

**Language Use and Maintenance among the  
Moroccan Minority in Britain**

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**Ph.D. Thesis**

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Moroccan Minority in Britain**

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In loving memory of

a dearest friend and a father-figure of mine

John Michael Kahn  
1928 – 1990

as well as the bright stars in my life

Edith Woodruff  
1921 – 2002

&

Kathleen Marry Dykes  
1923 – 2008

With love to my son



Sammy

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## Table of Content

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: TERMS AND CONCEPTS</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.1 Sociolinguistic terms and concepts</b>	<b>15</b>
1.1.1 Arabic: languages and dialects	15
1.1.2 Diglossia	20
1.1.2.1 Ferguson's diglossia	20
1.1.2.2 Ferguson's criteria for defining diglossia	23
a. Function	24
b. Prestige	27
c. Literary heritage	30
d. Acquisition	32
e. Standardization	33
f. Stability	34
g. Grammar	35
h. Lexicon	36
i. Phonology	36
1.1.2.3 Views on diglossia	37
1.1.2.4 Fishman's diglossia	40
a. Both diglossia and bilingualism	42
b. Diglossia without bilingualism	44

c. Bilingualism without diglossia -----	46
d. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism -----	47
1.1.3 Language attitude-----	48
1.1.4 Code-switching and mixing -----	50
<b>1.2 Sociological terms and concepts -----</b>	<b>53</b>
1.2.1 Migration -----	53
1.2.2 Immigration-----	55
1.2.3 UK immigration and immigration laws -----	57
1.2.4 Moroccan immigration -----	58
1.2.5 What constitutes a “minority”? -----	60
a. Political perspective -----	62
b. Cultural perspective -----	63
c. Religious perspective -----	63
d. Ethnic perspective -----	63
e. Linguistic perspective -----	64
1.2.6 Immigrant groups as new linguistic minorities -----	64
<b>1.3 Conclusion -----</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2: SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF MOROCCO -----</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>2 Introduction -----</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>2.1 Sociolinguistics of Morocco research field study -----</b>	<b>73</b>
2.1.1 Respondents based in Morocco-----	73
2.1.2 Geo-distribution-----	73
2.1.3 Age and gender -----	74

2.1.4 Occupation-----	74
2.1.5 Education -----	75
2.1.6 Parents -----	75
2.1.7 Data of sociolinguistics of Morocco field study -----	76
<b>2.2 Multi-glossic nature of Moroccan sociolinguistics -----</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>2.3 Classical and Standard Arabic-----</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>2.4 Moroccan Arabic-----</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>2.5 Berber varieties -----</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>2.6 French and Spanish-----</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>2.7 Arabisation -----</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>2.8 Code-switching-----</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>2.9 Language competence -----</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>2.10 Conclusion-----</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE USE AND MAINTENANCE-----</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>3 Introduction -----</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>3.1 Determinants affecting language use and maintenance-----</b>	<b>115</b>
3.1.1 Socio-economic determinant-----	115
3.1.2 Linguistic determinant -----	117
3.1.3 Demographic determinants -----	118
3.1.4 Geo-distribution determinant-----	119
3.1.5 Institutional support-----	121
3.1.6 Mass media -----	121
3.1.7 Education -----	123



<b>3.2 Fishman’s model and typology of language maintenance</b> -----	<b>124</b>
<b>3.3 Fase <i>et al.</i>, and language maintenance and shift</b> -----	<b>130</b>
<b>3.4 Language use and maintenance of Moroccan communities in Western Europe</b> -----	<b>134</b>
3.4.1 Language maintenance and use: Dutch experience -----	138
3.4.1.1 Language use and attitude -----	148
3.4.1.2 Fluency and integration -----	151
3.4.2 French connection -----	152
3.4.2.1 Language use and maintenance in France -----	156
3.4.3 Language policy in Spain -----	157
3.4.4 Language policy in Italy -----	161
<b>3.5 Conclusion</b> -----	<b>165</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4: MOROCCAN IMMIGRATION TO BRITAIN</b> -----	<b>170</b>
<b>4 Introduction</b> -----	<b>170</b>
<b>4.1 Historical background</b> -----	<b>173</b>
4.1.1 Pre-1956 immigration -----	173
4.1.2 Post-1956 immigration -----	176
<b>4.2 Establishment of the Moroccan community</b> -----	<b>179</b>
<b>4.3 Statistics of ethnic Moroccans in Britain</b> -----	<b>179</b>
<b>4.4 Aspects of the socio-economic situation</b> -----	<b>182</b>
4.4.1 Communication -----	182
4.4.2 Education -----	184
4.4.3 Employment -----	186

4.4.4 Housing-----	190
4.4.5 Health -----	192
4.4.6 Crime -----	193
<b>4.5 Conclusion -----</b>	<b>194</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY -----</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>5 Introduction -----</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>5.1 Research hypothesis -----</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>5.2 Language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain field study -----</b>	<b>201</b>
5.2.1 Data collection -----	201
5.2.1.1 Questionnaires -----	203
5.2.1.2 Pilot study -----	204
5.2.1.3 Pilot study: results -----	205
5.2.1.4 Pilot study: conclusions -----	209
5.2.1.5 MA questionnaire-----	211
5.2.1.6 GB questionnaire -----	211
5.3.1 UK-based Moroccan respondents -----	214
5.3.3 Parental background -----	214
5.3.4 Linguistic background -----	215
<b>5.4 Statistics -----</b>	<b>217</b>
<b>5.5 Conclusion -----</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>CHAPTER 6: LINGUISTIC DETERMINANTS OF LANGUAGE USE AND MAINTENANCE -----</b>	<b>221</b>

<b>6 Introduction</b>	<b>221</b>
<b>6.1 UK field study</b>	<b>223</b>
6.1.1 UK-based respondents	223
6.1.2 Parents	224
6.1.3 Demographic factors	225
6.1.4 Geo-distribution	230
6.1.5 Socio-economic determinants	230
<b>6.2 Linguistic determinants</b>	<b>233</b>
6.2.1 Native language	233
6.2.2 Education	235
6.2.3 Language use	237
6.2.3.1 Use of Moroccan Arabic	238
6.2.3.2 Use of English	240
6.2.3.3 Use of Berber	241
6.2.3.4 Use of Classical/Standard Arabic	241
6.2.3.5 Use of Egyptian Arabic	242
6.2.3.6 Use of French and Spanish	243
6.2.4 Language acquisition	244
6.2.4.1 Acquisition of Moroccan Arabic	245
6.2.4.2 Acquisition of English	246
6.2.4.3 Learning of Classical/Standard Arabic	247
6.2.4.4 Learning of French and Spanish	248
6.2.5 Language competence	248

6.2.5.1 Competence in Moroccan Arabic -----	248
6.2.5.2 Competence in Berber -----	251
6.2.5.3 Competence in English -----	252
6.2.5.4 Competence in Classical/Standard Arabic -----	253
6.2.5.5 Competence in French and Spanish -----	254
<b>6.3 Conclusion -----</b>	<b>255</b>
<b>CHAPTER 7: LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR AND ATTITUDE -----</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>7 Introduction -----</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>7.1 Language behaviour-----</b>	<b>259</b>
7.1.1 Code-switching and mixing -----	259
7.1.1.1 Respondents' code-switching and mixing -----	260
7.1.1.2 Interlocutors' code-switching and mixing -----	265
<b>7.2 Language attitude -----</b>	<b>268</b>
7.2.1 Language of choice -----	269
7.2.2 Language aesthetics -----	271
7.2.3 Language dominance -----	273
7.2.4 Language prestige -----	276
7.2.5 Language comfort-----	278
7.2.6 Language difficulty-----	280
<b>7.3 Conclusion -----</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>CHAPTER 8: EXTRA-LINGUISTIC DETERMINANTS OF LANGUAGE USE AND MAINTENANCE -----</b>	<b>285</b>
<b>8 Introduction -----</b>	<b>285</b>

<b>8.1 Mass media</b> -----	<b>287</b>
8.1.1 Printed media -----	288
8.1.2 Audio media -----	291
8.1.3 Audiovisual media -----	294
8.1.3.1 TV -----	294
8.1.3.2 Documentaries, films and plays-----	299
<b>8.2 Institutional support</b> -----	<b>301</b>
<b>8.3 Conclusion</b> -----	<b>304</b>
<b>CONCLUSION</b> -----	<b>307</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b> -----	<b>317</b>
<b>Appendix A: Data of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan     minority in Britain</b> -----	<b>317</b>
<b>Appendix B: Data of sociolinguistics of Morocco</b> -----	<b>368</b>
<b>Appendix C: Arabic in the Qur'an</b> -----	<b>425</b>
<b>Appendix D: Map of Morocco</b> -----	<b>427</b>
<b>Appendix E: Questionnaires</b> -----	<b>428</b>
Questionnaire: MA -----	428
Questionnaire: GB -----	433
<b>Appendix F: Equality Form</b> -----	<b>438</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> -----	<b>439</b>
<b>WEBLIOGRAPHY</b> -----	<b>490</b>

## List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1.1: Distribution of Arabic (my impression) -----	18
Table 1.1: Functions of Diglossia -----	25
Table 1.2: Arabic in the Qur'an -----	29
Figure 2.1: Respondents' degree of use of Moroccan Arabic -----	80
Figure 2.2: Respondents' degree of use of Berber -----	85
Figure 2.3: Respondents' degree of use of French -----	90
Figure 2.4: Respondents' native language -----	92
Figure 2.5: Code-switching: Classical Arabic-French -----	94
Figure 2.6: Code-switching: Moroccan Arabic-French -----	95
Figure 2.7: Respondents' code-switching: Moroccan – Classical Arabic -----	98
Figure 2.8: Respondents' degree of competence in Berber varieties -----	101
Figure 2.9: Respondents' degree of competence in Moroccan Arabic -----	103
Figure 2.10: Respondents' degree of competence in Standard Arabic -----	104
Figure 2.11: Respondents' degree of competence in French -----	105
Figure 2.12: Respondents' degree of competence in English -----	106
Figure 2.13: Respondents' degree of competence in Spanish -----	107
Table 3.1: Reported use of Dutch mass media -----	148
Table 4.1: Distribution of Moroccans in Britain -----	181
Table 4.2: School exclusion of Moroccans -----	185
Table 4.3: Unemployment rates – trends -----	188
Table 4.4: Average weekly earnings of employees 1996 -----	189
Figure 5.1: Respondents' preferred language of questionnaire -----	213
Table 5.1: Sample of frequency data table -----	218

Figure 6.1: Parents' place of birth -----	224
Figure 6.2: Age -----	226
Figure 6.3: Place of birth -----	228
Figure 6.4: Year of settlement in Britain -----	229
Figure 6.5: Parents' Education -----	231
Figure 6.6: Occupation -----	232
Figure 6.7: Native language -----	234
Figure 6.8: Respondent's Education -----	235
Figure 6.9: Respondent's Native Language -----	237
Figure 6.10: Respondents' degree of use of Moroccan Arabic -----	239
Figure 6.11: Respondents' degree of use of English -----	240
Figure 6.12: Respondents' degree of use of Berber -----	241
Figure 6.13: Respondents' degree of use of Classical/Standard Arabic -----	242
Figure 6.14: Respondents' degree of use of French -----	243
Figure 6.15: Respondents' degree of use of Spanish -----	244
Figure 6.16: Respondents' place of learning language X -----	246
Figure 6.17: Respondents' place of learning language X -----	247
Figure 6.18: Respondents' degree of fluency in Moroccan Arabic -----	249
Figure 6.19: Respondents' language of choice to learn Moroccan Arabic -----	250
Figure 6.20: Respondents' degree of fluency in Berber -----	251
Figure 6.21: Respondents' degree of fluency in English -----	252
Figure 6.22: Respondents' degree of fluency in Classical/Standard Arabic -----	253
Figure 7.1: Respondents' Code-switching and mixing -----	261
Figure 7.2: Respondents' code-switching & mixing -----	263

Figure 7.3: Respondents' code-switching and mixing -----	264
Figure 7.4: Respondents' code-switching and mixing -----	265
Figure 7.5: Interlocutors' code-switching & mixing -----	266
Figure 7.6: Interlocutors' code-switching & mixing -----	268
Figure 7.7: respondents' language of address -----	269
Figure 7.8: Respondents' aesthetic view of language X -----	272
Figure 7.9: Respondents' view on language domination-----	273
Figure 7.10: Respondents' view on language prestige -----	276
Figure 7.11: Respondents' degree of comfort towards language X-----	279
Figure 7.12: Respondents' view on language learning difficulty -----	281
Figure 8.1: Respondents' language of printed media-----	289
Figure 8.2: Respondents' preferred language of written media -----	291
Figure 8.3: Language of media listening-----	292
Figure 8.4: Respondents' preferred language of media listening -----	293
Figure 8.5: Respondents' language of viewing satellite TV -----	295
Figure 8.6: Respondents' preferred language of viewing satellite TV -----	296
Figure 8.7: Respondents' degree of viewing Moroccan TV stations -----	296
Figure 8.8: Respondents' degree of viewing Arabic satellite TV stations -----	297
Figure 8.9: Respondents' degree of viewing British Terrestrials -----	298
Figure 8.10: Respondents' language of documentaries, films & plays-----	300
Figure 8.11: Respondents' preferred language of documentaries, films and plays -----	301



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## **Abstract**

The goal of this study is to investigate language use among a relatively young immigrant community in Britain with a view to finding out what role English plays in their lives, whether they still use their languages of origin, and what are the reasons for their particular language behaviour. Language use and maintenance in an immigrant minority setting is an important area of investigation if one is to understand some of the factors involved in the community's integration process, or the lack of it, in general, and to appreciate the role of language for integration in particular. Minority communities adopt a number of linguistic strategies for communication among themselves and their wider community. In most cases, these linguistic strategies are dictated by both the social and linguistic environment the immigrant minority finds itself living in.

The thesis first looks at the sociolinguistic situation of Morocco in order to establish the linguistic background of this community. It then considers the British Moroccans from a socio-economic perspective with a view to identifying factors that may influence language shift behaviour. The empirical part of the thesis is concerned with establishing linguistic as well as non-linguistic determinants of language maintenance such as those that influence language choice, code-switching, attitudes and use of language-specific media. The study has two main hypotheses: first, the Moroccan community in Britain is undergoing a generational language shift, and second, typical Moroccan sociolinguistic patterns are reflected in the language use of Moroccan speakers in Britain as well. While the former hypothesis has, on the whole, proved correct, the latter did not hold true.

## **Introduction**

The rebuilding of Western European economies after World War II created a need for manpower. The need for economic revival let the doors of Western Europe wide open to immigration in order to compensate for the labour shortage in the work market as a direct result of economic expansion. It is mostly the Mediterranean area which provided the needed workforce to mainland Europe. Other areas such as the sub-Indian continent and the Caribbean region are also associated with the immigration wave also known as “the Windrush” after the name of the boat which brought the first large group of immigrants from the Caribbean Islands to the United Kingdom in 1948.

At the beginning, no one could foresee that the introduction of these immigrant workers into several Western European countries would lead, a decade later, to the emergence of non-indigenous minority groups. The new minorities in Western Europe introduced new cultures, languages, religions and social codes.

The Moroccans represent one of the largest minority groups to settle in many Western European countries. The Moroccan minority brought with it its own languages, Berber and Arabic varieties, and their cultural and religious practices. Many minority groups are keen to maintain their distinctive identity but this is difficult in view of the many pressures they experience in the adoptive societies. The Moroccan community is no exception. Many in the community find it difficult to maintain their original Moroccanness and pass on their heritage to their children because they do not have the facilities to do so in their adoptive

society. Consequently, their languages as well as their cultural and religious values are being eroded.

The goal of this study is to investigate the question of the use and maintenance of language within the Moroccan minority community in Britain. Language use and maintenance in an immigrant minority setting is an important area of investigation if one is to understand some of the mechanisms of the community's linguistic behaviour which play a crucial role in such communities and ultimately the role language use and maintenance play in their integration process or the lack of it within the host society. Minority communities adopt a number of linguistic strategies for communication with the host community. In most cases, these linguistic strategies are dictated by the environment the immigrant minority finds itself living in, for example: a clear indicator, among others, of such communication strategies is "Code-switching and mixing" which is widely used in language contact situations in most, if not all, immigrant communities and linguistic minorities.

The intention is to explore the question of minority language maintenance and related issues in this study with reference to the "British-Moroccans". I use this term here in its socio-political sense. That is, these Moroccans have become British citizens either by naturalisation or by birth, while still subscribing to their ancestral identity. Being a member of a minority group frequently implies feeling under pressure from the host community to assimilate. The issue of maintaining not only one's language but also culture and identity becomes crucial if one wants to maintain at least part of the minority group

identity. Forfeiting this identity is rarely an option. There are many reasons that make full-scale assimilation into mainstream society an unrealistic goal.

The importance of defining what “British-Moroccan” means is crucial to some of the arguments and analyses I will be dealing with in this thesis. In my field research, I gathered information only from those respondents with one or both parents of Moroccan ancestry which qualifies them as members of a newly established minority community in the United Kingdom.

A pilot study on the language use of this community that I conducted in early 1998 in England proved to be an eye-opener on a number of different issues and aspects of the study. The pilot study represented an opportunity to test different ideas and research methodologies and tools such as the questionnaire. It aimed to determine the difficult areas that may prove to be problematic in the main fieldwork and final study, so that they could be avoided and resolved before hand.

A second field study was conducted in Morocco in April 1999. This field study involved 413 respondents who were selected randomly. However, the main field of study involving the British-Moroccans was conducted between October 2000 and June 2001 over several months, and involved 219 respondents who were selected randomly.

The objective of the former study was to find out more about Moroccan sociolinguistics in general and language behaviour in Morocco in particular. It was felt that a sound understanding of the sociolinguistics in

Morocco would in turn help to acquire a better understanding of language use and practice of the Moroccan minority in Britain.

The field study conducted in Morocco between March and April 1999 had also the objective of bridging the gap in the literature on the Moroccan sociolinguistic scene. There were studies conducted in the seventies and early eighties in this area by scholars such as Abbassi (1977), Gravel (1979) and Bentahila (1983), but very little in later years. Not surprisingly, Moroccan language behaviour has changed in the last decades as a comparison of the findings of the above mentioned scholars and the data I collected in Morocco indicates. The question which arises is to what extent the British-Moroccans are trapped in a “time warp” and to what extent the comparative study is helpful in determining the linguistic changes and the behaviour of the British-Moroccans given the fact that they still have frequent contact with Morocco.

The hypotheses of this research are twofold: first, that the Moroccan community in Britain is undergoing a generational shift from Moroccan Arabic which is claimed to be the native dialect of 64% of respondents (see Figure 6.7: Native language). This language shift towards English, which is already regarded as the native language of 30% of respondents (see Figure 6.7: Native language), may be acute in the third and following generations and may even culminate in language loss. Second, that there ought to be a reflection of the sociolinguistic picture of Morocco on the Moroccan community in Britain, i.e., the use of the same linguistic repertoire and the adoption of the same linguistic behaviours and attitudes.

The thesis is divided into two major parts – one comprises background chapters on theoretical issues and Moroccan sociolinguistics relevant to language use and maintenance among immigrant minorities, while the second part presents the empirical work of the thesis and discusses the data and findings of the field study. Each part of the thesis comprises four chapters.

In Chapter One, I introduce the theoretical and terminological issues which are linked to a number of concepts that are used in the area of my research. I present the definitions of key terms that are used in the discussion of my study. Chapter One is divided into two sections: sociolinguistic terms and concepts of language use and maintenance and sociological terms. In the first section, I discuss terms and concepts such as diglossia, language and dialect, language attitude, and code-switching and mixing, which are of particular significance in the discussion of Arabic. Section two looks at views and notions of issues such as Immigration, Linguistic Minorities, and Moroccan immigration; a great deal has been written about these from a wide variety of perspectives.

Chapter Two explains the sociolinguistics of Morocco. Since the main topic of this thesis is language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain, it is important to provide a picture of language use in Morocco, the country of origin, to better understand language use of the community under investigation.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a contemporary overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Morocco. This allows a comparison of changing language practices of Moroccan speech communities both in Morocco and in

Britain. This approach is very similar to the one adopted by Finnis (2005:73) adopted for her study on “Language Attitudes and Use in a Transplanted Setting: Greek Cypriots in London”. The Moroccan field study which was conducted in March and April 1999 does not represent a main strand of this thesis. Therefore, the use of this particular data from Morocco is used only to supplement information on the linguistic situation in Morocco reported on by other authors.

Chapter Three looks at determinants affecting language maintenance and shift which are of a sociolinguistic and socio-economic nature. In addition, I present a discussion on the theory and hypothesis of language maintenance and shift as developed by Fishman (1966, in 1972; 1989) and Fase *et al.* (1992). The work of these authors forms the theory and framework of the present study as it explains the mechanisms of language maintenance and shift not only among minority groups in general, but among immigrant (newly established) minority groups in particular, especially those that do not belong to the Western tradition of which the Moroccan minority group is one. This is dealt with in section one of this chapter.

