < .02$	
***	$p < .01$	
****	$p < .001$	

French over Arabic for self-expression, and it was suggested there that this might be because their education had led them to associate clarity and coherence of expression with French; the fact that the French guises are perceived as more clearly expressed might be said to lend support to this hypothesis. The fact that the French guises are perceived as more influenced by colonisation than the Arabic ones is of course an obvious reflection of the fact that French is the language of the colonisers themselves.

6.4.2.4.2 Ratings of the individual speakers

When the ratings for the two speakers are considered separately, however, we find a sharp contrast between the two. This is seen from a comparison of Tables 43 and 44.

Table 43. Significant Contrasts between (G)'s French and Arabic Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
None	Competent*

Table 44. Significant Contrasts between (H)'s French and Arabic Guises

<u>Traits rated higher in French</u>	<u>Traits rated higher in Arabic</u>
Educated****	Boring***
Intelligent****	Sociable**
Worthy of respect****	Lazy**
Important****	
Competent****	
Likeable****	
Self-confident***	
Way of speaking liked**	
Eloquent**	
Expresses self clearly**	

Speaker (H)'s French and Arabic guises differ significantly with regard to thirteen traits, and as with the other speakers the French guise is more favourably perceived than the Arabic one. In particular, the French guise is more highly rated for traits relating to prestige - important and worthy of respect - and for ones relating to education and general sophistication - educated, intelligent, competent, self-confident and eloquent. The Arabic guise is judged more sociable, but it is also found more boring and more lazy, and less likeable than the French one, which seems thus to give the impression of a more pleasant character as well as higher status.²²

On the other hand, speaker (G)'s guises contrast in only one respect, and this does not reflect the same tendency for the French guise to be judged more efficient; instead, (G)'s Arabic guise is felt to be more competent than his French one. It would seem that the contrast between (H) and (G) can, like the differences between individual speakers in the other two tests, be explained in terms of differences of accent. (H) could be grouped with speaker (A) in the first test and speakers (D) and (E) in the second, as a speaker of High Moroccan French, while (G) has a far more pronounced Moroccan accent in French, and thus more closely resembles (B), (C) and (F), who speak Average Moroccan French. Once again, then, the results suggest that the impression of greater status and sophistication which may accompany a French guise is conditional on the type of accent used; French with a strong Moroccan accent does not carry the same connotations of education and prestige as does a French which approximates more closely to that of a native speaker. Thus, while the contrast between the impressions given by the two guises seems to be most pronounced in cases where the French guise is most "French", in a case like (G), whose French is heavily accented, the differences between the two impressions are not significant

²²One could relate this to some results obtained in the completion test, where it was found that many respondents gave an impression of greater laziness and passivity in their Arabic completions than in their French ones (See 3.3.3.2).

at all, except in one instance, where it is in fact the Arabic guise which is more highly rated.²³

6.5 Summary

The three matched guise tests described in this chapter have demonstrated that Moroccan bilinguals' judgements of people are influenced by the language they speak, and that they may gain significantly different impressions of an individual's personality, status and level of education according to whether he is using French, Arabic or a mixture of the two.

With regard to the contrast between French and Arabic guises, all three tests suggested that there is a tendency for speakers to be more favourably perceived, in a number of respects, when they speak French than when they speak Arabic. Most striking is the tendency for the French guises to be rated significantly more highly on traits relating to social status, education and general sophistication. Thus, if we look back over the overall ratings for the French and Arabic guises in the three tests, we find that in all three cases the French guises received significantly higher ratings for the qualities important and educated. Such findings of course provide further evidence for the conclusion, also suggested in previous chapters, that for Moroccan bilinguals French is very closely associated with education and social advancement. Other such traits for which the overall ratings reveal significant contrasts include modern in the first test, modern, open-minded,

²³Of course, the traits selected in this third test were chosen primarily to represent ways in which the code-switching guises were expected to contrast with the French and Arabic ones, rather than to represent expected contrasts between French and Arabic; and the lack of significant contrasts in the case of the comparison of (G)'s French and Arabic guises might perhaps be related to this. The traits selected here may simply not have been such as to reveal any contrasts which may have held between (G)'s French and Arabic guises.

intelligent and rich in the second, and intelligent in the third. Moreover, the French guises were in some cases also more highly rated for other kinds of quality, suggesting that as well as giving the impression of greater status, they also suggest a more pleasant personality. In this respect, however, there was more variation between individual speakers and between the different sets of respondents; the overall results show that the tendency to favour the French guises over the Arabic ones is most pronounced among the respondents in the second test, which could perhaps be related to the fact that their questionnaire responses suggest a generally more favourable attitude towards French than do those of the other sets of respondents. Finally, a look at the differences between the ratings for individual speakers reveals that the contrasts between guises are influenced by the nature of the French spoken by each speaker. In particular, where the speaker uses what we have called High Moroccan French, with only a slight Moroccan accent, the contrast between his two guises with regard to the status traits is more pronounced than in the case of speakers using Average Moroccan French, with a more pronounced Moroccan accent. There was also some evidence that French spoken with the regional accent of Fez might be viewed less favourably than other varieties.

As for the impression given by the guises using a mixture of Arabic and French, with frequent code-switching between the two, the results of the third test showed that this manner of speaking provoked far more negative reactions among bilinguals than did the use of only French or only Arabic. The code-switching guises contrasted strongly with both pure French and pure Arabic guises. Both of these were rated significantly more highly than the mixed guises on traits of a variety of kinds, denoting both status and solidary properties, and most of all on traits concerned with speech style. Those who code-switch between Arabic and French are judged to express themselves less well than those who stick to one language or the other; they are felt to be less intelligent and less educated,

less important and worthy of respect. The latter is perhaps because they are felt to be more influenced by colonisation and less patriotic than those who use a single language, whether this is French or Arabic; it is interesting that those who mix French and Arabic are felt to be more culpable in these respects than those who use nothing but French. The personalities of those who code-switch are also evidently felt to be suspect, for they are judged to be more mixed-up and less at ease than those who stick to one language, and even less likeable. All these findings of course can be seen to accord with the views made explicit by the respondents here (see Table 28, 6.4.1.4) and those in Chapter 5 (see 5.5.2); so in this case the kinds of attitude demonstrated by means of the more indirect method of the matched guise test are seen to be very similar to those elicited by more direct questioning. In view of the fact that code-switching as a style of speaking is judged to be so inferior to the use of Arabic alone or French alone, it might be thought surprising that it is such a common feature of the speech of Moroccan bilinguals.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Problems of Language Planning

7.0 Introduction

This work has been concerned with the bilingual's attitudes to his two languages and the way he uses them. Having looked at these questions in some detail, it may now be appropriate to consider whether the situation described here is likely to continue, or indeed whether it is desirable that it should continue. Ever since Independence, the bilingual situation in Morocco has been a controversial issue. Many proposals have been made for changing the situation by bringing about a decrease in the amount of French used in Morocco and a corresponding increase in the use of Arabic, which is intended eventually to replace French in many or all domains.

This chapter will examine some of the proposals which have been made, and the effects they have produced, considering the difficulties which plans for arabisation have encountered. It will be argued that such language planning should be based on a careful assessment of the ordinary Moroccan's feelings about the present situation and the way he would like it to develop - matters which seem unfortunately to have been generally ignored. The results of a small survey of bilinguals' feelings on these questions will be discussed, and in the light of these some tentative conclusions will be made and some realistic suggestions offered about what steps might be taken if it is desired to implement a successful arabisation policy.

7.1 The Aspiration: Arabisation

Once independence had been achieved, one of the major

concerns for Morocco was to return to its original culture and to establish "an education that is Moroccan in its thinking, Arabic in its language and Muslim in its spirit" (King's speech from the throne, 1958, as quoted in translation by Zartman 1964, pp.155-156).¹ The Moroccan government set out a five-year plan for reorganising the system of education. This was concerned with the achievement of four main goals, these being unification, universalisation, Moroccanisation and arabisation.

Unification refers to the process of reducing the diversity of types of school which existed under the Protectorate (see 1.2.1), and eliminating the cultural dualism which was emphasised by the co-existence of the traditional system of education and the modern French-style one. According to Moatassime (1974), unification has been very largely accomplished, for 95% of the children registered in schools now attend the public state schools, all of which are now organised along the same lines. However, Moatassime claims that this unification of the system has not brought about a structure which is more appropriate to Morocco's needs. "L'enseignement au Maroc...est resté...un enseignement d'importation, inadapté aux réalités locales et incapable de se recréer ou de se renouveler" (Moatassime 1974, p.624). Brown (1965) also makes the point that unification alone is not enough, but that it is also necessary to train a young generation who can meet the professional and technical needs of their country.

The second objective, universalisation, consists in increasing the numbers of children attending school by making schooling compulsory. In 1963, a Royal decree made education compulsory for Moroccan children between the ages of seven and thirteen. As a result, the number of pupils has increased to such an extent that there have been shortages of manpower

¹The Moroccan Constitution affirms that Morocco's official language is Arabic: "le Royaume du Maroc, Etat Musulman souverain, dont la langue officielle est l'arabe" (Preamble of the Moroccan Constitution).

and this has been exacerbated by a failure to provide a sufficient budget allotment.²

Moroccanisation is the process of replacing all foreign teachers and other staff by Moroccan nationals. This was eventually intended to serve the purpose of facilitating the third aim, that of arabisation. The process of Moroccanisation has been completed in primary education, but not in secondary or higher education; in the latter case, there are still large numbers of foreign teachers, particularly in scientific subjects (see 1.2.2, Tables 4 and 5). The failure to achieve Moroccanisation at all levels of the education system may be partially explained by the fact that Moroccan nationals specialising in sciences are not attracted to teaching careers, but prefer to work in the private industrial sectors which offer greater financial reward. The shortage of teachers thus remains an obstacle to the realisation of this objective. The creation of teacher training schools has alleviated the problem to some extent, but it seems that Morocco will still be in need of foreign teachers, especially for science, for a long time to come.

While considerable progress has been made towards the achievement of the first three goals, the fourth objective, which is concerned with making Arabic the language of instruction in Moroccan schools, remains a controversial and much debated issue. As was seen in 1.2.2 (see Table 3), arabisation has been carried out in primary education to the point where 73.6% of the teaching hours are in Arabic and only 24.4% in French; arithmetic is still taught through the medium of French. On the other hand, in secondary and higher education, the problem of arabisation, like that of Moroccanisation, has not really been solved, and French is still dominant. A quarter of a century has elapsed since Independence, and arabisation

²More details of this increase in pupil numbers are given in 1.2.2 (see Table 2).

is still one of the burning issues for every government. One may well ask why it is that all the efforts made by the different governments over a period of twenty-five years have still failed to achieve arabisation. The discussion below considers some of the reasons why this is the case.

7.1.1 Obstacles to Arabisation

7.1.1.1 Lack of a Common Consensus

The failure to apply arabisation projects effectively may in part be attributed to a lack of agreement between policy-makers. Their views are of course influenced by a number of factors; as Zartman (1964) points out,

"attitudes on arabisation did not represent simply a conscious decision or policy position on the isolated problem, but formed part of a complex of socioeconomic backgrounds, ideas and cultures. One of the major elements to this complex was the future image of the country"
(Zartman 1964, p.156)

It is possible to distinguish a number of groups of Moroccans, differing in their approaches to arabisation. These can conveniently be described as the traditionalists, the modernists, the nationalists and the bureaucrats.

The traditionalists originated with the nationalist movement which came to power at Independence in 1956. This group is in favour of total arabisation of the Moroccan education system and a return to the traditional schools which existed in Morocco before the Protectorate (see 1.1.3). They emphasise the need to uphold Arabic traditions and to safeguard the Muslim culture of Morocco.

The modernists are less committed to arabisation; they are more concerned to ensure an effective education which prepares Moroccans for an industrialised modern world, rather than to carry out a hasty arabisation which might result in Morocco's being isolated from the West. They consider French to be more adequate than Arabic for the teaching of science and technical skills. They are more interested in safeguarding

the economic status of Morocco than in preserving the cultural image which the traditionalists are so concerned with.

The third group is the nationalists, whose attitudes to arabisation are linked with patriotism. They see arabisation as a political and post-colonial problem rather than a cultural or economic one. For them, arabisation represents a liberation from colonialism, and will allow Morocco to take its proper place in the Arab world; it is seen as the key to unity and solidarity between all Arabs. Their main concern is for the political image of Morocco. This group has been very active in expressing its views to the policy-makers, and is constantly criticising the ministers and other officials who use French in their correspondence.³

The fourth group, the bureaucrats, is made up of employees in the ministries, who recognise the importance of arabisation, but are all too conscious of the practical problems it entails. They are not in favour of arabisation if this results in a lowering of standards, and they do not find the total replacement of French with Arabic to be a very practical proposition.

It can be seen, then, that those Moroccans who express a view about arabisation are by no means united in their opinions about its value, its implications and its effects. The fact that there is no unanimous support for arabisation is doubtless one reason why it has not yet been accomplished.

Moreover, not only is there disagreement between Moroccans about the desirability of arabisation, but even individuals do not always maintain consistent attitudes to it. For instance, one could point to the fact that some members of the élite class - many of whom are directly involved in decisions and plans to promote arabisation - send their children to French schools, while nevertheless preaching arabisation as

³For instance, such criticisms were being voiced in the newspaper *La Nation* as early as 1958, and are still being voiced today; similar complaints were expressed in the newspaper *Al Mouharir* in 1978.

best for the masses.⁴ Thus people may talk favourably about arabisation and plan for it without giving up bilingualism for themselves and their children. As is noted by Gordon (1978), the fact that the élite of Moroccan society take pride in being educated in French makes it impossible for them to renounce this advantage. While they may publicly express support for the teaching of traditional culture in schools, they feel at the same time reluctant to abandon the French language and culture. This ambivalent attitude may prevent them from making a definite choice. Brown (1965) suggests that such uncertainty may be attributed to a fear of causing chaos in the educational and administrative sector of the country.

This general uncertainty is undoubtedly one of the reasons why arabisation is still only being discussed and planned for instead of already accomplished. In the first place, not all Moroccans are committed to arabisation, and, in the second place, even those who do profess support for the policy may not be wholehearted believers who would be willing to apply this policy for their own children.

7.1.1.2 Inadequacies of Manpower

In the early years after Independence, a serious obstacle to arabisation was the shortage of teachers who could work through the medium of Arabic. At first it was thought that this problem could be solved by employing teachers from the Middle East, especially from Egypt. However, a scheme which introduced such teachers was a complete failure and has now been largely abandoned. This was because the teaching methods used by the Middle Eastern teachers were not found to be appropriate to the Moroccan system, based as it was and is on French lines, and, as Zartman (1964, p.166) puts it, "the Moroccans

⁴These are the schools run by the Mission Universitaire Culturelle Française, which were described in 1.2.2. According to Gordon (1978, p.160), there were in 1975 9,529 Moroccan students in these schools.

found the Egyptians better orators than teachers, more eloquent in praising their native land than in teaching their subject matter".

Instead, France remained the most convenient source of qualified teachers of a variety of subjects, and a large number of French expatriate teachers continued to work in Morocco after Independence, despite the enthusiasm for arabisation. As was shown in 1.2.2 (see Table 4), their number has gone on increasing since Independence. The following table, adapted from Zartman (1964), shows the failure of the cultural assistance from the Middle East, in contrast to that from France.

Table 1. Numbers of Moroccan and Expatriate Teachers

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Teachers in Primary and Secondary Schools</u>			
	1956-1957	1957-1958	1958-1959	1959-1960
Moroccan	6,395	9,761	9,839	13,517
French	6,851	5,512	4,932	6,424
Egyptian	21	154	0	21
Lebanese	0	34	0	36
Syrian	0	31	0	4
Iraqi	0	3	0	3
Jordanian	0	2	0	1

Because of this shortage of suitable teachers, arabisation has been executed on a rather irregular basis, being applied only where and when teachers and funds were available. In the second year of independence, the first minister of education, who was a member of the nationalist group described in 7.1.1.1, carried out a complete arabisation of the first year of primary education, while adopting a bilingual policy for the remaining four years, in which pupils had fifteen hours of Arabic a week and fifteen hours of French. He intended to progress from this stage to a situation where pupils would have twenty hours of Arabic and only ten hours of French, and where elementary natural science (les leçons des choses) and arithmetic would be taught in Arabic. The process of arabisation

was thus intended to be a gradual one. However, the further advancement of the plan was halted by the lack of teachers and the fact that there^{are} no appropriate text books for the teaching of science subjects in Arabic. These problems meant that the teaching provided was of inferior quality, as Salim (quoted in Zartman 1964) points out:

"After Independence, carried away by enthusiasm, obliged to take social pressure and the psychological climate into consideration, we increased enrollment in an intensive fashion and increased arabisation in an inconsidered fashion, without worrying about the methods of enrollment and of arabisation... Now we see the results: quantity has replaced quality, and the level has fallen in French and in Arabic" (Zartman 1964, p.183)

Accordingly, this programme was strongly criticised by the modernists for bringing about a lowering of standards in primary and secondary schools. They protested that arabisation should be halted until fully qualified teachers could be trained, insisting that the choice of language for teaching should be dependent on the availability of competent teachers, and that it was not acceptable to promote arabisation regardless of the consequences for general educational standards. The lack of suitably trained teachers has thus been an important factor in delaying the fulfilment of arabisation plans, and even today this lack is an obstacle to arabisation in certain areas of the curriculum.

7.1.1.3 Inconsistency in Planning

Plans for arabisation have also been disturbed by frequent changes of governments and ministers. Indeed, in the early years there were "a half-dozen educational plans for less than a half-dozen school years" (Zartman 1964, p.185), and plans were constantly being abandoned and replaced before they had been properly put into operation. For instance, there were at one time plans to arabise science teaching by 1965, but this aim has still not been achieved. The situation is summed up in a comment by one Moroccan pupil of the time, which is reported by Gordon (1962, pp.68-69): "They are confused in the ministry...they don't know what they are doing. One day they want to arabise everything and the next day they return to

French". One example of this inconsistency in planning is the fact that pupils who, after the early attempts at arabisation mentioned in 7.1.1.2, began elementary science and arithmetic in Arabic, later had to change their routine and suddenly adapt to studying these subjects in French at the end of their primary education.

The present minister of education, in an annual report (Le Matin, 14th September 1978, p.3), refers to the fact that Moroccan children are today experiencing difficulty in assimilating science subjects - mathematics, biology, physics and chemistry - because the standards of proficiency have fallen.

"Nous continuons à apprendre à nos élèves le calcul dans le primaire et les sciences naturelles et les mathématiques dans le secondaire en français. Cette situation a fait que nos enfants et ceux de la majorité écrasante des citoyens ne sont plus en mesure d'assimiler les concepts et les notions scientifiques du fait qu'ils ignorent jusqu'à la langue par laquelle ces notions leur seront transmises" (Le Matin, 14/9/78, p.3)

This problem can also be seen to arise from a certain inconsistency in planning. The minister notes that Moroccanisation has resulted in there being no native French teachers left in primary schools, and that the standard of French among Moroccan primary teachers may leave something to be desired. There is also of course the fact that children now begin to learn French at a later age than previously; whereas, under the French and even after 1956, children were immersed in French from their first days at school, it is now the policy to use Arabic only for the first two years, French being introduced only later, when the children already have some grasp of Classical Arabic. The result is that many children do not begin French until the age of nine or ten, and may not become thoroughly at ease in French until much later. Moreover, the fact that some subjects, such as geography, history and philosophy, have now been successfully arabised means that the children get less practice in French than formerly; yet they are still expected to perform adequately in those subjects

which have not been arabised. This illustrates the problems which arise from a partial and inconsistent arabisation. The result may be that the pupils are in a more difficult situation than before arabisation began, for they do not receive as much training and practice in French as before, and yet are still required to be highly proficient in it if they are to be successful in some of their school subjects. French may thus constitute more of an obstacle today than it did previously, when pupils at least acquired the habit of working through French early in their education; now students who have had a more Arabic dominated primary and secondary education may experience serious difficulties when they reach university, where a high standard of French is still essential for the study of certain subjects. There may be some truth in the claim made by Guessous (1976) that the majority of Moroccan children who fail their examinations do so because of problems with French. Skik (1977) maintains that in Tunisia arabisation plans have had the effect of making French synonymous with difficulty and examination failure.

