

BETWEEN FRENCH AND ARABIC: LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CODE -
SWITCHING IN MOROCCO

by

Zakaria Fahmi

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Submitted for Review to:

Dr. Mohammed Albakry, Committee Chair

Dr. Leah Lyons, Committee Member

Dr. Roger J. Pieroni, Committee Member

To my parents, my brothers, and my sisters!

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ABSTRACT

The language situation in Morocco is an ongoing process jointly influenced by historical, political, sociocultural, and educational forces. The ethnocultural diversity, colonialism, post-independence discourse, and language policy are all dynamic structures that have shaped the multilingual landscape and particularly influenced the status and use of Moroccan Arabic. The aim of this study is to contextualize these forces in relation to the linguistic evolution of Moroccan Arabic and its frequent use of code switching. To this end, I review the language contact and code switching between Moroccan Arabic and French and its constraints at the covert and the overt levels. Adopting this approach is crucial for the understanding of language shift and language attitudes and the implications for Moroccan society and language policy in education.

KEYWORDS: Moroccan Arabic, French, bilingualism, language contact, code switching.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ADJ: Adjective
- CA: Classical Arabic
- CP: Complementizer Projection
- CS: Code-switching
- DET: Determinant
- EC: Equivalent Constraint
- EL: Embedded Language
- ENG.: English
- FR.: French
- H: High
- L: Low
- L1: The speaker's first language
- L2: The speaker's second language
- MA: Moroccan Arabic
- ML: Matrix Language
- MLF: Matrix Language Framework
- MM: Markedness Model
- MSA: Modern Standard Arabic
- N: Noun
- O: Object
- PRN: Pronoun
- SP.: Spanish

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

French colonialism initiated a complex multilingual situation in Morocco and created a conspicuous dichotomy between traditional authenticity (represented by Arabic) and openness to the West (represented by French) with the resulting inevitable switching between the two linguistic codes. The focus of this study, therefore, is on Moroccan Arabic (MA) as a colloquial variety and its frequent resort to French code switching as well as its structural and discursive implications for language use in Morocco. I argue that the Moroccan Arabic variety has undergone structural changes due to language contact, which was historically introduced by colonialism, and continues to shift due to the underlying ideology of the social discourse and impact of language policy.

In essence, two main theoretical lenses are used in the deconstruction of code switching in this variety: linguistic and discursive. The first framework examines the cross-linguistic equivalence in Arabic and French and elucidates code embedment in intra-sentential constructions, while the second examines the social and educational discourse.

Typically, studies in code switching and language contact usually concentrate on the altered linguistic property in the utterance. This study, however, has a wider scope. It seeks to contribute to the linguistic theory of language interference and language change particularly in the Moroccan Arabic vernacular by arguing that code-switching in Moroccan Arabic does not only stem from the social or the educational norms, but

primarily from the accumulated historical experiences that exposed the country to external control and power.

The thesis has three main parts. The first part offers a background overview apropos of the multilingual and multicultural variations, the French Protectorate, and language policy in Morocco. This part is crucial for the contextualization of the current language situation as it correlates elements of the past and the present, and investigates how each element could provide meaning for the current structural status and code choice.

The second part provides the theoretical literature for the analyses of language contact and code switching. This theoretical and technical part employs, in principle, two related analytical frameworks: the Equivalent Constraints (EC) and the Markedness Model (MM). It discusses the structural effects of bilingualism, mainly the French influence in Moroccan Arabic at both the surface and the abstract levels. The examples of code alternation between the two languages are authentic urban utterances generated from my own experience as a native Moroccan Arabic speaker who was raised in the city of Casablanca, and from other sources referenced in the text. The structural analysis of code switching in this part involves sites of the syntactic equivalence in code-switched utterances. Even though this part contains minimum original material for language contact and code switching, it shows the role of French as the embedded form, which is further discursively explained under the Markedness Model.

The third and final part has three sections. While the first section discusses and expands on the linguistic decoding of alternation, the second discusses the discursive aspects of choice and its underlying ideology. The third section centers on the educational

dimensions and language planning regarding the status of Arabic and French as two rivals in the Moroccan education system and the impact of the marginalization of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction.

The Multicultural and Multilingual Landscapes of Morocco

The Moroccan population varies between the indigenous Imazighen, (plural for Amazigh also known as Berbers) who inhabit the three main areas of the subranges of the Atlas Mountains, the Arabs of Middle Eastern tribal descent who spread out across different regions of the country, and other interracial ethnicities in urban areas. Today, the country has a population of 33,655,786 inhabitants with an estimated urbanization of 60.2%. (CIA Factbook, 2016). The majority of this population is predominantly concentrated in major cities such as Casablanca, Rabat, Marrakech, Tangier, Fes, and Agadir.

Because of its demographic diversity, Morocco has witnessed various shifts in terms of its language and culture. During the early conquest of Islam in North Africa in the seventh century, the country experienced different institutional changes mainly in the religious, cultural, and linguistic domains. The country, in the wake of this conversion from indigenous Amazigh to 'Arabized', embraced new phases of building on its heterogeneous identity. In fact, the Muslim Arab culture has marked the social behavior in the Berber society, and fairly integrated different indigenous groups across North Africa. Additionally, Islamic schools and mosques known as '*Madrassa*' across the Maghreb started to spread; a notable example being the university of Al-Qarawiyeen in the city of Fes, founded in 859 by one of the most prominent female personalities in

Islamic civilization, Fatima Alfihi. The schools originally initiated Islamic programs, teaching Quran, Arabic, and Islamic jurisprudence, but they soon expanded to offer new disciplines such as philosophy, mathematics, astrology, and astronomy.

Similar to Arabic, Berber, (or Tamazight; the linguistic term used as a reference to the indigenous language), is derived from the afro-Asian family. Being the language of the indigenous people, Tamazight is the oldest language in Morocco and the “Maghreb”; a region that politico-culturally encompass the present countries of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania. The existence of Imazighen (the plural form for Amazigh as an ethnic group) is traced back to ancient times. Although there has not been any scientific documentation that confirms their origin in North Africa, some hypotheses claim that they are the product of a mixture of Euro-Asian descents in prehistoric sequential migration (Tomaštk, 2010, p. 6). Today, Imazighen form a significant number of the country’s demographics ranging between 60% and 70% (Moroccan constitutional Reform, 2011). Interestingly, many authors tend to reflect on the Maghreb as a region having emerged initially with the Arab-Islamic duality, and later established throughout the French colonization. However, as Ennaji points out, the Imazighen politico-cultural community appeared first with the Berber era prior to 215 BC (Ennaji, 2005, p. 9).

In order to grasp the linguistic complexity in Morocco, one might need to contextualize the ethnic and cultural movement of the country. Throughout history, Morocco was a central target of various colonial powers in a wide array of civilizations that includes Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. These colonial waves tremendously impacted the

Moroccan linguistic and cultural fabrics. They are undoubtedly one major contributor to the country's rich multilingual and multicultural profile.

The Moroccan demographics today present a vast diversity of multiracial groups across the country ranging from the Imazighen, who are divided into three main subgroups in the High Atlas, the Middle Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, to the Arabs, Jews, and Christians distributed throughout other regions of the country. Dissimilar to the Arab conquest in the seventh century, in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, groups of Middle Eastern Jews from the southern Iberian Peninsula arrived in Morocco and settled with Berber communities in the areas of the Anti-Atlas and the Mid-Atlas (Ennaji, 2005). The Jewish population had a harmonized coexistence with the Berbers, acquired the Amazigh language, and highly assimilated into the tradition; however, they retained Hebrew for their prayers and religious rituals (Ennaji, 2005, p. 9).

Morocco is also home to three major indigenous varieties of the Berber language known as Tashelhit, Tarifit, and Tamazight. Amazigh, instead of the term Berber, however, is the preferred and commonly used term among speakers of these languages not only in Morocco but also in the Maghreb. In fact, some Imazighen find the word 'Berber' very offensive; a charged epithet due to its linguistic derivation from '*barbarus*'. The Romans originally adopted the word from the Greek '*Barbarus*' and used it after their first contact with the indigenous tribes during their conquest. Subsequently, Amazigh was labeled just like any other unintelligible indigenous heritage in East or West; 'Berber, just like any other peccadillo of the Romans' (Phoenicia.org, 2018).

Upon the arrival of the Arabs in the seventh century, Imazighen embraced Islam but they didn't permanently adopt Arabic for their everyday use. Berber or its indigenous

varieties remained a valid language with a symbolic value that nurtures Berberphone and collectively defines the cultural identity in the wake of otherness (Boukous, 1995).

Initially, the Islamic Arabization did not affect Tamazight; however, following the vast Islamic conquest in the 9th and 10th century, which extended from Persia to Spain, coastal cities started using Arabic while Tamazight was only concentrated in mountainous areas (Ennaji, 2005). This actually stigmatized the language and marginalized its speakers as backward uneducated peasants; a fate similar to so many other minority indigenous languages and groups around the globe.

Given that language and literacy are highly important tenets in Islam (Sadiqi, 2003), it is still essential to note that the acquisition of Arabic in the Islamic school or '*Madrassa*' was a product of the Islamic conquest. Upon the conversion of Imazighen into Islam, the '*Madrassa*' or Islamic schools in the Atlas Mountains started their teaching of the Quran using Arabic script. This, however, never disrupted the frequency of Tamazight in other spheres. At the communal level, Arabic remains chiefly associated with Islam. The Amazigh communities have always preserved their indigenous dialects as a daily medium for communication and social interactions in the mountainous areas as well as other urban communal settings.

As this brief review indicates, North Africa was originally an Amazigh or a Berber-speaking region, and the arrival of Arabs in the seventh century exposed the Amazigh tribes to classical Arabic in mélange with three varieties of Tamazight. More importantly, language during this stage played a crucial role to embrace the dynastic identity seized by the Islamic caliphate shifting the whole linguistic map of the country. This phase also captures the first instance of documented bilingualism with Amazigh

tribes learning Arabic as an Islamic construct in the effort to provide translation for the Quran.

By the late 19th century, the old cities of Fes, Meknes, Essaouira, Rabat, and Casablanca, have featured a remarkable connection between Muslim and Jewish communal dialects. These urban communities known as *Mellah* (a local informal transliteration) are recognized as the major Jewish concentrations throughout the country. Jews of the “Mellah” during this era were predominantly of European descent, particularly those who fled the inquisition in Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth and the sixteenth century (Heath, 1989, p. 7). Despite their European heritage, the Jewish communities of the *Mellah* never borrowed their language from Iberia. In other words, what is conventionally referred to be Judeo-Arabic appears to be in principle Moroccan not Iberian (Heath, 1989). However, a systematic examination of Judeo-Arabic might demonstrate various sub-dialectical variations within different regional communities. For instance, the Judeo-Arabic register in the northern cities largely differs from the one in southern cities. That is, contextualizing the Judeo-Arabic in a Moroccan Arabic continuum according to Heath (1989, p. 9) tends to appear ‘archaic’ showing outdated patterns that most Muslim speakers have abandoned.

Moroccan Arabic (MA) sprang from the conquest of the Middle Eastern tribe of Banu Hilal, who first arrived in Morocco in the late seventh century (Ennaji, 2005, p. 10). Although the Moroccan dialect might sound unintelligible or ‘*non-Arabic*’ to many Middle Easterners today, particularly those in the Arabian Peninsula, linguists see many shared properties between Moroccan Arabic, or Darija, and Classical Arabic. However, there are conspicuous dissimilarities at the phonological, morphological, and syntactic

levels (Zouhir, 2013, p. 273). Further, it is important to distinguish the dominant colloquial forms of Moroccan Arabic in accordance to their ethnic origins. Boukous (1979) draws the lines of Moroccan Arabic around three major areas marking three essential sub-dialects: *city Arabic*, *mountain Arabic*, and *Bedouin Arabic*. Similarly important, there are many phonological, morphological and lexical variations among these three sub-dialects, but overall they are mutually intelligible.