In the second part of Chapter Three, I present a discussion and review of the literature and studies on the status of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority groups within Western Europe through studies conducted in the Netherlands, France, Spain and Italy, where the Moroccans form a sizable newly established minority community. The objective of this review is to compare the efforts or lack of them of these countries and those of Britain in the area of



language maintenance and shift and therefore social integration of the Moroccans in Europe.

Chapter Four discusses Moroccan Immigration to Britain. It looks at the history of Moroccan immigration to Britain and also at the minority group itself as a clearly identifiable social group. The view is that without such a picture on the Moroccan community in Britain, an understanding of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain cannot be complete. This is so because the subject of language maintenance and shift in particular and language use in general is not strictly limited to sociolinguistic determinants (Milroy, 1987; Wei, 1994; Reynolds, 2000); in fact, it relies heavily on sociological determinants, too, such as socio-demographic and socio-economic factors that affect the community.

Chapter Five deals with issues of methodology that are adopted in this study and it presents the hypotheses which are presented in this thesis. This chapter also looks at the way questionnaires were developed and field studies were conducted. In the process, I benefited from the experiences and studies of different scholars such as Fishman, 1967, 1972, 1989; Ferguson 1959; Edwards, 1984, 1985, 1990; Milroy, 1987; Wei, 1982, 1994). These have indirectly influenced the making of the questionnaire and the processes it went through, as well as the pilot study, which provided a much-needed sense of direction the research has to take. It also helped in shaping the final format of the questionnaire and thus the study itself.

The use of information technology in the management of the field study and the analysis of the obtained data was important. This was primarily done through Statistical Package for Social Sciences v11 (SPSS) – software. This was important in producing the needed statistics and results of the study. These are analysed and discussed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Chapter Six looks at linguistic determinants of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan community in Britain. In this chapter, I present the results obtained from the questionnaires distributed in Britain. It deals with the answers and views of 219 respondents on issues such as the use they make of their languages, and the competence they feel they have in these languages and how and where they have acquired their different languages.

Chapter Seven presents the results of and a discussion on language behaviour and attitude within the Moroccan minority in Britain in detail. In this chapter, a picture on language behaviour and maintenance of the British-Moroccans emerges as a result of such analysis. This will help to determine the extent of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan community in Britain.

Chapter Eight discusses the extra-linguistic determinants such as mass media and institutional support and the extent of the impact they have on language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain. The analysis takes into consideration different issues that play an instrumental role in understanding the way the Moroccan-British speech community use their languages, how they

feel about them, and what helps or hinders their efforts to maintain their languages of origin.

The Conclusion considers the outcome of this study. A reflection on different aspects language use and maintenance is presented with the results of the field study in mind. It discusses to what extent these conclusions and findings add any value, if any, to the new trend of multilingualism; and to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic circumstances of minority groups in general and British-Moroccan one in particular in order for the majority to smooth their integration into host society.

I faced a number of challenges in a number of areas and at different stages of this thesis. However, two areas stand clear from the rest. First, at times it was almost impossible to convince British-Moroccan respondents to participate in the study by filling in the questionnaire. In many instances would-be respondents were suspicious of me and I was bluntly accused of spying on the community. This kind of mistrust is not uncommon among immigrant groups that have their origins in traditional societies and who count many illegal immigrants among them. This problem became even acute after the terrorist acts of 11 September 2001 as engagements on sensitive issues such as immigration with almost any community of Arab and Muslim origin became near impossible. Another problem was that I did not have free access to female respondents in a number of cases, and I had to rely on the male members of the family or relatives, as go-between, to fill-in the questionnaire. In Morocco, the problems I faced were quite of another nature. To conduct any formal study in Morocco, one has to have authorisation

from the Moroccan interior ministry. Such procedure would have involved considerable delay, so, I decided to undertake a more limited survey which meant that my movements and range were restricted. This situation was partly improved by contacting respondents originating from different regions of Morocco but living in cities such as Fez and Marrakech that have experienced population mixture from different parts of Morocco.

A further hindrance to my research was the almost total lack of statistics and literature on British-Moroccans in particular and the Moroccan community in Western Europe in general. Some statistical information could be taken from reports from local authorities, the Home Office and immigrant associations, but they are sketchy and incomplete. I am conscious of the fact that some of my findings can only be interpreted as general trends.

Finally, this study is based on a data which was collected between October 2000 and June 2001 – the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This data represents a snapshot in history of the Moroccan community in Britain just prior to the time when the Muslim and Arab communities in Britain (and indeed around the world) started developing siege mentality as a result of the 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 attacks on the USA and the subsequent declared war on terror and the invasions of both Afghanistan and Iraq. This means in my judgement that accessing immigrant communities of Muslim and Arab origin will never be the same and therefore this data, which cannot be replicated, represent a period in the history of these communities, such as the Moroccan community, that must be recorded and

analysed for posterity. For these reasons, I did not attempt to update this data by conducting another field study.

This study does not concern itself with the impact of the “war on terror” and the pressures this has put the community under not only on security level but also the more stricter immigration rules brought in under 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2007 Acts, all in the name of security, regardless of the social cost to the Muslim and Arab communities including the Moroccan community in Britain in terms of their cohesion and integration.

Last but not least, political Islam had very little or no influence on trends of language use and maintenance in general both in Morocco and among the British-Moroccans in Britain. The data from my field studies does not indicate the presence and influence of radical Islamist ideology on language use, maintenance and behaviour among my respondents. As such I did not pursue this line of research. Having said that, there is no escape from dealing with the religious dimension of Islam and its influence on sociolinguistics of the Arab world in particular due to the very strong link between the Qur’an and Classical Arabic without confusing it with radical Islamist ideology which in my view would advocate the absolute and purist use of Classical/Qur’anic Arabic language in all aspects of life.

## **Chapter 1: Terms and concepts**

### **1 Introduction**

The present chapter is divided into two major sections: The first section deals with sociolinguistic terms and concepts such as code-switching, diglossia and language attitude. The second section tackles sociological terms and concepts referring to issues like immigration, minority and ethnicity.

The first section discusses the concepts of diglossia, Arabic (languages and dialects), language attitude and code-switching and mixing, as they are crucial to the discussion of this study from a sociolinguistic perspective.

Diglossia is a very important concept which helps to understand the linguistic mentality of the Arabic speech community. Its use in different communicational situations is quite strictly divided between Arabic languages and Arabic dialects (see section 1.1.1 on Arabic: languages and dialects). Formal dealings are the reserve of the H variety, while social as well as informal day-to-day mode of communication is limited to the L variety which is popularly taken as a dialect. Although the roles between H and L varieties are separated, it remains fact that one has to switch between varieties and moods of thinking to fulfil these two different functions.

The discussion of Arabic as an umbrella term for a number of languages and dialects highlights the difference of how language and dialect is viewed in the West and Orient (Said, 1979).

Language attitude is very important in the understanding of the mechanisms that govern language use and maintenance. It is the attitude one has towards a particular area of the linguistic code that determines how such code is used. It is this attitude that reflects the degree of acceptance or lack of it and the degree of use of any given linguistic code. Its span even touches areas such as code-switching and mixing.

Code-switching and mixing is a fascinating area of sociolinguistics. A number of studies reflect on this phenomenon, which is part of the linguistic behaviour of bilingual as well as multilingual communities. Many use code-switching and mixing as a strategic linguistic behaviour to reflect their intentions such as solidarity with the speech community as well as to project their identity, or to suggest social status such as education and social achievement.

The second section discusses two main concepts: immigration and minority. Immigration as a term refers in this study to the movement of people for intentional permanent settlement in a different country, as opposed to migration which I use to refer to a temporary movement with the intention of returning after a not so long period of time to one's homeland. This discussion helps to define the community this study is concerned with.

The other important term in this context is "minority". What constitutes a minority is important in defining the group or community under study. There are a number of determinants that define a minority group depending on ethnic, political or linguistic criteria.

## **1.1 Sociolinguistic terms and concepts**

The following section looks at the major sociolinguistic terms and concepts that this research has to rely upon. The discussion centres on the use and the understanding of language and dialects, diglossia, language attitude and code-switching in a particular context and environment.

### **1.1.1 Arabic: languages and dialects**

Arabic is an umbrella term used to refer to a variety of languages and dialects. These languages and dialects have their roots in Classical Arabic from which they evolved. However, Classical Arabic itself is the offspring of the Quraysh dialect – a variety of a dialect spoken in pre-Islamic Mecca. Mecca, ever since the day Abraham was said to have built the holy shrine Al-Kaaba, was a pilgrimage destination well before the emergence of Islam. The linguistic implications of such a pilgrimage destination and a privileged position were such that the Quraysh dialect is said to have become the lingua-franca of the Arabian Peninsula (Mansour, 1993:107). Classical Arabic is the fusion of this lingua-franca and the Arabic of the holy Qur'an. "By Mubarrad's time [898] [Classical] Arabic was dying out as a native language" (Owens, 1988:3). Ferguson (1990:42), on the other hand, is of the view that:

A literary culture and the language that was its vehicle [Arabic] had been more or less stagnant from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries... in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a fantastic revival of the use of Arabic as a great language and as the vehicle of a new literate and literary culture. I think nowadays we often underestimate or just forget about that



miracle. People more often mention the miracle of the revival of Hebrew, and that was indeed a marvellous event. But the revival of Arabic was in its way at least as much a marvel, [...].

For someone like Ferguson to use such emotional expressions to describe the journey of the Arabic language is indicative of deep understanding. I can only add that this revival was driven by a nationalist desire to stand up and be counted as a nation with a long and established literary heritage on one hand and to try to fend off the colonial powers which were increasingly imposing their hegemony over the Arab nation. The Arabic language was revived through two channels that went parallel to each other. The westernised literary elite of the east, many of whom, though Arabs, were Christians, and the Islamic religious establishments in the form of centres of learning (*Madrassa-s*), usually attached to mosques, which were the driving force behind this revival.

This religious dimension and its linguistic reach in the form of Arabic taken together give this language some degree of saintliness in the eyes of the Muslims. The Qur'an mentions and praises Arabic as a language no less than fourteen times (see appendix C: Arabic in the Qur'an). One may suggest that Classical Arabic and indeed Modern Standard Arabic owe their survival to their link to the Qur'an and Islam in general.

Usually, non-Arab Muslims have great respect for Arabic due to its religious aspect. It is hardly seen as the language of a coloniser or a dominating force, although it should not be forgotten that Muslim nations like the Berbers of North Africa and the Kurds of the Middle East want to see their own native

varieties and cultures promoted as well. To them (as indeed to all Muslims), Arabic is the chosen language by God to reveal his words in the Qur'an – a matter of belief, but it is their languages that symbolise their nationhood and cultural identity.

The divergence of Arabic into regional dialects has come about as a normal linguistic evolution. One parallel that one may consider here is the evolution of those European languages that started as dialects of Latin origin.

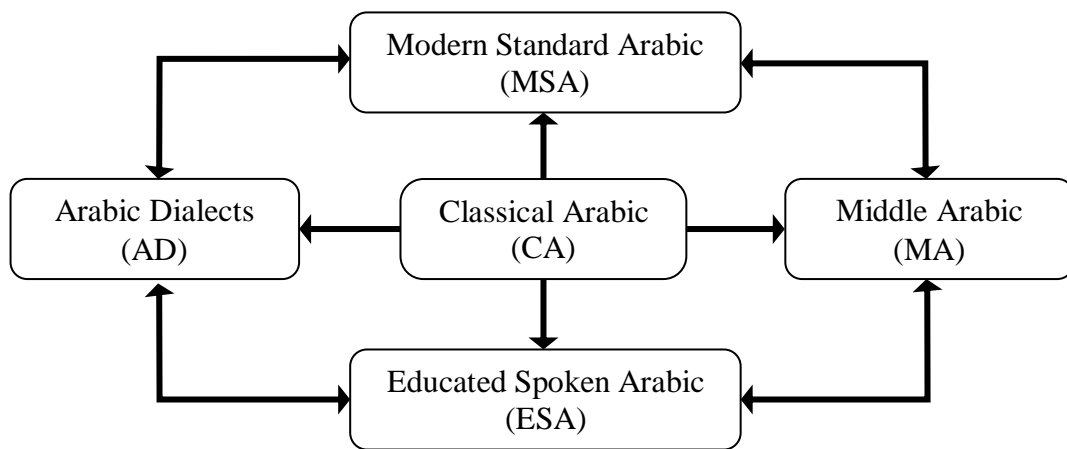
The geo-linguistic distribution of Arabic spans from Morocco and Mauritania on the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the shores of the Arabian (Persian) Gulf in the East.

In addition to Classical Arabic, there are also Modern Standard Arabic, Middle Arabic, Educated Spoken Arabic (Ferguson, 1959, in 1996; Stewart, 1968; Abbassi, 1977; Gravel, 1979; Bentahila, 1983; Jamai, 1998; Aabi, 1999; Ennaji, 2002) and many regional dialects as each Arab country, as a political entity and for political reasons, claims to have one or several distinct dialects.

One may argue that Arabic dialects are on a linguistic continuum distribution. This means that the dialect spoken in Morocco is easily intelligible to speakers in Algeria, as the two countries are geo-linguistically neighbours. However, Moroccan dialect, as an example, is totally unintelligible to speakers of Arabic dialects in Egypt or Lebanon. This is due among other things to

differences on lexical, phonological and morphosyntactic levels (Ennaji, 2002:81).

The following diagram represents the linguistic distribution of Arabic varieties. The arrows in the following diagram indicate the flow of exchange and influence.



**Figure 1.1: Distribution of Arabic (my impression)**

While Arabic dialects have their own respective native speakers, Arabic languages, i.e., Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, have none, as explained above. They are usually acquired through learning in a formal setting. The two groups, i.e. Arabic languages and Arabic dialects work in a diglossic distribution as proposed by Marçais first in 1930 and 1931 who recognised the difference between the two linguistic systems as quoted in Caubet, 2001:269, and then formulated by Ferguson in 1959. (See also section: 1.1.2 on Diglossia).

Some may argue that there is negligible or no difference between the terms dialect and language as the term language can cover all linguistic systems, I seek in this work to claim the very opposite based on Arab and oriental traditions.

In Arab literature, there is reference to *اللغة العربية الفصحى* i.e., eloquent Arabic language. This particular variety of Arabic is what is referred to in western tradition as Classical Arabic. Modern Standard Arabic within the Arab world is usually referred to in literature as the Language of the Press *لغة الصحافة أو لغة النشر*. As for Arabic dialects, these are referred to within the Arab world in terms such as *العامية، اللهجة، الدارجة*. All these three terms in Arabic mean dialect or colloquial. These are in a different class than language in this respect.

For a variety to acquire a language status in many cultures, it has to be first and foremost codified. Dialects are not codified (Stewart, 1968:536). The Chinese view on what constitute a language or a dialect is no different from the Arab perception. Wardhaugh (1986:28) clarifies this point as follows:

We will find that speakers of Cantonese and Mandarin will tell you that they speak the same language. However, if one speaker knows only Cantonese and the other only Mandarin, they will not be able to converse with each other: they actually speak different languages, certainly as different as German and Dutch, for example. If the speakers are literate, however, they will be able to communicate with each other through a shared writing system. They will almost certainly insist that they speak different *dialects* of Chinese, not different *languages*, for the Chinese a shared writing system and a powerful social and cultural tradition form essential parts of their definition of *language*.

I suggest that the Arab reading of what constitute a dialect and what is a language is similar to the Chinese case described by Wardhaugh (1986:28).

Stewart's sociolinguistic typology (1968:536) goes a long way to define the functions a linguistic system can fulfil. He specifies that a dialect lacks standardisation and autonomy that limit its ability to function fully as a linguistic system for all occasions.

Although the view that there is little or no difference between dialect and language is gaining some ground among Arab academics, I do not subscribe to this view. My intention is to continue making a clear-cut distinction between what constitute a language and what forms a dialect on the grounds and definition explained above.

### **1.1.2 Diglossia**

The relationship between Classical/Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic is a symbiotic one. They complement each other to fulfil the needs of the Moroccan speech community. This symbiotic relationship is linguistically known as diglossia which is part and parcel of the Moroccan sociolinguistic landscape. Diglossia is discussed in what follows:

#### **1.1.2.1 Ferguson's diglossia**

Ferguson (1959, in 1996) is probably the most accredited and influential figure with respect to describing and defining the concept of diglossia. However, "*Ferguson did not invent the term diglossia; he borrowed it from the*

*French Arabist W. Marçais*” (Huebner, 1996:17) who was the first to put forward the notion of diglossia. He defines it as:

... la concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire, parfois exclusivement parlée. (Marçais, 1930:402)

... the competition between a learned written language and a common language, sometimes exclusively spoken.

(My Translation)

Marçais’s definition of “*la diglossie*” can arguably be viewed as archaic in its choice of terms but not scope. Marçais talks about “*competition*” between “*learned*” and “*common*” languages. In later stages of development of the theory of diglossia, the notion of “*competition*” is replaced by “*distribution*” and the concepts of “*learned*” and “*common*” are substituted by “*High*” and “*Low*”. The two varieties do not compete with each other. Instead, they are in complementary distribution and have compartmentalised functions. Each has carved for itself a socially predetermined role to play, hence, the notion of complementary distribution. Marçais summarises the qualities and characteristics of the H variety as a “*learned written language*” (Marçais, 1930:402). One may suggest that the term “*learned*” in this context refers to the same qualities and characteristics Ferguson (1959, in 1996:35) gives to the H variety, i.e., “*a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, in the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature*”. On the other hand, the term “*common*” reflects lack of prestige – an attitude, which socio-culturally characterises the L variety in Ferguson’s notion of diglossia. The other condition Ferguson adopts from Marçais’s definition of “*la diglossie*” is that the

high variety is a written language. For these reasons, among others, Marçais's definition of "*la diglossie*" sets the pace for its present day concept of diglossia. From this perspective, one can argue that Marçais's definition, in scope, is not markedly different from the one presented by Ferguson in 1959. While Marçais's definition was precisely restricted to Arabic, Ferguson's gives some leeway to include similar diglossic situations in other linguistic settings.

Ferguson's contribution was crucial at least in two aspects. He not only introduced diglossia to the Anglo-Saxon linguistic tradition, but he also developed it into a viable inclusive framework tool, to better understand and research this linguistic phenomenon in natural linguistic systems (Eid, 1990; Kaye, 2001).

Ferguson suggests that,

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, in the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson, 1959, in 1996:34-35)

The concept of diglossia Ferguson envisages, and which is sometimes referred to as the Fergusonian diglossia, as a reference to the classic concept of diglossia, is limited, at least in theory, to the interactions of varieties within the same language. Each variety plays a pre-designated role and fulfils a particular

communicative function. Ferguson calls these “High” and “Low” varieties. This makes it a stable linguistic situation. As mentioned earlier, H variety is characterised as a complex, preferably written variety, which is culturally and literarily richer. It is used in official and formal situations in both of its forms – oratory as well as writing. L variety, on the other hand, and to some degree, is related to the H variety. It is unwritten and un-codified, with limited literary heritage. It is also structurally much simplified, as “*in diglossia there are always extensive differences between the grammatical structures of H and L*” (Ferguson, 1959, in 1996:32). L variety use is limited to informal day-to-day social matters and dealings.

#### **1.1.2.2 Ferguson’s criteria for defining diglossia**

Ferguson’s (1959 in 1996) analyses of what he terms “the defining languages” led him to categorise, Haitian Creole, Swiss German, Modern Greek and Arabic as models that could be said to fulfil the criteria of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959 in 1996). For diglossia to exist, at least two varieties of each of these languages should exist in a situation where they are able to interact. They are labelled as H and L varieties and each of them play a different role in specific circumstances. Ferguson (1959 in 1996) discusses characteristics and the defining elements of diglossia as well as the areas within which the two varieties act together in a diglossic manner. They will be outlined in what follows:



### **a. Function**

At the heart of the notion of diglossia is the distribution of roles and functions between H and L varieties. All along the spectrum of the diglossia debate, there is a consensus on this position (Marçais, 1930; Ferguson, 1959; Stewart, 1962; Fishman, 1967; Kaye, 1970). The use of variety in the concept of diglossia is demarked by formal/official situations where the H variety is the overriding mode of communication, and informal/social environments where the L variety is the prevailing means of communication. Much debate about the issue of role distribution and compartmentalisation is still going on as part of the general debate on diglossia.