The planning for arabisation has also been inadequate in that emphasis has been put on the arabisation of the pupils rather than on that of their teachers. Clearly, effective arabisation must begin with the preparation of competent teaching staff, so that the teaching of a subject in Arabic can continue throughout the system. Thus, before applying arabisation at the lower levels, it is necessary to ensure that teachers at higher levels are suitably prepared; if this is not done, when the arabised pupils reach a more advanced stage they may find no teachers competent to teach them in the language in which they have hitherto pursued their studies.

7.1.1.4 The Nature of Arabic

It has often been suggested that there are obstacles to successful arabisation which are inherent in the nature of Arabic itself, in that the Arabic language has certain shortcomings which make it unable to meet the needs of Morocco in

the modern world. Accordingly the view has often been expressed that Arabic itself must be adapted in various ways before arabisation can be successful. Some of the ways in which Arabic itself has been felt to pose problems for arabisation will be discussed below.

7.1.1.4.1 The Diglossic Situation

The question of arabisation is complicated by the diglossic relationship which holds between the two varieties of Arabic used in Morocco, where Classical Arabic, the written language which is learnt in school, exists side by side with the unwritten colloquial variety which is the real mother tongue; this situation was described in 1.1.2.3. The diglossic situation is further complicated by the religious status of Classical Arabic, which is considered to be the language used by God. It was seen earlier in this study that Moroccans have very different attitudes to the two varieties, tending to value the high variety and hold the low one in contempt (see 3.2.1.4 and 3.2.2.4).

Arabisation may be expected to heighten the problems which are posed by the co-existence of these two varieties and the need to determine which should be used for which purpose. At present, Moroccans can avoid this problem by using French instead; they are then at least able to speak and write the same language. However, if French is to be abandoned in favour of Arabic, then they will be faced to a greater extent with the problem of not being able to write down things they would say, and not finding it appropriate to utter things they would write.

Those who have considered this problem seem to feel that Classical Arabic should be used as the vehicle for arabisation, and that this variety can most conveniently replace French. Two main reasons have been offered for this conclusion. First there is the status of Classical Arabic as the medium for religious matters, and that in which the cultural heritage of Moroccans is preserved. Cachia (1967) suggests that the

Koran favours the choice of Classical Arabic for arabisation, quoting Abu Hafid, who observes that

"were it not that the Arabiyya⁵ is the language of the Qur'an and were it not that our ancient treasures are the greatest human culture we possess, it would be an easy matter for us to devote all our efforts to this colloquial, raising the level of its literature, making it the depository of the genius of our people, so that it should be our language" (Cachia 1967, p.21)

Secondly, Classical Arabic is seen as essential to the cultural unity of all the Arabs; for the colloquial dialects are very dissimilar, whereas Classical Arabic is a common factor which allows Arabs from different countries to communicate. If Morocco were to adopt Moroccan Arabic as an official language upon arabisation, it would risk becoming isolated from these other countries. The unifying and consolidating function of Classical Arabic in the Islamic world is emphasised by Hurreiz (1975) and by Berque (1958), who contrast it with the colloquials, which they consider can only produce division and disparity. Moatassime (1974) makes the point that Classical Arabic can have a unifying effect, not only over the Arabic-speaking world, but also within Morocco itself:

"Dans le temps, il [Classical Arabic] conserve depuis plus de treize siècles et transmet à travers les générations, en l'enrichissant chaque jour davantage, un patrimoine culturel universel et humain de première importance. Dans l'espace, il permet tout d'abord à l'intérieur des frontières Marocaines ou autres, grâce à son caractère sacré, de souder et de sauvegarder l'unité nationale. Il s'impose également comme un instrument remarquable de l'unité culturelle maghrébine et arabe!" (Moatassime 1974, p.644)

The merits of Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic with regard to arabisation will be discussed in more detail later, in 7.4. The point to be made here is simply that the diglossic situation does make the process of arabisation more complicated.

⁵i.e. Classical Arabic.

7.1.1.4.2 The Learning of Classical Arabic

Assuming that Classical Arabic is the language which is intended to replace French when arabisation is carried out, a further problem is posed by the way that this language has to be learnt by all Moroccans. Classical Arabic has no native speakers, and the extent to which it differs from the Moroccan Arabic which children know before they go to school should not be underestimated.⁶ It is not acquired in the same way as Moroccan Arabic, but must be consciously learnt by the Moroccan, just as French must be.

Unfortunately, the methods of teaching Classical Arabic in schools are perhaps not as effective as might be desired. In the first place, very traditional methods are used; the pupils are made to memorise lists of rules of grammar, together with extracts from the Koran and old poetry (see 1.1.3). While efforts have been made to update the teaching of French and make it a more attractive subject, the new developments in language teaching have had no influence on the way Arabic is taught; as Lahjomri (1974) points out, there has been "une modernisation abusive de l'enseignement de la langue française (outils, méthodes, moyens audio-visuels), alors que l'enseignement de l'arabe reste statique, traditionnel" (p.64).⁷ A further problem is that the language is learnt almost entirely from written materials; the teacher spends most of his time reading out passages from books to his pupils, and there is little spontaneous discussion. This means that the pupils are unlikely to develop any great oral facility in Classical Arabic, not surprisingly since it is basically a written language. As Chejne (1958) points out, there is not really a corresponding spoken variety; "there is not a fully disseminated standard Arabic for oral communication that could be called classic or neo-classic" (p.34). This no doubt contributes to the fact that Arabic lessons are rarely lively.

⁶The differences were illustrated in 1.1.2.3.

⁷See also the comments on the teaching of composition made in 7.1.1.4.3.

Perhaps the most serious problem is the fact that Classical Arabic, as presented in the classroom, is constantly associated with the past. The texts studied are usually concerned with historical events and old legends, together with religious and moral themes; Ibaaquil's survey of textbooks was examined in 3.1.3 (see especially Tables 1 and 2), as were his comments on the kinds of association Classical Arabic is likely to acquire from these texts. As Lahjomri (1974) notes, the material through which children study Classical Arabic takes them into the past; the texts "font error l'enfant dans un monde de plus en plus anachronique". This constant association of Classical Arabic with things of long ago may make it inextricable from the past in the learner's mind, and this in turn may have implications for his attitudes to the language for the rest of his life.

If Classical Arabic is to replace French in Morocco, then, efforts must be made to improve the way it is taught in schools. In particular it seems that more up-to-date teaching methods and materials would be very welcome, and might lead to an improvement both in standards of proficiency and in general attitudes to the language.

7.1.1.4.3 Inadequacies of Expression

One major problem affecting arabisation is the need to create an adequate terminology for the domains of science and technology. The question of whether Arabic is flexible enough to fulfil the needs of a developing nation today has been repeatedly debated, not only by North Africans, but by people all over the Arabic-speaking world. The fact that Classical Arabic has been preserved in its original form and has undergone little change since the days of the prophet has led some people to think that it is now out of touch with the modern world and not sufficient for the everyday needs of today, particularly in the fields of science and technology. For instance, Pellat (1956) claims that Classical Arabic is more suited to the needs of the Arab bedouins than to the

requirements of the world today.

However, others, like Gordon (1978) point to the Arabs' reputation in science in the Middle Ages and argue that there is no reason why Arabic cannot again be a successful vehicle for scientific debate. Gordon notes that Arabic "was a highly developed language, bearer of the rich heritage of a civilisation which once, in the sphere of science, was superior to that of the West and from which, in large part, Greek philosophy (Aristotle in particular) came to the West" (p.148). In view of the obvious success of Classical Arabic as a medium for scientific discourse in mediaeval times, it is worth looking at how the demands for a technical terminology were met in these earlier times. This is discussed by Bielawski (1956).

In the Middle Ages, the so-called Arab sciences, including philosophy, jurisprudence, theological speculations and mysticism took as their starting point the interpretation of the Koran.

"Le point de départ est l'analyse du Coran, c'est à dire de sa langue et de son contenu; la philologie étudie la langue du Coran, son vocabulaire et son style; le ⁸ fikh analyse ses prescriptions sur l'organisation de la vie de l'individu et de la société; la théologie, ses principes religieux"

(Bielawski 1956, p.270)

The methods of analysis used by the jurists were derived from social conventions [ižma:f], reasoning by analogy [qija:s] and intuition [ra?j]. Lexicographers also used to base their studies on the lexis of the Koran and old poetry, applying the same methods of analysis as the jurists.⁹

The development of science in the Arab world began during the reign of the Kalife Al Mamoun (813-833), who established

⁸ fikh refers to the study of jurisprudence.

⁹ Detailed descriptions of the methods and organisation of studies in this era are provided by Meakin (1902) and Le Tourneau (1961).

[bajt al hikma] ("the house of wisdom"), where most translations were produced. The first translators were Christians who translated Aristotle's work from Greek into Syriac, and their students, who translated this into Arabic. This led to the founding of a school of philosophy in Baghdad in the ninth century by the Arab philosopher Abu Youssef al Kindi (d. 860). He was also a contemporary of the famous mathematician, astronomer and geographer Al Khawarizmi (d. 844).

To meet the need for words to designate new scientific concepts, the Arab translators and scientists made use of the derivational processes of the Arabic language, adapted existing Arabic words by giving them new, abstract meanings,¹⁰ and, to a lesser extent, borrowed terms from Syriac, Greek and Persian. Borrowings from Greek and Persian were particularly extensive in the domains of plants and mineralogy, but rarer in jurisprudence, philosophy, theology and philology. However, even in this classical period, some confusion over the terminology of plants, animals and minerals was caused by the existence of a large number of synonyms. There are certain similarities between the problems which arose in this past period of scientific activity and those which are felt to exist today, although the position of the Arabs in the world of science is of course now very different.

A complaint which is often made nowadays is that the terminology available in Arabic is not sufficiently clearly defined. According to Monteuil (1960) and Shouby (1951) this problem arises from the fact that Arabic is particularly rich in synonyms. Monteuil (1960), for instance, notes that the term behaviour in Arabic has four equivalents: [sulu:k - taSaruf - ?intiha:ž - sa jra], and he claims that this tendency to have a multiplicity of words for the same referent

¹⁰For instance, the term [Saruf], which in its concrete sense means "money" or "change", is also used in an abstract sense to refer to grammatical conjugation.

is something peculiarly inherent in the bedouin Arab's past:

"L'homme du désert dilue la rare et précieuse douceur, éparpille les présages, évite d'appeler le fauve par son nom et fuit, dans les détours du verbe, la face inexorable du Destin. Sur certains points le vocabulaire déborde, mais sur d'autres, il reste indigent"
(Monteuil 1960, p.205)

However, Monteuil's statement hardly seems to the point, for surely redundancy in the form of synonyms is a feature common to all human languages. In any case, the fact that there is a large number of synonyms in Arabic need not necessarily make its lexical items any vaguer than those in any other language. Terms can always be defined more exactly when necessary, where they are used in scientific contexts; this is normal practice among authors of technical works in all languages, who may need to redefine an existing term in order to express a new concept.¹¹

Guessous (1976) also claims that the number of synonyms in Arabic is a hindrance to arabisation, maintaining that the Moroccan child has to learn a number of words to name one thing. He gives the example of classroom, for which there is only one term in common use in French (classe), but which has four different names in Classical Arabic: [al hužra - aSSaf al faSl - al qa:fa].¹² Again, however, surely this problem could be overcome easily, simply by teaching the child only one of these four terms to begin with. There seems to need to confront pupils with all these different terms when they begin Classical Arabic; they can widen their vocabulary later through reading. Terms to be taught at an early stage can

¹¹For instance, the term transformation, when used in a linguistic text, is understood to have a much more specific meaning than it would have in a non-technical context, but this does not seem to lead to any confusion.

¹²Interestingly, despite the wide choice of terms offered by Classical Arabic, in Moroccan Arabic none of these terms is used; instead, the most common term used to refer to a classroom is [kla:Sa], which is a borrowed word derived from French classe.

be selected according to their frequency, productivity and coverage.

It has also been suggested that Arabic is inadequate for scientific discussion because of its lack of precision and rigour in analysis. "La vieille langue liturgique de l' Islam n'est pas un instrument précis. Le goût de la forme l'a emporté sur les exigences du fond" (Monteuil, 1960, p.356). Shouby (1951) claims that this vagueness in Arabic results from the fact that more importance is given to the words themselves than to the ideas they express. More pleasure is taken in listening to their rhythm and musicality than in absorbing their meaning. He gives the example of Arabic poetry, where meaning is often sacrificed for the sake of harmony and rhythm. So much emphasis placed on the sounds of words leads to a corresponding lack of concern for their precise meaning. Shouby suggests that it is difficult to understand Arabic when it deals with more abstract content because the sentences are generally not clearly organised; "words and even sentences may be transmitted, not as units but as whole structures, from one context to an entirely different one without sufficient modification (or even without modification at all)" (Shouby 1951, p.291). He lists four factors which he considers to contribute to the vagueness of Arabic texts; these are that some words were never defined when they first came into use; that some terms have changed their original meaning and have since been used in a number of senses; that some old terms are used to denote new meanings; and that the rigidity of Arabic grammar limits the writer's freedom, forcing him to accommodate his thoughts to the rigid rules of grammar.

Such allegations that Arabic is vague, imprecise and therefore inadequate for scientific discussion seem to be quite beside the point. The properties for which Arabic is criticised by Monteuil and Shouby are ones which exist in all human languages; Classical Arabic is not unique or exceptional in the fact that the meaning of its words changes with time, or that

people use its words in different ways to denote different concepts. These are features which are common to all natural languages, indeed characteristics which distinguish natural languages from artificial ones. It would seem that those who criticise Classical Arabic for its inadequacy in these respects have never looked at any other languages, and are unaware that the same so-called problems exist elsewhere too.

In my opinion, the problems with the Arabic language do not arise from the nature of the language itself, but rather from the people who use the language. The fact is that people have been taught to see Arabic as something valuable in itself and not just as a means of communicating ideas, and this results in their giving more importance to the medium than to the message. Thus style, musicality and eloquence are the features most valued in written Arabic, and those which are emphasised in the teaching of Arabic composition in schools.¹³ People writing in Arabic do not feel that they can simply use the language to make a point as directly as possible; they have to pay considerable attention to the question of how to express this point in the most eloquent style. The possibility of just stating their ideas in the simplest possible way does not accord with the training they were given when learning Arabic, which taught them that the Arabic language is to be regarded as an end in itself rather than simply a means of communication. This view is described by Laroui (1967), who refers to Arabic as the Arabs' only technology:

"La langue arabe devient elle-même une valeur parce que, dans un monde où nous sommes de simples invités, où chaque élément résiste à nos désirs, elle est le seul bien dont nous soyons maîtres pleinement et exclusivement. Exilés dans un monde de technique hostile, la langue est notre¹⁴ seule technique. Le classique "ilm al-lugha" a gagné

¹³In French lessons, however, quite the opposite emphasis is given. The teaching of writing in French - rédaction and dissertation - lays stress on aspects such as the organisation of material, paraphrasing and presentation of arguments; the content is shown to be as important as the style.

¹⁴ilm al-lugha means "the science of language".

ses titres de noblesse par sa rigueur, son objectivité,
et s'impose comme une admirable construction scientifique"
(Laroui 1967, p.91)

Thus problems can be seen to arise from the habits which people have acquired of using Arabic in a certain way. If it were absolutely necessary to communicate simple facts as directly as possible in Arabic, of course this could be done easily. However, instead of just writing whatever they want to say in Arabic, people are so obsessed with the need to use Arabic properly that they are always worried about how best to express themselves. As a result, they waste time debating on how to use Arabic, instead of simply getting on with the task of using it, facing the problems as they arise and providing immediate solutions for them. Inertia and hesitancy to use Arabic may constitute more serious problems for arabisation than the so-called problems posed by the Arabic language itself.

7.1.1.4.4 Borrowing

The practice of borrowing from other languages, which was used in the Middle Ages to provide new terminology, has been suggested as a means of filling the gaps in scientific terminology which exist in Arabic today. However, the nature of the Arabic language is such as to resist the system of direct borrowing from European languages such as French or English, because of its word formation processes. In Arabic, the root of a word consists of three consonants which allow both internal and external derivations; for instance, the root [ktb], which conveys the idea of writing, can by the addition of vowels and affixes produce words like [kataba] (to write), [kita:ba], [mukataba] (writing), [katib] (writer), and [maktaba] (library). These processes cannot readily be applied to borrowed French words. Attempts have been made to apply French derivational processes to some Arabic words, but this too seems unsatisfactory; French affixes accompanying Arabic words can sound very foreign to the Arabic patterns. Lakhdar (1976) gives the following examples:

<u>French</u>	<u>Arabic</u>
soufre	kibrit
sulfate	? kibritate
sulfure	? kibritur

It has also been maintained that the kind of complex nouns, based on Latin and Greek roots, which are used in French scientific terminology, are quite impossible to transfer into Arabic.¹⁵ The only way of expressing these in Arabic is by means of paraphrase, but this sometimes produces uneconomical results. It has been suggested that Arabic could borrow French words in their original form and simply transliterate them into Arabic script, without adapting them to Arabic morphology, in order to avoid these problems, by Lakhdar (1976).¹⁶

However, I feel that, here again, the real problem is not that Arabic lacks flexibility and is unable to absorb borrowings, but instead arises from people's attitudes to the language and their feelings that it should be preserved from foreign influence. It is this kind of attitude which has given Arabic its intrinsic character as a language which supposedly has not changed at all over many centuries. This objection to borrowing is so strong that there is still criticism even of borrowed words which have long been established and integrated in the colloquial varieties. For instance, it has often been proposed that the word [tilifu:n] ("telephone"), in common use in Moroccan Arabic, should be replaced with a "pure" Arabic word, and at least four alternatives have been suggested, these being [miSara], [ha:tif], [na:di] and [ʔirzi:z]. Yet none of these has common into general use in Morocco.¹⁷ Similarly, the borrowed and now integrated word

¹⁵ Examples are words like the French anthropocentrisme, électroencéphalogramme and vaccinothérapie.

¹⁶ However, there are some problems with transliteration, which will be discussed in 7.1.1.4.

¹⁷ A similar situation exists in Germany, where people prefer to use the borrowed Telefon rather than the German word Fernspecher.

[sini:ma] ("cinema") is used in Moroccan Arabic rather than the "pure" Arabic [Suwar mutaharika]. Borrowed words like these seem to be easily incorporated into Moroccan Arabic, and one may suspect that the morphological problems which are claimed to arise with borrowing into Classical Arabic have perhaps been exaggerated. The root of the problem seems to be simply that there is a very strong feeling that Classical Arabic should not receive such borrowings. People are taught from an early age that the purity of Classical Arabic is something to be safeguarded, and borrowings may be seen as a threat to this.

7.1.1.4,5 Lack of International Agreement

Even if an adequate terminology was developed, a further problem lies in the lack of agreement between the various Arab countries with regard to the standardisation of terms used. This is revealed in the discrepancies between various French-Arabic dictionaries. A survey of such bilingual dictionaries was carried out by Lakhdar (1976), and this illustrates the problems of establishing a parallel terminology. He finds that there is a noticeable lack of uniformity between the various dictionaries. One example he gives to illustrate this is that of the translations offered for the French word cheville ("ankle"). Four dictionaries give four different words for this:

<u>Dictionary</u>	<u>Translation</u>
Belot Français-Arabe (1952)	kaʃb (1)
Manhal (1970)	ʃurqub (2)
Mawrid (1967)	ka:hi1 (3)
Mazhar Nahda (not dated)	kurs:i (4)

If one then looks up these four words in Arabic-French dictionaries, one finds very different definitions. (1) is translated as malléole (a part of the ankle) in the Dictionnaire de Médecine de Damas, (2) as jarret (the back of the knee) in the Dictionnaire des Termes Agricoles (1957), and (3) as os extérieur du poignet (a bone in the back of the wrist)

in the Dictionnaire Elias Arabe-Français, while (4) is not found in any dictionary, but is apparently a Syrian dialect word. This example shows how an unambiguous French word is represented by a variety of Arabic words with quite diverse meanings. This phenomenon is described by Lakhdar as "le flottement de la terminologie Arabe dans la dénomination de notions connexes. Les mots désignant des notions différentes sont interchangeables et les notions sont donc confondues" (Lakhdar 1976, p.28).

This lack of consistency reflects the fact that every Arab country uses its own terminology, taking little notice of what terms have been chosen by other Arab countries. Reference points can be found, but these are provided by either French or English. The present situation may be contrasted with that which existed in the Middle Ages, when the Arabs succeeded in developing a rich scientific terminology. Their success may perhaps be related to the fact that they were politically united, as one Islamic cultural community. In contrast, the Arab world today is made up of diverse independent countries which have developed different dialects, customs and cultures.