Moroccan Arabic is a rich dialect that consists of various elements sometimes foreign to those found in Classical Arabic as the primary source. Due to the geographic location, colonialism, and the diverse tribal heritage, MA has deviated from its original form widely known as Quranic Arabic or Classical Arabic, and adapted itself to various historical changes. The early major transformations might be attested in the elimination of some of the archaic morphological structures particularly with the addition of the new lexicon derived from foreign models, either internally or externally (Heath, 1989).

Language Situation: Colonial and Post-Colonial Discourse

Among the most interesting factors that cultivated the colonial interest in the country were Morocco's natural resources. Morocco is the third largest phosphates producer in the world. Other assets also include fish, salt, sugar, iron ore, manganese and lead, but agriculture still drives the country's economy. However, under the colonial agenda, France, and, to some extent, Spain controlled the country's natural resources. For instance, Spain was able to gain access to Morocco's iron mines because it controlled the Rif Mountains in the north. Both France and Spain benefited from the infrastructure that was added to the country to facilitate the Cross-Mediterranean transactions and expanded

their market to rebuild the post World War Europe (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

Although the Moroccan government was officially in control of some of the economic resources such as farmable lands and water supplies, the colonizer was the one who profited the most (Segalla, 2009, p. 7).

A major principle of the colonial strategy is the subjugation of the colonized's linguistic identity and the spread of the colonizer's language. In this context, Morocco in the wake of the post World War colonial era, and particularly under the French Protectorate, experienced a powerful shift in its language conventions. Major economic transactions and political negotiations were now conducted via French. Similarly, this colonial force also became a marker of the socioeconomic status, as opposed to that of the precolonial Moroccan society. The elite status was defined and associated with the language of the colonizer, which became a symbol of power. Since then, French as an inherited colonial language has been ingrained in the Moroccan cultural fabric with intricate social and economic attitudes. Today, these attitudes still favor French over both Tamazight and Arabic, as the more instrumental language to achieve socio-economic capital.

During the French Protectorate, which lasted for 44 years, the French language officially occupied a significant status as the main language of instruction in the administrative and educational sectors. This also alienated Arabic and situated it as a foreign language in the educational system of the country; for the goal was to learn in French only (Daniel & Alexis, 2009, p. 127). The colonial attitude towards Arabic and Tamazight as two local languages of the country labeled them as primitive and uncivilized, and called for a broader popularization of the French language and culture as

superior and elevating (Redouane, 2016, p.19). France implemented colonial strategies to distort and obliterate the Moroccan identity and culture by imposing the French language as the official new language of the protectorate.

French with its profoundly entrenched colonial ideology of the civilizing mission (*la mission civilatrice*), has gained a powerful status in the country's linguistic and cultural identity. There were many colonial efforts to subjugate Arabic and Tamazight, particularly evident in the 'divide-and-conquer' strategies such as the colonial establishment of the Berber decree (*Dahir Al- Barbari*) to *gallicize* the Moroccan language and culture and bestow more authority on the language of the colonizer. Since France was in control of the country's political and economic capital, the spread of the French language was a compulsory element for the functionality of the "*mission civilatrice*". In fact, Spanish is also another constituent of Morocco's multilingualism, but its degree of frequency is minor compared to that of French.

It was essential for colonialism to generate a society in support for the Protectorate and serves the acculturation process. As a matter of fact, the Protectorate favored the demographics of upper classes that sought in French a tool for prestige and power. Many of these demographics continued their higher education in France and returned to the country to land leadership careers in government, education, and business.

Upon its independence in 1956, Morocco formally institutionalized Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as the official language of the country. However, to give a fuller account of Arabic, one should examine the language situation in a continuum that implies three main interconnected registers: Classical Arabic (CA), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Moroccan Arabic or 'Darija' (MA).

Classical Arabic has always been considered as the medium of faith; meaning elegance and refinement, used particularly for the understanding of Islam. Although, it covers the ‘high’ variety (Ferguson, 1959), Classical Arabic is not activated in any key context other than religion and partially in literary education. CA also enjoys a special universal cachet for being the divine vehicle of all Muslims irrespective of their mother tongue language, ethnicity, or geography. In fact, no one speaks CA at the social level, but Moroccans including both Imazighen and Arabs, regard it a sacred language due to its initial associations with Islam and the Quran. Evidently, it is important to bear in mind that CA was originally introduced to the *Maghreb* and North Africa with the arrival of Islam; a fact that accentuates this key role in preserving its supremacy.

Being used in official written and oral environments including education, media, and government bureaucracy, MSA takes a middle status among languages in Morocco. Similar to Classical Arabic, MSA has never been regarded a mother tongue language for Moroccans. However, unlike Classical Arabic, MSA enjoys an important linguistic flexibility in terms of morphology, syntax, and borrowing from French and English (Ennaji, 2005).

The dialectal form of Moroccan Arabic (MA) is conventionally known as *Darija*. This regional dialect is primarily the production of a variety of altered structures and outsourced properties. The sociolinguistic state of Arabic in Morocco is, therefore, triglossic (elaborated on Ferguson’s term of *Diglossia*, 1959) featuring a hierarchy in which *Darija*, or MA, is marked “Low” coexisting with what society considers “High” Classical Arabic (CA), and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which are used for formal domains such as in religion, education, media, and other formal business and

administrative settings (Ferguson, 1959). Darija is just a social '*deviant*' and '*impure*'; deracinated from the '*pure*' Classical Arabic (Albirini, 2016, p. 15).

Today, many Moroccans, however, consider Darija their mother tongue and the lingua franca of the nation. Following 2011 with the Arab Spring, a new level of linguistic conflict has emerged, particularly with the constitutional reform after recognizing the dual Moroccan linguistic identity of MSA and Tamazight-a language that was finally given an official status in the constitutional reform of 2011. Another part of the conflict manifests the assiduous effort to replace MSA in the school system by Darija, Moroccan Arabic (Chahlou, 2014, p. 31).

The colonial power was consciously aware that the objective to shift the cultural behavior of the Protectorate starts with a systemization of language loss in education, media, governmental institutions, and all formal domains. Even now, French still commands a linguistic authority in society and education; a fact that might be viewed as a passive continuation of the colonial policies by many Moroccans. In their view, this authority represents a disturbing and risky reincarnation of the colonial discourse, namely the persisting colonial power that has been dividing the demographics into two sections: the '*good ones*' who deserve to be protected and civilized, and '*the others*' who deserve to be oppressed and marginalized (Horner & Weber, 2018, p. 140). More notably, French is still widely cherished by the nationalist Arabizers (*les Arabisants*), the leftist elite, and the general public alike. Despite its colonial discourse, French enjoys an influential authority amongst all European languages being the official second language of the country and occupying a critical status in higher education, public and private administration, and society.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the vast majority of Moroccans regards French crucial for socioeconomic prominence. As for Moroccans' attitudes towards French, it can be divided into three types of discourse (Ennaji, 2005): the modernist discourse, the Arab-Islamic discourse, and the cultural anthropological discourse. The modernist discourse argues that French is a vital device for modernization and openness to Europe. The Arabic-Islamic discourse, being the articulation of the Arabizers, asserts that the linguistic dominance of French in post-independence Morocco is a compulsory enactment of the Protectorate and a distortion of the Islamic Moroccan traditions and values. The cultural anthropological discourse particularizes French to be key for success at the individual and societal levels.

Similarly important, the Spanish Protectorate in 1916, and its occupation of the Mediterranean strip and the southern coastal Sahara, strengthened the status of Spanish in these territories and made it official for administrative and educational domains. Spanish has an interesting history in the multilingual fabric of the country, much longer than that of French. It dates back to the 16th century with the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, but the language remained functional only in the North due to the geographic proximity (Ennaji, 2005). The Spanish colonization preceded the French Protectorate when Spain originally invaded Tétouan in 1860 and later occupied the Western Sahara in 1906 (Tomaščík, 2010, p. 10), but in today's linguistic climate, it has failed in its quest for power compared to French with its underlying 'civilizing mission' ideology.

Upon the colonization of Tétouan, the Spanish authorities established libraries and Spanish schools using the Castilian Spanish as the official language (Tomaščík, 2010, p. 10). Schools known as *Escuelas Hispano-Árab* catered exclusively to Spanish students of the Protectorate. The office of the Alta Comisaría directed the language and cultural policies of the Protectorate, but educating Moroccans was not the focus of these policies (Tomaščík, 2010).

The presence of Spanish in the Moroccan public educational system displays a minor status as a foreign language beside French or English. Unlike French which is a second language taught from the 3rd grade, Spanish is taught as a foreign language at the 7th grade. However, there are limited private schools in major cities that teach Spanish from preschool or primary levels, and around eight universities out of 21 public and private universities combined that teach Spanish culture and language across the country (Ennaji, 2005). In the private sector, there are numerous Spanish schools in Morocco; chief among them is the Cervantes Institute.

Situating French and Spanish in Morocco's education displays the dominance of French despite the geographical proximity of Spain and Spain's long history in the country. Compared to French, Spanish failed to leave a significant impact on the educational sphere due to the lack of grassroots educational strategies similar to those of the French civilizing mission (Redouane, 2016, p. 19). Spanish is now exclusively limited to Morocco's economic relationship with Spain in tourism and agriculture.

However, as a foreign language, French has a rival. The Moroccan elite, and the government now are in great support for English as the world's second language. Due to its increasing use in social media, McDonaldization, and other forms of pop culture,

English in the last two decades has been at the center of the language debate that shifted the discourse from the colonial to the globalized imperial notion. In a recent descriptive study conducted by Elboubekri (2013), to examine the Moroccan conception of multilingualism drawing on the theories of linguistic imperialism and cultural identity, the data shows that 90.7% of the informants support multilingual education with English being the most preferable as the first international language, and subsequently view it as crucial for the country's development and openness. In fact, language conflict in Morocco's multilingualism has not been essentially reduced. While it was once concerned about the repression of the colonial influence, today the region should expect another dilemma with the spread of English in a more globalized world.

The situation of foreign language authority in Morocco today features postmodern linguistic imperialism based on globalization. This brings home concerns about the future survivability and maintenance of the local languages, mainly the authenticity of Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight as two native languages. As the Norwegian linguist Maj-Bartt Holljen (1991) cited in Zouhir's article (2013) states:

“ Globalization of communication leads towards a monolingual society. All minor language communities find themselves dependent on the English language, in particular at the technological level. The expression ‘a language prey’ has been used about the role of English, focusing on the imperialistic functions of the language on the global scale” (p. 276).

This linguistic imperialism is attested in English intruding on all languages that it comes into contact with (Phillipson, 1992). The post-independence concern over the

authority of French in Morocco has been replaced with the threat of English to the local tradition and culture.

Language Policy: Arabization, Francization, and Amazigh Revitalization

In the wake of post-independence, Morocco has opted for a new language policy chiefly known as Arabization. After regaining its independence from the French Protectorate, Morocco systemized a new paradigm to safeguard and maintain its linguistic and cultural identity. This initially trended as a major nationalistic reform to reintegrate the middle and working class segments of the population into a more inclusive grassroots policy opposed to the French hierarchic system (Ennaji. 2005, pp. 12-16). The main aim of the Arabization policy was to prioritize and legitimize the Arabic language on a broader national scale, but also to preserve the authenticity of the Arab-Muslim identity in a time of a governing '*gallicized*' society. Eventually, the implementation of this policy led to gradually replacing French by MSA in all major sectors, but due to the rootedness of French language and culture in the Moroccan society, the Arabization process was not an easy one.