While the fundamental idea of diglossia is based, in this respect, on role distribution and compartmentalisation, the demarcation line of the appropriate use of a given variety in a particular situation is not always very clear. Ferguson (1959 in 1996:28) clearly illustrates this situation when saying:

In all the defining languages it is typical behavior to have someone read aloud from a newspaper written in H and then proceed to discuss the contents in L. In all the defining languages it is typical behavior to listen to a formal speech in H and then discuss it, often with the speaker himself, in L.

The scene becomes more complex and the demarcation lines between functions get more blurred as Ferguson (1959 in 1996:28) explains:

The situation in formal education is often more complicated than is indicated here. In the Arab world, for example, formal university lectures are given in H, but drills, explanation, and

section meetings may be in large part conducted in L, especially in the natural sciences as opposed to the humanities. Although the teachers' use of L in secondary schools is forbidden by law in some Arab countries, often a considerable part of the teachers' time is taken up with explaining in L the meaning of material in H which has been presented in books or lectures.

Ferguson presents the following twelve functions/situations with the appropriate variety to be used in accordance. These categories give a general idea of appropriate use of a particular variety.

**Table 1.1: Functions of Diglossia**

Area of function	Variety	
	H	L
Sermon in church or mosque	X	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		X
Personal letters	X	
Speech in parliament	X	
University lecture	X	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		X
News broadcast	X	
Radio soap opera		X
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		X
Poetry	X	
Folk literature		X

Ferguson, 1959 in 1996:28

The situation of diglossia becomes more complex and interwoven when other varieties of the same language or even unrelated ones come to play as is the case in Arabic, especially in parts of North Africa. On these lines, Ennaji (2002:75) remarks that:

Contrary to the Swiss case, where the four languages do not trespass on each other's frontiers, or only marginally so, in the Maghreb, these languages and varieties cut across each other...

In the case of Morocco, as an illustration, there are a number of varieties of Arabic and of Berber. These have coexisted for centuries and created a diverse form of "multi-glossia". In fact, Berber varieties as well as other Arabic varieties have been and still are being used in a diglossic situation, overlapping each other. Ferguson keeps the option open to the interaction of unrelated varieties in a diglossic environment.

the same kind of complication exists in parts of the Arab world where French, English, or a liturgical language such as Syriac or Coptic has certain H-like functions. (Ferguson, 1959, in 1996:35-36)

While Ferguson in the above quote attributes "certain H-like functions" to those unrelated varieties, it is only logical to consider the process from the opposite end and look at the varieties that play a "certain L-like functions" role. In my view, this is a situation present in Moroccan "multi-glossia". Ferguson (1959 in 1996:35) supports this view in general. He states "diglossia is apparently not limited to any geographical region or language family".

## **b. Prestige**

Prestige is a question of perception. It is about how a variety is perceived and what makes a speech community perceive such a variety in a given light. With respect to diglossia, the interacting varieties have a perception of prestige or lack of it embedded in them primarily and mostly if not always by the speech community itself. An extreme manifestation of prestige would be as illustrated by Ferguson (1959 in 1996:29) when he says:

Sometimes the feeling is so strong that H alone is regarded as real and L is reported 'not to exist'. Speakers of Arabic, for example, may say (in L) that so-and-so doesn't know Arabic. This normally means he doesn't know H, although he may be a fluent, effective speaker of L.

With respect to Arabic and the Arab world, many of Ferguson's (1959 in 1996) observations and notes to a large extent arguably no longer stand, some in part, others as a whole as a result of historical evolution. My interpretation is that politico-socio-linguistics in the Arab world has moved on dramatically during the past four to five generations. The call for Arab nationalism, which was strongly advocated by the Arab renaissance, liberation movements, nationalists, Nasserists and Ba'atists has become somewhat irrelevant at least from a politico-linguistic perspective. The Arab nationalist movement saw Classical/Standard Arabic as a positive asset uniting the Arab nation. Movements of Liberation, too, saw in classical Arabic a unifying factor against the hegemony of the colonial powers, their cultures and languages. This is true in the case of Morocco. The Berber Act

*(Le Dahir Berbère)* of 1930 by the French which aimed at dividing Morocco down the ethno-linguistic line between Berbers and Arabs was the catalyst for the Moroccan Movements for Liberation. One of their ways to express their opposition to the “Berber Act 1930” was the rejection of education in French which was imposed on Morocco by France after it occupied the country in 1912. The Moroccan Movement for Liberation advocated the replacement of the French education system by a nationalist system based on classical Arabic. In this respect, one can argue that the process of Arabisation started at least as early as 1930, not after Morocco’s independence in 1956.

But, by far, it is the religious dimension of Classical Arabic that gives it such an eminence and prestigious position amongst Arabic speech communities and their respective varieties. This respect and prestige can even be extended to non-Arabic speaking Muslim communities around the world. It is a question of faith for a Muslim to believe in Arabic as the language by which God has chosen to reveal the holy book - the Qur’an.

There are fourteen verses in thirteen Surats (chapters) of the Qur’an (see appendix C: Arabic in the Qur’an for the full list of verses) specifically referring to the importance of the Arabic language and its privileged position. The following three verses sum up the position Arabic holds in the Qur’an:

**Table 1.2: Arabic in the Qur'an**

No	Sura	Verse	الآية	السورة	رقم
14	Ibrahim	(4) We sent not a messenger except (to teach) in the language of his (own) people, in order to make (things) clear to them. So Allah leads astray those whom he pleases and guides whom he pleases and he is exalted in power, full of wisdom	وما أرسلنا من رسول إلا بلسان قومه ليبين لهم فيضل الله من يشاء ويهدي من يشاء وهو العزيز الحكيم (4)	إبراهيم	14
26	Ash-shu'araa	(195) In the perspicuous Arabic tongue.	بلسان عربي مبين (195)	الشعراء	26
41	Fussilat	(44) Had we sent this Qur'an (in a language) other than Arabic, they would have said: "why are not its verses explained in detail? What! A foreign (tongue) and (a messenger) an Arab?" Say: "It is a guide and a healing to those who believe; and for those who believe not, there is a deafness in their ears, and it is blindness in their (eyes): they are (as it were) being called from a place far distant!"	ولو جعلناه قرءانا أعجميا لقالوا لولا فصلت آياته أعجمي وعربي قل هو للذين ءامنوا هدى وشفاء والذين لا يؤمنون في ءاذانهم وقر وهو عليهم عمى اولئك ينادون من مكان بعيد (44)	فصلت	41

The translation of the meaning of these verses is taken from an authoritative English version of the translation of the meaning of the Qur'an by: The Ministry of Hajj and Endowments. King Fahd Holy Qur'an Printing Complex. Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The purpose of introducing these verses from the Qur'an is to demonstrate two points:

First, the importance of Classical Arabic in the religious and cultural psyche of Arabs as well as Muslims is crucial. Second, as stated in chapter 14: verse 4, God reveals his message in the language of the people to whom it is intended; therefore, Arabic does not represent an exception, if one accepts the argument that God also sent other messages to other peoples. For this reason, classical Arabic has been privileged to fulfil a divine function for which it is still highly respected. In other words, Arabic is like any other natural linguistic system, except in the sense that it was chosen, as were many other languages before it (Qur'an, Ch 14: Vs 4), to fulfil a religious function, which means a lot to those of the Muslim faith, transcending any ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. This situation leads many varieties of these speech communities to take the back seat in the presence of Classical/Standard Arabic.

### **c. Literary heritage**

Literary heritage plays an important role in serving as a focal point of reference for the speech community in their use of H variety. It is the same literary heritage, which is the source of identity and cultural pride for a speech community. The steeper the literary heritage in history the more it is referred to in different ways as Ferguson (1959 in 1996:30) remarks:

... it may be good journalistic usage in writing editorials, or good literary taste in composing poetry, to employ a complicated Classical Greek participial construction or a rare twelfth-century Arabic expression which it can be assumed the average educated reader will not understand without research on his part.

This situation is a clear reflection of the high influence literary heritage has on the speech community and the value it gives to H variety.

Writing and style have a direct impact on the emergence of diglossia. Speech communities, which have a written language, will also most likely have a spoken form of it. They feel that each has a role to play. The difference between the two linguistic systems can be as close as a stylistic difference or can be as wide apart as two distinct varieties. Ferguson (1968) suggests that when a language acquires a written form and becomes codified, it usually evolves into becoming another variety. The moment demarcation between these varieties is established and roles are distributed, the surfacing of diglossia becomes a real possibility, if not a fact. However, Ferguson (1959 in 1996) clearly does not exclude the scenario whereby oral literature has the same roles and functions reserved in principle to written literature. He comments on this issue by saying:

All clearly documented instances known to me are in literate communities, but it seems at least possible that a somewhat similar situation could exist in a non-literate community where a body of oral literature could play the same role as the body of written literature in the examples cited. (Ferguson, 1959 in 1996:35)

As Ferguson (1959) before him, Ennaji (2002) makes a valid point by questioning the issue of writing as a prerequisite for the establishment of diglossia. Ennaji (2002) puts forward as a suggestion the consideration for the replacement of written literary tradition as one of the criteria that play a role in diglossia with oral literary ones in the cases of those varieties that play the function of the H variety, but which lack a written literary tradition.



The point Ennaji (2002) may be suggesting is that literary tradition is of utmost importance regardless of whether it is expressed in written or oral form. This, no one can deny. However, an unwritten form of the H variety will lead to an “unbalanced” diglossia as one of the most important functions of the H variety in a diglossic situation is the ability of using the H variety for writing purposes not just for formal oratory ceremonies and speeches though their social function and importance cannot be denied, regardless of the written or oral nature of its literary heritage.

#### **d. Acquisition**

The position of varieties is somewhat reflected in their way of acquisition. H is a formal variety that is acquired in a formal and controlled environment. This takes the shape of a systematic programme and syllabus of acquisition implemented by a tutor/teacher in a location such as a school or a place of worship, as is the case in some traditional Muslim speech communities. Enormous efforts and resources are required by this process of education. The level of literacy within a speech community or a nation reflects the degree of socio-politico-economic commitments invested in this process.

On the other hand, L represents the informality of use as a variety, and it is acquired as a native variety.

...adults use L in speaking to children and children use L in speaking to one another. As a result, L is learned by children in

what may be regarded as the ‘normal’ way of learning one’s mother tongue. (Ferguson, 1959 in 1996:30)

As long as speech communities in a diglossic situation bring up their children with the L variety as their mother tongue, there is no chance for the H variety to become the native variety. For both social and practical reasons, the H variety is very unlikely to be used as a native variety. The case of Arabic does indeed support this hypothesis. “*By Mubarrad’s time [AD. 898] Classical Arabic was dying out as a native language*” (Owens, 1988:3). Classical Arabic has ever since been, for more than eleven centuries, in a diglossic relationship with the different L Arabic varieties. The spread of education, especially after the independence of the Arab states, led to the birth of what has become known as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA) rather than a displacement of local L varieties by the H variety, be it Classical Arabic or Standard Arabic.

#### **e. Standardization**

Standardisation is about the codification of a natural linguistic system. Although all natural linguistic systems have some degree and elements of codification built in them in their syntax and phonology, H varieties often considered to be linguistically highly codified and more complex than L varieties even within the same language family. A spoken variety of any language tends to be more simplified than standard form, especially with regard to syntax. The degree of simplification and divergence determines the level of intelligibility

between the two varieties. Since L varieties are used mostly in an oral form, their codification has been seen as irrelevant as the speech communities do not write in L varieties.

#### **f. Stability**

Diglossia is a relatively stable linguistic situation contrary to what some may claim, and it should not be seen as a transitional phase. Generally speaking, stability and acquisition are largely interlinked. As I argued earlier with respect to acquisition, Classical Arabic has been in a diglossic situation with the local L varieties in the Arab world at least for the past eleven centuries. So far, there are no signs of any destabilisation of this status quo. It seems that diglossia has a built-in safety device to ensure its continuity. Ferguson (1959 in 1996:31) explains:

In Arabic, for example, a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semiformal or cross-dialectal situations has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary. In Greek a kind of mixed language has become appropriate for a large part of the press.

These forms of Arabic varieties which some term as Educated Spoken Arabic (Ennaji, 2002) and Middle Arabic Language (Ferguson, 1959) may be seen as what guarantees the continuity of diglossia and prevents classical Arabic from dislodging any L variety from its position because they act as a buffer

between Classical/Standard Arabic and Arabic Dialects. This is also due to social attitudes and perceptions. As long as H varieties are perceived in such prestigious light, it seems difficult to see a speech community using the H variety instead of the L variety as this will be perceived not only as a form of downgrading of the H variety to another form of L variety, but also the H variety is ill equipped to step in the shoes of the L variety, especially in certain social and cultural functions such as humour.

#### **g. Grammar**

Ferguson's diglossia refers to H and L varieties of the same linguistic family origin. Grammatical differences between these H and L varieties are very extensive. It is a rule of thumb that the H variety's grammatical system is always more complex than that of the L variety. Ferguson (1959 in 1996:32) remarks that:

It is certainly safe to say that in diglossia there are always extensive differences between the grammatical structures of H and L. This is true not only for the four defining languages, but also for every other case of diglossia examined...

In many cases where the H and L varieties belong to the same language family, the grammatical system of the L variety is usually a simplified version of the H variety's grammatical system. This is the case of the relationship between Classical Arabic as an H variety and the Arabic L varieties. One may

explain this by the fact that Arabic L varieties have evolved from and are still being influenced by Classical Arabic, although not everyone agrees with this.

#### **h. Lexicon**

The fact that Arabic L varieties have evolved from and still being influenced by Classical Arabic, much of the lexicon is borrowed by the L variety from the H variety, where the two varieties belong to the same language family.

But a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L, where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, and the use of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L. (Ferguson, 1959 in 1996:33)

Although a percentage of the lexicon is reserved to L variety, it originates from H variety. As Ferguson remarks, it is no longer acceptable for stylistic reasons more than anything else, to use interchangeably between varieties lexicons that have become the monopoly of a given variety.

#### **i. Phonology**

Phonology is probably the most fluid area in cases of diglossia. The possibilities of phonological similarities and differences are numerous than it is

the case in most if not all the other areas. As Ferguson (1959 in 1996:34) illustrates:

H and L phonologies may be quite close, as in Greek; moderately different, as in Arabic or Haitian Creole; or strikingly divergent, as in Swiss German.

Usually, the phonology of H and L varieties stem from the same root. The differences can be seen as a simplified version of that of H variety.

The sound systems of H and L constitute a single phonological structure of which the L phonology is the basic system and the divergent features of H phonology are either a subsystem or a parasystem. (Ferguson, 1959 in 1996:34)

Examples:

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

(Source: Ennaji, 2005:61)

### 1.1.2.3 Views on diglossia

In spite of the fact that for the past four decades a large number of studies have given space to diglossia, “a coherent and generally accepted theory of diglossia remains to be formulated” (Hudson, 2002:1). Since Ferguson (1959 in 1996) suggested the four sets of languages which he describes as “the defining languages” for a diglossic model, many others studied for the same notion and a

large number of them were found to be “far less diglossic than Arabic is” (Kaye, 2001:118). The comparison Kaye (2001) makes with respect to Arabic as a benchmark shifts the balance towards “hard” diglossia, while many advocate a more flexible interpretation giving way to “soft” diglossia as suggested by Fishman (1967; 1972) among others. Their views go as far as suggesting that diglossia can be found in a relationship of two totally unrelated natural linguistic systems, in a much more radical way than Ferguson (1959 in 1996) may have been prepared to accept; although he clearly states with some hesitation that “diglossia is apparently not limited to any geographical region or language family” (Ferguson 1959, in 1996:35). This is reflected by Stewart (1962) who suggests a possibility of diglossia involving two separate languages that are loosely related and yet they are able to behave like two varieties belonging to the same language, such as Standard French and Creole French. The central question has to be whether for diglossia to exist, the need for varieties of the same language related to the same culture is a prerequisite. If not, what is the appropriate minimum prerequisite for diglossia?

Wardhaugh presents this scenario, following in Fishman’s (1967; 1972) footsteps. He says:

For about three centuries after the Norman Conquest of 1066, English and French co-existed in England in a diglossic situation with Norman French the H variety and English the L. (Wardhaugh, 1986:88)

One may argue that what Wardhaugh (1986:88) suggests is a case of bilingualism not diglossia, as a result of colonialism. My view is that the elites in

the form of the colonial power use their own native language for all purposes and impose it on the colonised speech communities in their dealings with them; therefore, this cannot be viewed as diglossia, because “*diglossia seems to be accepted and not regarded as a ‘problem’ by the community in which it is in force*” (Ferguson, 1959 in 1996:36). The ex-colonial language is not imposed upon the ex-colonized speech community when particular speech communities opt to adopt the ex-colonial language as a neutral language of a country of multi-speech communities.

In addition, this phenomenon is widespread in the ex-colonies around the world today. For historical reasons and in most cases, if not all, the ex-colonial language remains a prestigious language at the expense of the native one(s). Such is the case on the Sub-Indian continent, the countries of North Africa and many parts of Latin America. One may argue that even the long process of Arabisation in North Africa has failed so far to dislodge French from its prestigious position. Therefore, in a country like Morocco, each language and dialect has a special social and attitudinal function, including French, depending on what message the speaker wants to convey. Nevertheless, because French is still perceived as the language of the other, i.e. the language of colonial power, and it does not stem from the Moroccan linguistic and cultural heritage, this would be better considered as a case of bilingualism rather than diglossia.



#### 1.1.2.4 Fishman's diglossia

Fishman's notion of diglossia has stirred a great deal of heated debate, especially over the length of the continuum of diglossia, i.e. the question what constitutes a diglossic situation and what does not? Fishman's contribution to diglossia could be seen as, at least, an attempt to integrate it into the field of multilingualism. One finds the roots of his theoretical framework of such a project in his 1967 article on "Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism". With respect to diglossia, Fishman says that:

Initially it was used in connection with a society that used two (or more) languages for internal (intra-society) communication. The use of several separate codes within a single society (and their stable maintenance rather than the displacement of one by the other over time) was found to be dependent on each code's serving functions distinct from those considered appropriate for the other. (Fishman, 1967:29)

It seems that Fishman (1967) does not concern himself with defining diglossia's structural linguistic perspective as such, at this stage at least, but rather he presents the position of diglossia as it may be perceived within society as the use of two linguistic systems, not much different from a form of bilingualism. One may argue for the integration of diglossia within the field of multilingualism, but the urge for a clear definition of what constitutes diglossia is going to remain persistent. Probably little attention was given to defining diglossia as such because he:

... has implicitly dismissed the degree of structural proximity between codes as irrelevant to the definition of diglossia... (Hudson, 2002:13)

Multilingualism cannot be defined only on the grounds of whether or not a society declares itself “officially” multilingual. More often than rarely, the issue of “bilingualism officialdom” is a political one, and therefore, it is secondary in the sense that linguists should decide whether a particular speech community is multilingual or not on the grounds of its linguistic repertoire. One may suggest that the link between diglossia and “an officially multilingual society” is a weak one if not irrelevant. Fishman says,

... diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several “languages” but, also, in societies which are multilingual in the sense that they employ separate dialects, registers or *functionally* differentiated language varieties of whatever kind. (Fishman, 1967:30)

Diglossia is about a particular sociolinguistic behaviour adopted by a given speech community. Watering down Ferguson’s (1959) theory of diglossia is not the way forward. Arguably, one may consider a distinction between “interlingual diglossia” and “intralingual diglossia” (Pauwels, 1986). Interlingual diglossia refers to a diglossic situation where two unrelated natural linguistic systems (varieties, dialects, languages....) are used in a complementary distribution. While one natural linguistic system functions as a neutral H variety and assumes all its characteristics, the second natural linguistic system (a native one) plays the role of the L variety. The issue of stability must be a prerequisite, as the L variety must not be displaced by the H variety. Ennaji (2002:76), among others, makes the point that:

What further distinguishes diglossia from these latter cases is the absence of any prestige group that employs H as its vernacular and

could, therefore, provide the social impulse for a shift away from L as the vernacular.

In almost every case of interlingual diglossia, the High variety is another speech community's native language and stems from those other communities' cultural heritage, no matter how geographically faraway those speech communities may be. This raises the spectre of a shift towards the H variety and the violation of the rule of stability as well as a possible linguistic identity crisis. Hudson (2002:13) says:

Clearly the two situations are worlds apart, however, not only in their surface linguistic dimensions, but, more significantly, in their sociohistorical origins, evolutionary courses of development, and ultimate resolutions.

As for intralingual diglossia, it represents the classical or, as some prefer to call it, Fergusonian diglossia as presented earlier.