Bielawski (1956) believes that the present lack of co-ordination between Arab countries is partly caused by their geographical distribution, suggesting that this makes it difficult for them to communicate between themselves. "Cela s'explique par la situation géographique et la répartition de la langue arabe, d'où la difficulté de centraliser ces travaux linguistiques et d'imposer rapidement à tous les pays arabes une terminologie scientifique uniforme" (Bielawski 1956, p.59).

However, the geographical factor can surely not be considered a serious problem in these days of air traffic and telecommunications; communications between one part of the Arab world and another must now be easier and more rapid than ever before.

One factor which may contribute to these inconsistencies, however, is the fact that nowadays science constitutes such a vast body of knowledge that a high degree of specialisation

is so much more necessary; whereas in the Middle Ages the same individual could be respected as an authority in a number of widely differing fields. Today, then, there is a great need for careful coordination of the various specialised bodies; lack of proper communication between these may well have contributed to the problems of standardising terminology.

The lack of consistency among Arab countries may also be related to their colonisation. The medium for science in the formerly colonised Arab countries was and is still the language of the colonisers. So for North Africans science is presented through the medium of French (see 1.2.2), but in the Middle East it is English which serves this purpose. Disagreement about new terminology in Arabic may therefore arise from the fact that the different countries approach the subjects through different languages, and so, for instance, may introduce borrowings from different languages.

Certainly the development of an adequate scientific terminology in Arabic is not helped by this diversity of usage. A coordinated effort by the various institutes of arabisation to encourage greater co-operation in this respect might speed up progress towards the goal which is expressed in a wish by Al Boustani (quoted in Monteuil 1960, p.220):

"Qu'il y ait entre ceux qui parlent arabe dans les pays différents une sorte de lien (rabita), de trait d'union, destiné à unifier la terminologie scientifique arabe pour qu'une expression scientifique, en Egypte par exemple, ne puisse être contredite au Liban ou différer totalement de son équivalente irâquienne!"

7.1.1.4.6 The Arabic Writing System

It has also been suggested that there are difficulties with the writing system of Arabic which present serious problems for the realisation of arabisation. In the first place, the present writing system poses problems of comprehension for readers. The fact that the short vowels are not indicated in the script can cause considerable uncertainty. For instance, the written form *ك* may represent five different words, according to what vowels are understood to be present; it can

be read as [malik] ("king"), [malak] ("angel"), [mulk] ("power"), [milk] ("property"), or [malaka] ("to own"). Difficulties in reading may also arise from the fact that there is no system of punctuation in Arabic, apart from the full stop at the end of every sentence; italics and capitals do not exist.¹⁸

Lecerf (1954) describes the Arabic system of writing as obscure and anachronistic in comparison to those of other modern languages. He notes that although English spelling is irregular, it does not affect comprehension, whereas in Arabic the reader may be uncertain about words which are essential to understanding the content of a passage. "Cette écriture est une plaie pour la lecture, pour l'enseignement, et pour tout usage pratique de la langue" (Lecerf 1954, p.38). Others, including Lakhdar (1976), Benyaklef (1979), Monteuil (1960) and Marçais (1930) also make the point that the difficulty in reading Arabic is such that the reader needs to understand the text before he can read it; he must work out the relationships between the constituents of sentences without the assistance of the information which the vowels could provide about this. "Toute sa vie, l'arabisant, écureuil en cage, tourne dans ce cercle vicieux qu'il doit réstituer les voyelles non écrites pour comprendre le texte, et qu'il lui faut l'avoir compris pour les réstituer" (Marçais 1930, p.403). Similar remarks are made by Lakhdar (1976), who quotes Father Karmali as saying that "les Arabes étudient les lois de la langue arabe pour apprendre à lire alors que les étrangers lisent pour apprendre les sciences" (p.55).

However, these claims may be somewhat exaggerated. It is true that the reader of Arabic has to provide the short vowels himself in order to understand what he is reading,

¹⁸Monteuil (1960) points out, however, that transcribed foreign words are usually put into brackets or between inverted commas - a procedure which has been adopted in recent times. Some modern Arabic writers, perhaps influenced by the conventions of other languages, avoid writing complex non-punctuated sentences.

but this exercise becomes quite simple for those who master the language. Besides, texts can easily be vocalised by the addition of vowel points where necessary or desired, as is done in the Koran and in children's introductory readers. Reading, with or without vowels, is a skill which can be learnt only with effort, and one which may take some time to acquire - but this is surely true of any language.

A second problem felt to arise from the nature of the Arabic writing system concerns the flexibility required for the representation of words borrowed from other languages. Monteuil (1960) reports that the Arabic Academy of Cairo in 1936 concluded that it was necessary to supplement the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet with new letters bearing diacritics, such as ـَـ , which could be used to represent [v], and ـِـ used for [g].¹⁹ These new letters were used for the transcription of placenames. However, other countries have not adopted the same conventions, so in Syria ـِـ is used for [g] instead of ـِـ , and in Morocco both these are used interchangeably. This is just another instance of the lack of coordination between the various Arab countries and the unnecessary complications which result.

A more serious problem in the transcription of foreign words might be that of representing, for instance, the French vowels. The nine French vowel phonemes must all be represented using the three Arabic characters, and this sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish different French words when they are transcribed in Arabic script. Thus the Arabic letter ـِـ is used to transcribe the four different vowels /o/, /u/, /y/ and /ø/²⁰, while the vowels /i/, /e/ and /ɛ/ are all transcribed using the Arabic letter ـِـ .²¹ However, the Arabic writing system can hardly be considered unusual in not being able to represent some foreign sounds; and in any case this will not

¹⁹These are sounds which do not exist in Arabic.

²⁰The transcription of vowels for French here is that used by Armstrong (1932); thus /o/ represents the vowel in dos, /u/ that in chou, /y/ that in rue and /ø/ that in pou.

²¹/i/ represents the vowel in vie, /e/ that in thé and /ɛ/ that in bête.

matter if the borrowed words are integrated into the Arabic phonological system.

More serious, perhaps, are the problems posed by the complexity of the Arabic writing system for printing. Monteuil (1960) claims that printing in Arabic did not appear until 1514 in Italy, 1610 in Lebanon, and 1821 in Egypt - a delay which may be explained in terms of the Arabs' attitudes towards the art of calligraphy and the view that the Koran should not be printed.²² As Arabic is written in script form, any letter has up to three different forms according to its position in the word - initial, medial or final; these forms Lakhdar (1976) calls le corps, l'élément de liaison and l'appendice.

e.g. /h/:	initial	ا
	medial	ه
	final	ح

According to Lakhdar, typewriters need 117 characters to represent only 29 consonants. It is hardly surprising then that in Morocco Arabic script typewriters are expensive and comparatively rare, in contrast to French ones.

With the aim of making Arabic printing more accessible, and without changing the traditional form of the Arabic letters, Lakhdar has devised a simplified system which reduces the number of letters required to either 42 or 66, excluding the vowels.²³ There have also been other proposals for such reforms, including Khatar's (1955) plan to reduce the number of letters required to thirty, and Fahmi's (1943) proposal to replace the Arabic script by the Roman alphabet, but these have not had very dramatic results. The majority of Arabic scholars have rejected these reforms, arguing that the Roman alphabet is not suitable for a Semitic language, and suggesting other dangers inherent in them, such as predicting that "any change in the alphabet would - instead of helping to preserve the soundness and purity of the language - contribute to its decay and would invite untold foreign or colloquial expression to it" (Chejno 1958,

²²The importance of calligraphy in Islamic cultures is noted by Tessler: "The Arabic language is not only considered to inspire by its sound, but by its sight as well" (Tessler 1969, p.81).

²³A detailed description of this system is beyond the scope of the present work.

p.33, reporting the remarks of Qudsi).

This kind of highly emotive objection may not be considered convincing. However, one should surely be reluctant to abandon the Arabic script altogether in favour of the Roman one, for this would in effect make access to all past Arabic literature very difficult for future generations - a very serious loss. However, Lakhdar's reformed system has been found more acceptable than the other proposals; it is economical and practical but it is also felt to preserve the aesthetic value of Arabic calligraphy. Morocco has now officially adopted Lakhdar's simplified system, and other countries could follow this example. Lakhdar's system, if generalised sufficiently, will help to produce Arabic textbooks and publications at more moderate prices; and this in turn may accelerate and enhance the process of arabisation by making available adequate materials for the learning of Classical Arabic.

7.1.1.5 Lack of Proper Investigation

Another reason for the ineffectiveness of arabisation programmes up to the present may be the fact that policies have tended to come directly from the ministry, without being based on consultation with any independent body. Little effort seems to have been made to carry out objective assessments of the situation and the implications of changing it. This has meant that plans have often been motivated by considerations which are primarily political rather than by a concern for educational values. Berque (1974) notes that arabisation has been dealt with "presque toujours sur le plan de la convenance politique, voire même de la propagande, plutôt que celui de la culture et de la pédagogie" (Berque 1974, p.66). Moatassime (1974) also observes that confusion arises from the fact that the pedagogical problems of arabisation are constantly entangled with politics, nationalism and most of all passion. Lahjomri (1974) deplures the lack of objectivity in dealing with the problem of arabisation, noting that political and ideological quarrels among Moroccan journalists tend

to obscure and complicate the problem further.

"Le regard que nous jetons sur notre propre langue ne doit pas être affectif. Si l'arabisation doit un jour nous faire dépasser ce stade où notre environnement linguistique est dissymétrique, elle doit être exigeante, scientifique, ou ne pas être."

(Lahjomri 1974, p.63)

A similar complaint about this lack of method and objectivity in dealing with arabisation is made by Mazouni (1973), writing about the situation in Algeria. "La passion laissée peu de champ à une réflexion lucide et relègue les problèmes techniques et l'intérêt général au dernier rang, outre que les compétences sont rares ou bien insuffisantes" (Mazouni 1973, p.34). The problem seems to be one which is common to all the North African countries; language planners are primarily motivated by nationalistic, political and economic purposes, while the practical needs of the people tend to be neglected or completely ignored.

Yet those who have discussed language planning have emphasised that there are other factors besides the political ones which must be considered. Rubin (1971) lists a number of requirements for successful language planning, stressing that the planner needs to have adequate information about the views of the people who are to be subject to the plan. An illustration of how important this is is given by Macnamara (1966), who concludes from his study of English-Irish bilingualism in Ireland that Irish students are simply not motivated to learn Irish; he objects that the policy-makers, who are eager to promote Irish, have simply ignored this fact, which must of course be taken into consideration if their plans are to succeed. O Riagáin (1980) also insists on the importance of these considerations for language planning in Ireland: "a language policy has to be implemented in the social world of attitudes, behavioural patterns and resources" (O Riagáin 1980, p.13). The importance of taking account of people's attitudes in language planning is also stressed by Lewis (1981), who sums up the situation as follows:

"Any policy for language, especially in the system of

education, has to take account of the attitude of those likely to be affected. In the long run, 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."

(Lewis 1981, p.262)

The criticisms levelled by Macnamara at the Irish language planners can also be made of the approach to language planning in Morocco, where little effort seems to have been made to consult the ordinary, non-political Moroccan for his or her views on arabisation, or even to obtain the opinion of those who would seem well qualified to assess the situation, such as professional educators and specialists in areas such as education, sociology and economics. An objective assessment of the present state of affairs and the implications of arabisation for education, independent of political considerations, seems long overdue.

7.2 Obtaining the Data

The aim of this small-scale survey was to obtain some information about the attitudes of Moroccan bilinguals towards present and possible future language situations. The information was obtained from two types of questionnaire.

7.2.1 The Agreement Scale Questionnaire

The agreement scale test consisted of a number of statements expressing attitudes, some positive and some negative, towards various aspects of the language situation in Morocco. The task of the respondents was then to indicate the degree of their agreement or disagreement with each statement by providing a score ranging from (+1) to (+3) for agreement and (-1) to (-3) for disagreement. Tests with this kind of format and scoring system have previously been used by Jakobovits with teachers of foreign languages, to assess for instance the intensity and nature of students' attitudes towards the learning of French in Canada (see Jakobovits 1970). The test

used here was designed to assess the respondents' views about aspects of the language situation which might be relevant to future language policies. The format of such tests is such that the respondents are provided with a framework in which they can indicate the strength of their feelings, rather than merely express agreement or disagreement. This of course provides the researcher with more detailed information; but according to Oppenheim (1966, p.141), who evaluated this kind of test, the respondents too much prefer this method of grading their responses.

Care was taken to construct relevant, meaningful and sometimes provocative statements which would stimulate the respondents' interest in the issues raised; Oppenheim (1966) points out that attitude statements which are not of particular interest to the respondents will simply tend to produce a high proportion of "don't know" answers. Many of the statements expressed views which would be familiar to the respondents from discussions in the Moroccan Press and from general conversation, since they concerned topics constantly under discussion in Morocco. The selection of topics was based on a variety of sources such as material from newspapers, periodicals and literature, information from interviews and discussions between Moroccans, and some of the findings described in the previous chapters. The Moroccan Press is an important forum for debates on the relative merits of bilingualism and arabisation; views in support of bilingual policies are expressed by the modernists and bureaucrats, and these are attacked and criticised by their opponents, the traditionalists and nationalists (see 7.1.1.1). Literate Moroccans are thus constantly exposed to such arguments and are familiar with the types of view put forward. Interviews and discussion with Moroccans who live the problems of bilingualism in their everyday life suggested some statements; for instance, discussions with university students and teachers suggested the topics of proficiency in the two languages and the appropriate age of the introduction of the second language. Among ideas which arose from the findings of the other investigations were statements about the

roles of the two languages in Morocco and about the kinds of association linked with each one.

The statements, along with the written instructions which accompanied them, were given in French. As with the other tests, this was for practical purposes; it was desired to avoid the problems which would arise if the statements were provided in both languages, when it would have been difficult to ensure the equivalence of the two sets of statements.²⁴ Since the respondents were all fluent French speakers they would certainly have no difficulty in dealing with the material in French. However, when the test was administered, oral instructions were given in Moroccan Arabic to accompany the written ones in French. Respondents were also invited to supply further comments on any of the issues mentioned which had aroused their interest, and were told that they could use Arabic or French for this purpose, as they wished. Out of the 203 respondents, 43 gave their comments in Arabic.

7.2.2 The Open-ended Questionnaires

The other method of eliciting information for this survey was by means of simple questionnaires involving open-ended questions. These consulted the respondents about aspects of their attitudes towards the present situation and their views about possible future developments. Again, these were presented through the medium of French.

7.2.3 The Respondents

The respondents for the agreement scale questionnaire were 203 Moroccan bilinguals, males and females, with ages ranging from 18 to 45; they included people from a wide range of professions, such as teachers, secretaries, clerks, doctors, physicists, chemists, pilots and students. They originated from various parts of Morocco. All were fairly balanced

²⁴See in particular 3.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.7.

bilinguals who had received a bilingual education. The respondents for the two open-ended questionnaires were, respectively, those who also completed the first questionnaire described in Chapter 4, and those who completed the three matched guise tests described in Chapter 6; 109 respondents answered the first of these two questionnaires (for more details see 4.2.3) and 120 completed the second (for details see 6.2.1.6, 6.3.1, and 6.4.1.4). Here too all the respondents were proficient in both French and Arabic.

The present survey is thus concerned only with the attitudes of Arabic-French bilinguals. They are of course the class of people with whom this whole study has been concerned; it is their attitudes and their language use which have been discussed in the preceding chapters. This survey has similarly been confined to bilinguals because it is their experience as bilinguals which is of particular interest here; given that they know what it is to be bilingual in Arabic and French, and can assess the advantages and disadvantages of this state, it is interesting to enquire whether they feel that the next generation should have this same bilingual experience, or whether they think some other language situation should be encouraged. This alone is my interest here; but it is of course necessary to recognise that these bilingual respondents cannot be regarded as representative of the Moroccan population as a whole, and that the views of Moroccans who are not bilingual in Arabic and French may well differ from those revealed here.

7.2.4 Analysis of Data

To analyse the results obtained with the agreement scale test, we first summed all the numerical scores obtained for a particular statement.²⁵ In this way we obtained for each statement a single score which consisted of the sum of all the scores assigned to that statement by individual respondents. The size of this score thus indicates the strength of

²⁵This method was used by Jakobovits (1970).

the respondents' agreement, if it is positive, and the strength of their disagreement, if it is negative.

However, while this single figure does give an impression of the overall feeling towards the statement by the respondents as a group, it may not reflect interesting variations between different groups of respondents. For instance, a case where half the respondents gave a score of +1 and half a score of -1 would produce the same overall score as if half of them gave a score of +3 and half one of -3; yet in the latter case the statement would have aroused much stronger reactions, of both agreement and disagreement, than in the former.²⁶ In order to represent the different degrees of agreement and disagreement as well as the overall tendency, then, we also include in the results the numbers of respondents who assigned each of the possible scores from +3 to -3.

Moreover, while the overall sums certainly reveal the contrasts between the respondents' attitudes to one statement and their attitudes to another, the actual extent of their agreement or disagreement may not be immediately obvious from these figures when they are looked at in isolation. To show this more clearly, we therefore calculated the mean score for each statement, by dividing the total score by the number of respondents. This produces a figure between +3 and -3 from which the actual measure of agreement or disagreement can be more easily inferred.

As for the simple questionnaires, the scores for particular questions are represented in the form of percentages. In addition, the Chi-Squared test is applied where appropriate to determine the degree of significance of the differences between the various scores.

²⁶This point is made by Henerson, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon (1978).

7.3 Results of the Survey

7.3.1 Views about the Current Situation

The earlier chapters of this work have already revealed something of Moroccan bilinguals' views about the language situation in which they live today. Information has been obtained about the bilingual's attitudes to his two languages, about the associations they have for him and the kinds of role which they fulfil in conversation. Some of the preferences revealed in these investigations may well be expected to have implications for the bilingual's attitudes to proposed language policies. To take one example, it was seen in 4.2.4.4 that bilinguals show a strong preference for French in the press and in television and radio broadcasts, and that this seemed to be because of the greater attractiveness of the material available through the medium of French. This fact would seem worthy of serious consideration by those who are attempting to promote arabisation. The present section presents further information about bilinguals' attitudes to the current state of affairs, obtained by means of the agreement scale test and questionnaires described above.

7.3.1.1 The Value of French

The respondents clearly feel that Moroccans have favourable attitudes towards speaking French, as is shown by the responses in Table 2.

Table 2.

(1) In your opinion, do Moroccans like speaking French or not? Explain your answer.

Yes	No	Blank	N ²⁷
80.73%	9.17%	10.09%	109

$\chi^2 = 62.08, df = 1, p < .001$

²⁷Number of respondents.

Among the reasons which the respondents suggested for why Moroccans enjoy speaking French were that this allows them to show that they are educated (mentioned by 19.26% of the respondents), or of superior status (mentioned by 10.09%), or that they are modern (9.17%). These comments of course accord with the findings of the matched guise tests described in Chapter 6, which showed the tendency for bilinguals to be judged more educated, more important and more modern when they speak French than when they speak Arabic; evidently bilinguals are aware of the different impression created by speaking French. The other reason commonly mentioned by the respondents was that speaking French gives them greater ease of communication, a point which was made by 10.09%.

The results for the agreement scale item shown below accord with the findings shown in Table 2.

Statement 1.

Moroccans speak French not because they are obliged to, but because they like to.

Score: +216
Mean: +1.064

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
65	55	29	6	32	16 ²⁸

The respondents' positive attitude towards French is also reflected in their answers to the following three questions.

Table 3.

(2) Do you want to improve your knowledge of French?

Yes	No	Blank	N
78.33%	16.66%	5%	120

$\chi^2 = 48.03, df = 1, p < .001$

²⁸These figures represent the number of respondents selecting each of the scores.

(3) Do you want your children to learn French? Why?

Yes	No	Blank	N
76.85%	18.34%	4.8%	229

$$x^2 = 82.36, \quad df = 1, \quad p < .001$$

(4) Do you want your children to be bilingual or arabised? Why?

Bilingual	Arabised	Blank	N
86.23%	3.66%	10.09%	109

$$x^2 = 82.65, \quad df = 1, \quad p < .001$$

The majority are obviously not in favour of abandoning French, and do not wish their children to be the products of an arabised education system. In their comments on these answers, 53.2% of the respondents referred to the instrumental value of bilingualism, pointing out that this gives access to science, education and better jobs. The following are typical of the types of comment given.

R.24: Je veux que mes enfants soient bilingues parce qu'il n'y a aucun débouché en arabe, toutes les portes sont fermées.