The post-independence Morocco was immeasurably overwhelmed with the accumulated illiteracy rate from the French Protectorate. In this regard, Morocco had to face the aftermath of a biased educational system that essentially favored French citizens and the Moroccan elite, and alienated Arabic as the medium of instruction in an Arab Muslim majority country. Under the patronage of King Mohammed V, Morocco put the Royal Committee for the Reform of Education (RCRE) in 1957 to take charge of implementing and monitoring the Arabization policy.

While restructuring the linguistic and cultural identity, the RCRE centered its practice on four main principles: the generalization of education, the unification of educational structures, the Moroccanization of the teaching personnel, and the Arabization of curricula. Moroccanization in this sense refers to the replacement of the teachers descendent from the French Protectorate with Moroccan-born trained teachers. Noteworthy in this context, this Moroccan initiative aimed at tackling the overall French pedagogy in an integrated approach to reorganize and reestablish an authentic Moroccan educational system formed from within.

To grasp the extent of functionality in the Arabization policy, we should evaluate the nature of the colonial educational platform. The French Protectorate in Morocco created an inconsistent pedagogy aimed exclusively at upper and middle class society. This hierarchic structure primarily highlights French schools at the top using an entirely French curriculum dedicated to European and Jewish Moroccan students. Second in the hierarchy were schools for the Moroccan elite, utilizing a curriculum with only 10 hours per week of Arabic. Third were institutions, some of which were private, because of the nationalist financing, devoted for middle class Moroccans with 20 hours of Arabic per week (Sourgo, 2013).

The Arabization policy faced serious challenges that complicated its procedure initially. The French educational system was classist, as the majority of Moroccans was not granted access to school. This had a major negative impact on the literacy rate of the country. In 1956, only 10% of boys and 6% of girls finished school (Ennaji, 2005). As a matter of fact, the Protectorate educational system did not only alienate the Arabic language, but largely marginalized the native student. Today's numbers are a little more

satisfactory but still indicating areas for improvement. According to the UNESCO's Innovative Literacy and Post-Literacy Project (2011), illiteracy in Morocco stills remains alarming. In 2006, a national illiteracy survey put the rate at 38.5%, with a rate 46.8% for women, 31.4% for men, 27.2% in urban areas, and 54.4% in rural areas (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning). These statistics underline how illiteracy impacts women and rural areas for the most part. Beside the high illiteracy rate, Arabization was challenged by the shortage in Arabic teachers inherited from the Protectorate system. To face this issue, Morocco started hiring professors from the Middle East including Syria, Egypt, and Sudan. In 1962, the Royal Commission for the Reform of Education succeeded in its first attempt to totally 'Arabize' the first grade in primary schools before it was progressively generalized into all primary schools grades (Zouhir, 2013).

Among other challenges the Arabization policy had to face is the implicit marginalization and restraint of the Amazigh culture and languages. Arabization affirms the national linguistic identity but tends to neglect the historical references in maintaining a national unity. Imazighens in mountainous areas who speak Tamazight were forced in this national policy to adopt Arabic in their schools as a medium of instruction as early as the first grade. It is safe to say that Imazighens have not generally welcomed the Arabization policy for it was viewed as a tool of suppression to their indigenous legacy (Tomaštk, 2010, p. 11). This situation led *Imazighen* in the mid 1980's to form a movement in Morocco and all across the Maghreb calling for an official cultural and linguistic recognition renegotiating the state language policies in the educational system.

Given that French was once the official language in Morocco under the French protectorate, today, it is regarded as the second language of the country. While the early

post-independence measures, particularly with Arabization, gradually regained the linguistic identity of the country and adopted Arabic as the language of instruction in the overall public education system, French remains dominant in natural sciences and technology in both public and private institutions. This is, in part, due to the rootedness and expansion of the Protectorate policy and ideology in the Moroccan education, but also partially associated with the sluggish scientific and technological leveling of Arabic. French is the medium of instruction in departments of medicine, engineering, economics, and technology. In fact, thirty institutions in total today including French language schools, elementary schools, higher-grade collèges (middle schools), and lycées (high schools), in collaboration with the French embassy and the Moroccan education ministry, all operate under the aegis of the Agency for the Teaching of French Abroad (Agence pour l'Enseignement du Français à l'Étranger) and the International Academic and Educational Office (L'Office Scolaire Universitaire et International) serving approximately 28,000 students of which 60% are Moroccans (Tomaštik, 2010, p. 9).

The manifestation of French in the Moroccan educational structure did not decelerate with the implementation of the Arabization policy; in fact, French has always remained an educational medium entrenched and empowered by its long-term colonial 'civilizing missions'. Arabization, in this light, did not manage to wipe out French from the social sphere either. Independence has prioritized Arabic and declared it official as the first language of the country, but French still continues to drive the medium of instruction in numerous educational institutions, crucial for the scientific education, and preferred in highly paying job markets.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Literature Review

Linguists suggest that every utterance, despite its intentionality and design to communicate, is equally a legitimate expression that situates the attitude and the motivation of the speaker. In early works of the study of language attitudes and motivation, Gardner views attitude as cognitive, affective, and conative (Gardner, 1985, pp. 39 - 61). That is, attitude resides in the psychosociological interface that involves beliefs, emotional reactions, and behavioral tendencies, which promote or discourage the choices made in any linguistic activity. Language attitudes determine language choice and can shed light on many realities concerning the linguistic situation in Morocco.

Language choice among bilingual Moroccans centers in particular on French and Arabic as the two dominant languages in use. When bi-multilingual speakers choose a particular language, variety, or register over the other, it is necessary to examine the authority of the chosen code and revisit the status of the abandoned in respect to the various psychological, social, or cultural factors. Indeed, any variety chosen for communication by a speaker or a community reflects other dimensions of society, which might also invite a look at power and value. Linguists have long believed that there exists a convincing rapport between language use, language choice, and attitude. As a part of this effort, this study seeks to shed some light on how multilingualism mirrors a complex

sociocultural and linguistic profile in Morocco at the individual and societal levels accounting for subsequent structural results in the mother tongue.

While all educated speakers in Morocco have taken French as a second language beginning officially in the 3rd grade of the Moroccan public system and remaining throughout all their educational and professional life, the connection between societal and individual multilingualism becomes evident when we consider the reasons why certain speakers still continue to view and use French as an important language while other bilinguals appear to abandon it. Generally, the linguistic choice reflects a dichotomy that has long been displayed between the Arabic educated elite and the French educated elite echoing a conflict between modernity and tradition, the colonial and the national, and the struggle for an ethnocultural authenticity.

When we consider the case of Morocco, the ethnocultural diversity serves a significant constituent in the complexity of the language situation. Given that Morocco is home to three main varieties of Tamazight (Tashelhit, and Tarifit, and Tamazight), two varieties of Arabic (Modern Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic), and three foreign languages (French, English, and Spanish), the task of classifying each medium in relation to the others is a daunting one.

Language ideology does not lie totally in its linguistic system. Speakers' choice of a language, a variety, or a register, is a social behavior that results from their own understanding of the norms of the environments in which they live. Individuals, in fact, view their socioeconomic standing and political climate as important façades to translate their experiences. Language, similarly, introduces a new dimension to evaluate these dynamics in order to analyze any linguistic act. Fairclough (2015) defines discourse as a

form of social practice. That is, linguistic conventions are subordinate to social institutions. Kress (1985) defines discourse as a systematically organized set of statements that form the expression of values and meaning of a certain institution. Thus, language becomes the voice of the institution as the controlling entity of order and power.

Language ideology is not only a reflection of the institutional directives, but an exploitation of the normalized relationship in a community between a linguistic variety and who uses it, and where and how it is used (Myers-Scotton, 1998). In other words, speakers exploit the associations that their addressees make of a certain linguistic code or register and its typical users. Bell (1984) asserts that designing the conversational agency corresponds to the audience in mind, adding that the design chosen is based on the discourse associated with a certain social group. Choice is a cognitive calculation that serves to achieve a certain social end (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 19).

Possessing the repertoire of a variety is essential for choice. Studies have proven that the power of the community norms is a bold index for choice. That is, group membership renders language a particular form and a particular discourse. Labov's study of adolescent students in Harlem indicated that those who are best integrated into a coherent social group showed the highest frequency in use of distinctive features of Black English Vernacular (Labov, 1972). Labov's results highlight attitude as a critical component for choice.

The Markedness Model (ML) was introduced by Carol Myers-Scotton as a social index of motivation and choice of a certain variety. In this account, switching codes in any utterance reflects a set of anticipated *Rights* and *obligations* (R/O) aligned with a differential one (Myers-Scotton, 1998). Choices according to Myers-Scotton are dictated

by social dynamics, which allow the speaker whether to reject or follow the normative model. Choice in this framework is a rational act in the sense that it does not solely reflect the group membership, but all situational directives or structural norms. Under the Markedness Model (ML), speakers are rational actors whose choice is elicited by the tendency to *optimize*, and to enhance the rewards and minimize the costs (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 19).

Other major works in the literature of discourse analysis introduce the notable studies of Paul Grice (1975) and his *Cooperative Principle*. In his efforts explaining language as a human medium for communication, Grice suggests that all participants or interlocutors should jointly contribute to the successful exchange of information by centralizing the purpose of the speaker and the effort of the listener:

“Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1989, p. 46).

The work of Grice was also influential in developing the *Relevance Theory*, which was later introduced by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (1995). The theory suggests that a pragmatic discursive framework is essential to understand utterances and how they are communicated. This framework suggests that communication takes place in the model of coding and decoding. That is, the speakers encode their codes and transmit them to their audience who in turn decode them to fit the meaning of the speaker or what they take the speaker to mean. However, like any other frameworks that concern the dynamics of discourse, other factors including context, intentionality, and mutual cognitive environment play a fundamental role in the code model.

Style also adds a significant explanation in language discourse. Style conveys another indexical meaning that essentially stems from the direct associations with context. Indexicality suggests that words potentially change their referent with every utterance depending on the context that shelters them, which chiefly points at a social meaning. Style shifting does not necessarily concern switching monolingually from informal to formal, or from a local dialect to another regional one. The same framework involves style-shift, which takes into account code-switching and borrowing from one language to another, which will be addressed later in the analyses. Penelope Eckert's (2000) study of the two high school girls shows that the stylistic effort is conscious and completely rational. Linguistic features of style and creativity are also governed and associated with the social landscape, which involve borrowing a certain lexical item, expression, intonation pattern, or pronunciation in a consciously designed creativity (Eckert, 2000). Style and creativity, thus, translate the speaker's adaptation of the context and the familiarity with interlocutors or audience. Stylistic difference might be also attributed to the relationship among groups and between groups and individual speakers. In other words, speakers use a particular style, variety, or register to different audiences, given their understanding of how language varies by social groups (Cruzan & Adams, 2012).

Language contact results in bi-multilingualism (Cruzan & Adams, 2012), but we should note that as pointed out by Romaine, the contact, initially, is a phase of unequal dynamics leading to a potential renegotiated state of monolingualism, which in other situations introduces L1 as the subordinate language, and L2 as the dominant one. Thomason and Kaufman (1998) introduced two fundamental language shift outcomes in

similar situations. First, they affirm that borrowing from L2 into L1 with the maintenance of L1, and second the interference from L1 under a shift to L2. If language contact is potentially indexical of language shift, it also contributes to structural changes in languages via code switching and borrowing.

Language choice made by individuals in any bi-multilingual society has a long-term effect on the linguistic profile of the languages concerned. Language shift, similarly, entangles bi-multilingualism as a linguistic phase leading towards monolingualism in a new language (Romaine, 1994, p. 51). That is, any community that is exposed to more than one language gradually, usually generationally, becomes bi-multilingual, but may shift transitionally back toward monolingualism abandoning its own language and embracing the language of the power structures. In this vein, the difference between each language represents a social contrast that signals the functions and the gains of the shift.