In his quest to integrate diglossia within the field of bilingualism and expand its notion, Fishman (1967) presents four scenarios with respect to diglossia and for each he provides examples:

#### **a. Both diglossia and bilingualism**

For this type of situation, Fishman gives his most quoted example of Paraguay:

where almost the entire population speaks both Spanish and Guarani (Rubin, 1962; 1966). The formerly monolingual rural population has added Spanish to its linguistic repertoire in order to talk and write about education, religion, government, high culture and social distance or, more generally, the status stressing spheres; whereas the majority of city dwellers (being relatively new from the country) maintain Guarani for matters of intimacy and primary group solidarity even in the midst of Spanish urbanity (Fishman, 1967:31)

While there are a large number of speech communities around the world, which use an “outsider’s” language, it will be difficult to consider this situation as diglossic for a number of reasons, most notably those related to linguistic and cultural identity. Fishman seems to be suggesting by this notion that, the H variety represents “high culture and social distance or, more generally, the status stressing spheres” (Fishman, 1967:31). One may argue that this particular community must feel alienated and torn between its American Indian culture and roots and the Spanish “high culture and social distance”. This can be seen to reflect a schizophrenic linguistic as well as socio-cultural situation. The nations (using the term in its ethnic rather than its geo-political sense) of the American Indians as well as many others around the world have witnessed their native natural linguistic systems and cultures being eroded and displaced by the colonial languages and cultures. This does not reflect the prerequisite of stability in diglossia. Another prerequisite, which has been overlooked, is the issue of nativeness. Generally speaking in the case of Paraguay, there are two distinct speech communities. The indigenous community, which has Guarani as its native linguistic system; and the Hispanic community, which has Spanish as its native language. This situation unsurprisingly and clearly puts the indigenous

communities at a disadvantage vis à vis the Hispanics, who enjoy the prestige of the High variety being their native language. This contradicts the spirit of diglossia. Hudson (2002:7) stresses that:

Given the express, widely held view that only L is acquired as the natural mother tongue in a diglossic speech community, it is remarkable that time after time in the sociolinguistic literature this critical feature of diglossia is disregarded, as, for instance in the case of Paraguay, where Spanish and Guarani are in fact the mother tongues of two distinct segments of the community.

### **b. Diglossia without bilingualism**

Fishman (1967:33) describes the situation whereby diglossia exists on its own as:

... situations in which diglossia obtains whereas bilingualism is generally absent (...). Here, two or more speech communities are united religiously, politically or economically into a single functioning unit notwithstanding the socio-cultural cleavages that separate them. At the level of this larger (but not always voluntary) unity, two or more languages or varieties are recognized as obtaining. However, one (or both) of the speech communities involved is (are) marked by relatively impermeable group boundaries such that for “outsiders” (and this may well mean all those not born into the speech community, i.e., an emphasis on ascribed rather than on achieved status) role access and linguistic access are severely restricted. At the same time linguistic repertoires in one or both groups are limited due to role specialization.

As many would argue, linguistic unity is first and foremost about cultural unity and identity. An example of this is the “Arab unity”. It is a linguistic and cultural unity. It is most certainly neither a political, nor economic, nor

religious unity. Politically speaking, there are twenty-two Arab states. Their economies are diverse and uncomplimentary. Religiously, there are Christian Arab communities living side by side with the Muslims, especially in the Middle East. However, it is that sense of Arab linguistic and cultural identity that makes diglossia possible. For Fishman to dismiss the importance of socio-cultural as well as linguistic bounding of the community is basically to water down diglossia to a meaningless notion. The notion of diglossia can only function within the same speech community rather than between different speech communities as Fishman claims. It is the socio-cultural and linguistic factors that determine a speech community, not geopolitics. To illustrate his view on this particular matter, Fishman (1967:33) says:

Pre-World War I European elites often stood in this relationship with their countrymen, the elites speaking French or some other fashionable H tongue for their *intra-group* purposes (...) and the masses speaking another, not necessarily linguistically related, language for their intra-group purposes. Since the majority of elites and the majority of the masses never interacted with one another *they did not form a single speech community (i.e. their linguistic repertoires were discontinuous)* and their intercommunications were via translators or interpreters (a certain sign of *intragroup* monolingualism).

One may suggest that the picture Fishman provides here is one more reminiscent of social class-struggle and it does not in any way reflect a diglossic situation. The elites form a speech community with a natural linguistic system different from that of the masses to the extent that translators and interpreters are required. The unity Fishman talks about is an engineered one. It is kept artificially by the elite's ability to control politics as well as religion and means of

production. Fishman's example is similar to a scenario whereby a colonial power takes over a country or nation. The colonial power controls the politics as well as the economy of the colonized country or nation and imposes its own language in dealing with the masses and declares the land and its people as part of the motherland. This was the situation that France imposed on Algeria before its independence in 1962. French is certainly part of Algerian multilingualism, but, as *"diglossia is a characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level"* (Fishman, 1967:34); it never at any time was part of Algeria's diglossic situation. It seems that Fishman is presenting a contradiction by suggesting that his example is a reflection of diglossia in *"a single functioning unit notwithstanding the socio-cultural cleavages that separate them"* (Fishman, 1967:33), contrary to how he, himself, defines diglossia.

### **c. Bilingualism without diglossia**

According to Fishman (1967:34),

...bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic behaviour whereas diglossia is a characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level

Bilingualism is not only a reflection of linguistic behaviour of individuals; it is also a linguistic behaviour of many speech communities and societies at large. Both diglossia and bilingualism share many similarities. The most obvious one is that both are built with two or more natural linguistic systems

in mind. The circumstances in which each situation is reflected determine the categorisation of the given situation as bilingual or diglossic. However, for Fishman (1967:34) "*these are circumstances of rapid social change*", and one can argue that the meaning of bilingualism has shifted from the concept of a reflection on individual's linguistic behaviour to include a whole speech community. This does also reflect on diglossia as both an individual and a socio-cultural linguistic behaviour of those speech communities where it occurs. This differs from Fishman's notions, as communication, which includes both diglossia and bilingualism, is both an individual and a societal linguistic behaviour.

#### **d. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism**

A given situation whereby neither diglossia nor bilingualism can only be found is a strictly monolingual speech community. This is very rare and difficult to find as Fishman (1967:36) himself explains:

Given little role differentiation or compartmentalization and frequent face to face interaction between all members of the speech community no fully differentiated registers or varieties may establish themselves. Given self-sufficiency no regular or significant contacts with other speech communities may be maintained. Nevertheless, such groups-be they bands or clans-are easier to hypothesize than to find.

This scenario which is presented by Fishman is irrelevant to Moroccan speech communities.



The second section of the next chapter will explain the sociolinguistic context of Morocco further.

### **1.1.3 Language attitude**

Language attitude refers to a settled opinion or a perception of thinking and behaviour reflecting the views of individuals as well as speech communities towards a given linguistic code or part of it. Cooper and Fishman (1974:6) comment with reference to language attitude as follows:

We have chosen to define language attitude in terms of its referent. We amplified the referent to include language, language behaviour, and referents of which language or language behaviour is a marker or symbol. Thus attitudes towards a language (e.g., Hebrew) or towards a feature of a language (e.g., a given phonological variant) or towards language use (e.g., the use of Hebrew for secular purposes) or towards language as a group marker (e.g., Hebrew as a language of Jews) are all examples of language attitude. Conversely, attitudes towards Jews or secular domains are not language attitudes, although they might be reflected by language attitudes.

To determine a group's language attitude is very important in the analysis of the process of language use and behaviour, especially through any accumulated data. This in turn helps to acquire a better understanding of language attitudes and other linguistic and cultural aspects of a given speech community. It is more often than rarely that language attitude has a heavy bearing on the answers provided in a questionnaire, especially in sociolinguistics. Degree of prestige, poetics, complexity, modernity, archaism, are all opinions and reflections of

members of any given speech community which they hold on a particular linguistic code as attitudes regardless of whether these attitudes are negative or positive. For Bentahila (1983:2), as an example, to sweepingly suggest that *the Berber admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language* reflects his attitude which may be perceived as negative towards Berber varieties.

In studying language attitude, one has to be very careful when distinguishing between reported and observed attitudes. The same respondent who claims and thus reports a certain attitude may be found in practice to exhibit a different attitude with reference to the same enquiry. There are a number of issues and outside influences such as culture, society, family and peer-pressure that account for this discrepancy. Nonetheless, this discrepancy is in itself an attitude towards language. Attitudes shift and change all the time and language attitudes are no exception. These changes in language attitudes and perception are what keep a language alive and dynamic.

Abbassi (1977), Gravel (1979), Bentahila (1983) are some of the major studies on language attitude in Morocco. One noticeable remark about language attitude in Morocco in these studies is the impact of French and its strong grip on society; however, the rise of Standard Arabic at the expense of French has become noticeable. This can largely be explained not only through the process of Arabisation (though many argue that it was a half hearted effort) but also thanks to the numerous national as well as satellite channels in Arabic languages and varieties (L'économiste, 27/05/2005) as well as the rise in the number of programmes either produced or dubbed in Arabic. This rise of Arabic

led to the change in attitude of many who used to see Arabic as an unsophisticated and unpractical language.

#### **1.1.4 Code-switching and mixing**

Code-switching or code-mixing is a linguistic feature whereby the user switches or mixes linguistic codes in such a way as to fulfil a communicative purpose in a conversation (Wardhaugh, 1986:100). These purposes can be, amongst other factors, governed by social, cultural and psychological phonological and morphosyntactic indicators. In many speech communities, code-switching and mixing is so commonplace that it has become a linguistic code on its own right.

In this study I use the terms code-switching and mixing to refer to all instances where two or more languages are used in both inter-sentences and intra-sentences situations regardless of any constraints. Muysken (2001:1) reflects on the difference of code-switching and mixing as follows:

I am using the term code-mixing to refer to all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence. The more commonly used term code-switching will be reserved for the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event, ....

Morocco is multilingual and Moroccans in general code-switch and code-mix. Though the country has only one official language, (the Moroccan 1992 Constitution refers only to “Arabic Language – اللغة العربية” without

specifying which one in particular, but it is widely understood to refer to “eloquent Arabic – اللغة العربية الفصحى”) i.e., Classical Arabic Language, there are other languages and varieties widely in use almost in equal importance. Morocco has five native varieties. These varieties are: Tarifit (in the Rif Mountains), Tachelhit (in the Atlas Mountains), Tamazight (in the Souss region), Hassani (in Western Sahara) and Moroccan Arabic, in addition to French, Spanish and English as foreign languages.

Code-switching and mixing is not geo-linguistically dependent. It is usually part of the linguistic behaviour of a speech community. Many Moroccans, whether in Morocco (Bentahila, 1983; Aabi, 1999) or abroad (Nortier, 1990), use code-switching and mixing with ease, as part of their overall multilingual communication strategy.

While the overall techniques of code-switching and mixing used by both groups of Moroccans may remain the same, the communication strategies for such use may differ to reflect the cultural, social and environmental differences between Moroccans in Morocco and those living in immigration. Code-switching and mixing reflect the interlocutor’s linguistic strategy and attitude to convey a message.

The use of code-switching and mixing between Moroccan Arabic and French in Morocco may be seen as a hint by the interlocutor that he or she would like to suggest that they are educated and probably that they are westernised, equating it with open-mindedness and sophistication. For their counterparts in immigration, it is a question of being able to communicate between the first

generation who usually have poor command of the host society's language and the second generation who has a poor knowledge of the community's language of origin. Code-switching and mixing is also used as a strategy to signal and emphasise one's sense of identity and belonging to the community through partial use of Moroccan Arabic.

Code-switchers and mixers are often so skilled in the art of code-switching and mixing that they sense when to switch according to the needs of a successful conversation as the situation dictates. It is the flow of the conversation that directs the process of code-switching and mixing. This is known as metaphorical code-switching (Wardhaugh, 1986:103).

Code-switching and mixing is a linguistic occurrence that can be found in linguistic areas such as diglossic ones. In fact, code-switching and mixing between H and L varieties as prescribed by Ferguson (1959, in 1996) is becoming more and more a feature of the Moroccan linguistic landscape. Aabi's 1999 study describes its syntactic mechanisms. However, this form of code-switching and mixing is different from the generally accepted and thought of as code-switching and mixing on one crucial aspect, i.e., that of the degree of consciousness, As Wardhaugh (1986:103) points out:

Diglossia reinforces differences, whereas code-switching is generally used to reduce them. In diglossia too people are quite aware that they have switched from H to L or L to H. Code-switching of the kind we are discussing here is often quite subconscious: people may not be aware that they have switched or be able to report, following a conversation, which code they used for a particular topic.

Code-switching and mixing is perceived with mixed feelings (Bentahila, 1983). While some see it as a linguistic skill to be able to freely switch and mix codes, others reflect on it as a weakness and the inability to master and fully express oneself in a particular linguistic code. What the critics fail to recognise is that code-switching and mixing is more than a mere tool of communication. It also fulfils socio-cultural functions within a specific community such as solidarity and self-projection.

## **1.2 Sociological terms and concepts**

The choice of a particular term can be very significant. One of the main concepts I am working with is that of Immigration. There are other terms that need to be clarified, such as: Migration, Emigration, in addition to Immigration.

### **1.2.1 Migration**

The term *migration* has often been taken to refer to a movement of people from one place to another, mostly for reasons of work, and for a limited period, with the view of returning to their place of origin.

With respect to Moroccans who went to the former West Germany and the Netherlands in the Sixties and Seventies, the term *migration* would be more appropriate. The two countries had a policy of migration rather than that of

immigration. Former West Germany was very clear on this issue by describing the foreign labour force as guest workers, which implies that these workers were expected one day to leave for their countries of origin when they were no longer welcome.

Even after more than 60 years of post-World War II immigration, some European governments are still insisting on describing this phenomenon *migration*, contrary to Canada and USA who had a policy of immigration. The Europeans are borrowing the image from the animal kingdom. Birds, fish etc. migrate with the view of going back to the place of departure or origin.

As I mentioned before, both parties first built this movement on the notion of the return: the immigrants and the host countries. “The dream to return” has never become a general reality. This was due to, in my view, two factors:

First, the establishment of the immigrant communities within the host societies is strongly linked to the deteriorating social and economic situation back home. No matter how hard and in some cases unjust social life an immigrant may be subjected to in the host country, for many, it is still better than returning to a bleak future. Even being jobless in the host country means that the immigrant can benefit from social security cover in many cases. These immigrants have settled in those countries with their families for good.

Second, though there is a tendency and nostalgia among the first generation of immigrants to return to their respective countries of origin, especially after retirement, this is not the case when it comes to second and

thereafter generations of immigrant origin. It is even very difficult and unjustifiable to keep labelling the second and subsequent generations as immigrants. They were born and bred in those countries and they know no other land, society or country than that of their place of birth.

### **1.2.2 Immigration**

With the expansion of colonialism and at least from about 1830 and rather steadily from 1850, there has been a substantial flow of immigrant populations into different European countries, especially the United Kingdom and France. France had the reputation into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century of being the most open European country to immigrants, including political refugees, but this reputation did not survive the emergence in the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century of a substantial volume of opinion opposed to the presence of Africans. At this time, the countries of the European Union became generally more resistant to the admission of people claiming political asylum or simply seeking better economic life.

Immigration is generally determined by the economic needs of the host country and tends to be particularly concentrated either in periods of economic growth or after devastating wars. The killings of young men and the devastation as a result of World War II stimulated the governments of the United Kingdom, West Germany, Holland, Belgium and France to draw labour force more widely from their colonies which represented reservoirs of foreign unskilled



manpower. In the years of European rebuilding and economic expansion after World War II, when there was an acute labour shortage, immigration again reached a high level.

In the first two post-World War II decades, immigration contributed to the growth of the population in Western Europe. Although immigration to the UK declined after the introduction of the 1971 Immigration Act, immigration, nonetheless, continued to contribute significantly to population growth. Neighbouring countries such as Portugal and Spain continued to be significant contributors up to 1985 when Portugal and Spain joined the European Union, but one of the main immigrant streams came from North Africa in the case of Germany, Holland Belgium and France, notably from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. People from French or former French territories in central Africa and the Americas provided an additional source of immigrants. And from mostly the Caribbean, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, in the case of the United Kingdom. After World War II, most western European countries went through immigration experiences.

As the numbers of immigrants grew, so did incidents of various kinds of racial discrimination, in addition to problems in housing and employment. Initially, immigrants from North Africa were predominantly males, living in low-standard hostels and hotels. Families were progressively reconstituted, although residential accommodation still continued to be of low standard. Most of the male immigrants worked in jobs that native workers (or even European migrants, in many cases) were reluctant to accept, such as catering, construction, street

cleaning, mining, or heavy and monotonous work in steel or vehicle assembly. With the beginning of an economic downturn in 1974, native workers began to reclaim some of the jobs held mostly by immigrants, and governments began to restrict immigration.

### **1.2.3 UK immigration and immigration laws**

Like many other European countries, United Kingdom has long been linked to immigration. And for long, it has been legislating to regulate and control immigration. The cornerstone of the UK immigration laws are the 1971, 1982 and 1993 acts as amended by the 1996 and 1999 acts, however for the purpose of this study, I will limit myself to the *Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002* (2002 Act, hereafter) and its amendments (2004, 2006 and 2007). As the title suggest, the 2002 Act is based on three sections: Nationality, Immigration and Asylum. This study will concentrate on Nationality and Immigration Laws only, with greater emphasis on the linguistic and social chapters. These are the latest legislative development in nationality and immigration laws, which in addition to allowing for some European Union's social laws in relation to immigrants from Morocco to be integrated into the UK immigration and nationality laws, they make English language and a general knowledge of British life via examination a prerequisite for a successful application for not only British citizenship but also for immigration settlement in the UK as of April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2007. The UK fieldwork for my research was carried out between October 2000 and June 2001; therefore, it is

not suggested that my respondents are affected by the more recent immigration legislations, but they are affected by naturalisation.

Though the UK Immigration Law is very rigid and makes it is difficult for legal candidates to immigration to enter the UK, it must be said that once an immigrant is legally resident in the UK, she or he as well as any dependants can benefit from equal treatment, most importantly, of social security and human rights covers. The list of cases that can benefit from this cover has been extended after it was limited in the 1993 Act. This has largely to do with the UK's compliance with the European Union regulations on such matters including the integration of the 1998 European Human Rights Acts, which became part of the British law starting from October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2000.

The UK legislation towards immigration has become tighter; however, the human rights of immigrants have been reinforced. The creation of the commission on racial equality came as an answer to the injustice, discrimination and racism suffered by different ethnic groups that evolved mostly from immigration. The legislation, however, stops short from solving the problem of tension caused by that hardcore of natives who reject the “new settlers” and gives society that racist character.

#### **1.2.4 Moroccan immigration**

For many centuries, Morocco has been a land of both immigration and emigration. It could even be argued that migration is part of the Moroccan culture.

However, this migration is configured according to the situation the Moroccans find themselves in. “Modern migration” is dictated by politico-socio-economic factors. The Moroccan out-migration movement came about first as a need for employment to escape poverty in Morocco, and also as a part of the French policy to reward the inhabitants of the colonies for their war efforts, and thirdly, immigrants could help rebuild France and her economy after World War II. Moroccan immigrants used France as a springboard to enter other mainland European countries and establish a Moroccan immigrant community there. These countries were mostly Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, and more recently Italy and Spain.

However, the Moroccan immigration to the UK draws its strength from two different factors.

1) After Moroccan independence in 1956, many Spaniards who had businesses in the services sector such as restaurants and hotels jointly with the British who were resident in mostly Tangiers, the then international zone of Morocco, felt that they had to leave. Due to the political situation in Spain under Franco, they felt that they could not re-establish themselves in Spain again, therefore, their ultimate option was to move and relocate their business in the UK, mainly London, where their British associates usually had easy access during the sixties and early seventies. In most cases and as part of shortage of labour in Britain at the time and in recognition and solidarity, the whole business with its Moroccan staff moved to the UK. That was the start of the first largest Moroccan

Immigration to the UK. Chapter 4 deals more extensively with Moroccan immigration.

2) The Anglo-Hispanic relations were at their lowest when General Franco started claiming sovereignty over Gibraltar, which is a British colony, and closed all terrestrial access to it in 1969. The same year Moroccan immigration to Britain peaked. The peak of this conflict took place when Britain was building a naval base in Gibraltar. Moroccans replaced the labour force in the naval base, which was mostly Spaniard, due to the geographical position and proximity of Morocco on one hand, and to the low cost of Moroccan labour force on the other. The “Gibraltar connection” has established strong links between Morocco and Britain in the area of immigration. Though, it seems that the British saw the matter as a technical and practical solution to a political problem that the Franco regime caused them, the Moroccans, on the other hand, saw it as an opportunity to spread their wings and go beyond Gibraltar to the heart of the UK, once the work on the naval base came to an end. The highest percentage of these Moroccan immigrants came from the North West of Morocco, an area traditionally known for its links with both Spain and Britain.