R.70: La connaissance d'une seule langue est une sorte d'analphabétisme au vingtième siècle.

R.101: Je veux que mes enfants soient bilingues pour qu'ils puissent continuer leurs études dans n'importe quelle branche, et où ils veulent.

11.92% of the respondents go so far as to say in their comments that bilingualism is absolutely essential for Moroccans, making comments like the following example:

R.36: Le bilinguisme est indispensable; le monolingue est considéré comme un ignorant au Maroc.

Moreover, when asked if they regretted being bilingual themselves, the respondents were almost unanimous in giving a negative answer, as is shown in Table 4.

Table 4.

(5) Do you regret being bilingual? Why?

Yes	No	Blank	N
8.25%	87.15%	4.58%	109

$$x^2 = 71.11, \quad df = 1, \quad p < .001$$

In their comments, 16.51% of the respondents again referred to the general instrumental value of bilingualism, as in the following comment:

R.67: Non, je ne regrette pas d'être bilingue, parce que c'est plus rentable et plus avantageux d'être bilingue.

15.59% mention the more specific point that bilingualism is valuable for the opportunity it gives for study:

R.81: Les études scientifiques sont faites en français, et le Marocain a besoin d'être bilingue pour faire ses études.

R.57: C'est nécessaire d'être bilingue pour faire mes études.

This consciousness of the value of French for education of course corresponds to the earlier finding that French is the language considered most useful for studies (see 3.2.1.4, Table 7). Once again there is evidence of a strong awareness of the instrumental value of bilingualism. In contrast, only a small number of respondents (4.58%) mention the fact that it has some integrative value, in permitting contact with Europe and the West.

The same feeling that French is of considerable value to a Moroccan is shown in the scores for Statement 2.

Statement 2.

It is absolutely necessary for a young Moroccan to know French.

Score: +279
Mean: +1.395

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
63	62	37	13	17	8

Similarly, a majority of the respondents consider it to be a disadvantage for a Moroccan not to know French, as shown by the following results.

Table 5.

(6) Do you think it is a disadvantage for a Moroccan not to know French? Why?

Yes	No	Blank	N
66.97%	29.35%	3.66%	109

$\chi^2 = 16, df = 1, p < .001$

Statement 3.

It is a disadvantage for a Moroccan not to know French.

Score: +46

Mean: +0.23

Strongly agree

Strongly disagree

+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
46	43	21	22	36	35

However, it is interesting that Statement 3, which seems to put a less extreme view than Statement 2, nevertheless receives a much weaker overall endorsement; and similarly, the percentage of respondents giving the answer favourable to French in question 6 is smaller than that giving such answers to the other questions mentioned above. This might perhaps be explained by suggesting that while the respondents are willing to recognise the value of French, they are less keen to acknowledge that Moroccans who do not know French are at a disadvantage, perhaps through pride.

The comments accompanying the answers to question (6) again stress above all the instrumental value of French. 10.09% mention the value of French for career purposes, 13.76% its importance for scientific studies, and 15.59% its importance in administration.

R.87: Sans la langue française le Marocain pourra ni trouver un travail convenable, ni se débarrasser du chômage.

R.2: Les ouvertures vers les études scientifiques nécessitent la connaissance du français, même l'administration marche en français.

R.43: La langue française est nécessaire pour le développement du Maroc, car tout dépend de cette langue, puisque dans n'importe quelle société ou plutôt dans n'importe quel domaine, on demande toujours la langue française.

16.58% mention the possibilities for cultural exchange which the monolingual may lack:

R.8: Oui, c'est un désavantage, parce que son instruction serait plus ouverte sur le monde extérieur et les échanges culturels se feraient mieux.

The above results show quite clearly that the respondents are very conscious of the usefulness of their knowledge of

French. When asked to name the advantages of being a bilingual in Morocco, they again made the same points. The most commonly mentioned advantages are listed in Table 6, together with the numbers of respondents who mentioned them.

Table 6. Advantages of bilingualism

Access to French culture and the modern world	37.61%
Access to education and science	35.77%
Access to money and prestige	11.92%
Source of enriched culture	11%
No advantage	3.69%

The value of bilingualism in giving Moroccans access to the Western world is a point often mentioned by those writers who favour bilingual policies. Monteuil (1960) makes the point that "le bilinguisme scolaire éviterait ainsi pour les Arabes le risque d'isolationnisme culturel, tout en maintenant l'ouverture internationale des états et des peuples Arabes" (p.103). Moroccan writers like Moatassime (1974) and journalists like Alaoui (1978) and Sawri (1977) also see bilingualism as an opening on the world, which will assist in the country's modernisation. Baccar (1971), writing of Tunisia, claims that Arabic-French bilingualism not only opens new horizons but even contributes to an enrichment of the Arabic language.

"Il y a aussi du français à l'arabe un rapport de fécondation. Les notions intellectuelles modernes véhiculées par le français sont directement assimilées par le Tunisien bi-culturé, puis renversées dans la langue arabe qui s'en trouve enrichie d'autant. Le français sert très souvent de modèle à l'arabe pour évoluer, se moderniser." (Baccar 1971, p.47)

The majority of the respondents agree with this assessment, as is shown by the scores for the following statement.

Statement 4.

For the Moroccan, the French language is an opening onto the world.

Score: +256
Mean: +1.256

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
61	72	29	6	16	20

The recognition that bilingualism is of instrumental value as a means to education and social advancement was seen in the kinds of comment discussed earlier. As for the fourth advantage mentioned, the view that bilingualism is a source of enrichment, we may recall the opinion of Blondel and Decorrière (1962), discussed in 2.4, that it does represent "une possibilité d'enrichissement" for some North Africans, depending on their degree of proficiency and acculturation. The respondents of the agreement scale test seem to agree with this, as is shown by their strong endorsement of the following statement.

Statement 5.

Arabic-French bilingualism is a source of enrichment to a Moroccan.

Score: +365
Mean: +1.806

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
87	63	28	6	10	8

The respondents then are quite clearly very aware of the advantages they gain from being bilingual. The responses discussed above suggest that they would tend to agree with the view expressed by Lahjomri (1974): "La langue française est l'outil indispensable au jeune Marocain qui veut réussir dans la vie publique et accéder au monde moderne, celui de l'économie, de l'industrie, de la science" (p.60).

7.3.1.2 The Disadvantages of Bilingualism

The respondents were also asked to mention what they consider to be the disadvantages of bilingualism. The problems most commonly mentioned are listed in Table 7.

Table 7. Disadvantages of Bilingualism

Leads to neglect of Arabic and domination of French	21.1%
Leads to lack of proficiency in both Arabic and French	16.51%
Leads to contradictions between the two cultures	12%
Leads to mixing of the two languages	11%
Leads to loss of identity	10%
No disadvantage	29.35%

The problems mentioned by the respondents can be divided into two groups, those relating to language proficiency and use, and those relating to the bilingual's psychological welfare. That bilingualism leads to linguistic problems is a view which is often expressed, for instance, by Garmadi (1971), Memmi (1973), Guessous (1976) and Bayna (1978), all of whom claim that knowing two languages may well mean having less than perfect proficiency in both. "Si le bilingue...a l'avantage de connaitre deux langues, il n'en maîtrise totalement aucune" (Memmi 1973, p.138). However, some evidence from the agreement scale test suggests that this view is not accepted by a majority of balanced bilinguals like the respondents. Thus there is overall disagreement with statements 6 and 7 below.

Statement 6.

In general, those who know two languages are not successful in mastering either of them.

Score: -120
Mean: -0.594

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
28	34	22	11	38	69

Statement 7.

The fact of knowing two languages (Arabic and French) prevents the Moroccan from expressing himself well.

Score: -135
Mean: -0.714

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
18	29	23	13	40	59

Instead, they tend to agree with the converse claim, that knowing two languages leads to better self expression, as is shown by reactions to the following statement.

Statement 8.

The fact of knowing two languages (Arabic and French) enables the Moroccan to express himself better.

Score: +269
Mean: +1.351

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
74	62	20	9	14	20

In fact, the only one of the linguistic problems mentioned in Table 7 which does seem to be acknowledged by the majority of the respondents is the fact that bilingualism leads to mixing of the two languages. The same highly critical opinion of the phenomenon of mixing Arabic and French, which was revealed by the questionnaire described in 5.5 and the matched guise test described in 6.4, is evidently shared also by the respondents of the agreement scale test, for there is strong endorsement for the following statement:

Statement 9.

Moroccans should never mix French and Arabic.

Score: +398
Mean: +1.96

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
129	26	19	7	13	9

The psychological problems associated with bilingualism are also frequently mentioned in debates. The suggestion that the bilingual ends up belonging to neither the Arabic nor the French culture is made by, among others, Garmadi (1971), Memmi (1973), Lahjomri (1974) and Guessous (1976) (see 2.4). There was slight overall agreement with statements identifying these problems, as is shown below.

Statement 10.

The Moroccan bilingual is divided between two cultures (Arabic and French), and he does not seem to fully enter either.

Score: +21
Mean: +0.136

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
35	36	29	19	44	27

Statement 11.

Arabic-French bilingualism produces in Moroccans a cultural crisis and lack of identity.

Score: +68
Mean: +0.348

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
45	43	23	19	38	27

However, the overall agreement is only slight, and when the respondents were confronted with a rather stronger statement of the problem, in statement 12 below, the result overall was a slight disagreement.

Statement 12.

Arabic-French bilingualism produces in Moroccans a lack of culture and originality.

Score: -23
Mean: -0.115

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
34	40	28	12	37	49

While there is an awareness of certain problems arising from bilingualism, then, the concern about these problems seems to be outweighed by the recognition of the advantages of bilingualism. Thus 29.35% of the respondents say that they do not believe there to be any disadvantages of bilingualism at all (see Table 7), whereas only 3.69% claim to see no advantages in bilingualism (see Table 6). The overall impression then is that the respondents' feelings towards the bilingual situation in Morocco today are basically positive; bilingualism is felt to benefit those who possess it more than it causes them problems. It would seem then that, for the kind of fairly balanced bilingual, fluent in both Arabic and French, with which our survey is concerned, Arabic-French bilingualism is of what Lambert calls the "additive" rather than the "subtractive" type (Lambert 1977, p.19).

7.3.2 Views about the Future Situation

The respondents were also consulted for their views about the future and how the language situation should develop. Information about public opinion as to what language should be the medium of instruction and views on arabisation is badly needed in Morocco, if it is desired to find a future situation which will satisfy the needs of ordinary Moroccans.

They were first asked for their view as to what was likely to happen. Table 8 shows that the tendency is to believe that the influence of French in Morocco will decrease in the future.

Table 8.

(7) Do you think that the influence of French in Morocco will lessen, increase or be maintained at the same level?

Lessen	Increase	Be maintained	Blank	N
44.03%	23.85%	24.77%	7.33%	109

$$X^2 = 9.16, df = 2, p < .02$$

However, on the whole the view is that French will not disappear completely from Morocco, for there is a slight disagreement with statement 13.

Statement 13.

One day French will no longer be used in Morocco.

Score: -44

Mean: -0.221

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
34	33	31	17	26	58

When asked about their wishes for future language policies, a significant majority of the respondents expressed a desire for bilingualism to continue rather than to be replaced with arabisation.

Table 9.

(8) Are you for bilingualism or arabisation? Explain your answer.

Bilingualism	Arabisation	Blank	N
62.5%	32.5%	5%	120

$$X^2 = 11.36, df = 1, p < .001$$

The results of this small survey accord with those of two other North African studies, carried out in Tunisia.²⁹ Tessler (1969), in his survey of Tunisians' attitudes towards arabisation and bilingualism, found that his respondents were not in favour of arabisation, and preferred their children to learn French. Similarly, Ounali (1970) discovered that three quarters of his sample of 500 Tunisian students said that they preferred the maintenance of Arabic-French bilingualism to arabisation in Tunisia.

This tendency to prefer bilingualism is hardly surprising in view of the opinions revealed in 7.3.1 about the value of a knowledge of French as well as Arabic. Another reason for this preference is suggested by the response to statement 14, for which there is overall agreement.

Statement 14.

In their conception of things Moroccans feel closer to Europe than to the Middle East.

Score: +226
Mean: +1.141

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
40	79	38	5	23	13

The respondents' feeling that Moroccans have closer links with Europe than the Middle East can be related to the fact that Morocco, along with Algeria and Tunisia, remains a quite distinct sub-culture within the Arabo-Islamic world, and one which is in close geographical proximity to Europe. The close bond between Morocco and Europe has often been noted; Berque (1958, p.102) observes that North Africa is more closely linked with Europe than the rest of the Arab world, and the Moroccan writer Laroui talks of "l'occident toujours parmi nous et en nous" (Laroui 1967, p.55).

²⁹To my knowledge, no survey of this kind has been done in Morocco.

The preference for bilingualism rather than arabisation is of course also reflected in the fact that the respondents want their own children to learn French (see Table 3), and moreover, in the fact, revealed in the attitudes towards statements 15 and 16, that they want them to learn French at an early age.

Statement 15.

It is not good for our children to learn two languages (Arabic and French) when they are still young.

Score: -178
Mean: -0.885

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
26	24	20	13	43	75

Statement 16.

It is better to teach French to Moroccan children as early as possible.

Score: +62
Mean: +0.331

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
57	24	26	17	23	40

Similar views about the desirability of teaching French to Moroccan children at a very early age have been expressed by Moatassime (1974), though with the proviso that they should first have become competent in Classical Arabic, and by Elayed (1974), who, writing about Tunisian bilingualism, says that the earlier the child is introduced to French the better.

The respondents were also consulted for their views about which language or languages should be used as a medium of instruction at the three levels of education, primary, secondary and higher education in Morocco. Their opinions on this question are summarised in Table 10 (overleaf).

Table 10.

(9) In your opinion, what languages should be used as the languages of instruction in primary, secondary and higher education? Justify your answers.

Primary Education

French	Arabic	Arabic & French	Blank	N
2.62%	35.8%	51.52%	10.04%	229

$\chi^2 = 95.23$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$

Secondary Education

French	Arabic	Arabic & French	Blank	N
9.6%	10.48%	70.74%	7.89%	229

$\chi^2 = 185.8$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$

Higher Education

French	Arabic	Arabic & French	Blank	N
13.1%	13.53%	58.07%	15.27%	229

$\chi^2 = 108.33$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$

This table shows that for each of the three levels of education, a majority of the respondents favour a bilingual policy, where both Arabic and French are used as media of instruction. In the case of secondary and higher education, the numbers favouring education through French alone and those favouring instruction through Arabic alone are almost equal, but these are in each case small minorities. The two languages are thus very evenly balanced as regards the amount of support they receive, with a significant majority favouring the use of both. With respect to primary education, the attitudes are slightly different. While here, too, a majority favour a bilingual policy, a substantial minority (35.8%) feel that instruction should be through the medium of Arabic alone, while hardly anyone believes in using French alone. Evidently, then, while roughly a third of the respondents favour arabisation of primary education, the majority of these do not feel that this should be extended to secondary and tertiary levels. Perhaps the most striking aspect of these results is the high number of respondents who feel that French should be used as a medium of instruction, either in combination with Arabic

or even to the exclusion of Arabic. Altogether 80.34% of the respondents feel that French should be used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools, 71.17% that it should be used in higher education and 54.14% that it should be used in primary education.

The view that French should be used alongside Arabic in the Moroccan education system has also been expressed by Moroccan journalists, such as Alaoui (1978), and other writers such as Moatassime (1974). Such views are of course in total conflict with those of the policy-makers who are attempting to carry out arabisation and eliminate French as a medium of instruction in state schools.

Incidentally, it is interesting that some respondents also suggest that the media of instruction should also include other languages, such as Berber, Spanish, and most commonly, English.³⁰ This may reflect an awareness among Moroccan bilinguals of the value of knowing further languages, which is also revealed in their responses to the following question.

Table 11.

(10) Are foreign languages useful?

Yes	No	Blank	N
89.99%	3.66%	6.4%	109

$\chi^2 = 86.62, df = 1, p < .001$

(11) Which ones would you prefer to study? Why?

English	French	Spanish	German	Russian	Japanese	Chinese
58	32	17	14	5	1	1

³⁰Of those who do mention other languages, 75% choose English. This accords with the findings of Guebels (1976), who, in an investigation of Moroccan secondary school pupils' motivation to learn foreign languages, notes that the majority of them prefer to study English rather than German or Spanish. Among the reasons which pupils gave for preferring English were its usefulness for future studies, the possibility of communicating with English-speaking people, the importance of English as an international language, and finally the beauty and musicality which they consider the language to possess.

Again, more respondents mention English than any other foreign language; the reasons offered for this preference are similar to those mentioned by Guebels (1976) in his survey. The following are some representative examples of the respondents' comments.

- R.5: Je préfère l'anglais pour sa diffusion à l'échelle mondiale.
- R.1: I prefer English because it is the language of ³¹ culture and science for the majority of countries and especially the developed ones.
- R.21: Je préfère l'anglais parce qu'il est d'abord très répandu (communication et voyages), ensuite pour des raisons scientifiques.

The area where there has been most controversy over what should be the language of instruction is perhaps that of mathematics and the sciences. As was seen in 7.1.1.4.3, there has been much debate over whether Arabic can be an effective vehicle for scientific discussion. The survey shows that a majority of the respondents feel that it is possible to use Arabic as a medium for the teaching of science.

Table 12.

(12) Do you think that it is possible to teach science in Arabic?

Yes	No	Blank	N
70.83%	24.99%	4.16%	120

$$\chi^2 = 39.45, df = 1, p < .001$$

Although a significant majority of the respondents feel that it is possible to teach science through the medium of Arabic, 16.66% of them suggest in their comments that it is difficult to achieve this possibility without much translation and the development of more adequate Arabic terminology. These views are illustrated in the following comments:

- R.2: Oui, c'est possible, mais dans la mesure où on traduit toute la bibliographie déjà existante en français, en anglais et des autres langues en arabe.

³¹Translated from Arabic original.

R.13: Oui, peut-être dans l'avenir, si les Arabes arrivent à améliorer cette langue dans le domaine scientifique, et mettre à la disposition des étudiants des manuels concernant ces matières.

This result accords with that obtained in the responses to the following statement; there is overall disagreement with the claim that Arabic cannot serve this purpose in Morocco.

Statement 17.

It is impossible to teach science in Arabic in Morocco.

Score: -197
Mean: -0.98

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
26	19	23	23	37	83

The view that Arabic is a feasible medium for science instruction is also argued by Moatassime (1974). Za'rour and Nashif (1977), in their study of students' attitudes to the language of instruction in Jordan report that all the members of their sample group believe in the possibility of teaching science through Arabic. However, Ounali (1970) finds that only 21.53% of his sample of Tunisian students consider that Arabic can be used for science; the main reason they supply for this view is that Arabic's lack of rigour and precision will prevent it from serving this purpose.

However, perhaps the more interesting finding in our survey is that, although most of the respondents believe in the teaching of science in Arabic as a possibility, the majority of them are in fact not in favour of science being taught through Arabic, as is illustrated from Table 13.

Table 13.

(13) In your opinion, should scientific subjects be taught in French or in Arabic?

French	Arabic	Arabic & French	Blank	N
47.5%	39.16%	7.5%	5.88%	120

The reasons given for preferring French for this purpose are as we might expect; 20% simply say that it is more practical or convenient to teach sciences through French, while 19.16% mention the lack of material and terminology in Arabic. The following are typical of the comments given:

- R.11: Le jour où on aura un dictionnaire, du vocabulaire et de la traduction dans toutes les disciplines, les matières scientifiques pourront être enseignées en arabe.
- R.20: Les matières scientifiques doivent être enseignées en français parce que c'est plus pratique sur le plan technique.
- R.11: Elles doivent être enseignées en français parce que l'arabe est une langue littéraire et non scientifique.

These views also accord with that expressed in Statement 18, with which there is slight overall agreement.

Statement 18.

French should keep its privileged place in the country and be used in the technical and scientific training of staff.

Score: +51
Mean: +0.257

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
35	54	25	16	33	35

This preference for French to be used for science and technology is particularly interesting because those debating the question of science and arabisation seem to have largely assumed that people would like to study science in Arabic if only this were possible, hence the motivation for developing terminology in order to make this a more feasible possibility. However, the results of our survey suggest that while a majority of the bilinguals represented by our respondents do recognise the possibility of using Arabic for science, only a minority actually wants to take advantage of this possibility. If these results are indicative of more general attitudes, then it seems that those planning for arabisation are either unaware of what is really desired by people or are motivated by other

concerns and prefer to ignore this.