Language Contact and MA–FR Code-Switching

Language contact has been historically a common phenomenon across many speech communities. Today, most multilingual societies were either under colonial protectorates or implemented open policies aimed for regional or continental dialogue. Moroccan multilingualism, in fact, is the accumulative outcome of the numerous military, political, economic, and cultural control of European and Middle Eastern powers. The country's geographical proximity, human migration, and transnational culture are also important constituents of this multilingual profile. It is important to note that the primary product of multilingualism is code switching. This includes language convergence and

borrowing, leaving a serious impact on the structure of Moroccan Arabic (MA) resulting in its constant deracination from Classical Arabic (CA) as the formal base.

The linguistic situation in Morocco is more than diglossic. In Romaine's terms (1994), diglossia is an interpretive organism that situates authority in explaining why a certain variety serves a particular function or used in a particular context. It is important to note that Moroccan Arabic or 'Darija' is the Low variety, the home language, or the informal medium. On the other hand, MSA, which has generated most of its normative rules from CA, is the High variety, the public language, commonly established as the official medium for the country. While the Low variety, or MA, functions in ordinary informal settings like interacting with friends and family, the high varieties, MSA and French, are used formally in academic and professional environments. Romaine (1994) argues that the H and L varieties are usually dissimilar not only in terms of grammar, phonology, and vocabulary, but also with regard to a wide array of social characteristics such as function, prestige, stability, and standardization (p. 46).

MA differs from MSA at many levels. The phonological aspects include the deletion of diphthongs substituted with long vowels, the adoption of the voiceless bilabial sound [p] and the voiced velar [g], as well as the omission of inflectional vowelization, which are foreign to the CA sound system. The lexical adaptation involves countless borrowed words from French and Spanish. However, the syntactic order does not differ from that of MSA, which are both generated and reinforced via the standardization process.

The main distinction between Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic is that the former enjoys more phonological, lexical, morphological, and syntactic flexibility than

the latter. For instance, while both still keep the synthetic feature, Standard Arabic disregards the inflectional endings with the lack of final diacritics (e.g. CA *kitaabun* (Book) → MSA *Kitaab*).

Another important feature that CA still conveys is its inflexible word order. The grammatical order of CA necessitates the object to precede the verb in verbal constructions while MSA uses the alternative order (subject + verb + object). Another noticeable lexical feature of MSA is its heavy use of borrowing from French and English (Ennaji, 2005) and that is, in a major part, due to the isolation of CA in religious and literary contexts and its exclusion from scientific update.

By many historical standards, Arabic in Morocco, similar to the case of English with its large-scale importations from Latin, French, and other languages, witnessed a shift process that has become scarcely recognizable due to factors of appropriation and normalization. While it is evident to recognize Arabic as a Semitic language, it is almost mythical today to fit MA or Darija in the same family due to all the intrusive embedment in syntax, phonology, and lexicon.

Darija is the lingua franca of all Moroccans. This Low variety is neither codified nor standardized. Ennaji considers Moroccan Arabic to be “a debased form of Classical/Standard Arabic” (Ennaji, 2002, p. 5). It is the outcome of the contact-induced language change of CA intersected with French, Spanish, and Berber. This form differs from that of CA more conspicuously at the phonological and lexical levels.

The phonological characterization reveals the dropping of the vowels and the use of the schwa (e.g. MSA: *kataba* (to write) → MA: *ktəb*). Similarly, the phonological feature of MA also disregards the use of glottalization of *Hamza* [ʔ] and replaces it with

long vowels (e.g. MSA: *yaʔkul* (He eats) → MA: *yākul*). On a different note, the diphthongs are also omitted and substituted with long vowels (e.g. MSA: *beit* (house) → MA: *bi:t*). Additionally, the lexical distinction is also clear to note. We can easily mark the extensive borrowings of MA from French or Spanish (e.g. FR. *Copier* (to copy) → *kopji*) or in Spanish (e.g. SP. *semana* (week) → MA: *se'mana*). Berber loans are also frequent words among diverse ethnic Moroccan speakers but not as dominant as those from French or Spanish.

Language contact leads to language shift, and shift occurs when the language that is replaced, or the substratum, can leave a substantial impact on the replacing language, or the superstratum; as people retain features of the substratum as they learn the new language and pass these features on to the next generations (Risdianto, 2014, p. 27). In this vein, Classical Arabic in Morocco is a substratum of Moroccan Arabic or *Darija*.

Code switching refers to the alternation of speakers between two codes; usually between two languages or two dialects in the course of a typical conversation. Like language shift or death, code switching is another gradual outcome of language contact. In contact phenomena, code switching has a special status, and can be both a mechanism and an outcome (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 104). While in many cases of bi-multilingualism code switching has been a historical factor for language shift or language death, in many other societies it is a positive force to maintain bi-multilingualism (Romaine, 1994, p. 57).

Moroccan bilinguals of French and Arabic display high frequency of code switching as a distinctive characteristic in most urban speech communities. Compound bilinguals, also known as sequential bilingualism, present the majority of Moroccan

bilinguals. This category refers to those who usually acquire Arabic at an earlier age than French. As a matter of fact, the Moroccan public education system introduces MSA in the 1st grade of public schools while French not until the 3rd grade. Compound bilinguals usually develop two semantic systems and two linguistic codes (Romaine, 1994). Other bilinguals in Morocco are coordinate bilinguals, or simultaneous bilinguals. This category includes those who had their primary or elementary education in the private school system where French is usually taught one or two years before MSA; however, this does not exclude Moroccan Arabic as the home language. Coordinate bilingualism uses one semantic system and two linguistic codes (Romaine, 1994).

Code switching is more frequent in casual environments. While this linguistic behavior is generally stigmatized in formal settings, it is undeniable that it covers a large portion of Moroccan Arabic. Many studies, however perceive code switching in Moroccan Arabic as a never-ending nightmare, a trauma of the French colonization, and a disloyalty to the Moroccan Arabic culture and language. Guessous (1976), for instance, describes code switching as form of a '*bastard language*' while Zaidane (1980) calls it a '*handicap*' for thought and expression. These relatively older studies seem to attribute the results to the educational level disregarding the social situation of the utterance and the choice behind it.

More recently, Ennaji distinguishes the attitudes towards Moroccan Arabic in two major groups: the conservatives and the progressives (Ennaji, 2005). I might also argue that Moroccan Arabic speakers are communally conscious of the linguistic insecurity towards Modern Standard Arabic and its vulnerability to French in the sciences despite the constant efforts in standardization and borrowing.

Code switching occurs more frequently among the progressives, or rather the ordinary Moroccan speakers, who see that Moroccan Arabic with its high frequency of code switching and borrowing is part of the Moroccan authenticity and cultural identity. Thus, code switching becomes an inherent quality of the Moroccan dialect and a persuasive phenomenon shaped by the forces of the past and the present.

Linguists look at code switching from three main perspectives: sociolinguistic which concerns stylistics, attitudes, and motivations; syntactic which involves grammar and system; and psycholinguistic which deals with the mental representations of bi-multilingualism and language processing. This research addresses in part the sociolinguistic and the syntactic code switching. Romaine (1994) categorizes sociolinguistic code switching into two main conditions: non-situational, also known as metaphorical, and situational, or transactional (pp. 55-63). Metaphorical code switching occurs when a change of the topic of the discourse demands a change in the language used prompted by the various effects the speakers intends to convey. On the other hand, transactional code switching occurs when the speaker changes the language because of a change in the situation. Studies in syntactic code switching approach this behavior accounting for the grammatical constraints, or the conceivable sites for the alternation to occur. This suggests further cross-linguistic analyses of both interconnected languages to pinpoint any distinctions or commonalities. In many societies, switching serves important functions for it conveys countless aspects involving societal, psychological, ideological, and linguistic mechanisms.

Metaphorical code switching occurs when a change of the topic of the conversation demands a change in the language used while transactional code switching

is a functional shift that has a stylistic or a textual function to flag a change in tone from serious to comic or vice-versa. Metaphorical code switching is mostly widespread among the Arabized Amazigh communities in urban settings who tend to switch to Tamazight when the topic shifts toward personal and family inquiries. On the other hand, transactional code switching typically concerns shifting the code between Arabic and French. For instance, teachers in educational settings usually use the high variety which is MSA, but they would switch to MA to address disciplinary issues or to make jokes, or even more notably when the former king Hassan II in his memorable periodic televised speech switched from MSA to MA shifting the style and the tone to tackle the issue of national security. Code switching is, thus, not random but functionally motivated (Sridhar, 1996, p. 56).

The Equivalent Constraint (EC) framework suggests that the more similar two languages are structurally, the more switching sites they should allow (Romaine, 1994, p. 58). The sites of equivalence in an utterance predict that code switching occurs at grammatical points where the juxtaposition of elements from French and Arabic does not violate the syntactic rule of either language. Unsurprisingly, this bilingual framework does not holistically support the theoretical EC as French and Arabic belong to two largely distinct language families, Romance and Semitic.

Language contact is crucial not only to understand how a certain variety coexists with another, but more importantly how an analytic language like French interconnects with a synthetic language like Arabic. Synthetic languages are characterized by the general use of affixation or embedment while analytic languages rely on word order. A cross-linguistic contrast of the Equivalent Constraint between Arabic, French, Spanish,

and English, reveals that code switching in these instances is more likely to occur between French and Arabic or Spanish and Arabic due to syntactic equivalence.

- MA: “طوموبيلته المفضلة” → Noun phrase: (N + Det.) + (Adj.) → the synthetic feature shows that the possessive pronoun is affixed into the noun. Similar to French, the Arabic adjectival constructions use number and gender modifications, and place the adjective after the noun it modifies. The word “طوموبيلة” in Moroccan Arabic is also contextually interchangeable with the word “سيارة” but most speakers use the French derivation.
- FR: “*Sa voiture préférée*” → Noun phrase: (Det.) + (N) + (Adj.) → gender agreement between the possessive, the noun, and the adjective.
- SP: “*Su coche favorito*” → Noun phrase: (Det.) + (N) + (Adj.) → similar to French, the construction requires the number and gender agreement between the possessive pronoun and the possessor as well as between the possessed and the possessor.
- ENG: *His favorite car* → Noun Phrase: (Det.) + (Adj) + (N) → no gender or number agreement between the noun and the adjective.

Utterances of MA-FR code switching occur when the interlocutors are piecing together new words, by taking, say, a French verb and giving it an Arabic conjugation for instance. Grammatical code switching is highly frequent among Moroccan bilinguals particularly with French borrowings entering the repertoire uninterruptedly. Intra-

sentential switching includes, for instance, the attribution of Arabic morphosyntactic features to French borrowed verbs:

- [kopjit l `kōr taʃ longli] → “I copied the English course.”

The verb here is “*Copier*” with the Arabic suffix of the perfect tense in the first person singular embedded into the French verb after dropping the infinitive ending “*er*”. This sentence also uses a borrowing of the French word “*cours*” meaning course.

- [t`regl ʃlija] → “You`re kidding me?!”

The affixation of the letter [t] is the second person singular prefix of the non-perfect Arabic verb embedded into a the French infinitive “*règler*” after dropping the infinitive ending of the verb “*er*”.

It is important to note that code switching in Moroccan Arabic is not necessarily unconscious nor does it necessarily reflect a bilingual incompetence. Most instances of code switching, indeed, show accurate morphosyntactic features that do not violate the constraints of Arabic or French. Additionally, code-switchers are literate speakers at certain educational levels with an adequate background to allocate the right sites and models for alternation. Speakers in code-switched utterances are, to some extent, aware of the linguistic sentential construction of both codes. Any elementary level education in French might possibly allow the switch to occur, but the more complex the switch is, the higher the educational background we might assume. Code mixing or tagging, on the other hand, does not require as much linguistic awareness. As illustrated in the examples, this is a non-functional feature that includes the so-called trigger words involving lexical transfers or bilingual homophones.