### **1.2.5 What constitutes a “minority”?**

The United Nations proposed a definition for the term “minority” in 1950. The term refers to a culturally, socially and/or politically non-dominant group. The non-dominant group, though part of the country, is marginalized due

to its characteristics. Usually, these characteristics are strongly linked to language, cultural, religious and racial issues, which are different from those of the majority group (Alcock *et al.* 1979). On the other hand, Wirth in Alcock *et al.* (1979: 2) defines a minority as:

any group, racial or ethnic (cultural), the members of which, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out for differential and unequal treatment.

Wirth's definition is more comprehensive than the one presented by the United Nations in that it allows for physical differences too. The physical differences include, among others, colour, gender, age and disability. Though the United Nations' definition includes religious and cultural aspects it is a political definition which was provided to give some degree of protection to minorities after World War II and decolonisation.

The notion of minority is presented according to the area of use. From a political viewpoint; the term minority usually refers to a situation where a group living on the periphery of society is dissatisfied with the much centralised life in that nation, putting such group at a disadvantage.

From a sociological point of view; the prime concern is the pursuing of the social and cultural development of a minority group, as part of overall development of the larger society (Alcock *et al.* 1979).

From an educational viewpoint; the focus is on the nature of the conflict within a society of which a minority is part. The aim of those who believe

in diversity is to try to develop teaching materials that take into account the needs of the minority group (Cummins, 1981).

As mentioned earlier, there are different characteristics, which make a group a minority one. The most common forms of minority are political, cultural, linguistic and religious ones.

#### **a. Political perspective**

There is a strong link between political power and economic power. Whoever controls the means of production controls the political landscape to a large degree. The group in power controls all aspects of life, while marginalizing other group(s). Though traditionally a minority was defined in terms of number, it is no longer possible to rely on this feature alone. A minority group is a non-dominant and marginalized group regardless of its numbers (Alcock *et al.* 1979). The ruling of the apartheid government in South Africa is seen as an example. During that period of South African history, though the majority of the population was black, the blacks were a political and economic minority; while the whites though numerically the minority in South Africa at the time of apartheid formed the political and economic majority because they had absolute power.

### **b. Cultural perspective**

A cultural minority is a group which is culturally marginalized and discriminated against. Usually, the culture of the group in power prevails over that of the marginalized one. Culture is part of the identity of a minority group, and once it is marginalized or attacked, the attack becomes one on the identity of the group too (Alcock *et al.* 1979).

### **c. Religious perspective**

Religious minority represents a highly sensitive issue. A religious minority group is discriminated against simply for having different religious beliefs from the group that holds power, or different from the religion of the majority. Religious cleansing is widespread, and it usually takes a violent form, as it was the case in the ex-Yugoslavia in 1990's.

### **d. Ethnic perspective**

An ethnic minority is a group that ethnically differs from another one that is in power. For centuries, ethnic minorities have suffered from all sorts of discrimination and torture including ethnic cleansing. The Rwandan genocide from April to July 1994 is a clear illustration of an extreme situation in which according to the United Nations, almost one million lives were claimed in that genocide.



### **e. Linguistic perspective**

The term *linguistic minority* refers, as it suggests, to two elements that convert to form a single concept. The notion *minority*, in this case, is determined and largely defined by the term *linguistic*. A linguistic minority is a minority group that shares the same language. It is an important component of nationalism and self-awareness.

Language is an important part of the identity and culture of a group; therefore, the bond of a linguistic minority (Anderson, 1990) is more than merely a *language* bond, but it also represents *identity* and *cultural* bonds that unite the members of a particular group. With language come other issues such as identity, ethnicity and cultural awareness. These issues, in turn, lead to the more complex area of nation and nationalism. Connor (1978: 387) suggests that “A nation is a self-aware ethnic group”. Language is one of the central components of this *self-awareness* and an important focal point of nationalism.

### **1.2.6 Immigrant groups as new linguistic minorities**

The large-scale immigration movements to different European countries during the Sixties and Seventies have created new ethnic and linguistic minorities. These minorities still feel the strong bonds of their nation and country of origin. Several host countries have adopted the teaching of the languages and cultures of such minorities as extracurricular courses into the mainstream education system, albeit on a limited scale, as it is the case for Moroccans and the

Turks in the Netherlands, and the North Africans in France. Some of the teachers on these courses are provided by the countries of origin. New linguistic minorities differ markedly from those that have existed within the borders of a state usually for centuries. Their roots and their heritage lie in a land far away. The indigenous linguistic minority, on the other hand, is very much part of the traditional landscape, and in many cases they have gone through a long social and political struggle for their rights as part of a continuous process of self-awareness and self-determination in one form or another. Immigrant linguistic minorities, on the other hand, are historically new to the landscape they came to settle in.

Language can be used as a powerful weapon against linguistic minorities both old and new. Undermining the language of a minority is, in fact, undermining not only its culture but also its identity, as language, culture and identity go hand in hand. Self-awareness and identity can lead a minority to embark on its linguistic revival, as in the case of Welsh in Wales. The language of a linguistic minority tends to prosper once political will from the concerned state provides the right environment. This usually comes as part of a language policy and a language-planning package proposed by the government with collaboration from the appropriate linguistic minority.

Linguistic awareness and identity may lead linguistic minorities to take unilateral measures to encourage the continuity of their language among their members. Language use and usage takes different forms. It largely manifests itself in the minority's culture, folk and myths. Some minorities have their own schools to teach their language and to promote their culture. Some governments look with

suspicion at such activities. They fear that such schools become breeding grounds for nationalism and extremism, which in turn could lead to separatist demands. The issues relating to minorities can be one of the controversial political and social problems for many governments.

### **1.3 Conclusion**

Defining terms and concepts is a crucial part of best practice governing communication code between writer and reader. While this chapter does not claim to define the whole of the terminology used in this study, it limits itself to what are considered the most vital terms and concepts to this work without any prejudice to the rest of the used terminology. In fact, the list is not exhaustive and those terms and concepts which are not discussed in this chapter are presumed to refer to their widely accepted meaning and reference which they usually carry from the context they fall in.

From a research perspective, the terms and concepts were discussed in this chapter give a particular sense of direction to this work. The terms and concepts used in this study fall under two categories. These are of a sociolinguistic and sociological nature.

This chapter looks at:

1) Diglossia is a hotly debated subject. I presented two prevailing views: Ferguson's diglossia and Fishman's diglossia and bilingualism. While the two versions of diglossia have lots of merit, I concluded that Fishman's diglossia is not as well developed as one would expect. Fishman's diglossia of Guarani and Spanish does not allow for neutrality of the H variety – a prerequisite, in my view, for diglossia. The test of neutrality makes diglossia stand or fall. This has prompted me to adopt Ferguson's model of diglossia.

2) Arabic as an umbrella of a number of languages and dialects. It represents a complex linguistic structure. This complexity affects the process of language maintenance and shift.

3) Language attitude and how it reflects on the way a speech community considers its language and how this consideration impacts on language maintenance and shift.

4) Code-switching is very important as a feature of Moroccan linguistics. It is used differently from one context to the other as a linguistic strategy. While in Morocco itself code-switching is seen as a sign of belonging to the educated class, in an immigration context code-switching is seen as a sign of language shift.

5) The terms and concepts of migration and immigration are very important to this study. The study uses the term immigration to refer to the process leading to full settlement and the becoming part of the host community and country. Migration, however, refers to the movement of people, but without the implicit notion of permanent settlement in the new host country.

6) A presentation of UK immigration and immigration laws is seen as a useful tool to shed some light on the process these immigrants go through to settle in the UK.

7) I also look at the historical background of Moroccan immigration and how Moroccans became involved with the UK immigration as part of a wider international involvement in the post 1956 immigration process.

8) By its very nature, immigration leads to the establishment of new minority groups. This leads in turn to the need to define these groups to be able to deal with them in a more positive way.

The following chapter looks at the sociolinguistic picture of Morocco as a backdrop reference for this study. To better understand the mechanisms of language and culture use and maintenance within the Moroccan immigrant community, one has to have at least some idea of where this community is coming from, i.e., what sociolinguistic forces are found in the country of origin and what it is supposed to use and maintain; and what are the dynamics involved in its language use and maintenance. By addressing the issue of what forms the sociolinguistic scene of Morocco, one also in parallel addresses the indigenous sociolinguistic aspects of the Moroccan immigrant community.

## **Chapter 2: Sociolinguistics of Morocco**

### **2 Introduction**

To better understand the sociolinguistics of the Moroccan communities of immigrant origin and especially the one living in Britain, one has to look at the sociolinguistic picture of the country of origin – Morocco. The Moroccan community still keeps strong ties with its ancestral culture and languages. Language use reflects both ethnic and adoptive society languages and determines the degree of their use and the maintenance of Moroccan Arabic. Therefore, the understanding of the ethnic sociolinguistics helps produce a better picture on language use and maintenance of the immigrant community. For this reason, I conducted field research in Morocco, in 1999. The collected data serves two purposes. Firstly, it will help detect any generational changes in Moroccan sociolinguistics as much of the literature on Moroccan sociolinguistics dates back to the 1970s and mid 1980s. Secondly, the aim of this chapter is to create a general picture on Moroccan sociolinguistics against which any language use and maintenance among the Moroccan immigrant community is compared.

Multilingualism in Morocco has generated interest among researchers for several decades. However, the numbers of extensive studies on the subject are few and far between. Abbassi (1977:2) says,

No study seems to have been conducted on either multilingualism or the linguistic and sociological phenomena that have resulted from the contacts of Arabic with Berber on the one hand, and of Arabic and Berber with French on the other hand.

Since the time Abbassi (1977) made this statement, a number of studies have appeared, e.g., Gravel (1979), Hammoud (1982), Bentahila (1983), Elbiad (1985), Aabi (1999) and Ennaji (2005), and which are some of the more extensive on the subject. Having said that, each study focuses on a specific aspect of multilingualism rather than dealing with it as a whole in the Moroccan context. As such, these studies should be seen as complementary to each other and as a valuable contribution to Moroccan multilingual research.

Although there are at least eight languages and dialects variably in use in Morocco, most of the debate seems to be concentrated on Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic as well as French, sidelining the Berber and Hassani varieties. Many of these studies are concentrated on Moroccan Arabic/French code-switching; to the best of my knowledge, the one by Aabi (1999) is the most extensive study related to code-switching in the Moroccan context. The major issues in Moroccan multilingualism that have been reported on apart from code-switching are Arabisation, language choice and attitude.

Linguistically, Morocco is a multilingual country; officially, it is a monolingual one as Classical Arabic is the only official language, as stated in the opening of the 1996 constitution:

تصدير  
المملكة المغربية دولة إسلامية ذات سيادة كاملة لغتها الرسمية هي اللغة العربية وهي جزء  
من المغرب العربي الكبير.

Preamble:

The kingdom of Morocco is an Islamic country with full sovereignty, its official language is (the) Arabic language, and it is part of the Great Arab Maghreb.  
(My translation)



The official position in Morocco is that the country has one official form of Arabic. This form is referred to as the Arabic language. But within Morocco and the Arab world at large, Arabic is almost always assumed to mean eloquent Arabic – العربية الفصحى. Eloquent Arabic is better known in the west as classical Arabic. Sometimes this form of Arabic is also referred to as Qur'anic Arabic. Standard Arabic is a term which is widely accepted to denote the type of Arabic used by the mass media. (See chapter one, sections: 1.1 & chapter two, section 2.3) Standard Arabic is less rigid than eloquent Arabic (classical Arabic hereafter), especially in its choices of grammar, lexicon, and stylistics.

Besides Classical/Standard Arabic, other languages and dialects form the linguistic picture of Morocco. The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of linguistic diversity found in modern Morocco, and to examine the spread and functions of the different varieties that are used. To this end the chapter will present a field study and discuss its findings as well as giving an explanation of the different linguistic varieties used in Morocco today.

## **2.1 Sociolinguistics of Morocco research field study**

### **2.1.1 Respondents based in Morocco**

The Sociolinguistics of Morocco field study which was conducted in Morocco between 21 March 1999 and 24 April 1999 has relied on 413 respondents who volunteered to participate in this field study. In the beginning, 500 potential respondents were approached. These respondents were approached in public spaces and were asked to participate. The participation rate was 82.6%. The data which is collated from the Sociolinguistics of Morocco field study conducted in Morocco from 21 March 1999 to 24 April 1999 is presented in full in Appendix B: Data of Sociolinguistics of Morocco.

### **2.1.2 Geo-distribution**

The respondents originated from all the regions of Morocco (see Appendix D: Map of Morocco) and represented both Berberophones and Arabophones. All respondents who participated in this study resided in the major cities. About 60% of participants were born in centre-north of Morocco (see Appendix D: Map of Morocco). The other 40% of respondents represent all other regions of Morocco.

### **2.1.3 Age and gender**

The age group of these respondents ranges between 16 and 60 years. 86.2% of the participants fall within the brackets of 16 and 35 years of age – an indication of the youthfulness of the Moroccan population. The gender distribution was 82.6% in favour of men giving women a 17.4% share only. This may be explained by the fact that the respondents were approached in mostly public venues such as cafés which are unpopular places by women which may be a reflection on Moroccan conservatism by western standards and values.

### **2.1.4 Occupation**

Morocco is a developing country with the characteristic ills of a developing economy. High unemployment was reflected in the collated data at 19.6%. The students represent 29.5%. This high rate may be due to two factors – first, the Moroccan population, comparatively, is a young one as stated earlier. Second, most of the respondents were approached in what is known as university cities. This fact is reflected in the rate of literacy and access to education which is higher than the Moroccan average as a whole. These two groups form about 50% of the total adult active population, excluding children and pensioners.

### **2.1.5 Education**

This sample of respondents does not reflect the true picture of Morocco on issues of literacy and education. This is because the student population is over represented in my sample as well as the fact that a large part of the field study was conducted in cities with some of the largest student populations in the country. I sought to rectify this imbalance by relying on other sources and studies to which I make reference where appropriate.

### **2.1.6 Parents**

Most of the respondents' parents are in their late 50s' and their 60s'. This may be explained by the fact that the 70s' and 80s' generations are leaving it rather late to marry, later than their parents and grand-parents did, mostly due to economic pressure and modern western trends of living. Most mothers are younger than the fathers – a reflection of the Moroccan culture vis-à-vis marriage and the concept of family life.

Unemployment is rather surprisingly low among the fathers. This may be due to the fact that this is the post-colonial generation which filled the job opportunities in the aftermath of Morocco's independence and the Moroccanisation (replacement of foreign – colonial – workforce by Moroccans) of the Moroccan civil service. This was largely the privilege of men as most women stayed at home. It is worth mentioning that this generation which took jobs as early as the Sixties is coming to retirement.

On the whole, the parents are less educated than their children as the data shows. During the colonialism era and some years after independence, access to education in Morocco was notoriously difficult. As a result, many lost out on education. Women had a very rough deal compared to men. This is because at the time many in the Moroccan society thought (wrongly I might add) that a woman's place is at home looking after the family.

### **2.1.7 Data of sociolinguistics of Morocco field study**

The full data resulting from sociolinguistics of Morocco field study was collated and arranged in Appendix B: Data of sociolinguistics of Morocco. The reason for conducting such field study was twofold: first, to serve as a comparative bench mark to find out how the linguistic patterns of the British-Moroccan Minority have diverged from those of Morocco proper. Second, I felt that there was a need for a fresh set of data as most studies on sociolinguistics of Morocco were conducted in the Sixties, Seventies and early Eighties.

It is also important to mention that the timing of this study is important in the sense that it is a historical record: A point in time prior to the 2001 attacks, the effects of "war on terrorism" and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq as well as the proliferation of satellite TV stations in Arabic languages and dialects and the impact of these factors on Moroccan sociolinguistics both at home and among Moroccan minority communities of immigrant origin.

## 2.2 Multi-glossic nature of Moroccan sociolinguistics

Classical/Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic have a complex and a symbiotic relationship. They are in a complementary symmetry to each other to fulfil the needs of the Moroccan speech community. This symmetric and symbiotic relationship where other varieties of the same language or even unrelated ones come to play as is the case in Arabic is linguistically known as diglossia which is part and parcel of the Moroccan sociolinguistic landscape. Ennaji (2002:75) remarks that:

Contrary to the Swiss case, where the four languages do not trespass on each other's frontiers, or only marginally so, in the Maghreb, these languages and varieties cut across each other...

There are a number of varieties of Arabic and of Berber in Morocco. These have coexisted for centuries and created a diverse form of "multiglossia". In fact, Berber varieties as well as other Arabic varieties have been and still are being used in a diglossic situation, overlapping each other as Ennaji (2002:75) states. Ferguson supports this view in general. His view is that "diglossia is apparently not limited to any geographical region or language family" (1959 in 1996:35).

This multiglossic nature of Moroccan sociolinguistics is a key factor in determining some of the unique aspects of Moroccan sociolinguistics, as pointed in the previous chapter. The main varieties found in Morocco today are presented in the following overview:

### 2.3 Classical and Standard Arabic

Classical Arabic is a form of Arabic that evolved from the Arabic dialects of pre-Islamic Mecca and has been enriched by the influences of the Qur'an, Islam and of different linguistic groups it came into contact with while the Islamic empire was expanding. Classical Arabic spread alongside Islam into new territories beyond the borders of Mecca. The whole of North Africa became partly ethno-linguistically Arabised as part of the Islamisation process by the Muslims of the Middle East. The first conquest of North Africa took place in 682, fifty years after the Prophet Mohamed's death in 632. (See chapter one. Sections 1.1.1 & 1.1.2).

Since Classical Arabic is the language of the Qur'an, it is viewed as that of Islam too. It quickly occupied a central position as the language of many of these Islamised territories and it formed the basis of Arabic spoken dialects and written versions that spread in these territories. Thus, all varieties of Arabic are related to Classical Arabic, although they are not mutually comprehensible. Classical Arabic, which is no one's native language, has to be learnt formally in order to be acquired. It is mostly reserved for religious ceremonies and some literary genres. For full details on different constituents that fall under the umbrella of Arabic language (see chapter one, section 1.1.1).

Modern Standard Arabic has a less rigid and complex structure than Classical Arabic. It is used mostly for formal situations, especially in written form. It is also used in a diglossic (see chapter one, section 1.1.2 on Diglossia) relationship with Arabic dialects. Following common practice in Arabic

sociolinguistics, I use the term “Arabic” when necessary to refer to Standard/Classical Arabic without further reference to the nuances between the two.

## **2.4 Moroccan Arabic**

Moroccan Arabic dialects are spoken by over 90% of the Moroccan population (Youssi, 1995:29). Some researchers such as Abbassi (1977), Bentahila (1983), Youssi (1995), Aabi (1999) and Ennaji (2002 and 2005) view Moroccan Arabic as being in a diglossic relationship (Ferguson, 1959 in 1996) with Classical Arabic as described by Ferguson:

The revived literary language and the ordinary spoken dialects had different functional allocations of use in the Arab-speaking world, and in terms of the sociolinguistic concept of Diglossia they could be called the high and low varieties. (Ferguson, 1990:43)

Although Moroccan Arabic is a descendent of Classical Arabic and heavily influenced by it, the two are by no means as mutually intelligible as some may argue, and they can be viewed as two independent linguistic codes that stand apart, though they belong to the Arabic family of languages and dialects.

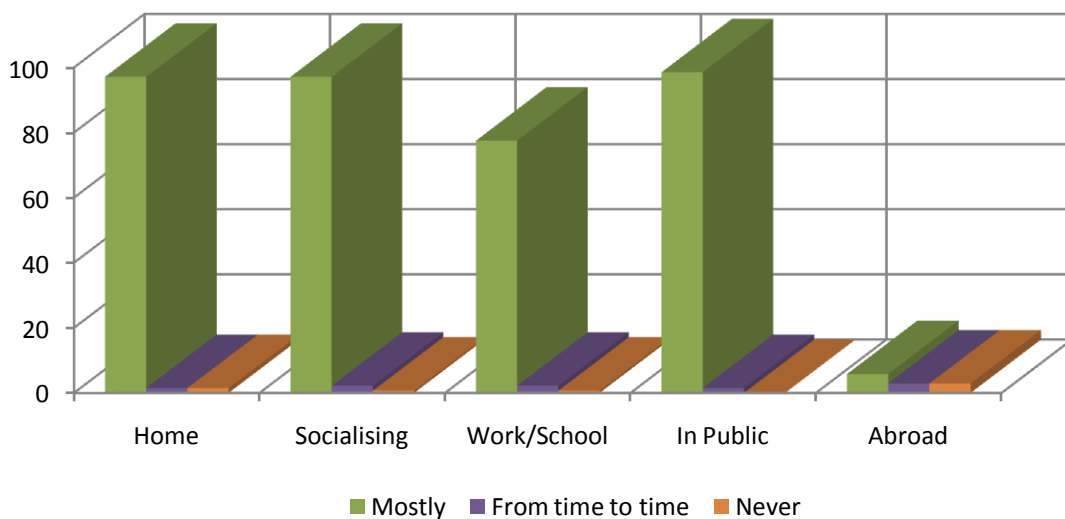
Because of borrowings mostly from Berber, French and Spanish, Moroccan Arabic (and to some extent the other Arabic dialects of the Maghreb) stands in contrast with the Arabic dialects of the Middle East. For historical



reasons, Middle Eastern Arabic dialects do not share this same experience with Moroccan Arabic, which explains the unique position Moroccan Arabic fulfils.