7.3.3 Attitudes to Arabisation

A number of the statements in the agreement test were included to sound out the respondents' feelings about arabisation. From the findings discussed in 7.3.1,1, where it was seen that the respondents highly valued their knowledge of French, it would appear that the majority of them do not want arabisation to be carried out. Nevertheless, their reactions to certain statements suggest that they do hold a favourable attitude towards arabisation. For instance, there is overall agreement with statement 19, and to a lesser extent with statement 20.

Statement 19.

Arabisation will restore the true identity of Morocco as an Arab and Muslim country.

Score: +246
Mean: +1,248

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
69	55	27	9	22	15

Statement 20.

Moroccans should above all protect Arabic and not encourage people to use French.

Score: +161
Mean: +0,8

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
68	39	31	8	21	34

Evidently there is a feeling among the respondents that using Arabic is somehow the right thing to do, and that there is some kind of obligation on them to uphold the value of Arabic, even though this may not seem attractive in other respects. The same kind of view was reflected in the results of the questionnaire described in 3.2.1.4, where Table 5 showed that Arabic was chosen as the language which Moroccans should use

above all.

There is overall a slight disagreement with the claims that arabisation will present practical problems, such as are mentioned in statements 21 and 22.

Statement 21.

Total arabisation could block the development and the progress of the country.

Score: -33
Mean: -0.169

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
39	28	24	26	30	48

Statement 22.

Arabisation in Morocco will isolate the country from the modern world.

Score: -160
Mean: -0.792

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
25	27	23	75	35	17

The respondents were also consulted about the problem of diglossia, but there seems to be only slight agreement that this is a problem for arabisation.

Statement 23.

Arabisation is made difficult because of the co-existence of colloquial Arabic and Classical Arabic.

Score: +47
Mean: +0.235

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
34	45	35	21	36	29

However, there is very strong agreement with the view that it is Classical Arabic and not Moroccan Arabic which should be used for arabisation, as is shown in the reactions to statement 24 (overleaf).

Statement 24.

Classical Arabic is the language suitable for arabisation, and not Colloquial Moroccan Arabic.

Score: +451
Mean: +2.255

Strongly agree			Strongly disagree		
+3	+2	+1	-1	-2	-3
116	46	14	5	9	10

This attitude again reflects the contrasting views which Moroccans have towards the two varieties of Arabic.

It would seem from the above results that the respondents do not wish to criticise arabisation itself; they consider it feasible, and feel that Arabic is something which should be protected. These attitudes of course contrast with those noted in 7.3.1.1, where it was seen that the respondents have very favourable attitudes towards French and towards the present bilingual situation; they want to improve their own knowledge of French, and they want their children to learn French, and French to be used as a medium of instruction at all levels of the education system. Thus, it might for instance seem difficult to reconcile the respondents' view that French is very important for a Moroccan (see statements 2 and 3) and that bilingualism is a source of enrichment to him (see statements 4 and 5) with their agreement that the use of French should not be encouraged (see statement 20).

These different reactions may in fact represent something of a conflict in the minds of the respondents. On the one hand, they may well feel, for idealistic and patriotic reasons, that arabisation is a worthy cause. On the other hand, although they may value the principles underlying arabisation, they also, for practical purposes, want French to remain in use. The existence of this kind of opposition between the ideal and the practical has been noted by others. Gordon (1962) notes the contrast between the idealistic principles and the actual policies of governments:

"Today's governing nationalists of Tunisia and Morocco,

though dedicated to arabization...give to the French language an important and perhaps even preponderant role in the upbringing of the young"

(Gordon 1962, p.57)

Gallagher (1968) also refers to this "split between official dogma and observable reality" (p.130) with regard to language use, which he considers to reflect the contrast between "the Symbolic and the Utilitarian" (p.130). The conflict between ideology and practicality is also referred to by Berque (1958) and Hamzaoui (1970), and Lahjomri (1974) describes the attitudes of Moroccan students, torn between the practical need for French and the idealistic need for Arabic.³²

It would seem that one of the fundamental problems for programmes of arabisation is the fact that it is difficult to combine ideals with practicality. While our respondents do seem to uphold the ideals of arabisation, they are also very conscious of the practical value of bilingualism; and at present it seems likely that they will be more swayed by the very real advantages they can draw from the bilingual situation than by the desire to uphold principles which would seem to deny them these advantages. They might well agree with Mazouni (1973), who, in discussing the problems of arabisation in Algeria, emphasises that practical needs must come first, and that these cannot be sacrificed for the ideal of upholding Arabic: "L'enseignement doit aussi s'inspirer de notre réalité, de notre insertion dans le monde, tout en répondant à nos besoins" (Mazouni 1973, p.36). Perhaps the most important problem for language planning in Morocco, then, is the need to ensure that

³²More generally, this contradiction between ideals and practicality could perhaps be related to what Shouby (1951) considers to be a psychological conflict between the Arab's ideal-self and what he really thinks and does. Shouby relates this conflict to the contrast between colloquial Arabic and Classical Arabic, but for Moroccans at least it also seems to be in evidence in the contrast between Arabic on the one hand and French on the other.

practical values need not be sacrificed for the sake of ideals.

7.4 Reassessment and Proposals

It would seem from the small survey described above, and from the findings described elsewhere in this study, that the kind of bilingual represented by our respondents is very conscious of the value of his bilingualism; while he may support the idea of arabisation in idealistic terms, he will not wish to lose the advantages which his knowledge of French gives him, nor will he wish his children to miss these opportunities. The problem for those who are attempting to promote arabisation is that this process might be regarded as diminishing opportunities rather than enriching them. The move to abandon the possibility of achieving a high level of proficiency in French seems in fact to be in sharp conflict with current trends in the modern world, which is oriented more and more to foreign trade, and where the knowledge of foreign languages becomes increasingly necessary. In any case, no one would be ready to abandon something which offers him greater knowledge, wider experience, access to the western world and to an endless supply of material which he would not otherwise be able to reach, unless he is offered a comparable substitute in exchange. The language planners who seek to impose a policy of arabisation, then, should pay considerable attention to what they are offering to Moroccans as an alternative to the present bilingual situation; for they are unlikely to succeed in gaining the support of Moroccans unless they can offer an equally practical and adequate alternative system.

In the first place, then, we might look at the practicality of the language itself. The usual view taken is that arabisation will entail the replacement of French by Classical Arabic (see statement 24); yet, as was seen in 7.1.1.4, Classical Arabic is felt to be inadequate in a number of respects, being considered to lack terminology, to possess a very complex writing system, and to be inadequately taught, so that even after many years of study few people achieve perfect proficiency.

Perhaps the most fundamental problem with Classical Arabic is that posed by people's attitudes to it, the image it possesses in the minds of Moroccans. There is the association of Classical Arabic with religion and the past, as opposed to the association of French with modernity and technology, both of which have been noted at many points in this work; for those concerned with the future development of Morocco and its place in the modern world, Classical Arabic may simply not have the right connotations. Moreover, the attitudes of the Arab purists, who feel that Classical Arabic, as the symbol of Arab identity, should not be modified in any way, have been an obstacle to its being adapted to cope with present-day needs. There is also the emphasis which is placed on elegance of expression in Classical Arabic, which, as was noted in 7.1.1.4.3, may mean less success at simple communication of straightforward facts, since the content may tend to be sacrificed for the medium. In all these respects, Moroccans may feel that Classical Arabic compares unfavourably with French, which is more flexible and convenient for their practical needs (see 3.2.1.4, Table 6).

In view of these drawbacks, we might consider an alternative, less frequently discussed solution, which is to replace French, not with Classical Arabic, but with Moroccan Arabic. However, this again may not appear a very attractive alternative to Moroccans, as was suggested by the respondents' views about statement 24. It was seen in Chapter 3 that Moroccans have somewhat negative attitudes towards their colloquial Arabic, seeing it as of less value than Classical Arabic, despite the fact that it is after all their native tongue. The kind of extreme distaste with which Moroccans may regard the colloquial variety is illustrated by some remarks by Cachia (1967):

"The colloquial is one of the diseases from which the people are suffering, and of which they are bound to rid themselves as they progress. I consider the colloquial one of the failings of our society, exactly like ignorance, poverty and disease."

(Cachia 1967, p.20)

The other problem with Moroccan Arabic is of course the fact that it is not a written language. As Brunot (1950) notes, Moroccans do not even attempt to write Moroccan Arabic.

"Nul Marocain n'oserait affronter la réprobation générale qu'il encourrait s'il écrivait dans sa langue maternelle. Quand on tient une plume, on ne peut employer que l'arabe classique" (Brunot 1950, p.20).

Since both Classical and Moroccan Arabic seem to be inadequate substitutes for French, it seems necessary to consider another solution which might remedy the situation. This is the elaboration of a simplified form of Arabic, with some features of both Classical and Moroccan Arabic. Of course, such a development might be hindered by the present diglossic situation and by people's attitudes to the two varieties. However, there are some ways in which it could be promoted.

The task of reducing diglossia might be helped if people could accept colloquial Arabic as a valid vehicle for communication at all levels, instead of something to be despised. If the validity of the colloquial were recognised, it would then be possible to teach it to children in school. The use of Moroccan Arabic in schools would certainly remove one problem for children, and might facilitate for them the task of learning other things. At present they are faced with the challenge of using a totally new Arabic as soon as they go to school. As Gal (1955) points out,

"children of Arabic speaking countries are astonished, when entering the primary school, to find that the language of their mother was wrong and faulty and they have to acquire a totally new idiom in a complicated script. The little pupil is at variance with his 'mother tongue' and vacillates between two extremes: shall he speak as he learned to write at school, or write as he naturally speaks?"

(Gal 1955, p.32)

The importance of teaching children in their mother tongue has frequently been emphasised, and in some places special efforts have been made to avoid confronting children with a new language as soon as they get to school. For example, in

the U.S.S.R. children's non-written dialects are transcribed for use when they begin school.³³ The importance of using the colloquial dialects in schools has also been noted by Hamzaoui (1970), who argues for this policy in Tunisia; Elayed (1974) reports that Tunisian Arabic is in fact effectively taught in the Institut Bourguiba. In Morocco, as yet, people do not favour the teaching of Moroccan Arabic in schools, however, and this still seems a remote possibility.

If it were possible to introduce Moroccan Arabic in schools, however, this would in itself serve to promote the development of a writing system for Moroccan Arabic, which would enable children to write it as well as they speak it. Deval (1975), writing about the language situation in the Aosta valley, suggests that the teaching of the dialect may be useful in this respect. "Avec le patois à l'école on peut commencer à inventer avec les enfants toutes les conventions de l'écriture, des règles de l'orthographe, parce que le patois en général n'a pas encore de codification de l'écriture" (Deval 1975, p.11). It would also then be possible to enrich Moroccan Arabic with vocabulary from Classical Arabic and so make it possible to use the dialect to talk about abstract topics which are at present expressible only in Classical Arabic.³⁴ This in turn would mean that the division between the high and low varieties would become less sharp (see 1.1.2.3 and 7.1.1.4.1).

³³Champion (1975) reports that there are 100 languages in the U.S.S.R., of which 50 are used in the schools. However, Mackey (1974) gives different figures, claiming that there are 200 vernaculars, of which 70 are taught in schools.

³⁴Hurreiz (1975), discussing future language planning in the Sudan, similarly suggests that the colloquial Khartoum Arabic should be enriched by the addition of Classical Arabic vocabulary. However, he maintains that this would not change the fact that Classical Arabic possesses prestigious status. Evidently he does not intend this process to result in a fusion of the colloquial and Classical varieties.

However, this possibility of creating a simplified form of Arabic by enriching the colloquial with Classical Arabic vocabulary does not seem to be popular among those who have proposed solutions to the present diglossic situation. Instead it is the possibility of simplifying Classical Arabic which is most often discussed and proposed as a solution. It has been suggested that by simplifying Classical Arabic a new form of Arabic, adequate for modern needs, could be established; this has been variously labelled "l'arabe fondamental" (Guessous 1976, Mazouni 1973), "l'arabe médian" (Berque 1974), "une tierce langue" (Berque 1969), "l'arabe intermédiaire" (Riahi 1970, Ounali 1970) and "la langue acceptable" (Lakhdar 1959). While there seems to be no shortage of labels for this new form of Arabic, however, proposals for how it should be established are less forthcoming.³⁵ Clearly some kind of definition of the new variety is required which will identify its lexical, morphological and syntactic characteristics, so that it can then be taught in schools.

The main obstacle to the development of this "arabe fondamental", which is perhaps the reason why it has not yet evolved, is again people's attitudes towards Classical Arabic, which they regard as a language which must be preserved unchanged (see Garmadi (1971), Mazouni (1973) and Hurreiz (1975)). Garmadi (1971) reports that Tunisian arabisants are opposed to this simplification of Classical Arabic on the grounds that it is an act of desecration, which will lead to the deterioration of the language and the loss of its purity. They also feel that this change would constitute a threat to the unity of Arabic nations and the fundamental Arab identity (see 7.1.1.4.1). As Mazouni points out, however, the success of any arabisation policy which proposes to replace French with Classical Arabic depends on the secularisation of Classical

³⁵However, Mitchell (1980) attempts to establish a characterisation of what he calls Educated Spoken Arabic.

Arabic, which will allow it to reach other domains of life; for, as he says, "une langue n'est jamais une fin pieusement cultivée pour elle-même. Désacraliser la langue, c'est en rendre l'usage accessible à d'autres qu'aux prêtres et qu'aux érudits" (Mazouni 1973, p.36).

The development of a simplified form of Arabic, whether it is based on Classical Arabic or Moroccan Arabic, is thus dependent on there being a change in Moroccans' attitudes towards the two varieties; for as long as Classical Arabic is associated with sacred values and Arab nationalism, and Moroccan Arabic with ignorance, diglossia will be maintained. However, if a change in people's attitudes could be brought about, there seems no other reason why Arabic cannot become an adequate vehicle for all the communicative needs of Moroccans. Contrary to some of the views which have been expressed (see 7.1.1.4), there seems no inadequacy inherent in the nature of Arabic itself, which like any other language could surely be adapted to cope with the needs of its speakers. As Gallagher (1969) points out, "all languages as systems are potentially equal for the expression of new thought and ideas, but as social realities they vary according to the attitudes and values which underlie them and in respect of the historical circumstances that have shaped their present structures and content" (p.61).

Moreover, there are already precedents for this kind of development, for other languages have recently undergone dramatic changes in adapting to the needs of the technological age. Gallagher (1969) gives the example of Hebrew, which in fifty years has been adapted for modern needs. Its technical vocabulary has grown rapidly, and although it is a Semitic language like Arabic, there has been successful borrowing from European languages; the morphological problems which have been claimed to make borrowing from European into Semitic languages very difficult have been resolved by borrowing even prefixes and suffixes directly into Hebrew. The successful way in which Hebrew has been modernised can perhaps partly

be attributed to the ease of communication within the Hebrew-speaking community, which is geographically and nationalistically united; whereas developments in Arabic are hindered by a lack of common agreement (see 7.1.1.4.5). Gallagher also refers to the case of Turkish, where he suggests that the people's attitudes towards their language contributed a lot to making it possible to adapt it to modern requirements and even change its writing system. There is also the example of Japanese, which has been adapted in an exceptional way, by extensive borrowing, the reduction of diglossia, a considerable simplification of its writing system, the characters of which have been reduced from 7,000 to 1,850, and the introduction of new rules for spelling. Again the success of this adaptation to the modern world seems to have been made possible by the existence of attitudes favourable to such developments. Clearly, then, change is possible where sufficient motivation exists. The development of a more practical variety of Arabic, which can be both written and spoken, then, should not be considered an unattainable aim; much progress towards this end could be made if only people's attitudes towards Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic could be changed.

Another respect in which the adequacy of arabisation as an alternative to bilingualism seems at present doubtful is in the material which Arabic can offer to its users. It was seen in 3.1.3 that the content of Arabic textbooks used in Moroccan schools tends to deal mostly with the past, religion and moral themes, while French textbooks have more up-to-date topics which are probably more appealing to young readers. Moreover, in 4.2.4.4 it was seen that the respondents are more attracted to French publications, radio and television broadcasts and films than to Arabic ones simply because the former are felt to contain more interesting, entertaining, varied and fashionable material. The respondents' comments showed that they felt that the Arabic material available simply could not compete with what was offered in French. Clearly this state of affairs does not make arabisation seem

an attractive prospect. Before Moroccan bilinguals can be persuaded that Arabic is an adequate substitute for French, it will be necessary to show them that Arabic can give them access to material of the same quality as that available through French.

In the first place, the material offered within the education system must be improved. The topics in Arabic textbooks could be changed to be more suited to the tastes of the young generation today. At a higher level, of course, the success of arabisation is dependent on the creation of suitable academic textbooks in Arabic; until this is done, it will be impossible to persuade people that Arabic can give the same access to modern thought, in both science and the humanities, that French can give. Secondly, attempts should be made to offer a wider range of entertaining material in Arabic. To take the example of films, it is quite unreasonable to expect people to embark enthusiastically on an arabisation programme when all they are offered in place of a wealth of French productions is historical films about the glory of the Arabs, or plays in a mixture of Egyptian and Classical Arabic, which Moroccans find hard to understand and which often do not appeal to their taste at all (see 4.2.4.4). The same point could be made about other areas such as the provision of light reading matter and magazines; here too there is a wealth of material available in French, but no real equivalents in Arabic which could meet the same needs. The oral literature, in the form of folk tales and plays, which exists in Moroccan Arabic is of some entertainment value;³⁶ however, this is not what appeals to sophisticated young people, whose taste is more directed towards novelty

³⁶The importance of this oral literature in the popular sectors in Morocco is mentioned by Brunot: "Une littérature orale, très abondante, originale souvent, très révélatrice des sentiments généraux du peuple... Contes merveilleux ou moraux, récits des hauts faits, des héros musulmans, légendes des saints, contes burlesques, anecdotes, proverbes, énigmes, charades... rien ne manque à cette littérature populaire, toute orale, dépourvue de charme apprêté des productions esthétiques et individuelles" (Brunot 1950, p.22).

and excitement. Unfortunately, even the fact that this oral literature is in Moroccan Arabic influences people's attitudes towards it, for it is associated with the uneducated class; the more educated the person, the less he is attracted to it.

The provision of attractive material in Arabic, of appeal to the general public, seems to me to be crucial to the success of arabisation. Surprisingly enough, those who discuss the problems of arabisation do not seem to have drawn attention to this fact; but clearly we cannot expect people to choose boring unappealing material instead of a wealth of choice to suit all tastes.

Yet another obstacle to arabisation is the fact that studies in Arabic do not at present provide access to many interesting and worthwhile jobs. At present there are many jobs for which a bilingual education is essential, and the respondents in our survey were obviously very aware of this, as was illustrated in some of the comments cited in 7.3.1.1. The point is made most emphatically by one respondent in his final comment about arabisation:

R.5: Etant bilingue depuis l'age de sept ans, l'étude du français m'a rendu beaucoup de services. Dans mon métier, on parle français ainsi que dans les administrations. Pour faire des études supérieures techniques ou scientifiques le français est indispensable. Les débouchés sont nombreux et variés, tandis qu'avec l'arabe ils sont plutôt rares, à moins d'exercer la fonction d'écrivain public sur les trottoirs ou autre chose de semblable. ³⁷

Certainly, at present a good knowledge of French is generally required for any kind of clerical or administrative work, for careers in industrial or economic development, commerce, engineering and medicine, and is clearly a great advantage in many other fields too (see for instance 1.2.3 and 3.2.1.4). If the language planners hope to persuade Moroccans to choose an arabised education for their children, then, they will have to provide some instrumental motivation for this, by extending the choice of jobs available for those who have been educated

³⁷ This view of the possibilities is no doubt somewhat exaggerated, but it does reflect the kind of impression people have of the usefulness of Arabic as opposed to French.

largely through Arabic. This may well be one of the most important factors in encouraging people to take up Arabic instead of French. As long as certain doors are open only to those with a good knowledge of French, people will not be inclined to endorse arabisation by encouraging their own children to pursue their studies through Arabic; and policy-makers should take careful account of this. Once again, we cannot expect people to be willing to abandon something as instrumentally valuable as French is today unless viable alternatives are offered.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter we examined recent approaches to language planning in Morocco, in particular the proposals for arabisation that have been put forward since Independence. We looked at the arguments commonly considered to support such an arabisation policy, and at the kinds of obstacle which have been considered to hinder the implementation of such a policy. It was argued, however, that some of the views commonly expressed about the difficulties facing arabisation are based on a misunderstanding of the real issues involved. In particular, it was suggested that while many of the supposedly difficult problems, especially those relating to the nature of the Arabic language, were not really serious obstacles, but could be resolved, the really fundamental problems instead arise from people's attitudes to the languages, which are deep-rooted and may be difficult to change. It was also suggested that policy-makers have up to now tended to base their proposals simply on what they feel the situation ought to be, without taking the trouble to find out what the average Moroccan bilingual feels about the current situation, and how he would like it to develop. Accordingly, a small-scale survey was carried out to investigate the attitudes of balanced Arabic-French bilinguals to these questions. It was found that the majority of the respondents, although they might express favourable attitudes towards arabisation in theory, were very

conscious of the value of bilingualism, and wanted French to continue in use in Morocco, finding it an appropriate medium for education and wanting their children to speak it.