Another important feature of language contact in Morocco is tag switching. That is, the interlocutors use linguistic tags, usually borrowed words or expressions at the beginning of the sentence, middle, or end, to stress a particular attitude as that of identity, socioeconomic status, level of education, gender, or politeness.

- [nshōf haði sil θu plè] → “Let me see this please”.

The example shows that the sentence starts with an Arabic verb, “to see” conjugated with the first person singular in the non-perfect followed by a demonstrative pronoun “this”. The sentence is tagged with the French polite expression for request “*s`il te plaît*”.

Generally, Moroccan Speakers employ transactional and metaphorical code switching to relate to certain situations or topics, but we also need to consider language attitudes. Ennaji distinguishes the attitudes towards Moroccan Arabic in two major groups: the conservatives and the progressives (Ennaji, 2005, p. 169). I might also argue that Moroccan Arabic speakers are communally conscious of the linguistic insecurity towards Standard Arabic and its vulnerability to French in the sciences despite the constant efforts in standardization and borrowing. Code switching occurs more frequently among the progressives, or rather the ordinary Moroccan speakers, who see that Moroccan Arabic with its frequency of code switching and borrowing is part of the Moroccan authenticity and cultural identity. Thus, code switching becomes an inherent quality of the Moroccan dialect and a persuasive phenomenon prescribed by the past and conventionalized by the present.

The Markedness Model in MA-FR Code-Switching

Generally, Markedness in linguistics refers to the way words are modified to convey a special meaning different from the normal, the conventional, or the casual: the unmarked. While markedness resides in monolingual discourses, the studies of code switching in multilingual repertoires suggest that the social motion is a comprehensive force for choice and motivation asserting that the stylistic variation is interpretive and meaningful. The term markedness proposes the reevaluation of the altered forms and the conceptualization of the ability and the choice of the speaker (Myers-Scotton, 1998). In other words, the Markedness Model (MM) in code switching delivers an extent of rationality that frames the speaker as the rational actor. To outline the theoretical construct of Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model, the readings of the marked choice must be relative in three ways: first, interaction-specific, second, dynamic and subject to change with any circumstantial change, and third, conveying a multidimensional ordering (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 23).

Choice under the Markedness lenses indicates that this mechanism is performed at some level of consciousness. High frequencies of code switching among bilingual Moroccans require more than linguistic decoding and hints at the socioeconomic and cultural group membership. While this claim might partially contradict other studies that focus more on the association of code switching with repertoire limitations and lexical availability, I argue that the socio-economic and cultural components are also crucial for the intelligibility of the discourse.

Under the Markedness Model, the speaker is a negotiator who strives to maximize the reward and minimize the cost (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 19). The negotiation process

is primarily framed as an effort for optimization. That is, switching to French, with its collective preconception of power and openness, is a customized model that communicates intentionality in all the speech act components. While the locutionary act enlists the grammatical constraints and the lexical attributions of the utterance with its referentiality, the illocutionary and perlocutionary acts require understanding of the sociocultural, political, economic, and educational landscapes of the country.

Speakers conventionally share similar tendencies in interactive code switching, meaning, despite the bilingual competence, both the speaker and the addressee are casually mindful of the cultural marker signaled with the switch. This consciousness mediates two distinctive orientations, that of the Arabophones (*Arabisants*) and the Francophones (*Françaisants*). In other words, an act that echoes a middle-ground attempt to repudiate the two linguistic discourses and policies and their failure to inclusively integrate the ethnocultural diversity as a marker of the cultural and linguistic identity.

The Moroccan Arabic utterance with its high frequency of code switching is a Rational Actor Model that necessarily indicates that the generated social powers are inherent determinants for choice and motivation. This rationality regulates the code choice cognitively by the dependence on the circumstantial value. That is, the choice rests on the estimation that code switching will enhance the rewards and minimize the risks by allowing the speaker to achieve a social end. Given that French was once the medium of the elite and still the language of the educated and the socially prominent, and adding also that Standard Arabic is not keeping up with the scientific, geopolitical, and economic dominance in the age of globalization, the code-switched utterance implies that the choice is what Clark (1996) and Myers-Scotton (1998) distinguish as a call for equity.

Code switching in Moroccan Arabic is a marked choice elicited by the hesitance, or the desirability, to choose one group over the other (i.e. the Arabisants versus the Françisants). The choice of one language over the other is understood as a question of interchangeability and authority rather than an equal duality. This discourse has been designing the social norms and attitudes towards each variety symptomizing a schizophrenic linguistic climate that catalogs Arabic as the forgotten form powerless to the global development, and French as the scar of colonization that is, nonetheless, capable of stabilizing a good rapport with Europe and thus securing an eminent future both domestically and regionally.

Myers-Scotton (1998) argues that in the choice of one language, variety, or register over the other, rationality offers a mechanism that triggers performance. This mechanism lays out the ways and the reasons for choice as well as the optimizing operations. Elster (1991) asserts that optimization revolves around three main operations: the consideration of the prior beliefs and values to find the best choice, the internal consistency of these beliefs and values, and their available evidence. Being the best action of its speakers, the “Rational Actor” of code switching in Moroccan Arabic is partially based on the mutual responsiveness that French has represented opportunity as an evidenced reality for all. However, the desire to retain an ‘independent’ Moroccan identity assigns Arabic to be a matrix language which bears structural linguistic and sociocultural insertions to meet the needs of modernity. This marks code switching under the Rational Actor model to be the optimal renegotiation that reconciles colonialism and independence in hopes of redefining the status quo.

Since social norms influence the code choice, and not entirely explain it, the norms indicate that the choice is common among the group members and partly sustained by their approval or disapproval (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 31). The linguistic intrusion in MA – FR code switching reflects first an individual choice that views French to be still dominating the North African region, probably on a much heavier scale than in the days of the Protectorate. In effect, the normalization element presents a generative evidence for many members of the group who continue to see that Arabic is incapacitated in academic and professional settings, and thus given less prospect and authority. To avoid this communal distress, switching to French becomes almost inevitable as a new norm.

The social norms are also aligned with the language policy and the educational structures. The public education system introduces Arabic throughout all primary education to be the language of the sciences yet inexplicably and unpardonably shifts it to French at the higher-education level. I have to argue also that the educational policies are accountable to the social norms.

The educational rationale for code switching is often claimed to be a lack of mastery in either or both languages, which further correlates with the Rational Actor model to some extent. Ennaji's (2005) assertion that code-switching is often frequent among educated people does not necessarily reflect linguistic competence, not simply because some ideas are 'better' expressed in one code than the other, nor the intrusive code offers an exclusive lexical accessibility or intelligibility in the discourse, but the switchers tend to effortlessly index their level education. For example, the frequency of the switch would be more likely higher in the utterance of a university student compared to that of a high school student or a middle school student discussing any relevant scientific topic of

their academic contents. This implies that the degrees of complexity are bound to French as the medium of instruction for these topics. That is, code switching, before becoming a normalized social behavior, it is a compulsory enactment of language policy in education.

If the Rational Actor model explains why speakers (actors) code-switch, it also provides other external structural constraints possibly psychological, political, or economic (Elster, 1989). Myers-Scotton (1998) redrafts these constraints to be generally subsumed in the social context, and argues that the structural constraints are the speakers' social identity and the discourse situation. In fact, age, gender, and socioeconomics as well as situational variables such as settings and topics are also fundamental components for this theoretical construct. The societal and individual structural constraints provides what Elster views as the *opportunity set* which is definitive of the linguistic repertoire of the actor (Elster, 1989).

Under the lenses of the *opportunity set*, the alternation to French is an educational directive that expands to the social context. While most educated individuals continue their higher education via French as the academic medium of instruction for the natural sciences and technology, the variety then is transferred into society as the new *opportunity set* or the determined code.

CHAPTER III

DIMENSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS IN MA-FR CODE-SWITCHING

The Structural Dimensions

In this part of the study, I focus on the structural results of alternations in Moroccan Arabic and highlight the most conspicuous grammatical features that might suggest any predictions regarding its formal and pragmatic status.

Bilingual code switching proposes two main structural perspectives to evaluate the alternation in the discourse. Poplack's study of code switching in English and Spanish (1980) provided an influential insight with the notions of the Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalent Constraint. The Free Morpheme Constraint explains that the alternation occurs among constituents with no bound morphemes. The Equivalence Constraint, on the other hand, tends to explain that the possibility for the alternation should not violate any syntactic rule of either code.

Studying the structural results in code switching requires a wide array of frameworks to understand this phenomenon from all possible perspectives; the psycholinguistic, the morphosyntactic, and the semantic. In this effort, my aim is to examine Moroccan Arabic – French code-switched utterances in intra-sentential constituencies using the Equivalent Constraint model (EC) and the Matrix Language Frame model (MFL). Both models are theories that have been used to examine language contact.

Alternations occur structurally in inter-sentential and intra-sentential code switching. Intra-sentential indicates that the switch occurs within the sentence, while inter-sentential marks the switch among sentences. As noted in the language contact and code-switching part, the linguistic equivalence is the major focus while examining the intra-sentential alternations. Similarly, Myers-Scotton's Matrix Framework model (MFL), in part, is also devised to explain the intra-sentential code switching.

Under the MFL model, the more dominant language is the Matrix Language (ML), and the other one is the Embedded Language (EL). ML is often identified as the first language of the speaker, which is in this case Moroccan Arabic, and the embedded is French. The ML model provides a syntactic framework where the EL is inserted using structural metrics.

Most of the studies conducted in code switching have argued that alternation is structurally unbalanced. The basic idea was initially introduced in early bilingualism studies with Hermann Paul (1898), who asserts that despite the level of mastery, there is always a language that forms the basis while the other serves a subordinate role. Carol Myers-Scotton has adopted the same line of thinking. Myers-Scotton's redrafting still indicates the dominance of the Matrix Language, which determines and governs all the system morphemes in the embedment.

The syntactic governance of the ML manifests itself in Moroccan Arabic but there are certain limitations. Intra-sentential constructions in Moroccan Arabic (MA) identify the ML in essence to be Arabic. Different from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which uses S+V+O order in declarative statements, Classical Arabic (CA) syntax necessitates the order to be V+S+O. In this vein, Moroccan Arabic has also witnessed some degrees

of incidental standardization, which originally concerned Classical Arabic. This, indeed, has allowed Moroccan Arabic to enjoy some structural flexibility and equivalency to the romance languages, particularly that of French.

- CA: ذهب الولد الى الجامعة → The boy went to the university
- MSA: الولد ذهب الى الجامعة → The boy went to the university
- FR: Le garçon est allé à l'université → الولد ذهب الى الجامعة

Table 1

Syntactic Order across the Three Languages

Language	C.A	M.S.A	FR.
Syntactic order	V + S + O	S + V + O	S + V + O

Standardization constitutes the syntactic equivalency. The MA construction would not prompt the switch syntactically simply because the word order starts with the verb first. That is, the speaker would not be offered any trigger or sequential thought for alternation. The equivalence constraint lies in the standardization of MSA. In other words, the linguistic dominance is facilitated, in part, by standardization. This raises the question, would code switching in Moroccan Arabic be less frequent without the standardization of Arabic itself?

Even though, CA remains essential for major lexical derivations and other grammatical applications for MSA, the latter remains the most frequent. MSA is a revised form that not only offers more structural equivalencies but also forms the habitual

linguistic medium for most Arab speakers. If borrowing, phonological or syntactic adaptations, were essential elements for the standardization process in Arabic, I might also suppose embedment might as well be an unrestrictedly normalized tool for the Moroccanization of Arabic.

The syntactic constraints featuring MSA and French allow the two codes to often interconnect in altered utterances coherently without breaking the syntactic rule of either code. Moroccan speakers do not hesitate to code-switch whenever points of equivalency emerge within the utterance.