Contrary to the impression one may get when reading or referring to some studies on Moroccan bilingualism, Moroccan Arabic, and to some extent Berber varieties, play a strong role that neither French nor Classical Arabic can fulfil. It is used in day-to-day social life and for informal communication (see chapter two section 1.1.2 on diglossia). The following graph 2.1 makes rather interesting reading. It shows the strong use of Moroccan Arabic within society. The graph reflects the findings of the 1999 field study I conducted in Morocco. It comprises a sample of 413 respondents. As we can see, the graph shows the extent of Moroccan Arabic use in different areas of public life.

**Figure 2.1: Respondents' degree of use of Moroccan Arabic**



Moroccan Arabic has evolved through the ages from three Arabic dialect sources (Abbassi, 1977:19). Firstly, it was introduced by the early Arab clerics, scholars and soldiers who came to North Africa with the main objective to

Islamise it in the seventh century. It is what the eighth Century Arab sociologist Ibn Khaldun refers to as Urban Arabic Dialect (Ibn Khaldun, 1967). This form of Arabic dialect evolved in the cities of Andalusia, North Africa and the Middle East and as such is considered to be more refined than the Bedouin dialects.

Secondly, Bedouin dialects were introduced by different tribes that invaded North Africa, especially Morocco. They were the inhabitants of the Arabian Desert. This invasion was largely responsible for the major part of the Arabisation of Morocco, especially in the lowland areas (Julien, 1956).

Thirdly, when the Andalusian Moors took refuge in Morocco as a result of their expulsion from Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, they introduced their form of Andalusian Arabic dialect to Morocco. This form of dialect, as Abbassi (1977:21) remarks, is based on early urban Islamic Arabic dialect that evolved and gained its distinct character in Andalusia.

The Arabic component of Moroccan Arabic is constituted of these different Arabic dialects. A geo-linguistic approach to multilingualism in Morocco highlights the heavy influence of these dialects in parts of Morocco. Dialects of Andalusian origin are mainly to be found in cities such as Fez and Tetouan and in mountainous pockets like Chefchaoun and the Jbala area. Bedouin dialects are found in El-Jadida, Doukkala, Abda, Settat, Khouribga. Some of these dialects are referred to by the name of the city, area or region where they evolved, hence, the Fassi dialect from Fez and Jbala dialect from the southwestern part of the Rif Mountains (the word Jbala in Moroccan Arabic means “people of the mountain”). Bedouin dialects cover a large area in mostly the west of the country

outside the cities and towns, but with the in-migration movements of the population during the last decades, this form of dialect can also be found in the cities (Abbassi, 1977).

It is widely perceived that Moroccan Arabic enjoys a higher status *vis à vis* Berber dialects. Not only is this explained by the fact that Moroccan Arabic is related to Classical Arabic, but also the Moroccan Arabic speaking population is larger than the Berber one. In fact, over 90% of the general Moroccan population speak Moroccan Arabic (Youssi, 1995:29) as either a native dialect or as a second dialect, including Berbers (Abbassi, 1977:19). In addition, the number of native Moroccan Arabic speakers who learn a variety of Berber and go on to use it is extremely limited. As will be explained later, Berber comprises three mutually unintelligible major varieties spoken in different parts of the country. This factor does not encourage other Moroccans of a different linguistic background to learn any of the Berber varieties. Having said that, historically there are sections of the Moroccan population who became Berberophones while others became Arabophones (Abbassi, 1977).

Although many may argue that the Berber populations of Morocco are linguistically at a disadvantage, they are not economically or politically marginalised, though a very small minority of them may still find it difficult to have full access to education and services for linguistic reasons. The Berber population participate in all aspects of Moroccan life. They have political parties and, as a result, a presence in parliament and government. All Moroccans – Arabophones and Berberophones alike – face together the usual problems and

challenges of modern life in a developing country. During the past twelve centuries of the existence of the Moroccan state, a number of ruling dynasties of the Moroccan empire were of Berber origin and helped willingly spread Arabic language out of religious conviction – hardly the act of a marginalised people.

## **2.5 Berber varieties**

Berber (with its different varieties), which withstood the Arabisation process for centuries, is the native language of North Africa. Today, it is largely concentrated in the highlands and mountainous areas to where its speakers fled and settled as a result of different invasions that North Africa faced during its long history.

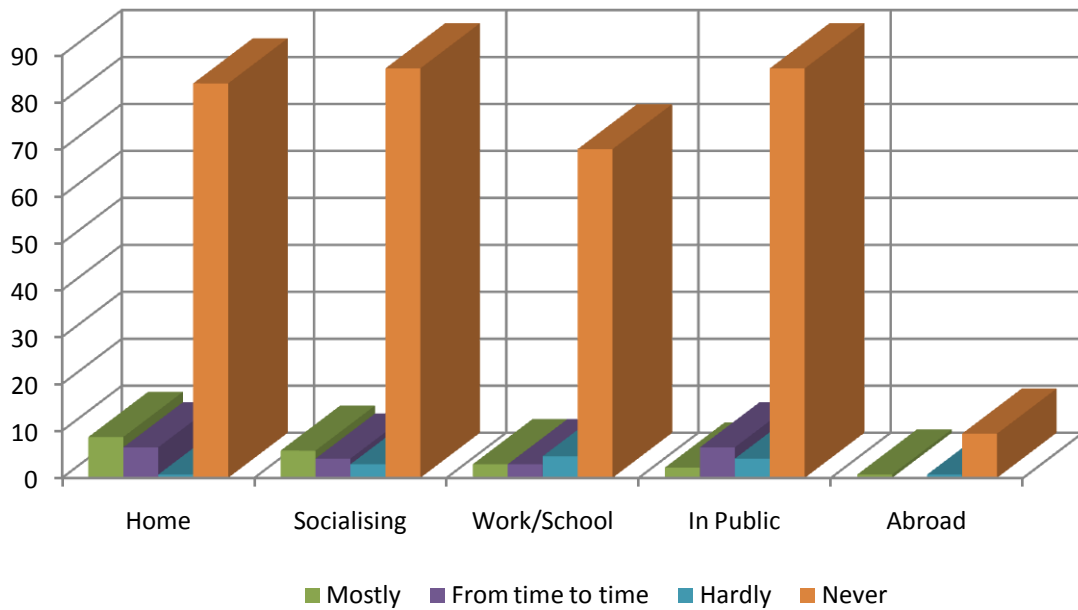
Berber varieties represent the tool of communication of one of the oldest cultures and civilisations. Berber languages and culture cover a geographical area stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Sahara of Siwa in Egypt (Sadiqi, 1997).

The Berber civilisation came under several influences from different invaders and traders; and it interacted with different other civilisations. Berber civilisation interacted with, among others, the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Vandals, and the Byzantines. But the greatest impact on the Berber civilisation came from the Arabo-Islamic civilisation with which it first came into contact in 682, and the Franco-Western civilisation from 1912 onwards.

Morocco has the largest Berber population in the world. This population is estimated at approximately 11 million according to the 1994 population census (Ennaji, 1997). Sadiqi (1997) claims that 45% of the Moroccan population are Berber.

Although 45% (Sadiqi 1997) of the Moroccan population describe themselves as being Berbers, many families are of ethnically and/or linguistically mixed background, where one of the parents cannot speak their spouse's variety of Berber. As a result, in many cases, the Berber variety has a limited or even no use at home, in spite of the fact that some members of the family describe themselves as being Berbers. Outside the home, the use of Berber varieties is very limited and in most cases restricted to the Berber stronghold areas in many parts of the highlands and mountains in the country. As a consequence, Berber dialects are declining in use in Morocco. In fact, one of my respondents states in a note as part of the questionnaire that: "*I am of Berber origin but I do not speak this language*". This respondent represents an example of a widespread situation of linguistic decline that the Berber population is experiencing.

**Figure 2.2: Respondents' degree of use of Berber**



The issue of multilingualism and ethnicity are inter-linked and can be the source of controversial debate. In my view, what Elbaid (1991:33) advances falls into this category. The relationship between ethnicity and language is a strong one but not, perhaps, as decisive as some would argue. Fishman (1989:5) says without ambiguity “*at every stage ethnicity is linked to language*”. And Williams (1992:215) claims, “*language is the embodiment of ethnicity*”. At the other end of the spectrum (Fishman, 1989; Elbiad, 1991; and Williams, 1992) one finds Omar (1991:98) who states, “*the cultural heritage of the ethnic group remains steadfast... for so long as the bilingual is surrounded by people of his group*”. In other words, he reflects the view that ethnicity is maintained within the ethnic group, regardless of the linguistic situation of the member of the group. This latter situation, I suggest, is what describes best the position many Berbers find themselves in. Although language is a very important part of any

consideration of ethnicity, it surely must not be seen as a prerequisite. Elbiad (1991:33) argues that

that ethnic Arabisation is proceeding slowly but steadily. Ethnic Arabisation is the on-going assimilation process whereby non-Arab [Berbers] groups become Arab by learning Arabic and by being integrated into the Arabo-Islamic society while not necessarily losing their mother tongue. The assimilation is usually completed through intermarriage and trade.

Elbiad's (1991:33) statement and *Ethnic Arabisation* theory raise some questions on different points regarding his interpretation of ethnicity, which himself does not define. Edwards (1985:37) argues that it is the "*same sense of groupness which forms ethnicity*". Omar (1991:215) too, makes a similar argument.

Firstly, what is exactly meant by *ethnic Arabisation*? Many researchers use the term Arabisation to refer to the replacement of "colonial" European languages in the Arab countries with Standard Arabic. However, many members of the Berber population acquire Moroccan Arabic, but like the rest of the population, including the Arabophones, have to learn Classical Arabic at school. The process of Arabisation involves the replacement of French and Spanish in areas such as public administration and education. This does not mean the replacement of Berber varieties or Moroccan Arabic.

Secondly, the fact that someone learns another language does not make him or her jump over the ethnic boundary to become a member of the other ethnic group whose language he or she learned. Ethnicity is first and foremost

about racial and cultural identity and belonging to a particular group (see chapter one, section: 1.2.5.d).

Thirdly, unlike most countries of the Middle East, it is difficult to classify Morocco as being an Arab country both ethnically and culturally. While it is true that Moroccan culture and heritage are heavily influenced by Arabo-Islamic civilisation, the country, nonetheless, has its own distinctive identity and culture that stems from Berber civilization and culture.

Fourthly, Berber populations of Morocco (and of the rest of North Africa for that matter) have been intermarrying and trading with different groups of invaders, traders and new-comers throughout their long history. The question that persists and requires consideration is to what extent the Moroccan population can be said to be of ethnically pure Arab or pure Berber origin.

In the case of the Berbers of Morocco, they are said to represent 45% of the population and are therefore an ethnic group of significance. But Bentahila (1983:2) would have us believe that it appears that for many of these the use of Berber is no longer an important demonstration of ethnic identity. He attempts to explain this fact by arguing that the Berber population has no self-esteem, at least linguistically:

The Berbers admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language, probably because of this link between Arabic and religion, and maybe also because of the respect they felt for the written forms which their own language did not possess.



Bentahila (1983) makes a rather powerful statement by using such words as “*admitted*” and “*superiority*” but he does not support it by empirical findings. Most Moroccans, if not all, including Berbers, have a high esteem for Classical Arabic as it is seen as the language of their holy book and religion. Both speakers of Moroccan Arabic and Berber varieties have such positive feelings towards Classical Arabic, which is after all no one’s native language. However, Bentahila (1983), I feel, does Berbers a disservice. Berbers are still proud of their language and culture while at the same time they show high esteem for Classical Arabic – the language of their holy book as well as their religion. Abbassi (1977:13) describes the position Berbers adopt towards Classical Arabic with an eloquent precision when he says: “Although Moroccan speakers of Berber are proud of their linguistic heritage, they still look up to Classical Arabic and respect it”, as does the Moroccan Arabic speech community. The linguistic impact goes in both directions. Berber varieties influenced Arabic to give birth to the pre-colonial era Moroccan Arabic, and indeed Arabic did influence Berber varieties too. This, among other factors is what gives Morocco its linguistic uniqueness.

For Bentahila (1983:2) to suggest that “The Berbers admitted the superiority of Arabic over their own language” amounts to colonial discourse. It implies that the Berbers suffer from some form of linguistic inferiority complex, but not the Moroccan Arabic speaking population. As is argued elsewhere, each dialect or language plays a specific role within the Moroccan society, as part of multilingual process, and no one is better than the others, regardless of whether and how perceptions and attitudes towards a particular dialect, variety or language may differ.

The Berber population of Morocco is divided into three major linguistic groups, in accordance with the major varieties each group belongs to. In the north-centre, the Berber population of the Rif Mountains speaks Tarifit. In the Middle Atlas and east of the High Atlas Mountains Tamazight is spoken. Tashelhit, on the other hand, is used in the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas Mountains. The degree of mutual intelligibility or lack of it between these Berber varieties is largely determined by the geographical distance between them (Ennaji, 1997), i.e., the further the distance between these dialects, the less mutually intelligible they are.

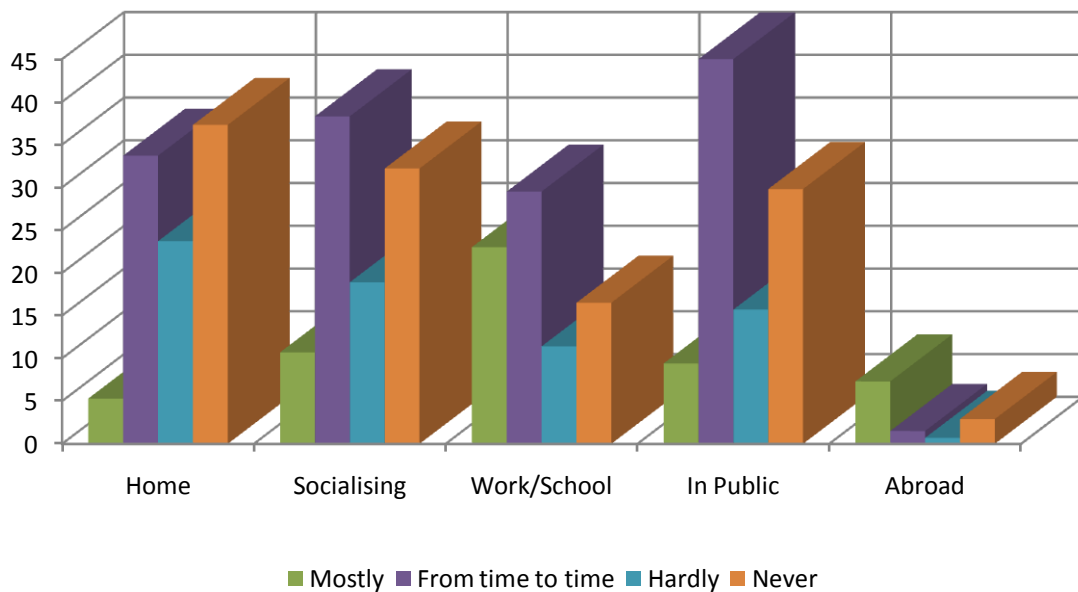
Berber varieties have borrowed from different languages they came into contact with, mostly Latin and French, but Arabic has had the greatest impact on Berber (Sadiqi, 1997). Berber dialects have no written records, though the Tuareg use a form of script called Tifinagh which is believed to have been used in the distant past as a medium of writing in most Berber dialects. In Morocco, traces of Tifinagh are still found in Berber traditional rugs and artefacts. In 2003, Morocco officially voted to adopt the use of Tifinagh to write Berber varieties. During the last decade or so, timid attempts to write Berber varieties using mostly Arabic but also some Latin as well as Tifinagh scripts in the Berber dedicated newspapers were made. These attempts remain limited. Like Moroccan Arabic, Berber varieties are mostly spoken varieties, and in this respect all Moroccans are equal in that they speak a language which they do not write and write a language which they do not speak. When writing it prior to 2003, French or Classical Arabic was used.

## 2.6 French and Spanish

French and Spanish are seen by Moroccans as the inherited languages of the colonial legacy. The colonial powers, France and Spain, imposed their languages on Morocco as part of the administration apparatus by which the country was controlled. Immediately after independence, French prevailed over the major languages in the country, i.e., Classical Arabic and Spanish, as the language of administration and education. Although the process of Arabisation started with the country's independence in 1956, it is by no means complete.

Though French is not the official language of the country, it still enjoys a very high status, especially in economic and international relations. In fact, one may argue that French is the undeclared official language of Morocco, alongside the official one, i.e., Standard Arabic.

**Figure 2.3: Respondents' degree of use of French**



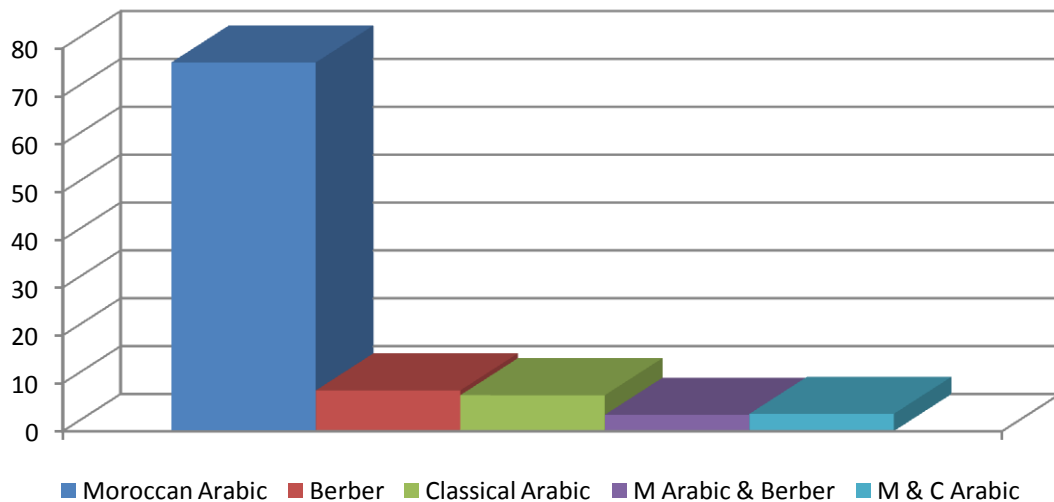
The use of Spanish has taken a back seat. Its use is limited to the ex-territories of Spanish influence in both the extreme north and south of Morocco. The regional dialects of those areas have borrowed heavily from Spanish, but the administration is conducted in Arabic and French as part of the Arabisation process. The strong-hold of Spanish in Morocco is limited to northern regions surrounding the enclave towns of Ceuta and Melilla which are still Spanish colonies.

## **2.7 Arabisation**

The term Arabisation became more significant in the wake of North Africa's independence from European colonial powers (France and Spain). The process means the replacement of colonial European languages by Arabic to conduct the matters of state, as well as those of the private sectors. The process of Arabisation has not been an easy task to implement for different political, economic and technical reasons. In Morocco, as in Algeria and Tunisia, the shift from French as the "*official language*" of administration and education during the colonial era to Arabic is seen as part of strengthening the national identity and pride. Officially, the process of Arabisation has been going on since 1956 in Morocco. The reason why it has been such a slow process is largely due to the fact that Arabic is still unable to fulfil its role as a medium of communication in some areas such as international business, finance industry and sciences. But also, it is due to the fact that Morocco appears to lack the political will and determination to make Arabisation a strategic choice.

As we have seen before, neither Classical nor Standard Arabic have any native speakers. “By Mubarrad’s time [898AD] Classical Arabic was dying out as a native language” (Owens, 3:1988). Today’s Standard Arabic is learned and used for writing and in formal speeches and communications. As others like Abbassi (1977), Gravel (1979), Hammoud (1982), Bentahila (1983) and Aabi (1999) have argued, Classical Arabic is the language of the Qur’an and Islam. This seems to be reflected in Moroccans’ perceptions as well and, therefore, it comes as no surprise that a few would indeed consider Classical Arabic as their native language. Indeed, in my field study only 7.5% of respondents claim that Classical Arabic, and 3.6% that both Moroccan and Classical Arabic are their native language as is reflected in Figure 2.4.

**Figure 2.4: Respondents’ native language**



The suggestion I can put forward for such claim is that these respondents make such claims from a religious perspective and therefore an ideological rational rather than a linguistic one.