Taking into account the findings of this survey and those of other parts of this study, we suggested some steps which seem to be prerequisites for any truly successful arabisation programme. In the first place, efforts must be made to make the Arabic language itself a more convenient vehicle for people's needs, for instance, by developing a variety of Arabic which it is convenient to write as well as speak, and which is an appropriate medium for discussing both intellectual and everyday topics. Secondly, it was argued that steps should be taken to provide a much wider range of material in Arabic, in the form of books, periodicals, radio and television programmes, films and so on. There is a need for more and better material both for light entertainment and for more intellectual tastes, for example in science and technology. Finally, it is important to ensure that more career opportunities are made available for those who do not receive a bilingual education; people will be reluctant to embark on an arabisation in the schools until there are considerable changes in the current situation, where so many kinds of job demand a high proficiency in French as well as Arabic.

Perhaps the most important point to which the attention of the policy-makers should be drawn is the fact that Moroccan bilinguals are not simply people who can speak both Arabic and French. Along with their proficiency in the two languages, they possess a complex set of attitudes and assumptions linked to these two languages. The process of arabisation is thus not simply a matter of excluding one language in favour of another; as well as replacing a language, it is necessary to replace all that that language stands for in people's minds, and all that it gives access to. The bilingual situation which now exists in Morocco does not simply affect language use, but has implications for the bilinguals' psychological make-up and social behaviour, indeed for his whole culture.

Language planners, instead of assuming that they are dealing simply with a problem of language, should be aware that the situation also involves highly complex attitudes, and that these attitudes may perhaps be less easily manipulated than people's use of one language rather than another may seem to be.

CONCLUSION

This study has approached the phenomenon of Arabic-French bilingualism in Morocco from a variety of angles. We have looked at the relationship between the bilingual and his two languages on a number of levels. Information has been directly elicited about the bilingual's attitudes to his languages, as revealed in his own explicit comments on them; but evidence of his attitudes has also been obtained more indirectly, from information about his behaviour and reactions. We have looked at the psychological implications of bilingualism, in its influence on the individual, and also at its implications for the society in which it exists, considering the roles fulfilled by the two languages in this society and the values with which they are associated. As for the linguistic consequences of bilingualism, we have looked in particular at the use of a mixture of the two languages, involving much code-switching, which is so characteristic of Arabic-French bilinguals.

Our investigation was confined to one particular group of bilinguals; and clearly these cannot be considered representative of the Moroccan nation as a whole. We have been concerned only with people who are fluent in both French and Arabic, and who have been educated at least to the point where they become literate in both languages.¹ The background of these bilinguals was suggested in the description in Chapter 1 of the present language situation in Morocco and how this has been arrived at. Typically, such bilinguals are under forty-five, and received their education either at the French-style schools set up under the Protectorate, or at the bilingual state schools which evolved after Independence. French for

¹The situation is of course complicated by the fact that they speak one variety of Arabic (the Moroccan colloquial), but have to learn to write another (Classical Arabic).

them is a language first encountered at school, and it is highly unlikely that they have parents who are French-speaking.

These Moroccans, then, possess the skills necessary to be able to express themselves adequately in both languages, in both speech and writing. As well as these skills, they also possess another facility, that of being able to code-switch between one and the other, which is often exploited to such an extent that it is difficult to say whether a piece of discourse is basically in one language or the other. This aspect of the bilingual's linguistic capacity was examined in Chapter 5, where it was shown that code-switching is not totally unrestricted, but that it is not governed by as many seemingly arbitrary constraints as has been implied by others. We suggested in fact that very many of the limitations on where a switch can occur could be explained in terms of a single general requirement, which is that a switch from one language to the other must preserve the structure by observing the structural requirements of the initial language. While the bilinguals are not explicitly conscious of such a rule, their use of code-switching was seen consistently to observe it, and their judgements of what switches are acceptable are also in accordance with it.

The various parts of this study all yielded interesting information about the contrasts between the two languages - contrasts of image, of function and of effect. In the first place, there are the clear contrasts which exist between the bilinguals' own attitudes to the two languages. These were revealed through their comments in response to questionnaire items and through the descriptions they selected for each language in the multiple choice test (see especially Chapters 3 and 7). From these it was clear that the respondents associated the languages with different types of values, and regarded them as useful for different purposes. Another area which seemed to reveal interesting contrasts, though it was only briefly investigated here, was the kinds of association linked with the two languages, and the way in which the bilingual's

attitudes may be influenced by which one he is using. It was seen that the use of one language rather than the other may influence the kinds of idea which spring to his mind and the type of personality which he projects. It was concluded that this reflects the way a language, as part of a culture, may be closely linked with other aspects of that culture. The bilingual is familiar with two cultures, but on any particular occasion his behaviour may reflect the norms of one more closely than those of the other; and it does not seem surprising that the choice of one language rather than the other on some occasion may also lead to one outlook and set of assumptions being temporarily preferred over those of the other culture.

Thirdly, very clear contrasts emerged from the investigation of language choice in various situations, which was described in Chapter 4. The results of this enquiry suggested that the differences between the bilinguals' views of their two languages are paralleled by differences in the way they use them. It was seen that the choice of what language to use in a particular situation is by no means arbitrary, but is significantly influenced by a variety of factors, such as the type of setting, topic and interlocutor. French and Arabic are evidently felt to be appropriate in different types of context and to serve different types of function.

We could also mention here the apparently strong conviction of the respondents that the two languages should be kept separate, as revealed in the severe criticisms which they make of the tendency to mix the two by code-switching. Yet despite the very bad opinion of code-switching which seems to be shared by almost all the respondents, this mixture is much used, and indeed it was seen in Chapter 5 that code-switching can serve a variety of useful purposes. It can facilitate communication, serving to convey a particular connotation or provide a more available term; it can produce a variety of dramatic effects; and it may resolve a temporary lapse of memory.

Finally, a further contrast, which can also be related to those already mentioned, concerns the kinds of impression

which can be created by speaking the two languages. The matched guise tests, which were described in Chapter 6, showed that there were quite dramatic differences between the ways the same bilingual was perceived by a group of similar bilinguals, depending on which language he used. It was seen that an individual's status, background and personality all tended to be evaluated differently when he spoke French from when he spoke Arabic.

Within the various types of contrast mentioned above, we can see certain overall tendencies in the relationships between the two languages. The findings of one area of study can be seen to correlate with those of another. To sum up, then, the most obvious contrast between French and Arabic for the Moroccan bilingual is perhaps the associations which link French with education, sophistication, modernity and social advancement. These associations are constantly made explicit by the respondents in their own comments, in which French is frequently described as modern, lively, and as an opening onto the Western world; it is felt to be the key to education, to new horizons of knowledge, particularly in such areas as science and technology, and to a vast heritage of material of all kinds (see in particular Chapter 3, 4.2.4.4, and 7.3).

The same association between French and education and prestige is also revealed in other aspects of the respondents' behaviour. The study of language choice revealed a significant tendency for French rather than Arabic to be chosen in situations demanding a degree of formality or sophistication; the choice of French rather than Arabic is favoured by such factors as the existence of a relationship of power rather than one of solidarity between interlocutors, the need to discuss a specialised or intellectual topic rather than an everyday one, and the fact that the conversation takes place in a formal, public setting rather than a relaxed, intimate one. French is evidently used where there is a need for refinement, social distance, formality or technicality, whereas Arabic is preferred

in an atmosphere of intimacy, simplicity and domesticity.

The results of the matched guise tests also reflect the same tendencies. The most striking of the significant contrasts between the French and Arabic guises, and one which emerged in all three tests, was the fact that in each case the French guises were judged to be more educated and more important than were the Arabic ones. The French guises were also more highly rated on other traits relating to education and sophistication, being judged more modern, open-minded, intelligent and richer. Once again, this suggests a strong tendency to associate French with education and prestige, but the degree of the association also seems to relate to the standard of French used, the impression of greater education and importance being most pronounced with those speakers whose French accent most closely approximated to that of a native speaker.

As for the attitudes towards Arabic which emerge from this study, here, besides the contrast with French noted above we also have that between Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic; the two seem to provoke rather different responses. Moroccan Arabic is evidently considered a practical tool for everyday use, but in contrast to the other two it does not seem to carry any kind of prestige (see Chapters 3 and 7). As was mentioned above, its use is strongly favoured in informal, intimate situations, and it is particularly associated with the home; and the matched guise tests suggest that its speakers are less favourably judged than speakers of French, not only on the kind of status traits discussed above, but sometimes also on personal qualities. The respondents' explicit comments on Moroccan Arabic also tend to be negative, and it is evidently not viewed as the appropriate vehicle for arabisation (see 7.3.3). Classical Arabic, on the other hand, is highly valued for its beauty and richness, and acquires a certain prestige from its associations with religion, with past glory, with the country's national heritage, and with the unity of the Arabs.

Thus the three languages are seen to have different roles to fulfil, Moroccan Arabic being the language of intimacy and the home, Classical Arabic the language of religion and Arabic culture, and French the language of education and modern technology. Similarly, they are valued for quite different reasons, Moroccan Arabic having a purely practical value, while the value of Classical Arabic is largely aesthetic and that of French is clearly instrumental. These sharp contrasts between the ways in which the languages are perceived, and the roles they play in society, perhaps explain why it is that Arabic-French bilingualism has been maintained so long after Morocco achieved its independence, despite repeated efforts to eradicate the use of French.

In Chapter 7 we looked at the current debate on arabisation, and the obstacles which have been claimed to stand in the way of its realisation. It was argued that the major problems for arabisation lie not in the nature of the languages themselves but in people's attitudes to them; and this conclusion can be endorsed in view of the full range of findings of this study. It will be difficult to persuade Moroccans to abandon one of their languages because this will inevitably be felt as a loss. Possession of two languages, for the bilingual, does not simply mean a reduplication of the possibilities, giving him two equivalent modes of behaviour instead of a single one; the two languages do not reduplicate each other so much as complement each other, each fulfilling a different role and being viewed in a different way. It may be possible to alleviate the present disadvantages of monolinguals by careful planning, ensuring that Arabic provides the desired access to education, jobs and other opportunities; but there is also the linguistic enrichment which bilingualism provides. The bilingual benefits from his extended repertoire, which is clearly not redundant but well exploited; we have seen that he uses the two languages for different purposes and to create different impressions, and that he can also effectively make use

of a switch from one to the other. Bilingualism involves complex systems of habits and attitudes which it would not seem easy to change.

The present study has of necessity been a small-scale one, owing to the difficulty of collecting and processing information without additional help. However, I feel that it has been successful in drawing attention to some interesting areas and in looking at questions from some new angles. The problem is of course that very little research has yet been done on Arabic-French bilingualism in Morocco, and the few studies that have been done have limited themselves to surveying language choice in what are sometimes ill-defined situations, and to collecting information about respondents' explicitly stated attitudes. The present survey, although it has defects, does, I think, represent a step forward in a number of respects.

In the first place, it uses techniques which to my knowledge have not previously been used in Morocco, and which yield information on previously unexplored areas. For instance, the matched guise tests used here have produced very dramatic results which suggest that the language a Moroccan bilingual uses can have a very significant effect on the way he is perceived by others - information which is surely of interest to all Moroccan bilinguals, as speakers and as listeners. Another new departure in Moroccan field-work was the completion test used in Chapter 3, which produced some interesting evidence of how a switch of language may be accompanied by a switch of cultural outlook too. Clearly this kind of test would have to be carried out on a much larger scale for any conclusive results to be possible, but this pilot study has suggested an interesting avenue for research.

This study has also in some respects taken a more systematic approach to the collection of information than did previous North African studies. In particular, the method of obtaining information about language choice, developed in the third questionnaire described in Chapter 4, seems to me to represent

an advancement on the simpler techniques used previously. This method makes it possible to isolate the contribution of the different components of a situation, so that the effect of each can be measured. There are also some areas where the present work offers what seems to me to be a more satisfactory explanation than those that have previously been suggested. For instance, we could mention the account of the syntactic possibilities for code-switching offered here, which provides a very general explanation, in terms of a single constraint, for patterns which have previously been described in terms of more complex and more arbitrary restrictions.

There are doubtless many flaws in the present investigation, and I hope that future studies will be able to remedy these. My main concern here, however, has been to make a preliminary exploration of some areas, in the hope that a larger scale study will one day be possible. I hope that this work will be useful in suggesting some potentially fruitful lines of research. Most of all, I hope that it may be of some practical use to those who are concerned with the present language situation, and the way this should be developed. Of course this study has been concerned only with one type of bilingual, and with small numbers; but I feel that it has revealed something of the complexity of the bilingual situation. For those planning future changes, a good understanding of the present situation seems to me to be essential; this study may serve to illustrate the types of attitude which are involved.

APPENDICESAppendix to Chapter Three1. Format of Pilot Questionnaire

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Lieu d'origine:

Répondez aux questions suivantes.

Quelle est votre langue préférée? Pourquoi?

Quelle est la langue que vous aimez le moins? Pourquoi?

Quelle langue trouvez-vous:

- la plus facile?
- la plus belle?
- la plus riche?
- la plus utile pour les études?
- la plus nécessaire pour un Marocain?
- la plus pratique dans la vie quotidienne?

2. Format of Second Questionnaire

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Pour chaque question, encerclez la réponse choisie.

-Arabe Marocain Dialectal (abrégé A.M.)

-Français (abrégé F.)

-Arabe Classique (abrégé A.Cl.)

Quelle est votre langue préférée? A.M. F. A.Cl.

Pour quelle raison?

Quelle est la langue que vous aimez A.M. F. A.Cl.
le moins? Pour quelle raison?

Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus belle? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.
Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus facile? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.
Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus riche? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.
Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus moderne? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.
Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus utile pour les études? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.
Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus nécessaire pour un Marocain? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.
Quelle langue trouvez-vous la plus pratique dans la vie quotidienne? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.
Quelle langue pensez-vous que les Marocains devraient <u>surtout</u> utiliser? Pour quelle raison?	A.M.	F.	A.Cl.

3. Format of Multiple Choice Test

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Soulignez les adjectifs qui, à votre avis, décrivent l'arabe classique:

C'est une langue...

pratique	morte	riche	capable de suivre le progrès	
belle	flexible	inutile	vivante	nécessaire
démodée				

Soulignez les adjectifs qui, à votre avis, décrivent le français:

C'est une langue...

pratique	morte	riche	capable de suivre le progrès	
belle	flexible	inutile	vivante	nécessaire
démodée				

Soulignez les adjectifs qui, à votre avis, décrivent l'arabe dialectal marocain:

C'est une langue...

pratique	morte	riche	capable de suivre le progrès	
belle	flexible	inutile	vivante	nécessaire
démodée				

4. Format of Completion Test

(a) French version

Nom:

Age:

Profession:

Complétez les phrases suivantes en ajoutant tout ce que vous voulez:

- (1) Ce que j'aime le plus dans la vie, c'est.....
- (2) J'aime lire.....
- (3) Ce qui me met hors de moi, c'est.....
- (4) J'aime dépenser mon argent.....
- (5) Quand je n'ai rien à faire.....
- (6) Ce qui me déplaît dans les gens, c'est.....
- (7) Mon but dans la vie.....
- (8) Ce que j'admire surtout.....
- (9) Mon devoir dans la société est.....
- (10) La plupart des femmes sont.....
- (11) La plupart des hommes sont.....
- (12) Quand je ne m'entends pas bien avec la famille.....
- (13) La femme qui n'a pas d'enfants.....
- (14) Les parents sont fâchés parce que.....
- (15) Chaque homme a besoin de.....
- (16) Les enfants doivent.....
- (17) Lorsque ma femme/mon mari me désobéit.....
- (18) Les vrais amis doivent.....
- (19) Quand on reçoit des invités.....
- (20) La liberté est.....
- (21) Les chiens doivent être.....
- (22) Il faut avoir un bon emploi pour.....
- (23) Ce qui importe pour une Marocaine, c'est.....
- (24) Les gens riches peuvent se permettre.....
- (25) Les études.....
- (26) La responsabilité est.....
- (27) Le mariage est.....
- (28) L'avenir dépend de.....
- (29) Pour réussir dans la vie, il faut.....
- (30) Tout le monde rêve de.....

(b) Arabic version

كمثلوا هذه الجمل، كما رغبتوا

- 1) لتحب فالحياة بزان هو ...
- 2) تنحب نفرا ...
- 3) لتيكرني ...
- 4) تبني نصير الفلوس ...
- 5) محيت متيكن عندي وال متحمل ...
- 6) لمتحبش فالناس ...
- 7) الهدف ديال فالحياة ...
- 8) لتيجبني كترشي سو ...
- 9) الراجب ديال فالمجتمع ...
- 10) جبل العيالات هم ...
- 11) جبل الرجال هم ...
- 12) محيت متوالش مع المائسة ...
- 13) المرة لي معند هاش الدراري هي ...
- 14) الالدين طارلهم لانه ...
- 15) كل راجل خص ...
- 16) الدراري خصهم ...
- 17) محيت امراتي - راجلي متطمينش ...
- 18) الاصدقاء الحقيقيين خصهم ...
- 19) محيت تستقبل الضياف ...
- 20) الحرية هي ...
- 21) الكلاب خصهم ...
- 22) خص الواحد يكن عنده عمل مزيان باش ...
- 23) لتيهم المرأة المخزية هو ...
- 24) الناس الاغنياء تيمكلهم ...
- 25) القراية ...
- 26) المسؤولية هي ...
- 27) الزواج هو ...
- 28) المستقبل تيتعلق ب ...
- 29) الواحد يبلنغ ينجح فالحياة خص ...
- 30) النار كلهم تيحلم ب ...

Appendix to Chapter Four

1. Format of First Questionnaire

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Lieu d'origine:

Soulignez la réponse choisie:

Je parle français

très bien / assez bien / un peu / pas du tout

Je comprends le français

très bien / assez bien / un peu / pas du tout

J'écris le français

très bien / assez bien / un peu / pas du tout

Je parle l'arabe classique

très bien / assez bien / un peu / pas du tout

Je comprends l'arabe classique

très bien / assez bien / un peu / pas du tout

J'écris l'arabe classique

très bien / assez bien / un peu / pas du tout

Vos parents, quelle(s) langue(s) parlent-ils?

Vos grandparents, quelle(s) langue(s) parlent-ils?

Vos frères et soeurs, quelle(s) langue(s) parlent-ils?

Quelle(s) langue(s) parlez-vous à la maison?

À quel âge avez-vous commencé à apprendre le français?

Où?

A quel âge avez-vous commencé à apprendre l'arabe classique?

Où?

Quelle était votre langue d'instruction

{	a)	au primaire?
{	b)	au secondaire?
{	c)	à l'université?

Quelle est la langue (ou langues) que vous utilisez d'habitude dans les cas suivants? Précisez vos réponses en ajoutant à côté de la langue (ou langues) choisie quelquefois, souvent, très souvent or toujours.

Exemple: à vos frères?	français - quelquefois
	arabe - très souvent
aux mendiants?	arabe - toujours

- à vos parents?
- à vos frères et soeurs?
- à vos grandparents?
- à vos enfants?
- à vos ami(e)s et collègues?
- aux voisins?
- au patron?
- aux bonnes?
- au médecin?
- au policier?
- au mécanicien?
- aux mendiants?
- aux inconnus?
- aux gens plus âgés que vous?
- dans une épicerie?
- dans un restaurant, au garçon?
- dans une pharmacie?
- à l'hôpital?
- à l'hôtel?
- pour saluer une connaissance dans la rue?
- pour raconter une blague?
- pour discuter des choses intimes?
- pour discuter des choses sérieuses?
- pour insulter quelqu'un?
- pour flatter quelqu'un?
- pour faire la cour à quelqu'un?
- pour intimider quelqu'un?
- pour encourager quelqu'un?
- quand vous êtes très fatigué?
- quand vous êtes très énervé?
- pour écrire une lettre de demande d'emploi?
- pour écrire une lettre d'amour?
- pour écrire une lettre à la famille?