Noun Insertion

- MA/FR - CS: *bɛit wahed café* - 'I want coffee'.
- FR: *Je veux un café* - 'I want coffee'.
- The Base Language pattern: [V+S] + Det. + N
- The Embedded Language pattern: S + V + Det. + N

In this example, the embedded French word "*café*" does not violate the syntactic system of the base language, and thus remains after the Moroccan Arabic determiner, the indefinite article, which is not expressed in MSA but only understood. I would also add that if the switch were from French to Moroccan Arabic, the word position would not differ from the given example. In other words, the lexical item is interchangeable in the same construction of the two codes due to the translinguistic equivalent constraint.

Adjective Insertion

- MA/F - CS: dewezt mʕa'ha yama:t très beaux. → 'I spent very beautiful days with her'.
- FR: J'ai passé avec elle des jours très beaux. → 'I spent very beautiful days with her'.
- The Base Language pattern: [S + V] + Det. + PRN + Det. + N + Adj.
- The Embedded Language pattern: S + V + Det. + PRN + Det. + N + Adj.

Worth noting in this example is the Equivalent Constraint in the noun phrase in both codes which controls the alternation. The EC prompts a conscious and functional switch, which reveals not only the placement of the adjective following the order of both codes, but also preserving the gender and number modification which is a part of the base and the embedded grammars.

Determiner Insertion

- MA/F – CS: Quelques yama:t
- FR: Quelques jours - 'A few days'.
- MA/F – CS: ʃəwɪjaʃ de sbar
- FR: Un peu de patience - 'a little patience'.
- MA/F – CS: imtiħa:n de l' ʕarbiya
- FR: Examen d'Arabe - 'Arabic exam'.

In the first example, determiner insertion follows the base language syntactic order, that of Arabic. However, in the second and third examples, the construction ‘*of*’, or possessive, does not necessarily require the prepositional determiner in the noun phrase, but still established by the embedded language. In Arabic grammar, possessive constructions are understood without the expression of the construction ‘*of*’, but in this example, the grammatical constraint is reversed by the embedded possessive construction, that of French. Under the EC model, the claim that neither code violates the syntactic order is partial here. MA, dissimilar to MSA or CA, adopts a Romance feature, precisely that of French in possessives, or the construction ‘*of*’.

MSA and MA have borrowed and appropriated many syntactic, lexical, and phonological features from French and English more than any other languages. The Free Morpheme Constraint does not pose any limitation on MA/FR code switching. In fact, many borrowed verbs from French undergo intra-sentential alternations because of the granted lexical and phonological adaptation.

The Free Morpheme Constraint predicts that the switch is ruled out between a lexeme and a bound morpheme unless the item is lexically and phonologically integrated into the base language. This constraint is concerned only with word boundaries, and due to the standardization and the extensive borrowing in MA and MSA, MA/FR code switching has been circuitously triggered by the efforts for structural equivalency through standardization. To exemplify, in the case of French/English code switching, it is disallowed to blend an English infinitive with a French inflectional morpheme. In other words, constructions such as “*watch*” and “*é*” for past participle (*watch-é*) is not feasible.

However, if the word is a cognate or phonologically adapted into the base language, the alternation might be possible. For instance, the word “*boycott*” can be attached to many bound morphemes; (*boycott-er*), (*boycott-é*), or (*boycott-ant*).

In order to distinguish between the ML and EL under the MLF model, the distinction between system morphemes and content morphemes is essential. System morphemes display words of functions and inflections that express the relation between content morphemes but do not assign or receive any thematic roles. Content morphemes include nouns, verbs, adjectives, and some prepositions; words that convey semantic and pragmatic aspects, but also assign and receive thematic roles in the utterances. Myers-Scotton’s proposal of Complementizer Projection (CP) provides a more accurate and appropriate unit of analysis than the intra-sentential framework. In fact, she argues that even within the sentence, diverse grammars might not be in contact (Myers-Scotton, 2002).

Verbial Insertions

- MA/FR - CS: t`poza ʃlija → “*you’re playing star on me!*”.
- MA/FR – CS: pasi:t lih lkora → “*I passed the ball to him*”
- MA/F - CS: kopji:t l`ko:r taʃ longli → “*I copied the English course.*”

In the first example, [t] is the inflectional morpheme of the non-perfect Arabic verb prefixed into the French verb “*poser*” after dropping the infinitive ending of the verb, “*er*”, and replacing it with the ending vowel [a] of the Arabic singular addressed pronoun in the non-perfect tense.

The infinitive (*passer*) or (*copier*) are attached to the inflectional morpheme of the perfect tense in the first person singular suffixed into the French verb after dropping the infinitive ending “*er*”. This example does not fully support the Matrix Language dominance, which asserts that the ML syntax controls the embedment. In fact, the surface grammar shows Arabic in charge of the inflection, but the abstract still involves French applications. The lexical and phonological adaptation of the French verb into the MA repertoire makes the switch more practical within the boundaries of the lexeme and the bound morpheme.

These intra-sentential units show more than classical code switching. Myers-Scotton (1998) classified two kinds of code switching based on the speaker’s proficiency. Her distinction of classical and composite code switching is a matter of linguistic competence. In other words, if the code-switcher has full access to the grammatical structure of the ML, the switch is regarded as classical, but if the switcher doesn’t have the full grammatical access of the ML, part of the abstract structure comes from one variety and part from the other, making the switch composite. In the given utterance, the speaker is consciously aware of the grammatical frame of the ML and also has full access to the EL grammar, which is evident in the dropping of the infinitive suffix before the inflection and the embedment. In part, these code-switched utterances are classical; for the speaker enjoys a certain degree of mastery in the ML, but also consciously and actively composite; for it displays the switcher’s dueling of the two grammars into the pattern of the ML; dropping the ending (EL) and affixing the inflection (ML).

While the Equivalent Constraint (EC) allows the base and embedded language to emerge together syntactically without violating the rules of each other, particularly in

noun, determiner, or adjective insertions, Complementizer Projection (CP) suggests that the bilingual unit consists of ML islands with only ML morphemes, mixed constituents including morphemes from both codes, and EL islands consisting only of EL morphemes. However, the CP framework argues that the ML and the EL morphemes are together under the constraint of the ML. The verbal constructions [pasi:t], [kopji:t] or [t`poza], are not totally controlled by the ML language as they still preserve an interesting feature of French conjugation, that is of the infinitive-morpheme deletion before insertion, and the content morphemes; the thematic content. Mixed constituents CP in these verbs does not only prove that code-switchers are conscious actors of the ML and the EL grammar, but also show that French still enjoys a content and system role despite the embedment and the inflection of the ML.

MA/FR code switching displays alternations in smaller constituents such as adjectives, determiners, nouns, and prepositions but also marks abrupt and clear-cut switching points at phrasal and clausal boundaries. Redouane's data (2005) of code switching among Moroccan immigrants in Canada show more complex constructions.

Clausal Insertions

- MA/FR – CS: xassni nxruj tout de suite pour prendre le bus - 'I have to leave now in order to catch the bus'. (Redouane, 2005)
- MA/FR – CS: lqahwa li au coin - 'the café which is at the corner'. (Redouane, 2005).

In the first example, the switch occurs in the clause of purpose or reason with the

embedded French preposition ‘*pour*’, while the second example shows a relative clause with the word ‘*li*’. It is important to note, in the first example, that the purpose clause uses the infinitive construction that reduces the voice and the tense unlike the Arabic form that uses the full conjugation of the verb. This shows that the EC is not essentially juxtaposed in the two codes’ clausal constructions as they use different grammars. Like MSA or CA, the purpose clause in MA would normally take the inflection of the non-perfect tense in the altered verb ‘*prendre*’. In part, this suggests that the embedded language introduces the base language to a new grammatical system creating a mixed constituency that might shift the structure of the base grammar in the long run.

The second utterance displays the switch after the MA relative pronoun ‘*li*’. The latter, in this instance, did not trigger the Arabic preposition before the noun insertion. Instead, both, the preposition and the noun are switched without violating the code of neither the base nor the embedded language. The switch might also be possible only with the noun insertion ‘*coin*’ without the preposition, which is more common in Morocco: “*lqahwa li au coin*” → “*lqahwa li fel’ coin*”.

While expanding on the structural dimensions in code switching, the lexical adaptation has not only enriched the MA repertoire and allowed more embedment, but also adapted its phonological capacity. Arabic in the Maghreb differs in its phonological capacity to the other varieties like Egyptian or Levantine Arabic. For instance, bilabial sounds in Arabic are generally voiced. Meaning, the sound [b] is conveyed in the letter ‘*baa*’, or [ب]. However, the contact with European languages, primarily French, has added its voiceless counterpart to the Moroccan Arabic sound [p] transliterated sometimes as [پ]. Other phonological adaptations include also the voicing of the

voiceless labiodental sound [f] as [v] and the voiceless velar stop [k] as the voiced velar as [g]. That is, if the ML tends to integrate the EL into its grammatical system, the phonological adaptation in the ML remains essential too. Bilingual code switching affects Moroccan Arabic more than it does for French. In fact, there are various phonological associations in the two systems, but only the ML that undergoes the shift.

The previous examples of the switched utterances rejects the universality of the Equivalent Constraint model presented by Poplack (1980), meaning that alternations should occur only when the constructions in both codes are matching. First, the syntactic order of Arabic, which requires the [V+S+O] pattern for declarative constructions compared to that of French [S+V+O] are dissimilar, but the switch still takes place. This, in part, is due to the language contact and the standardization of Arabic, which disregards the verb as the opening constituent of the sentence. Another inconsistency shows that the construction “*of*”, or possessive in altered utterances, uses the preposition while in the base language construction does not require it. In other word, the possessive constraint is not equivalent in either code, yet the switch still occurs. The verbial insertions, on the other hand, show the contact of inflectional and root morphemes within altered utterances lending less support to the MLF model; for the switcher is consciously aware of the grammar of the two codes allowing them both to control the utterance. Further, the verbial insertions also show the universality of the free morpheme constraint as it shows French verbs inflected within the Arabic affixation due to the lexical and phonological adaptation into the base language.

The foreign features realized through the EC and the MLF model hint at other external implications. Typically, codification or standardization are contrastive and

descriptive processes that expose a certain variety to new conventions either invented or adopted. As illustrated, language contact and the standardized aspects in Arabic have made the equivalence more attainable triggering more possible alternations for Moroccan bilinguals. Code-switching sites are more accessible now at the grammatical, morphosyntactic, and lexical levels, suggesting a possible increase in the frequency of switched utterances and possibly a linguistic shift in this particular variety.