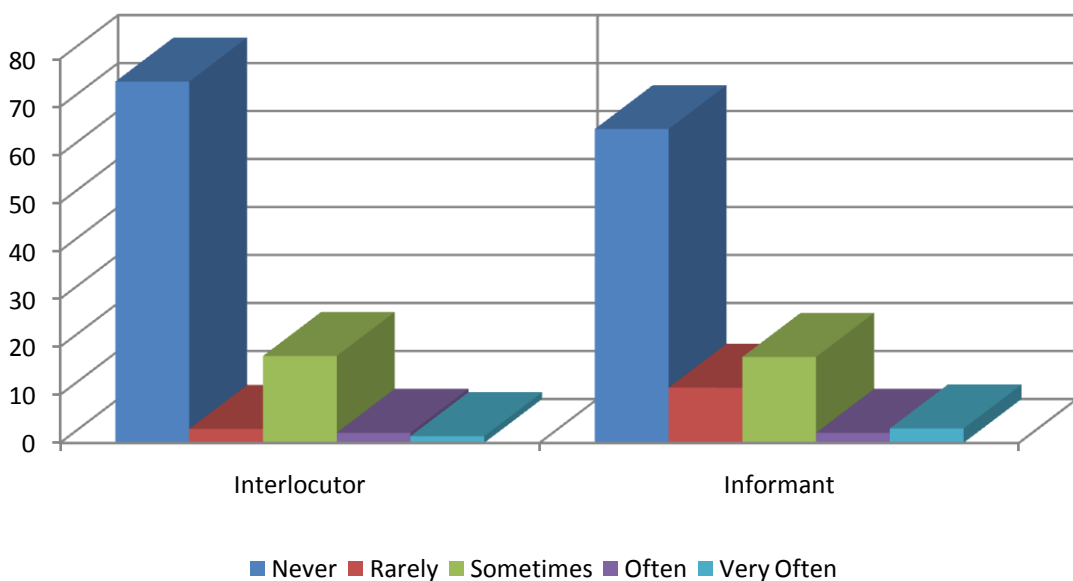
In putting this argument forward, I exclude the Arab nationalistic factor as nationalists call for the eradication and replacement of French by Classical Arabic where French is used. They never seriously claimed Classical Arabic to be the native language of any group of Moroccans. However, nationalists do claim that all Moroccans are Arabs – a view many in Morocco would take with some reservation. The nationalist movement around the Arab world soon turned into a movement of Pan-Arabism advocating, among other things, the exclusive use of Classical Arabic from the Arabian Sea in the east to the Atlantic coast in the west. Pan-Arabists saw in regional as well as local dialects a factor of disunity in the Arab world, and argue only Classical Arabic can be a uniting force among the Arab peoples (Abbassi, 1977:91). It is this very issue of unity in Morocco, which may have led politicians in the country to adopt Classical Arabic as the official language rather than any of the native varieties.

## **2.8 Code-switching**

One of the most important features of Moroccan linguistics is code-switching, which is a linguistic behaviour widely used as a strategy of communication. Unlike borrowing, which involves the assimilation of foreign lexicon and structures into a language or dialect as defined by Nait M'Barek and Sankoff (1988), code-switching refers to the switching between codes of communication. Code-switching has a strong presence on the Moroccan multilingual arena as a form of linguistic behaviour and a strategy. From the field research I conducted in Morocco in April 1999 I was able to accumulate figures

which reflect the use of code-switching between Classical Arabic and French, on one hand, and the use of code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and French on the other hand. The following three graphs show the different situations where code-switching is used. While Bentahila (1983:39) found that “very few of the respondents (4.63%) admit to code-switching themselves, and those few who do express regret for the habit”, in my findings, my respondents state that 24.7% (graph 2.5: Interlocutor’s code-switching: Classical Arabic/French) and 58.8% respectively (graph 2.6: Interlocutor’s code-switching: Moroccan Arabic/French) of their interlocutors code switch while conversing with them, i.e., with the respondents.

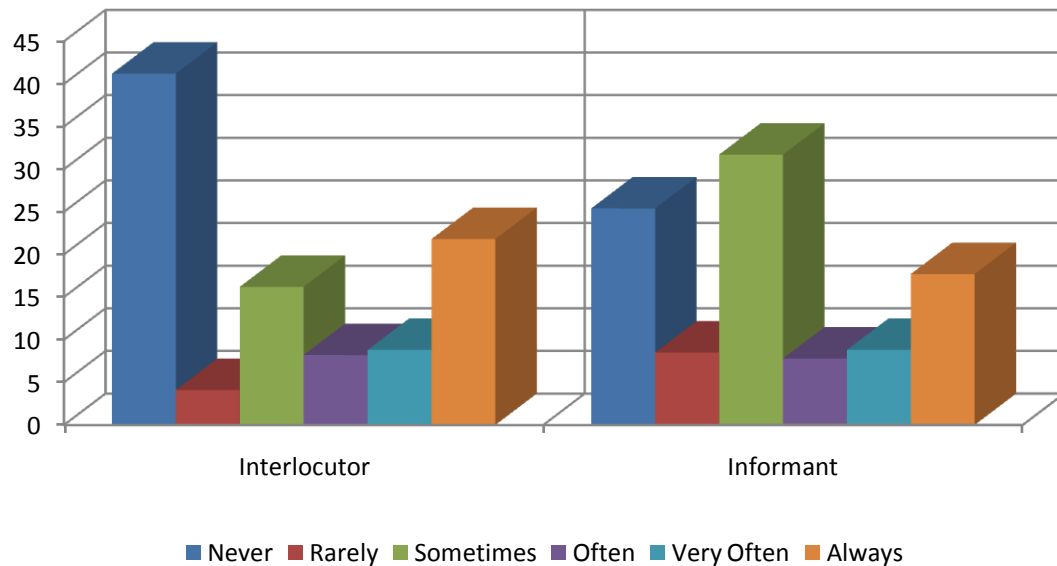
**Figure 2.5: Code-switching: Classical Arabic-French**



On the other hand, 34.6% (graph 2.5: Respondent’s code-switching: Classical Arabic/French) and respectively 74.6% (graph 2.6: Respondent’s Language Mixing: Moroccan Arabic/French) of respondents on their part practise such linguistic behaviour, which can be taken as a signal of shift in attitude

towards code-switching. Contrary to Bentahila (1983), I consider the figures as an implicit positive attitude indicating that code-switching is an accepted mode of communication behaviour among a growing section of Moroccans. Especially so, as the Pan Arabism and nationalism that prevailed in the 70's (Abbassi, 1977) and the 80's (Bentahila, 1983) is no longer the widely held ideology in the early years of the twenty-first century.

**Figure 2.6: Code-switching: Moroccan Arabic-French**



In my field study, respondents were requested to refer to the situation that best describes the position where they would chose to use code-switching. The results indicate the variable degree of use of code-switching between respondents as well as their interlocutors. From a behavioural linguistic viewpoint, code-switching is a widespread communicative linguistic strategy, contrary to what Bentahila (1983) advances.



The other striking feature is the increase of Moroccan Arabic – Standard Arabic code-switching. Aabi (1999:1) states,

Although work on code-switching in the Moroccan situation has been going on for almost three decades, no-one has researched the subject of syntactic constraints in the Moroccan/Standard Arabic situation.

This may be explained due to the fact that most these researchers view the relationship between Moroccan Arabic and Classical/Standard Arabic as diglossic, as defined by Ferguson (1959 in 1996), which is based on function whereby a relationship exists between the L variety and H variety (Bentahila 1983:4, Heath 1989:8) whereas in the case of code-switching one will be switching codes rather than functions or styles only (Aabi (1999). This attitude is built on the assumption that one is dealing with a language with inherent variation as Labov (1972:188) says,

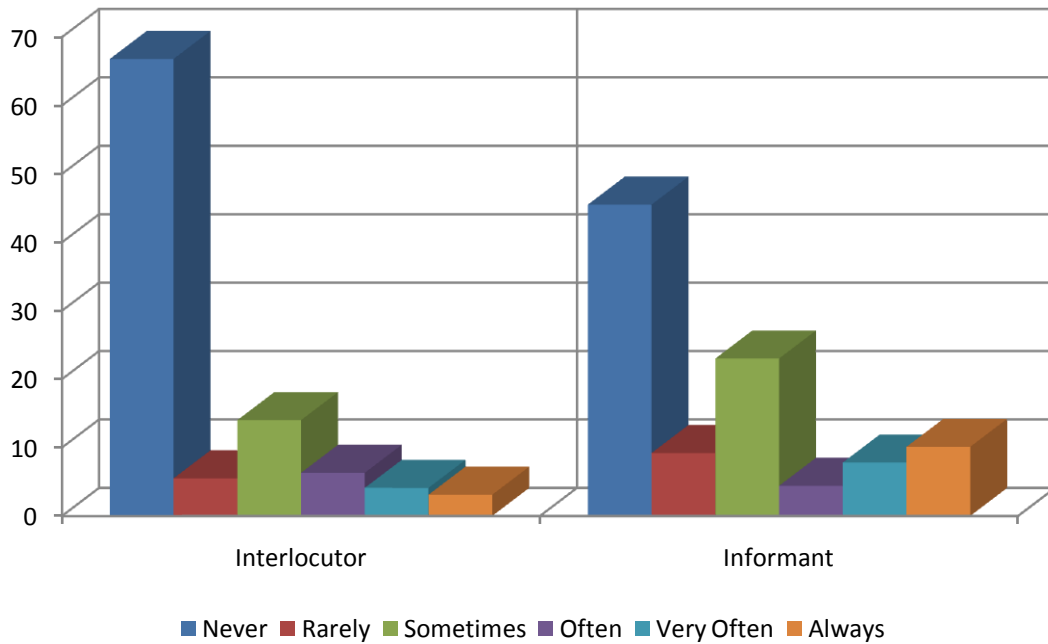
It is common for the same language to give many alternate ways of saying the same thing. Some words like car and automobile seem to have the same referents, others have two pronunciations like working and workin'. There are syntactic options such as Who is he talking to? Vs To whom is he talking?

However, Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic are not mutually intelligible. In spite of the seeming similarities between the two, they represent different codes (Abbassi 1977). A monolingual Moroccan Arabic speaker will be totally unable to switch forth and back between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic, because he or she would have to learn the latter first, i.e., the learning of Classical Arabic in a formal environment such as school. Certainly this

requirement is more than just a function or a style switch (Aabi, 1999). At first glance, the classification of Moroccan Arabic as a low variety of Classical Arabic (Bentahila 1983:4, Heath 1989:8) seemed logical. However, in the light of new research (Aabi, 1999) one should contemplate considering Moroccan Arabic as an independent dialect and therefore an independent code from Classical Arabic, in spite of the relationship between the two varieties. Therefore, it has become possible to speak of code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic, while the researchers debate this point, many of my respondents report that they use code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic as the results in the following graph 2.7 show:

The accumulative percentages are 33.2% for the interlocutors' code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic when conversing with respondents. However, the percentage jumps up to 54.5% when it comes to the respondents themselves code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic. This rise in percentage can be explained in terms of the level of their education.

**Figure 2.7: Respondents' code-switching: Moroccan – Classical Arabic**



All in all, Morocco has a 45% rate of illiteracy, however, in my sample the rate of illiteracy is much lower as most of my respondents live in the major urban centres and are most likely to belong to the educated sections of society. Therefore, this finding is not generalisable.

Arabisation and education have much to do with the spread of Moroccan Arabic – Classical Arabic code-switching for at least the last two decades. One of the strategies of code-switching involving French is that the interlocutors compensate for the missing concepts, values and views that they feel unable to express in Moroccan Arabic sometimes to escape the shackles of L1 traditions. In a conference on bilingualism, the Tunisian linguist Salah Garmadi said:

Je l'avoue, c'est par l'intermédiaire de la langue française que je me sens le plus libère du poids de la tradition, c'est là que le poids de la tradition étant le moins lourd, je me sens le plus léger.

I confess that it is through the medium of French that I feel more liberated from the weight of tradition. It is in French where the weight of tradition is less heavy and where I feel lighter.

(My translation)

Prior to Arabisation, an interlocutor would use French to say what he or she felt unable to say in Moroccan Arabic. However, with the decline in knowledge and use, but not prestige, of French in general among the new generation and the rise of use of Standard Arabic (Elbiad, 1991), this latter is slowly but surely playing an increasing role in Moroccan code-switching.

## **2.9 Language competence**

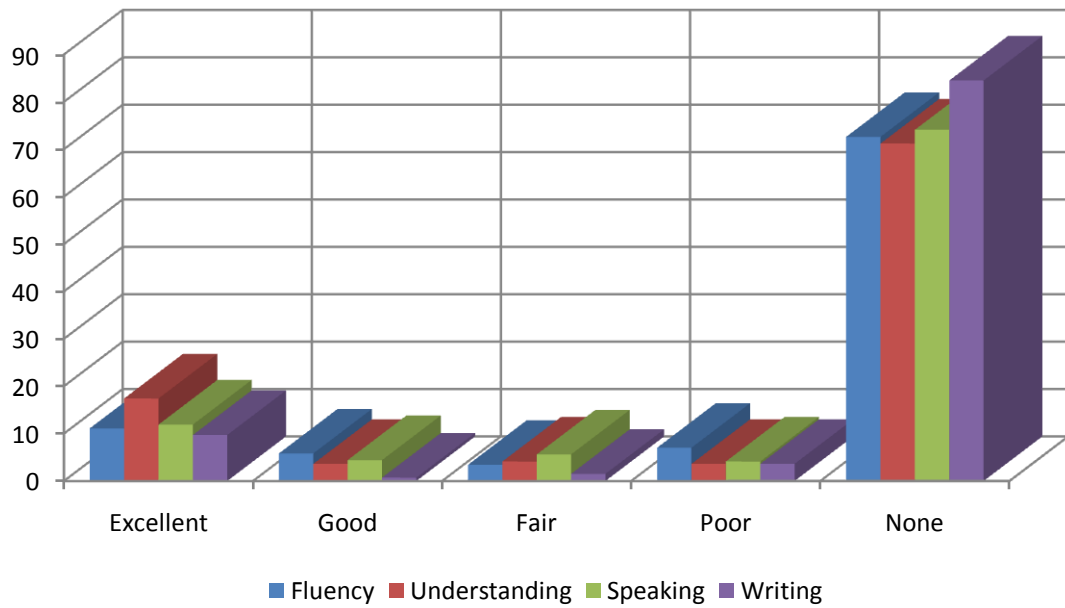
Competence in a particular language or dialect, or even a linguistic code such as code-switching, plays an important role in the language behaviour of multilinguals as they make choices for particular communicative acts. In the Moroccan situation, language competence encompasses competence in the spoken and written varieties speakers may be fluent in.

Respondents were requested to rate their linguistic competence in the three skills, i.e. understanding, speaking and writing. They were also requested to rate their overall linguistic fluency, as they perceive it, in the 4 main language

varieties used in Morocco. The results for each language are represented in a separate graph.

As mentioned earlier, Berber varieties are the native languages of Morocco. However, the number of their speakers has been declining (Elbiad, 1991) over the centuries. But the sharpest decline in the use of Berber varieties started with the spread of the modern education and administration systems as well as the media (mainly radio and television) during the French colonial era. Employment in the public sector means that one can be posted anywhere in Morocco. This has led, over the years, to a significant movement of population around the country. It has had a lasting impact on Moroccan society in general and the linguistic pattern in particular. The ‘other languages’ such as Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and French have since entered what were previously considered to be closed Berber areas. The importance of these languages in modern Moroccan education, health, administration, industry and media, in addition to intermarriages and relocation or even in-migration, has left Berber varieties exposed to linguistic erosion. This is made worse by the lack of positive initiatives to protect and support Berber varieties in spite the fact that the government promised the introduction of Berber varieties as part of the national educational curriculum and the creation of an Institute for Berber Studies.

**Figure 2.8: Respondents' degree of competence in Berber varieties**



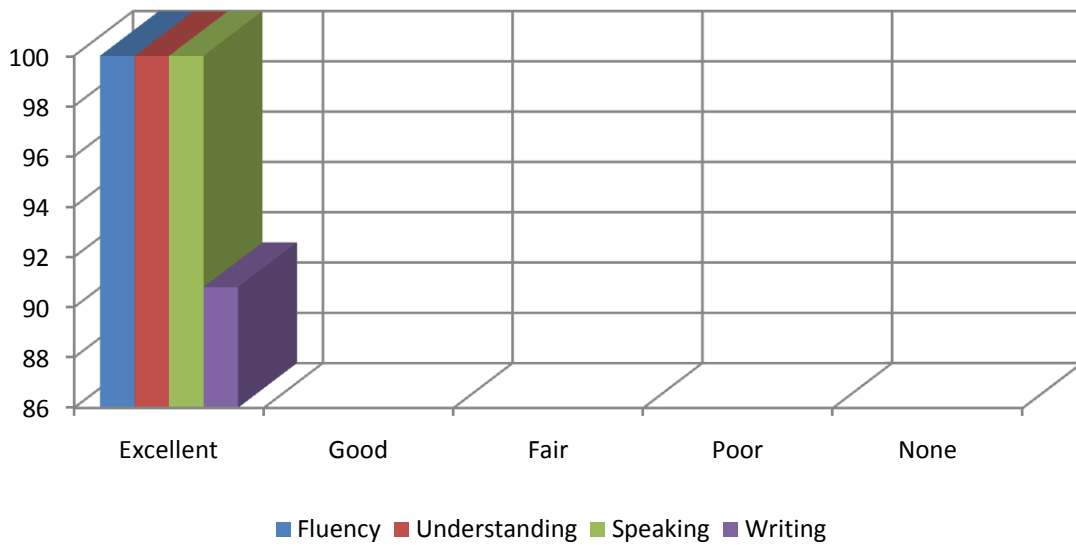
Although there was no agreed-upon formula for writing Berber varieties, many people tend to transcribe them using either Arabic or Latin scripts. In fact, 15.5% of respondents who claim to write it do so using Arabic script – a widely accepted form of transcribing Berber varieties in Morocco. However, in 2003, i.e., after the field study was carried out, the Royal Institute for Berber Civilisation and Culture declared Tifinagh the script to be used for Berber varieties in Morocco.

Moroccan Arabic plays a major role in the life of Moroccans. It is either the native dialect or the second dialect of over 90% of the Moroccan population. Most of those who cannot converse in Moroccan dialect are Berbers who belong to the older generation or never went to school and remained in isolated in their areas. Even up to the late eighties, early nineties Morocco had a rate of 65% illiteracy (El-Mandjra, 1992). Now the figure stands around 45%. My

view on this issue is that the Moroccan educational system, which is built around a bilingual curriculum reaching all parts of Morocco, and the grip and bureaucracy of the centralised administration all over the country, in addition to the influence of the mass media (especially radio and television) will all contribute to produce a generation which is fully fluent in Moroccan and to some extent Standard Arabic. Contrary to what Elbiad (1991) claims, this is not *Ethnic Arabisation*, as Arabisation is associated with Classical Arabic and not Moroccan Arabic. The Berber population will remain Berber as long as their culture and heritage is safeguarded. They, as most are today, will be bilinguals if not multilinguals. Having said that, their Berber varieties must be preserved and supported.

As is the case with Berber, Moroccan Arabic has no written form. However, many speakers do transcribe it using Arabic script. Unlike the case of Berber varieties, it is accepted that Moroccan Arabic can be transcribed in Arabic script, and there is no debate as to whether a Latin script should be used instead. Although Moroccan Arabic is transcribed, the problem quickly becomes apparent as there is no agreed-upon set of rules for spelling, grammar, etc. This is due to the fact that within Moroccan Arabic there are regional “*sub-dialects*”. Some of these *sub-dialects* are: *Fassi* from Fez, *Chamali* from Chamal (North of Morocco), *Jabliya* from Jbala (Western pre-Rif mountain areas in the north), *Marrakechiya* from Marrakech, *Rbati* from Rabat and *Oujdi* from the eastern part of the country but mainly from Oujda. Most of these dialects evolved in the cities; hence, they are named after their locations. Overall, there is a high level of intelligibility between these dialects.