Si vous aviez le choix, en quelle langue préféreriez-vous:

- recevoir des cours?
- passer des examens écrits?
- passer des examens oraux?
- passer votre permis de conduire?
- exprimer vos propres idées?

Lisez-vous des journaux en français ou en arabe?

Lesquels préférez-vous? Pourquoi?

Lisez-vous des livres en français ou en arabe?

Lesquels préférez-vous? Pourquoi?

Ecoutez-vous la radio en français ou en arabe?

Laquelle préférez-vous? Pourquoi?

A la télévision, préférez-vous les émissions en français ou en arabe? Pourquoi?

Au cinéma, préférez-vous des films en français ou en arabe? Pourquoi?

A la télévision, préférez-vous la publicité en français ou en arabe? Pourquoi?

2. Format of Second Questionnaire

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Pour discuter les sujets suivants, en quelle langue pouvez-vous vous exprimer le mieux et le plus facilement? Encerclez la réponse choisie. (A.M. = Arabe Marocain Dialectal, F = French, A.+F. = Arabe et Français mélangés, A.Cl. = Arabe Classique)

-scientifiques	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-techniques	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-sociologiques	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-religieux	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-philosophiques	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-sportifs	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-industriels	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.

-culturels et artistiques	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-domestiques et familiaux	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-personnels et affectifs	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
-moraux	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.

3. Format of Third Questionnaire

Section 1.

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Vous allez trouver des combinaisons diverses de personnages, d'endroits et de sujets de discussion. Imaginez-vous que vous êtes en train de discuter avec cette personne, dans l'endroit mentionné, concernant le sujet indiqué.

Exemple: PERSONNE: professeur
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques

Ici vous vous imaginez en train de parler avec un professeur au lycée ou à la faculté au sujet des mathématiques. Quelle langue utilisez-vous dans cette conversation? Encerclez la réponse choisie.

Arabe Marocain Dialectal uniquement (abrégé A.M.)
 Français uniquement (abrégé F.)
 Arabe et Français mélangés (abrégé A.+F.)
 Arabe classique (abrégé A.Cl.)

N.B. TOUS LES PERSONNAGES PARTICIPANT DANS CES CONVERSATIONS SONT DES MAROCAINS BILINGUES ARABE-FRANÇAIS.

Conversations

Encerclez vos réponses choisies

(1)	PERSONNE:	frère ou soeur	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
	ENDROIT:	à la maison				
	SUJET:	le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents				
(2)	SUJET:	les médicaments	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
	ENDROIT:	l'hôpital				
	PERSONNE:	médecin				
(3)	ENDROIT:	café	A.M.	F.	A.+F.	A.Cl.
	PERSONNE:	ami				
	SUJET:	un problème de mathématiques				

- (4) SUJET: le travail du bureau
PERSONNE: patron A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
ENDROIT: à la maison
- (5) PERSONNE: médecin
ENDROIT: café A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
- (6) SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
ENDROIT: café
PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
- (7) ENDROIT: lycée/faculté
PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: les médicaments
- (8) PERSONNE: ami
SUJET: le travail du bureau A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
ENDROIT: bureau du travail
- (9) ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
PERSONNE: frère ou soeur
- (10) SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
PERSONNE: médecin A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
ENDROIT: hôpital
- (11) PERSONNE: ami
ENDROIT: bureau du travail A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
- (12) ENDROIT: à la maison
SUJET: le travail du bureau A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
PERSONNE: frère ou soeur
- (13) SUJET: les médicaments
ENDROIT: hôpital A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
PERSONNE: frère ou soeur
- (14) PERSONNE: médecin
ENDROIT: café A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: les médicaments
- (15) ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
PERSONNE: ami
- (16) ENDROIT: bureau du travail
PERSONNE: patron A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: le travail du bureau
- (17) PERSONNE: frère ou soeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
ENDROIT: lycée/faculté
- (18) ENDROIT: à la maison
PERSONNE: médecin A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents

- (19) PERSONNE: patron A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 ENDROIT: bureau du travail
- (20) ENDROIT: café
 PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
- (21) SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: à la maison
- (22) PERSONNE: patron
 ENDROIT: hôpital A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: les médicaments
- (23) SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: professeur
- (24) PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté
- (25) PERSONNE: professeur
 ENDROIT: café A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
- (26) ENDROIT: hôpital
 PERSONNE: patron A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le travail du bureau
- (27) PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 ENDROIT: café
- (28) ENDROIT: hôpital A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le travail du bureau
 PERSONNE: médecin
- (29) PERSONNE: patron
 ENDROIT: bureau du travail A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
- (30) ENDROIT: hôpital
 PERSONNE: frère ou soeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
- (31) PERSONNE: médecin
 SUJET: les médicaments A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: à la maison
- (32) ENDROIT: bureau du travail A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le travail du bureau
 PERSONNE: frère ou soeur
- (33) PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté

- (34) SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
 ENDROIT: à la maison A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: patron
- (35) ENDROIT: à la maison A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 PERSONNE: professeur

Section 2.

(Instructions as in Section 1)

Conversations

Encerclez vos réponses choisies

- (1) PERSONNE: frère ou soeur
 ENDROIT: à la maison A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
- (2) ENDROIT: café
 PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: les médicaments
- (3) SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: à la maison
- (4) PERSONNE: patron A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le travail du bureau
 ENDROIT: bureau de travail
- (5) SUJET: les médicaments
 ENDROIT: à la maison A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: frère ou soeur
- (6) ENDROIT: bureau de travail
 SUJET: les médicaments A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: patron
- (7) SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté
- (8) SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
 ENDROIT: café A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: frère ou soeur
- (9) SUJET: les médicaments
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: médecin
- (10) ENDROIT: bureau de travail
 PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
- (11) PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
 ENDROIT: à la maison
- (12) SUJET: le travail du bureau
 PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté

- (13) ENDROIT: hôpital
 SUJET: les médicaments A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: médecin
- (14) PERSONNE: professeur
 ENDROIT: hôpital A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: les médicaments
- (15) SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 PERSONNE: frère ou soeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: à la maison
- (16) ENDROIT: café A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le travail du bureau
 PERSONNE: patron
- (17) PERSONNE: ami
 ENDROIT: hôpital A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: les médicaments
- (18) SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
 ENDROIT: hôpital A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: médecin
- (19) ENDROIT: café
 PERSONNE: frère ou soeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
- (20) PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
 ENDROIT: à la maison
- (21) SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: médecin
- (22) SUJET: le travail du bureau
 PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: café
- (23) PERSONNE: professeur
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
- (24) ENDROIT: bureau de travail
 SUJET: les médicaments A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: médecin
- (25) SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 PERSONNE: ami A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: hôpital
- (26) PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: bureau de travail
 SUJET: le travail du bureau
- (27) ENDROIT: café A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 PERSONNE: patron

- (28) SUJET: le devoir des enfants envers leurs parents
 PERSONNE: frère ou soeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: bureau de travail
- (29) PERSONNE: patron A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 ENDROIT: bureau de travail
- (30) ENDROIT: hôpital
 PERSONNE: professeur A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
- (31) SUJET: comment conduire une voiture
 ENDROIT: café A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 PERSONNE: ami
- (32) PERSONNE: médecin
 ENDROIT: bureau de travail A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le travail du bureau
- (33) ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 PERSONNE: patron
- (34) SUJET: un problème de mathématiques
 PERSONNE: médecin A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 ENDROIT: hôpital
- (35) PERSONNE: patron
 ENDROIT: lycée/faculté A.M. F. A.+F. A.Cl.
 SUJET: le travail du bureau.

4. Results of Third Questionnaire

Total Scores, grouped in Sets of Five Situations differing in only one Component

(a) Variation of Interlocutor

SITUATION	LANGUAGE CHOICE				
	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	Blank
café/driving/friend	26	3	57	0	0
café/driving/doctor	15	14	56	0	1
café/driving/teacher	7	18	55	0	6
café/driving/brother	32	3	48	1	2
café/driving/employer	14	20	50	1	1
hospital/medicines/friend	15	11	58	0	2
hospital/medicines/doctor	4	58	23	0	1
hospital/medicines/teacher	6	52	23	1	4
hospital/medicines/brother	16	12	55	0	3
hospital/medicines/employer	2	29	48	1	6

	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	Blank
school/mathematics/friend	2	34	42	0	8
school/mathematics/doctor	2	70	12	1	1
school/mathematics/teacher	1	72	10	2	1
school/mathematics/brother	3	35	43	0	5
school/mathematics/employer	4	59	23	0	0
home/duties/friend	41	8	36	1	0
home/duties/doctor	15	21	44	0	6
home/duties/teacher	27	15	40	1	3
home/duties/brother	56	5	22	1	2
home/duties/employer	21	8	48	0	9
office/work/friend	12	12	56	1	5
office/work/doctor	2	52	32	0	0
office/work/teacher	7	50	26	0	3
office/work/brother	24	4	48	0	10
office/work/employer	6	45	31	4	0

(b) Variation of Topic

SITUATION

LANGUAGE CHOICE

	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	Blank
café/friend/driving	26	3	57	0	0
café/friend/medicines	6	15	65	0	0
café/friend/mathematics	3	30	53	0	0
café/friend/duties	24	12	47	1	2
café/friend/work	16	4	64	1	1
hospital/doctor/driving	7	26	51	0	2
hospital/doctor/medicines	4	58	23	0	1
hospital/doctor/mathematics	3	60	21	2	0
hospital/doctor/duties	11	40	33	1	1
hospital/doctor/work	2	40	39	0	5
school/teacher/driving	8	48	27	1	2
school/teacher/medicines	3	60	21	0	2
school/teacher/mathematics	1	72	10	2	1
school/teacher/duties	8	52	14	8	4
school/teacher/work	6	56	22	0	2
home/brother/driving	29	4	48	0	5
home/brother/medicines	16	10	57	2	1
home/brother/mathematics	6	19	59	0	2
home/brother/duties	56	5	22	1	2
home/brother/work	40	5	35	1	5

	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	Blank
office/employer/driving	10	23	46	1	6
office/employer/medicines	3	51	31	1	0
office/employer/mathematics	5	57	23	0	1
office/employer/duties	15	25	37	3	6
office/employer/work	6	45	31	4	0

(c) Variation of Setting

SITUATION

LANGUAGE CHOICE

	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	Blank
friend/driving/café	26	3	57	0	0
friend/driving/hospital	24	5	52	4	1
friend/driving/school	14	14	53	0	5
friend/driving/home	20	8	57	1	0
friend/driving/office	18	12	48	0	8
doctor/medicines/café	2	28	51	0	5
doctor/medicines/hospital	4	58	23	0	1
doctor/medicines/school	3	65	17	1	0
doctor/medicines/home	6	23	51	0	6
doctor/medicines/office	2	61	21	1	1
teacher/mathematics/café	1	46	34	0	5
teacher/mathematics/hospital	1	62	22	0	1
teacher/mathematics/school	1	72	10	2	1
teacher/mathematics/home	0	48	33	0	5
teacher/mathematics/office	2	61	12	0	11
brother/duties/café	47	5	32	1	1
brother/duties/hospital	37	8	36	0	5
brother/duties/school	16	11	43	0	16
brother/duties/home	56	5	22	1	2
brother/duties/office	32	5	45	2	2
employer/work/café	15	17	52	2	0
employer/work/hospital	11	24	37	5	9
employer/work/school	10	43	31	2	0
employer/work/home	25	11	43	4	3
employer/work/office	6	45	31	4	0

Rankings of the Five Domains for the Use of French

	<u>Domains with rank numbers</u>				
	<u>Home</u>	<u>Friends</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Work</u>
(a) Rankings derived from information in Graph 2					
+2 comps.:					
Home	1	2½	4	5	2½
Friends	1½	1½	4	3	5
Education	2	1	5	4	3
Medicine	2	1	4	5	3
Work	1	2	4	5	3
+1 comp.:					
Home	3	1	5	4	2
Friends	2	1	5	3	4
Education	1	2	5	4	3
Medicine	2	1	5	4	3
Work	1	2	5	3	4
(b) Rankings derived from information in Graph 3					
+2 comps:					
Home	2½	1	5	4	2½
Friends	3	1	5	4	2
Education	2	1	5	4	3
Medicine	2½	1	5	4	2½
Work	2	1	5	4	3
+1 comp:					
Home	1	2	5	4	3
Friends	2	1	5	4	3
Education	1	2	5	4	3
Medicine	1	2	5	4	3
Work	2	1	5	3	4
(c) Rankings derived from information in Graph 4					
+2 comps:					
Home	2	2	5	4	2
Friends	3	1	5	2	4
Education	2	1	5	4	3
Medicine	1	2	5	3	4
Work	1	2	4	3	5
+1 comp.:					
Home	1	2	5	4	3
Friends	2	1	5	4	3
Education	1	2	5	4	3
Medicine	2	1	5	4	3
Work	2	1	4½	4½	3
Totals:	52½	43	144½	115½	94½
Combined Rank:	2	1	5	4	3

In each of the three sets, the first five rankings are those arrived at by comparing the effects of single components when combined with each of the other five pairs, while the second five are those arrived at by comparing the effects of pairs of components when combined with each of the other five. Rank 5 represents the most extensive use of French, Rank 1 the least extensive.

Rankings of the Five Domains for the Use of Moroccan Arabic

Domains with Rank numbers

	<u>Home</u>	<u>Friends</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Work</u>
(a) Rankings derived from information in Graph 5					
+2 comps.:					
Home	5	4	3	1	2
Friends	5	4	1	3	2
Education	4	2½	1	2½	5
Medicine	5	4	3	2	1
Work	5	4	3	1	2
+1 comp.:					
Home	5	4	1	2	3
Friends	5	4	1	3	2
Education	5	3½	1	2	3½
Medicine	4½	4½	1½	3	1½
Work	5	4	2	1	3
(b) Rankings derived from information in Graph 6					
+2 comps.:					
Home	5	3	1	2	4
Friends	4	5	1	2	3
Education	4½	4½	1	2	3
Medicine	5	4	2	3	1
Work	5	4	2	1	3
+1 comp.:					
Home	5	4	1	2	3
Friends	5	4	2	1	3
Education	5	2½	1	2½	4
Medicine	5	4	1½	3	1½
Work	5	4	2½	1	2½
(c) Rankings derived from information in Graph 7					
+2 comps.:					
Home	5	4	1	3	2
Friends	3	5	1	4	2
Education	1	3½	3	3	5
Medicine	5	1½	3	4	1½
Work	5	4	2	3	1
+1 comp.:					
Home	5	3	1	2	4
Friends	5	4	1	2	3
Education	5	4	1	2	3
Medicine	5	4	1	2	3
Work	5	4	1½	1½	3
Totals:	141	114	48	66½	80½
Combined Rank:	5	4	1	2	3

These rankings were arrived at in the same way as those for French.

Rankings of the Five Domains for the Use of Arabic & French

Domains with Rank Numbers

	<u>Home</u>	<u>Friends</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Work</u>
(a) Rankings derived from information in Graph 8					
+2 comps.:					
Home	1	2	3	4	5
Friends	1	5	3	4	2
Education	5	4	1	2	3
Medicine	4	5	1½	1½	3
Work	4	5	1	3	2
+1 comp.:					
Home	1	3½	2	5	3½
Friends	1	4	2	5	3
Education	4	5	1	2	3
Medicine	4	5	1	2	3
Work	3½	5	1	3½	2
(b) Rankings derived from information in Graph 9					
+2 comps.:					
Home	1	3	5	4	2
Friends	1	3	2	5	4
Education	2	5	1	3	4
Medicine	3	5	1	2	4
Work	4	5	1	2½	2½
+ 1 comp.:					
Home	2	5	1	3	4
Friends	3	5	1	4	2
Education	5	4	1	2	3
Medicine	4	5	1	2	3
Work	3	5	1	4	2
(c) Rankings derived from information in Graph 10					
+2 comps.:					
Home	1	2	4	3	5
Friends	4½	4½	3	2	1
Education	4	5	1	3	2
Medicine	4½	4½	1	3	2
Work	4	5	1½	3	1½
+1 comp.:					
Home	1	5	2	4	3
Friends	1	5	2	3	4
Education	4	5	1	2	3
Medicine	3	5	1	2	4
Work	4	5	1	2	3
Totals:	87½	134½	49	90½	88½
Combined Rank:	2	5	1	4	3

These rankings were arrived at by using the same procedures as those for French.

Results of Analysis of Variance

Component A = Interlocutor

Component B = Setting

Component C = Topic

Component D = Language (4 categories: Moroccan Arabic, French, Arabic & French, Classical Arabic)

(A)	-F				+F			
(B)	-F		+F		-F		+F	
(C)	-F	+F	-F	+F	-F	+F	-F	+F
(D)								
M.A.	34.38	14.5	23.5	12	16.5	8.17	9.83	4.05
F.	6	13.83	9.16	18	16	28.83	35.67	53.67
A.+F.	43.38	55.5	46.17	50.33	48.83	44	34.67	25
Cl.A	.75	.67	1	.17	.33	1	2.33	1

+F = Formal, -F = Informal

Details of Significant Interactions

AD

(A)	Interloc. -F				Interloc. +F			
(D)	⏟				⏟			
	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.
	34.4	6	43.38	.75	16.5	16	48.83	.33
	14.5	13.85	55.5	.67	8.17	28.83	44	1
	23.5	9.16	46.17	1	9.83	35.67	34.67	2.33
	12	18	50.33	.17	4.05	53.67	25	1
Tot.:	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟	⏟
	<u>80.38</u>	<u>47.01</u>	<u>195.38</u>	<u>2.59</u>	<u>38.55</u>	<u>134.17</u>	<u>152.5</u>	<u>4.66</u>

BD

(B)

Setting -F

Setting +F

(D)

Setting -F				Setting +F			
M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.
34.38	6	43.38	.75	23.5	9.16	46.17	1
14.5	13.83	55.5	.67	12	18	50.33	.17
16.5	16	48.83	.33	9.83	35.67	34.67	2.33
8.17	28.83	44	1	4.05	53.67	25	1

Totals:

<u>73.55</u>	<u>64.66</u>	<u>191.71</u>	<u>2.75</u>	<u>49.38</u>	<u>116.5</u>	<u>156.17</u>	<u>4.5</u>
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CD

(C)

Topic -F

Topic +F

(D)

Topic -F				Topic +F			
M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.
34.38	6	43.38	.75	14.5	13.83	55.5	.67
23.5	9.16	46.17	1	12	18	50.33	.17
16.5	16	48.83	.33	8.17	28.83	44	1
9.83	35.67	34.67	2.33	4.05	53.67	25	1

Totals:

<u>84.21</u>	<u>56.83</u>	<u>171.05</u>	<u>4.41</u>	<u>28.72</u>	<u>114.33</u>	<u>174.83</u>	<u>2.84</u>
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ABD

(A)

Interlocutor -F

(B)

Setting -F

Setting +F

(D)

M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.
34.38	6	43.38	.75	23.5	9.16	46.17	1
14.5	13.83	55.5	.67	12	18	50.33	.17

Totals:

<u>48.88</u>	<u>19.83</u>	<u>98.88</u>	<u>1.42</u>	<u>35.5</u>	<u>27.16</u>	<u>96.5</u>	<u>1.17</u>
--------------	--------------	--------------	-------------	-------------	--------------	-------------	-------------

(A)

Interlocutor +F

(B)

Setting -F

Setting +F

(D)

M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.
16.5	16	48.83	.33	9.83	35.67	34.67	2.33
8.17	28.83	44	1	4.05	53.67	25	1

Totals:

<u>24.67</u>	<u>44.83</u>	<u>92.83</u>	<u>1.33</u>	<u>13.88</u>	<u>89.34</u>	<u>59.67</u>	<u>3.33</u>
--------------	--------------	--------------	-------------	--------------	--------------	--------------	-------------

ACD

(A)

Interlocutor -F

(C)

Topic -F

Topic +F

(D)

M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.
34.38	6	43.38	.75	14.5	13.83	55.5	.67
23.5	9.16	46.17	1	12	18	50.33	.17
Totals:							
<u>57.88</u>	<u>15.16</u>	<u>89.55</u>	<u>1.75</u>	<u>26.5</u>	<u>31.83</u>	<u>105.83</u>	<u>.84</u>

(A)

Interlocutor +F

(C)

Topic -F

Topic +F

(D)

M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.	M.A.	F.	A.+F.	Cl.A.
16.5	16	48.83	.33	8.17	28.83	44	1
9.83	35.67	34.67	2.33	4.05	53.67	25	1
Totals:							
<u>26.33</u>	<u>51.67</u>	<u>83.5</u>	<u>2.66</u>	<u>12.22</u>	<u>82.5</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>2</u>

Appendix to Chapter Six

1. Format of First and Second Matched Guise Tests

Nom:

Age:

Profession:

Vous allez entendre le même texte plusieurs fois, enregistré par des personnes différentes. Essayez de juger la personnalité de ces gens d'après leur façon de parler. Vous allez trouver une liste de traits de caractère qui pourraient s'appliquer à ces personnes. Soulignez l'épithète qui convient à votre jugement de la personne concernée.