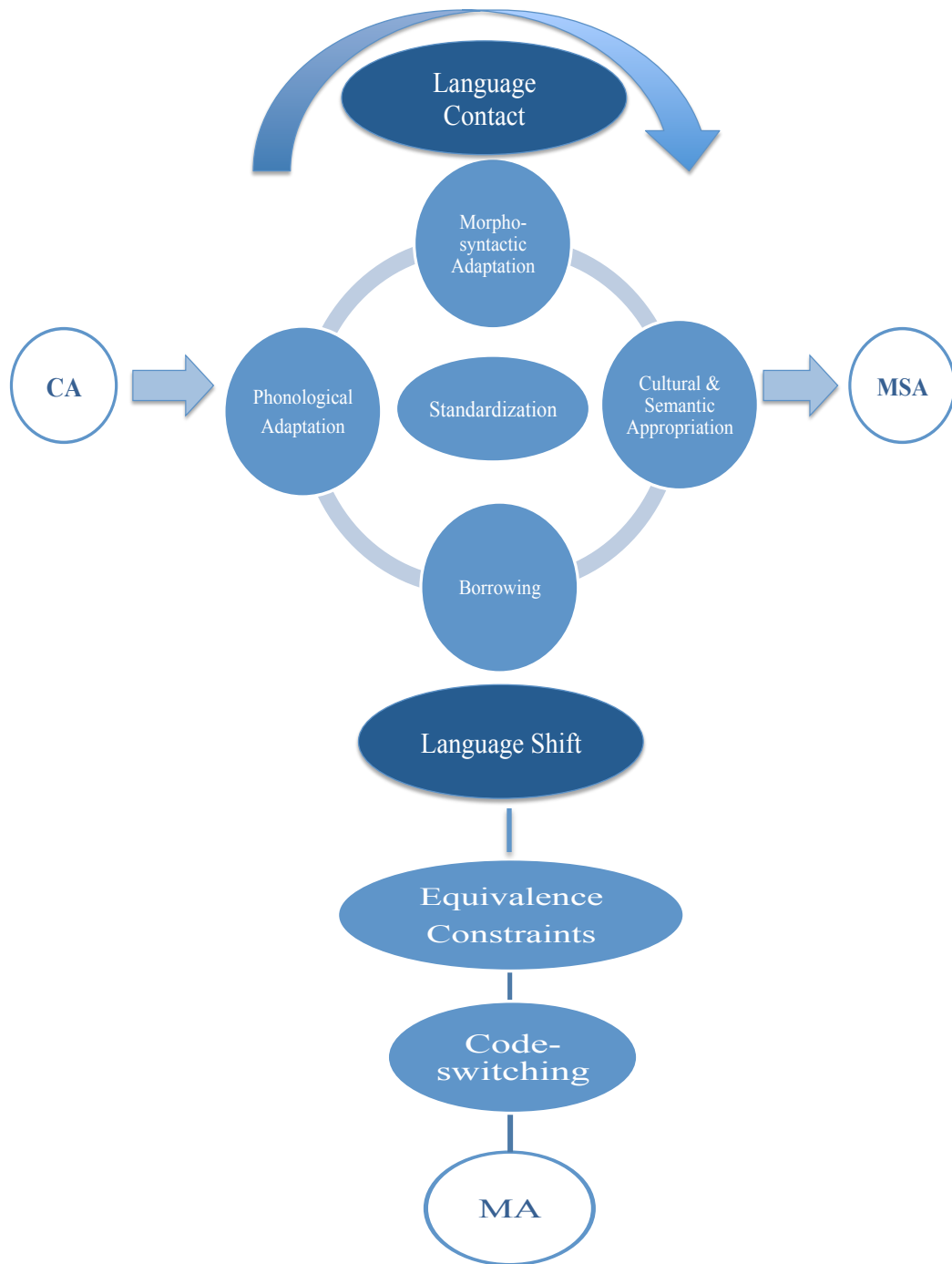


Figure 1. Theoretical Outline of Language Contact and Language Shift

The outline shows the interrelation of the equivalence constraint and the standardization process, which clarifies, in part, the normalized and persisting frequency of code switching in Moroccan Arabic. Bilingual code switching among Moroccan speakers does not necessarily hint at the linguistic incompetence or implies the educational incompleteness as most studies show. In fact, educated bilingual code-switchers have full access to both codes unrestrictedly and are, in fact, the ones who employ this linguistic characterization more frequently.

The Discursive Dimensions

As discussed in the Markedness model, the understanding of an utterance necessitates more than linguistic decoding. Understanding the utterance beyond its textual content is a process of inference, which is explained by Myers-Scotton (1998) as the quest for the certainty that language carries intentionality in addition to referentiality. However, a brief recap on the multilingual background is essential to refine our comprehension of motivation and choice in Moroccan Arabic.

Speakers in multilingual societies regard the H varieties superior to L in many respects. Ennaji's idea that the H varieties are originally conventionalized by the general consensus and choice does not totally endow these varieties with complete authority. As Romaine argues (1994), it is rather the institutional support system that normalizes and reinforces the attitudes towards a particular variety for the latter evokes and controls the attitude and choice.

Many Moroccans favor multilingualism, but at different degrees. Most Moroccans regard MSA insufficient to meet the goals of their societal expectations, even though it is

the central articulation of the Arabisants and the vehicle of tradition. French on the other hand, while the general consensus views it as the language of colonization, is still believed to be essential for the country's openness and transactions with Europe. French remains the medium for the transfer of ideas and technology as well as socioeconomic development (Ennaji, 2005). The institutional support for French remains essentially a colonial legacy.

The idea of determinism in language was also discussed in Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and Benjamin Whorf (1897-1941) hypothesis, that language is determinant of the thought and reflective of the culture. The use of French in post-independence Morocco sparked many debates about potential deracination of the Moroccan tradition. This rhetoric was in principal pushed by the Arabisants who believe that preserving the Moroccan tradition and embracing an independent national identity is only attainable via the revitalization and standardization of Arabic. The other camp presents the Françaisants and their claim that French should remain an important vehicle to guarantee the country's socio-economic development and connection with Europe. This dichotomy implies that Arabic not only remains incapable of instilling openness and securing development, but equally conceivable, French might be undertaking an acculturation process.

MA is the mother tongue of the majority of the Moroccan population. This Arabic variety constitutes other sub-varieties, which might be regionally and ethnoculturally distinct; however, they are all mutually intelligible. MA, even though most Moroccans view it a deviant product of CA, remains the medium of the street and home. In this respect, MA has acclimated itself to the historical, generational, and cultural variation particularly with the colonial, urban-rural and demographic development.

The contact of urban and rural varieties, under the migration influx in post-independence Morocco, has only marked the absorption and the dominance of the rural variety making the split almost invisible. With the emergence of big cities such as Casablanca, the economic and the industrial capital of the country, urban MA is changing its character by opening more to foreign languages, lexically borrowing from French and English, and syntactically adapting to French. Thus, many of these features are today common in the emerging national educated vernacular.

The conflict in the post-independent discourse of the Arabisants and the Françisants is a dichotomy of authenticity and acculturation. In fact, many discourse analysts believe that language and culture are two indivisible sides of the same coin. Fairclough (2015) asserts that language is socioculturally conditioned and any effort to dissociate the constituents is in vain (p. 56).

Borrowing and code switching in MA must be traced back to the so-called French Protectorate as a colonial power that controlled the country for forty-four years. Despite the prolonged colonization of the neighboring Algeria, there was very little French control of Morocco prior to 1912. This colonial experience diffused a restricted access to education favoring in part the Moroccan elite beside the military personnel and colonial administrators' families. This restricted access was driven by the policy to control a native Moroccan minority that was supportive and operating for the colonial office. Nonetheless, Heath (1989) argues that the effect of the colonial language policy of the Protectorate was that French spoken by the chosen minority was still frequently fragmentary.

Upon its independence in 1956, Morocco implemented a mass education policy compulsory for all Moroccan national children beginning at the elementary level, but kept French for foreign language education. This was justified by the country's propensity to facilitate the restitution of its resources and preserve its rapport with Europe. As a matter of fact, Morocco had to nationalize its government bureaucracies, clerical, and other white-collar jobs except for French teachers, "*les coopérants*", who were imported to meet the demand for French language (Heath, 1989, p. 11). The "missions Françaises" and other international primary and secondary schools adopted the French system employing French personals and implementing French as the language of instruction. With the majority of Moroccans being enrolled in public schools while a few are privileged in the French schools, post-independence Morocco has offered French a greater currency compared to the one of Standard Arabic.

With the growing gallicization of education and culture, and Moroccans' substantial migration to European French speaking countries, the French language began to gradually leave its association as the language of the oppressor, and became a vehicle for modernity, liberation, and socio-economic achievement. Noteworthy in this vein is also the critical impact of transnational culture of the "*guest workers*", or the Moroccans living in Europe who tremendously contributed in the French borrowings as well as the phonological and syntactic gallicization of MA.

The French colonial experience and its "*mission civilatrice*" slogan had a stronger linguistic impact directed at the Moroccan population than the one of the Spanish colonization. As Gordon (1962) puts it "when the Portuguese colonized, they built churches; when the British colonized, they built trading stations; when the French

colonized, they built schools” (Gordon, 1962, p. 7). Further, the social associations of French with “*les missions Françaises*”, “*guest workers*”, and socio-economic prominence, have reinforced its perception as a tool for prosperity. Code-switched utterances and borrowing in MA has become a marker of not only an ideological imperative to join progress, but notably a manifestation of the antiquity of CA and its inadequacy for modern life demands. In this light, I might also emphasize that the degrees of rationality in altered utterances hints also at the repudiation of the adaptation and standardization efforts in Arabic. That is, conscious code-switchers often disregard phonological and lexical adaptation of borrowed items. A word transferred into the MA repertoire often keeps its French sounds that may not be necessarily common in Arabic (e.g.: PC, portable, tablette, javel, terrain, casquette, ...etc.).

The continuum of French in the Moroccan vernacular reflects the dilemma of *rational actors* who tend to produce altered utterances based on the demands for modernity and the urge to preserve authenticity. This choice is prompted by the accumulation of all the historical, ethnocultural, and institutional directives that, in principle, cooperate in the construction of the national identity. Further, the dueling of French in MA is constructive and complementary for it pursues openness to Europe and attempts to shelter tradition.

It is also crucial to address ideology when we discuss the characteristics of this variety. MA-FR code switching is an inevitable ideological product of the controlling colonial past. The argument of the proximity to Europe should not convincingly point at France or the French language to be the dominant interferer. The Spanish colonisation of certain cities in the north preceded the French Protectorate. Further, in 1912, the treaty

was cosigned with France to divide the country into two main territories: the Spanish, which occupied a part of the Mediterranean strip and part of the south, and France controlling the capital and rest of the country. By these colonial standards, Spain controlled most of the territories and their resources, and as of today, Spain still claims the two northern cities of Ceuta and Melilla as integral parts of the Spanish sovereignty. Therefore, the issue is more than a territorial control or geopolitical power. Even by the standard of geographical proximity, Moroccan transactions with Spain are undeniably more frequent than those with France. As much of the literature on Moroccan sociolinguistics points out, Spanish did not impact the Moroccan linguistic landscape as French did (Zouhir, 2013, p. 274). The catalyst of this influence was in part in the French colonial ideology that sought to entrench and normalize the French culture via language planning enveloped in the “*mission civilatrice*”.

French’s interference in MA still proceeds as an irresistible force for social elevation and economic development. As one of the many faces of colonial French rules discussed by Brown (1973, p. 173), the Protectorate in Morocco was sought as both a “*colonie d’exploitation*” and “*colonie de peuplement*”. Even though the exploitation of the cultivable land in Morocco was low compared to the ones of Algeria or Tunisia, settler population reached a maximum of between six and eight percent of the total population of the country (Brown, 1973, p. 174). The settlement pattern along with the urbanization and education policies, all serve to call attention to the cultural transplantation that renders linguistic decolonization insurmountable.

MA in such historical circumstances has been exposed to many variations that not only served to enrich its capacity and expand its functions, but also fundamentally

found French interference instrumental to integrate tradition and modernity. MA is a living phenomenon that is essentially nurtured by the countless historical events the Moroccan society has undergone. Originally, European colonialism was not the key factor for the country's bi-multilingualism profile. The Arab conquest, or the French or Spanish occupations were already confronted with language variation in Berber. What the colonial interference suggests is language authority and change, which, indeed, offer the colonial languages much supremacy and prestige over the local varieties. The Quranic teachings as the spiritual construct in addition to the entrenched notion of the French civilizing mission should remain two dominant constituents for choice and motivation in MA as an effort to balance between authenticity and progress. Generationally, these two components have been ideologically secured in the Moroccan society throughout the discourse of language policy.

The Educational Dimensions

Naturally, we acquire our first language as children at home. In Morocco, children are raised speaking the first language of their parents to be their mother tongue, either MA or Berber. It is then this milieu that determines the language that remains for them throughout all their private and public lives.

According to the 2008 annual report of the council of higher education, the Moroccan educational system constitutes three main stages: primary (Le cycle fundamental), lower-upper secondary (le cycle secondaire), and higher education (le cycle supérieure universitaire et non-universitaire). Children officially enter public schools at the age of seven as first graders. However, when they are enrolled, the

language of instruction is not the home language but rather MSA in public schools or French in some private schools. Important to note is the linguistic transition that occurs during the primary education at the age of seven (1st grade) with MSA being introduced as the medium of instruction, then at the age of nine (3rd grade) with French as the first foreign language while the home languages (MA or Berber) remain excluded from the learning process. After the initial phase of building literacy skills in both languages, MSA is used then as the vehicle for Arabic civilization, history, geography, civics, and art, while French serves the learning of natural sciences, economics, and mathematics later in middle and high school.

In order to grasp linguistic interference and code switching in MA, we might need to review the distribution of French and Arabic in the educational system. MSA and French are two critical vehicles for the learning processes in Morocco's education, but they both imply a linguistic rivalry that has been historically manifested throughout language planning and language policy and sociolinguistically prevailed in MA.

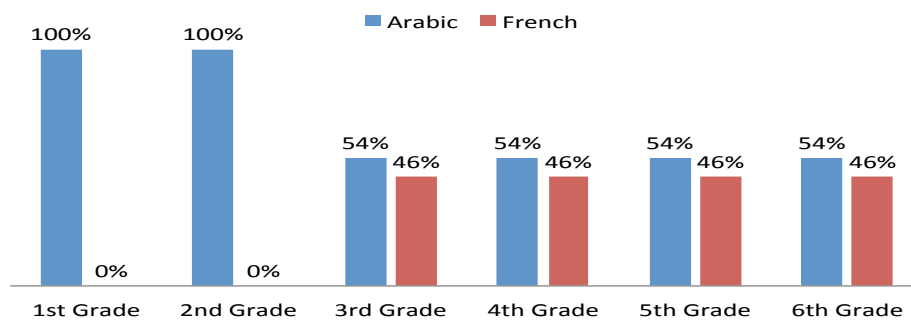


Figure 2. Language Distribution (Arabic & French) at the Primary Levels.
Source: statistical bulletin of the ministry of education adapted from Salmi (1987).

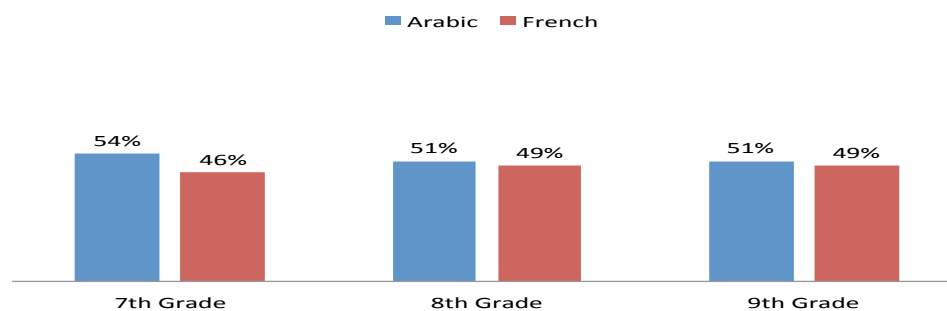


Figure 3. Language Distribution (Arabic & French) at the Secondary Levels.
Source: statistical bulletin of the ministry of education adapted from Salmi (1987).

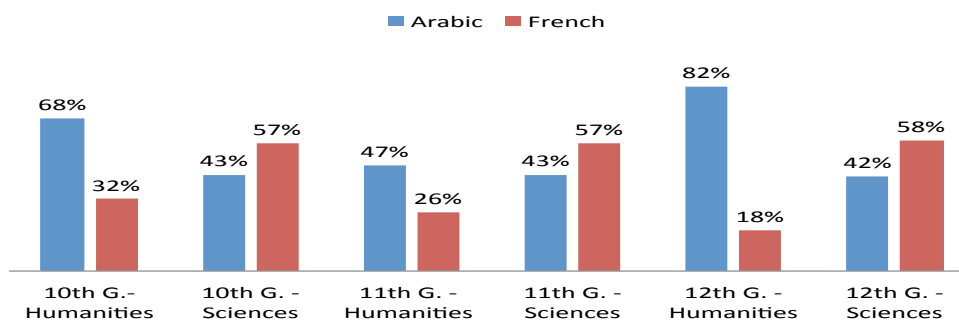


Figure 4. Language Distribution (Arabic & French) at the High School Levels.
Source: statistical bulletin of the ministry of education adapted from Salmi (1987).

Beside this bilingual rivalry, other serious issues Morocco had to inherit from colonialism was the cultural duality; the predominance of the French language, the generated elitism, and the over diversification of the French school model (Chafiqi & Alagui, 2011). Under the colonial agenda, each social class was socioeconomically related to a certain school model without disrupting the establishment of the Protectorate. This policy, eventually, led to a classist systematization of education known in the examples of “les écoles des indigènes”, “écoles islamiques”, “écoles Berbères”, and “écoles des communautés Israelites”. Additionally, the predominance of French culture, its authority in the natural sciences and technology, and, thus, its index for economic prosperity has minimized the role of Arabic, and alienated the mother tongues not only in education, but structurally and sociolinguistically as well. The cultural and linguistic

predominance have been generationally and socially channeled to mark French a requisite tool for success.

MA's exclusion from formal domains is substantiated in part by the Arabization policy that paradoxically regards MA inadequate or a deviant due to its various structural inconsistencies. The alienation of MA from the education system does not resonate with countless sociolinguists who believe that the mother tongue is extremely crucial for the education of children for countless pedagogical and social reasons. Employing the mother tongue as the medium of instruction is also vital for the preservation and the maintenance of cultural identity; a pivotal argument that is ironically used against MA with its frequencies of code switching for the preservation of the Arabo-Islamic culture.

The divide between the Arabisants and the Françisants remains a salient political conflict. In this light, it is important to situate MA in these two dialectical perspectives in which neither discourse gives any significance to the mother tongue. By these binary conventions, MA is neither practically Arabic nor French, yet still denotes national identity and the integrated ideological vehicle for tradition and modernity; however, it is still not granted any legitimate function in education.

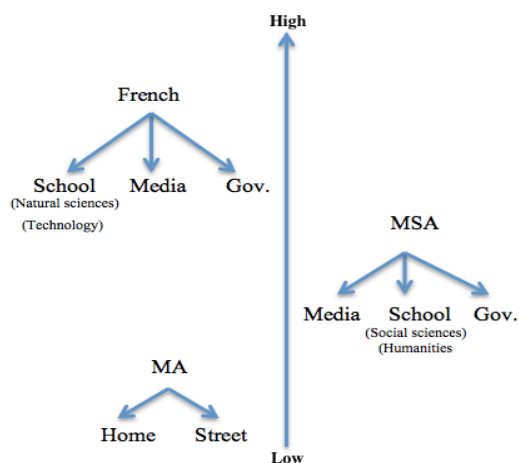


Figure 5. The Triglossic Tree of FR, MSA, and MA.

Note. The hierarchy doesn't include English, for it is not the focus of the language contact.

The isolation of MA by the Arabo-Franco conflict in language policy lies in a sociocultural dichotomy. In other words, the social selection drives the language choice, and culture shapes the policy. Since the mother tongue has no role in education, students from poor and rural backgrounds can hardly succeed in an educational system that is alien to their linguistic and cultural background (Ennaji, 2005). Similarly crucial is the policy making that does not consider the educational needs and the professional prospect of the learners. The only discursive concern remains a question of cultural identity and national unity in which MA horizontally fulfill this referential task, but hierarchically

argued to be incapable of contesting MSA or French due to countless structural difficulties.

In regard to the educational dimensions, MA's degrees of colloquialism and its variations must be reduced in order to meet the expectations for the medium of instruction in schools. French and MSA today enjoy a generated authority in formal domains because of standardization. MA's regional variation is probably the weightiest difficulty that obstructs the institutional empowerment of this variety. Even though it represents the lingua franca for all the ethnocultural groups of the country, MA still carries slight phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical variations. The urge to create a standardized form of MA would greatly facilitate its integration into formal domains particularly in education, and would in turn restrict the structural sites for linguistic alternations and code switching. Many intellectuals and progressives in the social and the political spheres have already supported such an initiative, and argue that the effort for a national standardization of MA or Darija would be a great strategy to shift the historical diglossic relations.

In respect to the effects of standardization of MA from the educational standpoint, it becomes undeniable that a standardized MA or *Darija* would tremendously benefit the early childhood scholarization. I would also argue that it is similarly undeniable that the ideological battle of the Arabophones and the Francophones since independence has had no significance in lowering the rate of illiteracy. MA standardization would empower the learning of children and adults both in education and professional trainings.

The educational dimension suggests that code switching in MA stems in part from the educational and the pedagogical inequity in prioritizing one language over the other.

The Moroccan educational system alienates the home variety from the medium of instruction, and favors French to be the language of the technology and modernity while MSA is reserved for the humanities and tradition. It is no surprise that the frequency of code switching, predictably, will only continue to rise if language planning fails to recognize the formalization of MA in education, and its introduction as the medium of instruction.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The examination of Moroccan Arabic displays a complex inequitable linguistic situation of Arabic and French. This particularity stems necessarily from the different historical chapters of the country that are mainly associated with colonization and the post-independence language policies of the Francophones and the Arabophones; which remains also contributing factors in this rival ideological and linguistic duality.

The analysis of the different examples proposed in the evolution of MA with its frequency of codeswitching leads us to draw the conclusion that language change is inevitable for the low varieties in bi-multilingual contexts. I would also stress that if there are any cases of linguistic incompetence that prompts code alternation, it should be unquestionably tagged to the language policy that fails to really provide a balanced integrative approach to maintain tradition and achieve modernity.

Bi-multilingualism should be exercised in a more pragmatic manner. This task is the responsibility of the policy makers who should honor the ethnocultural diversity and meet the needs of all the social parties. More gallicized politics would only result in more borrowing and code alternation at the societal and the individual level. Standardization, therefore, should extend to MA in order to give it a sense of formalization, which will reduce the frequency of code alternation, and space in scholarization and other institutional functions to serve all Moroccan speakers alike. For the same reasons MSA benefited from its standardization and adaptation to European languages, MA should also

be revitalized and independently instrumentalized in economy, education, and politics, for it reflects the dominant ordinary medium of communications for most Moroccans.

Moreover, isolating the mother tongue in education and assigning French to the learning of the natural sciences and technology would only result in more codes witching and borrowing as long as the lexical availability and frequency are so restricted in Arabic. By the standards of the modernization discourse in education, attributing more power to French in the educational system would only grant it more prospects in the professional horizon, and thus would undoubtedly direct MA to be more French-oriented than Arabic. As a matter of fact, language planning and language policy usually reflect the structural and sociolinguistic layers of the mother tongue. A reconciliation of Arabization and Francization, therefore, must be encouraged to balance the language planning and recognize the value of the mother tongue for the benefit of all Moroccan speakers. .

The global discourse also suggests that code switching in Moroccan Arabic would probably add English as a third structural and discursive rival. The economic and geopolitical authority of English is an index of its hegemonic nature as a global force. As we investigate its linguistic project expansion and acquisition of power, English may emerge as the new alternation in MA. With the growing interest of international corporations, the governments they influence, and the spread of pop culture, we might experience within the next few years a trilingual code switching model engaging English as a neo-imperial ideology that, to some extent, tends to promise a new level of socioeconomic prosperity and openness, but under a different tone. English, as a linguistic “*black hole*”, would probably snatch more value form the local varieties within the aesthetics of their own cultures and traditions like it did in many societies. Language

contact with English in the Moroccan situation would only accelerate the rate towards monolingualism, particularly with the existing duality of French, leading to language shift and potential death of the host varieties.

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