Personnage:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| (1) | très sympathique
sympathique
un peu sympathique
ni sympathique ni | très antipathique
antipathique
un peu antipathique
antipathique |
| (2) | très traditionnel
traditionnel
un peu traditionnel
ni traditionnel ni | très moderne
moderne
un peu moderne
moderne |
| (3) | très nerveux
nerveux
un peu nerveux
ni nerveux ni | très calme
calme
un peu calme
calme |
| (4) | très intelligent
intelligent
un peu intelligent
ni intelligent ni | très stupide
stupide
un peu stupide
stupide |
| (5) | très patriote
patriote | peu patriote
ni l'un ni l'autre |
| (6) | très amusant
amusant
un peu amusant
ni amusant ni | très ennuyeux
ennuyeux
un peu ennuyeux
ennuyeux |
| (7) | très religieux
religieux
un peu religieux
ni religieux ni | très irreligieux
irreligieux
un peu irreligieux
irreligieux |
| (8) | très affectif
affectif
un peu affectif
ni affectif ni | très insensible
insensible
un peu insensible
insensible |

- (9) très instruit un peu instruit
instruit ignorant
- (10) très vaniteux très modeste
vaniteux modeste
un peu vaniteux un peu modeste
ni vaniteux ni modeste
- (11) très honnête très malhonnête
honnête malhonnête
- (12) à l'esprit ouvert à l'esprit borné
- (13) très sociable très réservé
sociable réservé
un peu sociable un peu réservé
- (14) Voudriez-vous être l'ami de cette personne?
oui non
- (15) Voudriez-vous avoir cette personne comme patron?
oui non
- (16) Voudriez-vous ressembler à cette personne?
oui, beaucoup oui, un peu non, pas du tout
- (17) Pensez-vous que vous ressemblez à cette personne?
oui, beaucoup oui, un peu non, pas du tout
- (18) Sa façon de parler, vous plaît-elle?
oui, beaucoup oui, un peu non, pas du tout
- (19) Pensez-vous que cette personne est:
très riche très pauvre
riche pauvre
ni riche ni pauvre
- (20) Pensez-vous que cette personne:
a beaucoup d'importance dans la société
a un peu d'importance dans la société
n'a pas d'importance dans la société

Questionnaire accompanying First and Second Matched Guise Tests

Nom:

Age:

Profession:

Soulignez la réponse choisie:

Je parle français

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Je comprends le français

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Je parle l'arabe

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Je comprends l'arabe

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Répondez aux questions suivantes:

- (1) Quelle est votre langue préférée? Pourquoi?
- (2) Désirez-vous améliorer votre connaissance du français? Pourquoi?
- (3) Désirez-vous que vos enfants apprennent le français? Pourquoi?
- (4) Etes-vous pour le bilinguisme ou l'arabisation au Maroc? Pourquoi?

2. Format of Third Matched Guise Test

Nom:

Personnage:

Age:

Profession:

Vous allez entendre le même texte plusieurs fois, enregistré par des individus différents. Essayez de juger la personnalité de ces gens d'après leur façon de parler. Vous allez trouver une liste de traits de caractère qui pourraient s'appliquer à ces gens. Pour chaque trait de caractère, vous indiquez si l'individu le possède ou ne le possède pas. Si vous pensez que l'adjectif ou la description lui convient, vous lui donnez une note positive, soit +3, soit +2, soit +1. Par exemple, si vous trouvez qu'il est très intelligent, vous lui donnez +3, mais si vous trouvez qu'il est seulement un peu intelligent, vous lui donnez +1. Si par contre vous trouvez qu'il n'est pas intelligent, mais stupide, vous lui donnez une note négative. Par exemple, si vous trouvez qu'il n'est pas du tout intelligent, mais absolument stupide, vous lui donnez -3. Si votre jugement est complètement neutre, c'est à dire, vous trouvez qu'il n'est ni intelligent ni stupide, vous lui donnez 0 (zéro).

Donc, pour chaque adjectif, il faut donner une des notes suivantes:

extrêmement						pas du tout
+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3

Exemple: Si vous pensez que le personnage (1) est assez intelligent et pas du tout complexé, vous le notez de la façon suivante:

Intelligent	<u>+2</u>
Complexé	<u>-3</u>

- (1) intelligent _____
- (2) instruit _____
- (3) paresseux _____
- (4) maladroit _____
- (5) sûr de lui-même _____
- (6) décontacté, à l'aise _____
- (7) sociable _____
- (8) sympathique _____
- (9) digne de respect _____
- (10) éloquent _____
- (11) prétentieux _____
- (12) compétent, capable _____
- (13) complexé _____
- (14) patriote _____
- (15) s'exprime clairement _____
- (16) influencé par la colonisation _____
- (17) important dans la société _____
- (18) j'aime sa façon de parler _____
- (19) ennuyeux _____

Questionnaire accompanying Third Matched Guise Test

Nom:

Age:

Profession:

Soulignez la réponse choisie:

Je parle français

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Je comprends le français

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Je parle l'arabe

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Je comprends l'arabe

très bien/assez bien/un peu/pas du tout

Répondez aux questions suivantes:

- (1) Quelle est votre langue préférée, l'arabe ou le français?
Pourquoi?
- (2) Désirez-vous améliorer votre connaissance du français
ou de l'arabe? Pourquoi?

- (3) Désirez-vous que vos enfants apprennent le français?
Pourquoi?
- (4) Etes-vous pour le bilinguisme ou l'arabisation au Maroc?
Expliquez votre avis.
- (5) Que pensez-vous des Marocains qui mélangent le français
au cours d'une seule conversation, ou même dans une seule
phrase?

3. Stimulus Passages

First Matched Guise Test

French version:

J'étais fatigué. Mon ami m'a conduit chez lui et j'ai pu faire un peu de toilette. J'ai encore pris du café au lait qui était très bon. Quand je suis sorti, le jour était complètement levé. C'était une belle journée qui se préparait. Il y avait longtemps que j'étais allé à la campagne, et je sentais quel plaisir j'aurais pris à me promener tout seul. Mais j'ai attendu dans la cour sous un arbre. J'ai pensé aux collègues du bureau; à cette heure ils se levaient pour aller au travail. Pour moi, c'était toujours l'heure la plus difficile.

Le soleil était monté un peu plus dans le ciel. Il commençait à chauffer mes pieds. J'ai encore réfléchi un peu à ces choses, mais j'ai été distrait par mon ami qui a traversé la cour et m'a dit que le directeur me demandait.

Moroccan Arabic version:

kont řaja:n wdda:ni Saħbi řandu ba:ř jmken nŷsl Tra:fi řandu řwiĵa řrebt waħed l qahwa ħli:b řaři:ba min ħi:t xreřt ka:n nnha:r Tlař břda w ba:řn řa:di ĵkun nha:r řaři:b kant mada Twi:la ba:ř mři:ti l ba:diĵa w ma nkriħř law kun naDrab ři: msa:rĵa bu:ħdi blħaq bqi:t tantna: f ssa:ħa taħt waħod řařra w xamnt f řħa:bi d l xadma lika:nu f had l wakt taĵfiĵu min nnřa:s ba:ř ĵ mřu: ĵxdmu ama: ana kunt di:ma hadik ħiĵa ssa:řa řři:ba řandi ka:nt řřms tLeřt řwiĵa w bdaw rřli ĵsxnu xamment řwiĵa f had l masa?il lakin Saħbi řuwoř řliĵa min lida:z f ssa:ħa w qali tkilim l mudi:r

Second Matched Guise Test

French Version:

J'étais fatigué. Mon ami m'a conduit chez lui et j'ai pu faire un peu de toilette. J'ai encore pris du café au lait qui était très bon. Quand je suis sorti, le jour était complètement levé. C'était une belle journée qui se préparait. Il y avait longtemps que j'étais allé à la campagne, et je sentais quel plaisir j'aurais pris à me promener tout seul. Mais j'ai attendu dans la cour sous un arbre. J'ai pensé aux collègues du bureau; à cette heure ils se levaient pour aller au travail. Pour moi, c'était toujours l'heure la plus difficile.

Le soleil était monté un peu plus dans le ciel. Il commençait à chauffer mes pieds. J'ai encore réfléchi un peu à ces choses, mais j'ai été distrait par mon ami qui a traversé la cour et m'a dit que le directeur me demandait.

Pour arriver chez le directeur, il fallait traverser la cour et monter au troisième étage. J'ai quitté l'arbre qui m'avait protégé du soleil et j'ai traversé lentement la cour. Je me suis demandé ce que le directeur voulait me dire, car je ne l'avais pas vu depuis plus de deux ans. J'étais étonné de savoir qu'il se rappelait encore de moi.

Dans les escaliers, il faisait frais, et il n'y avait aucun bruit. La porte du bureau était ouverte, mais personne n'était là.

Moroccan Arabic Version:

kont šajja:n wdda:ni Saḥbi šandu baš jmken nʔsl Tra:fi šwija
 šwija šrebt wahed l qahwa ḥli:b šaži:ba min ḥi:t xrežt ka:n
 nnha:r Tlaḥ bšda w ba:jn ʔa:di jkun nha:r šaži:b kant muda
 Twi:la ba:š mši:t l ba:dija w ma nkrihš law kun naDrab ši:
 msa:rja bu:ḥdi blhaq bqi:t tantsna: f ssa:ḥa taḥt wahed šažra
 w xamnt f Sha:bi d l xadma lika:nu f had l wakt tajfiq min
 nnša:s ba:š j mšu: jxdmu ama: ana kunt di:ma hadik hija ssa:ša
 Sši:ba šandi ka:nt ššms Tlešt šwija w bdaw ržli jsxnu xamnt
 šwija f had l masaʔil lakin Saḥbi šuweš šlija min lida:z f
 ssa:ḥa w qali tkilim l mudir

ba:š jmken l wahed j wSl šand l mudir xeSu j qTaḥ ssa:ḥa

wjTlaŋl Tbqa ta:lta xali:t šažra lli kant mDerqa:ni min ššms
 w qTešt ssa:ħa b šwiġa kunt tanfker aš bĶa jquli l mudirŋla
 ħaqaš ħadi ŋamajen ma štu w kunt mtlažeb kifa:š bqa ŋaqel ŋliġa
 f dru:ž kant šwiġa d l bru:da w ma kanš ħta ši SDa:ŋkant
 ba:b l makteb dja:lu maħlu:la walakin ħta ši waħed ma kan tama.

Third Matched Guise Test

Code Switching Version:

ħna on n'a pas bougé la nuit quand tu nous as laissés
 ħija bqa:t ħnaja elle fait quelque chose w ana maŋrftši si
elle lisait wla ħadak je me suis mis au lit w j'ai dormi mħa
 šwiġa ŋaDatni waħed l moustique ħna f la figure dja:li ħna
 ra:h ça me fait tellement mal bqit naħml ħakda puis ... et
puis tu vois f SSba:ħ on s'est réveillé, on a pris le petit
déjeuner f la Presse w ŋawd on est retourné ici. qult ana
il fait soleil kultħa on prend l'occasion w daba bqa: tatšmsi:
 mħa ra:sk ħna. Qu'est-ce que tu veux? ana je n'aime pas le
soleil, tu vois, j'aime le regarder de loin tatšžbni: ššms
 ra:ħa šarqa. Une fois que je me mets dedans tajħreqni la
tête djali w tansxu:n bzza:f ħija ššms il est bien, il fait
guérir wlaġni ana xeŋni: ħi šwiġa ma:ši bzza:f ana j'admets
ça fait deux ans ma mši:t l le soleil. ana je vais voir waħed
 ssijid, j'ai un rendez-vous mħah je vous verrai ?inša:ŋLa:h
 ābientôt.

French Version:

Nous, on n'a pas bougé la nuit. Quand tu nous as laissés
 elle est restée ici faire quelque chose. Moi je ne sais pas
 si elle lisait ou quoi. Moi je me suis mis au lit et j'ai
 dormi. Tout à coup, une moustique m'a mordu ici, à la figure.
 Juste ici, ça me fait tellement mal. Je suis resté en train
 de faire comme ça, puis...et puis, tu vois, le matin on s'est
 réveillé, on a pris le petit déjeuner à la Presse, et après
 on est retourné ici. Je me suis dit "il fait soleil", je lui

ai dit "on prend l'occasion maintenant. Prends un bain de soleil ici". Qu'est-ce que tu veux? Moi, je n'aime pas le soleil, tu vois, j'aime le regarder de loin, j'aime voir un peu de soleil - le voilà en train de briller. Une fois que je me mets dedans, j'ai mal à la tête et j'ai beaucoup chaud. Le soleil est bien, il fait guérir, mais moi je n'ai pas besoin de beaucoup de soleil. J'admets, ça fait deux ans que je n'ai pas été au soleil. Maintenant moi je vais voir quelqu'un, j'ai un rendez-vous avec lui. Je vous verrai, j'espère. A bientôt.

Moroccan Arabic Version:

hna ma tharknaš f li:l min hi:t xalitina hija bqa:t hnaja
tatšmi šī haža w ana mašrftšī waš kant tatqra šī kta:b wla
hadak w ana mšī:t l fra:š w nšast mša šwiya šaDatni wahed
nnamu:sa hna f l wžeh dja:li hna ra:h tajhreqni bzza:f bqit
našmi hakda w min bašd ...min bašd štti f ššba:h fqna: w fTerna
f l qahwa d la pres w šawd ržalna lhna qult ana kajn ššms
kultlha nštanem l furSa w daba bqa: tatšmsi: mša ra:sk hna
?iwa šnu bšī:ti ana ma tanhb šī ššms fhmti tanh b nšufha min
l bšī:d tatšžbni: ššms ra:ha šarqa min hi:t tanbqa f ššms
tajhreqni rasi: w tansxu:n bzza:f hija ššms mzja:na wlajni
ana xešni: hi šwiya ma:šī bzza:f ana tanštarf hadi šamajen
ma mšī:t l ššms ana šadi nšuf wahed ssijid šandi mšah miša:d
nšufkum ?inša:šLa:h min bašd.

Appendix to Chapter Seven

1. Format of the Agreement Scale Test

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Vous allez trouver des affirmations qui expriment des opinions diverses. Il y a des gens qui sont d'accord avec ces opinions et il y a des gens qui ne les acceptent pas. Il n'existe pas de réponses justes ou fausses, car tout le monde a ses propres opinions. Pour chaque affirmation, vous pouvez indiquer si vous êtes d'accord ou non, selon les degrés suivants:

- +3 Je suis complètement d'accord avec cette affirmation
- +2 Je suis relativement d'accord avec cette affirmation.
- +1 Je suis à peine d'accord avec cette affirmation.
- 1 Je suis à peine opposé à cette affirmation.
- 2 Je suis relativement opposé à cette affirmation.
- 3 Je suis complètement opposé à cette affirmation.

Marquez le numéro qui correspond à votre avis dans la marge à gauche.

Exemple: Si vous êtes relativement opposé à l'opinion (3), vous écrivez dans la marge -2.

- (1) _____ Le bilinguisme arabe-français est une source d'enrichissement pour le Marocain.
- (2) _____ Les Marocains doivent absolument protéger la langue arabe et ne pas encourager les gens à employer le français.
- (3) _____ C'est un désavantage pour un Marocain de ne pas connaître le français.
- (4) _____ La langue française est pour le Marocain une ouverture sur le monde.
- (5) _____ L'arabisation totale pourrait bloquer le développement et le progrès du pays.
- (6) _____ L'arabisation au Maroc va isoler le pays du monde moderne.
- (7) _____ Les Marocains ne devraient jamais mélanger le français et l'arabe.
- (8) _____ Les Marocains parlent français, non parce qu'ils sont obligés de le parler, mais simplement parce qu'ils aiment le parler.
- (9) _____ Le fait de connaître deux langues (arabe et français) permet au Marocain de mieux s'exprimer.

- (10) _____ L'arabe classique est la langue convenable pour effectuer l'arabisation et non l'arabe dialectal Marocain.
- (11) _____ Le bilinguisme arabe-français provoque chez les Marocains une absence de culture propre et d'originalité.
- (12) _____ L'arabisation est rendu difficile par la co-existence de l'arabe dialectal et l'arabe classique.
- (13) _____ Il est impossible d'enseigner les sciences en arabe.
- (14) _____ Dans leur conception des choses, les Marocains se sentent plus proches de l'Europe que du Moyen Orient.
- (15) _____ En général, ceux qui connaissent deux langues n'arrivent à connaître ni l'une ni l'autre à fond.
- (16) _____ Il est absolument nécessaire pour un jeune Marocain de connaître le français.
- (17) _____ Le bilingue Marocain est partagé entre deux cultures (arabe et français), et il n'entre de plain-pied dans aucune.
- (18) _____ Un jour, le français ne sera plus utilisé au Maroc.
- (19) _____ Le bilinguisme arabe-français a provoqué chez les Marocains une crise culturelle et une perte d'identité.
- (20) _____ L'arabisation va restituer au Maroc sa vraie identité comme pays arabe et musulman.
- (21) _____ Le français doit garder une place privilégiée dans le pays et être utilisé pour la formation technique et scientifique de nos cadres.
- (22) _____ Le fait de connaître deux langues (arabe et français) empêche le Marocain de bien s'exprimer.
- (23) _____ Ce n'est pas bien pour nos enfants d'apprendre deux langues (arabe et français) lorsqu'ils sont encore jeunes.
- (24) _____ Il vaut mieux enseigner le français aux enfants Marocains le plus tôt possible.

Ces opinions ont certainement attiré votre attention au sujet de bilinguisme arabe-français au Maroc. Veuillez ajouter vos propres commentaires concernant soit les opinions exprimés ici, soit d'autres aspects de ce sujet. Essayez d'exprimer vos propres sentiments envers ce problème. Ecrivez en arabe ou en français, comme vous voulez.

2. Format of Open-Ended Questionnaires

First Questionnaire

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Répondez aux questions suivantes:

- (1) A votre avis, est-ce que les Marocains aiment bien parler en français ou non? Expliquez votre réponse.
- (2) Voulez-vous que vos enfants soient bilingues ou arabisés? Pourquoi?
- (3) Regrettez-vous d'être un bilingue? Pourquoi?
- (4) Pensez-vous que c'est un désavantage pour un Marocain de ne pas connaître le français? Pourquoi?
- (5) Quels avantages le bilinguisme arabe-français peut-il vous apporter au Maroc?
- (6) Quels problèmes le bilinguisme arabe-français peut-il vous donner?
- (7) Pensez-vous que l'influence du français au Maroc va diminuer, augmenter, ou se maintenir au niveau actuel?
- (8) A votre avis, quelles devraient être les langues d'instruction:
 - (a) au primaire?
 - (b) au secondaire?
 - (c) à l'université?
- (9) Les langues étrangères sont-elles utiles, à votre avis? Pourquoi?
- (10) Lesquelles préférez-vous apprendre? Pourquoi?

Second Questionnaire

Age:

Sexe:

Profession:

Répondez aux questions suivantes:

- (1) Désirez-vous améliorer vos connaissances du français? Pourquoi?
- (2) Désirez-vous que vos enfants apprennent le français? Pourquoi?
- (3) Êtes-vous pour le bilinguisme ou l'arabisation au Maroc? Pourquoi?

- (4) A votre avis, quelles devraient être les langues d'instruction:
- (a) au primaire?
 - (b) au secondaire?
 - (c) à l'université?
- (5) Pensez-vous que c'est possible d'étudier les sciences en arabe? La langue arabe convient-elle aux exigences de ces matières?
- (6) A votre avis, les matières scientifiques doivent-elles être enseignées en français ou en arabe? Pourquoi?

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