**Figure 2.9: Respondents' degree of competence in Moroccan Arabic**

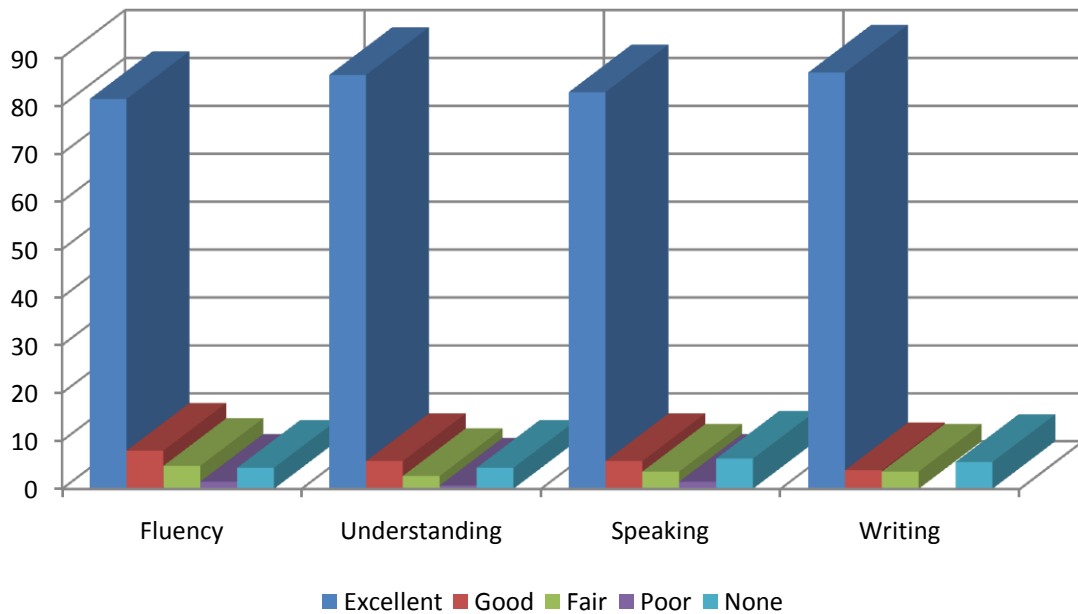


In Morocco, there is a struggle for dominance between Classical Arabic and French. It seems that these two languages found themselves special roles in specific areas. Classical Arabic is seen as the language of the Arabo-Islamic heritage and culture as well as religion and the Qur'an. It is also associated with tradition, identity, and self-awareness.

On the practical level, Standard Arabic is used in some parts of education and administration. It is also used for formal events. (See, Bentahila, 1983; Aabi, 1999).



**Figure 2.10: Respondents' degree of competence in Standard Arabic**

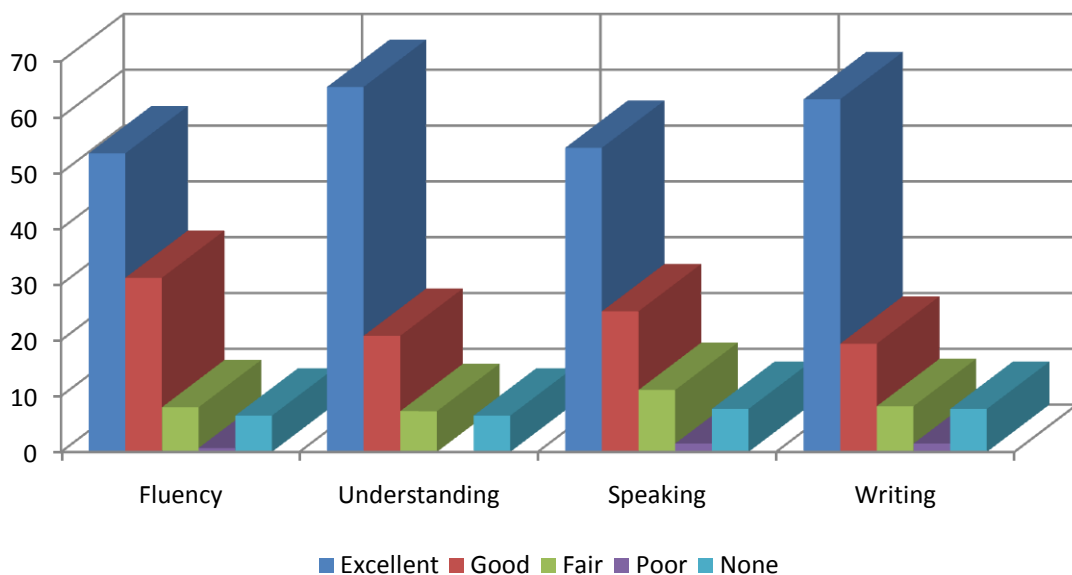


Standard Arabic is hardly used for socialising or such. It is though more and more used in code-switching as mentioned earlier.

It has been argued in the case of Morocco that French is the other undeclared official language of the kingdom. (See section 2.6 on French and Spanish). Large and important sectors of the country as a whole are managed in French. A number of ministries, like those of finance, foreign affairs, and health are still using French in spite of a decree on Arabisation was passed in 1956. Virtually all of Morocco's economy, including finance and industry, are run by people who use mainly French. The influence of French extends to the social life of Moroccans. In entertainment, French language films and programmes are widely available on the market and in cinemas, but most of all on two national television stations. Books, newspapers and magazines are easily obtainable in Morocco almost as soon as they are published in France. One national radio

station is solely in French, while another, a private one, is partly French, partly Arabic (both Moroccan and Standard Arabic). This raises another issue relevant within the Moroccan society. As long as the educated, self-aware section of society is hungry for information and knowledge which they think the state is trying to manipulate and control, they will revert to what they perceive as trusted sources which are easily available and accessed in French.

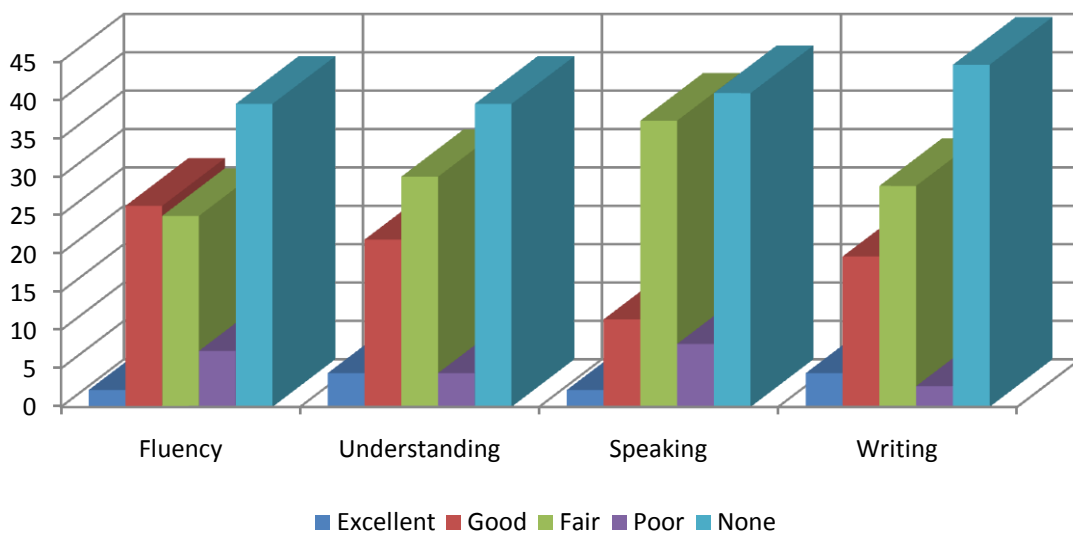
**Figure 2.11: Respondents' degree of competence in French**



English is taught at school in the fifth year of secondary (high) school. Most Moroccans who reached the seventh year or obtained their Baccalaureate would have learnt English for at least three years. Those who studied English at secondary school and go on to university will still have to do some English as a secondary foreign language subject, unless they choose to read it as a main subject.

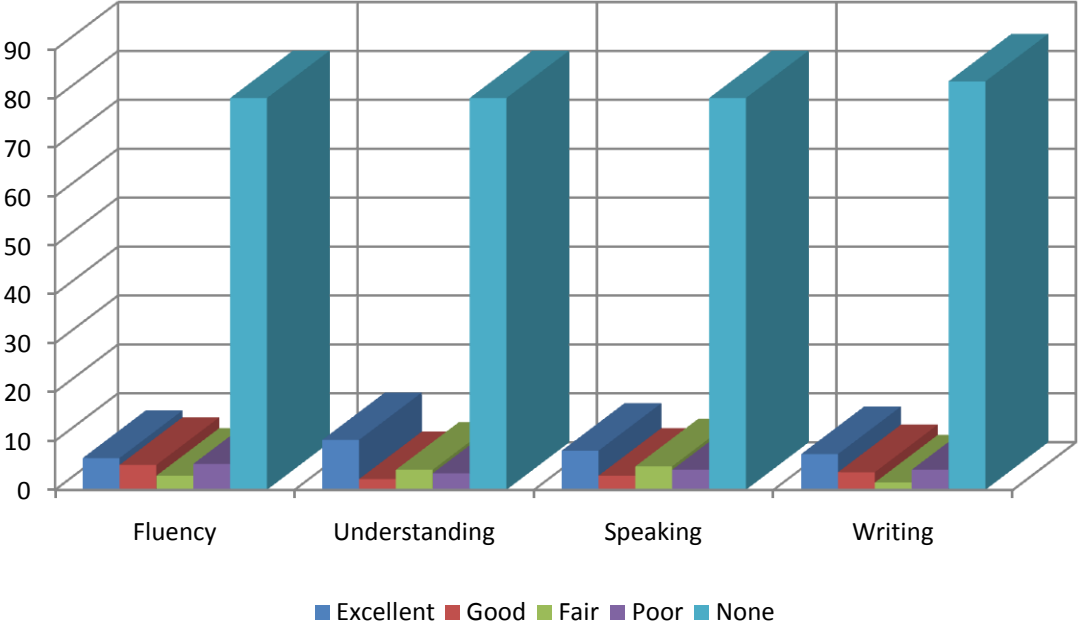
As part of Moroccan language policy, the adoption and support of English in this manner has led to the repositioning to third place of Spanish as the second main western language in Morocco. This is in spite of the fact that Spanish had a strong position as a colonial language in northern Morocco. 60.5% of respondents have some degree of fluency in English.

**Figure 2.12: Respondents' degree of competence in English**



Spanish is still taught in the fifth year secondary school, as is English. A student will be required to mostly study one of either language. Traditionally, the intake for Spanish is far lower than that of English. This is because Spanish is perceived to lack prospect and that English is an international language which opens wide doors on the world. Moreover, it is also a fact that Spanish is not available in all schools whereas English is. As can be seen from the following graph, only 19.9% of my respondents have some degree of fluency in Spanish.

**Figure 2.13: Respondents' degree of competence in Spanish**



## 2.10 Conclusion

The sociolinguistic picture in Morocco is diverse and colourful. It is a picture that is ever changing along the decades, and continuous research in all aspects of Moroccan sociolinguistics is most welcome.

In this chapter, I tried to present a brief survey on the Moroccan sociolinguistics to serve as a means to better understand the sociolinguistic background of the British – Moroccan community in Britain, as well as to aid in better analysing and understanding the linguistic situation in which this community is evolving. Constraints and conditions that are part of the immigration life surely help determine their linguistic evolution in their adoptive society.

The chapter presents an overview not only of the sociolinguistic dynamics in Morocco, but also a review of the languages and varieties present in the country. Morocco is a multilingual country *par excellence* resulting in a so complex picture which at times it seems confusing that the need for such review becomes a prerequisite.

Though one may argue that one language is more important than another on the Moroccan scene, I feel that such view is formulated due to the prestige and attitude one holds towards these languages rather than evaluating them for the function they fulfil. In this respect, all languages and varieties in Morocco are equally important as each and every one of them fulfil a particular

function specifically allocated to it, resulting in the complexity of the sociolinguistic picture of Morocco.

One may argue that the Arabisation process in Morocco was carried out half-heartedly thus its inefficiency to redress the linguistic and cultural unbalance resulting from colonialism. As such the situation led to the emergence of a two-tier society: A bilingual and bicultural minority elite which has almost absolute monopoly over the socioeconomic life in the country, and a monolingual, monocultural, often illiterate or at best semi-illiterate majority left-out living on the margins of society.

Morocco has always been and looks set to remain a multilingual country; code-switching will continue to fulfil its role in daily interaction. In Morocco, code-switching plays a different role from that in a Moroccan immigrant minority setting (see chapter one, section: 1.1.3). This difference in use is important because it helps determine what are the different aspects of language use in different settings where Moroccan Arabic is one of the players. This chapter helps towards establishing those differences.

Moroccan Arabic – French code-switching has been the most studied and researched area of code-switching in Morocco, while recognition for Moroccan Arabic – Standard Arabic code-switching simply did not exist before late 1990's. In the case of Moroccan Arabic – Standard Arabic code-switching, I am making the point that both varieties stand alone as natural linguistic codes, therefore, the talk of code-switching between these two codes becomes appropriate. This should not be confused with Arabic diglossia. As discussed in

chapter one, section: 1.1.2, diglossia highlights the functions and styles allocated to a variety rather than the switching between codes *per se* within the same language family – Moroccan Arabic and Standard Arabic.

Language competence is an important indicator on language use. It also has an important influence on the general sociolinguistic picture of Morocco. Language competence in a number of languages and varieties is important for social achievement and success for many Moroccans in Morocco as well as Moroccans in an immigrant context.

The following chapter three discusses the process of language use and maintenance in an immigration context. It also looks at a number of determinants and variables that affects the process of language maintenance and shift. These determinants and factors are interdisciplinary drawn from fields such as sociology, economy, human geography, politics, education and the mass media in addition to linguistics.

It also presents two models as part of the discussion. The first model is by Fishman while the second model is that of Fase *et al.* This is complemented by a survey of some of the literature on Moroccan immigrants' language use and maintenance in Western Europe. This survey helps to give a comparative idea of what is happening in Britain and what is taking place in the rest of Western Europe in this respect.

## Chapter 3: Language use and maintenance

### 3 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a literature review of language use and maintenance in general, and in relation to the Moroccan community in Europe in particular. Language use and maintenance is, arguably, the ultimate issue in language contact in the sense that when two languages or more come into contact in a minority – majority context, the minority language struggles, more often than not, to maintain itself in the face of the more dominant language.

Language use and maintenance is a complex area of sociolinguistic studies, which was first advanced by Fishman in the 1960s (Fishman, 1989:233). It draws from various disciplines such as linguistics, sociology and politics with their focus on code-switching and mixing, bilingualism, biculturalism, language contact, language behaviour and attitude, language shift, language policy, bilingual education, and socio-economics. It is also sometimes referred to in the literature by a somewhat different terminology as Fase *et al.* (1992:3) remark:

To complicate matters even further, a host of other terms is in use which refers to the same or related themes. Language shift, language attrition, language death, language obsolescence are used to describe the phenomena which are also sometimes referred to in terms of maintenance and loss.

Language use and maintenance fit more appropriately into the terminological framework of this study. From a terminological perspective,



language use and maintenance is a true reflection of the degree of language stability or lack of it. It is also an indication of what happens to the languages of many immigrant minorities, such as the Moroccan one.

Fishman (1966) and Fase *et al.* (1992) conducted some of the leading studies on language use and maintenance. While Fishman (1966) deals mostly with the issue of language use and maintenance within the USA's context, Fase *et al.* (1992) cover a much broader number of minority groups in different countries, most notably immigrant minority groups.

There are several factors that lead speakers to maintain their language and other factors that lead other speakers to shift from their language. These factors vary considerably from one speaker to another and from one situation to another. However, "Knowledge of these factors does not guarantee insight into the process of language shift" as Appel and Muysken (1987:32) remark. While it is possible to determine the reasons of the occurrence of language shift, it is still speculative to determine how such linguistic shift takes place.

Maintenance and shift are the extreme points of a polarity, and we can see them as representing two sides of the same coin. Maintenance and shift can only be defined *vis-à-vis* each other. The understanding of one concept depends on the other as each one represents a background for the other. The need for language maintenance can only present itself when there is a situation whereby language shift is taking place. This language shift can lead to language loss if no positive action is taken to help maintain the language and thus remedy the situation.

Language maintenance has to reflect a sense of maintaining one's linguistic and, to some extent, cultural identity within the context of diversity while rejecting every notion of isolationism on one hand and assimilation on the other hand. Fishman (1966 in 1972:21) argues that "Language maintenance must pursue both unity and diversity, both proximity and distance". Fishman advocates integration rather than assimilation. This perspective is reflected in "unity and diversity, proximity and distance". In theory, no member of the wider community within any given society should feel threatened by Fishman's ideas. If anything, these proposals are important factors in championing social cohesion through integration.

Both cultural as well as language maintenance or shift begin mostly at the level of the minority family as a building block of the minority community. The family unit and the minority community as a whole are constantly under extreme pressures from the dominant language and culture, as Fishman argues:

Non-English languages and non-core cultures are considered maintainable and reinforceable primarily within the spheres of [...] ethnic family life, of the self-defined [...] ethnic community ... (Fishman, 1966 in 1972:22).

As long as minority communities (native as well as newly established ones – immigrant minorities – see chapter one) exist, the issue of language maintenance and shift will persist because it is a reflection on the community's desire to help maintain its overall identity (Fishman; 1966 in 1972:22). This desire to maintain one's identity need not be in conflict with other language(s) and

culture(s) present in society, if anything, it is a positive step to consider biculturalism through bilingualism away from any perceived social as well as political correctness. Fishman (1966 in 1972:27) is of the view that:

Language maintenance itself must be reinforced so that it can more successfully aid in attaining the goal of cultural bilingualism. Here too many old taboos must be discarded if language maintenance is to be seriously pursued.

A great deal of research on language use and maintenance concentrates on the experience of immigrant minority groups in the United States. Although this experience may differ from that of minority groups in Western Europe, especially those of immigrant origin – the Moroccans, for instance, it remains of importance to discuss the outcome model alongside with the western European experience in this chapter.

### **3.1 Determinants affecting language use and maintenance**

The use and maintenance of a language is usually determined by factors such as status, degree of institutional support and demographic strength of an ethno-linguistic minority group. The will of the group to either hold on to their language or to adopt another one, in addition to appropriate socio-economic and political factors, determines the position of the language. In almost all cases, it is the linguistic group which presses ahead and claims its linguistic rights. Historically, governments have been reluctant in accepting such demands.

The language of a linguistic minority can be maintained and even developed through use and usage, or it may decline and its users will gradually shift towards the language of the majority. When the shift is total, one may speak of language loss among the ethno-linguistic group that witnessed the total shift, though the language itself may still be used in other parts of the world. Giles *et al* (1977) distinguish different statuses that determine the main categories of determinants that have an impact on language use and maintenance, such as determinants discussed in what follows:

#### **3.1.1 Socio-economic determinant**

Appel and Muysken (1987:33) claim that economic status is a “prominent factor in nearly all studies on language maintenance and shift”. To improve their low economic status, linguistic minorities tend to shift to the language of the majority. For example, in the USA, using English is associated

with academic achievement and economic status. Most non-speakers of English, especially from Hispanic origins, find themselves at a disadvantage, and as a result they find themselves in the lower level of the economic echelon. In the USA, Spanish is regarded as the language of the poor; this is why many feel that learning or even, in extreme cases, shifting to English is a major step out of the poverty trap. A similar situation occurs in Morocco where Standard Arabic and French enjoy a privileged position at the expense of the indigenous dialects and varieties. Any Moroccan wishing to climb the economic and social ladder has to start by mastering these two languages. Anyone who cannot speak one or both of these languages is seen as uneducated and ignorant standing a slim chance of any success, as his social mobility is hampered by lack of competence in these languages. Wei (1982) describes the case of American Chinese who have a lower economic status as being easily assimilated and having the highest rate of language shift in contrast to those Chinese who have a higher economic status. Economic status is linked to social status resulting simply in a socio-economic status; therefore, a lower economic status results in a lower social status. In Austria, a small Hungarian-speaking enclave shifted towards German when this latter became associated with the status of workers rather than that of peasants who spoke Hungarian (Gal, 1979). Since these workers moved away from being peasants, they improved their economic status and moved up socially. This was emphasised by the fact of distinguishing themselves linguistically from the peasants.

Modernisation governs economic development, and it is an important variant in language use and maintenance. The Moroccan economy is strongly tied

to its French counterpart for historical reasons; therefore, the use of French comes almost as a must for socio-economic development and the rising of standard of living. This is what may partly explain the high degree of code-switching between Arabic and French.

### **3.1.2 Linguistic determinant**

The status of a language can be very important within an ethnolinguistic group, but not necessarily outside the same group. If one takes the example of Classical Arabic, one would notice that this language enjoys a very high status within the whole of the Arab world due to the fact that it is considered the language of the Qur'an and therefore that of God (see chapter one, section 1.1.1). However, within many Western European countries which have a large North African community, Classical Arabic, does not enjoy the same privilege. North African communities in Western Europe have a nostalgic feeling towards Arabic due to the fact that it is the language of their religion and ancestral culture. Since these communities are in a minority status, the linguistic shift towards the language of the majority becomes more pressing from one generation to another, as the link with the language, dialects and culture of origin gets weaker along the generations. The pressure of assimilation is higher on the up-coming generations than the first one. This is largely due to the fact that the second and subsequent generations are brought up in the host country of which they usually become part.

Unlike other immigrant communities in for instance Australia or North America, North African immigrants to Western Europe still have bridges between them and their homelands. This is best reflected through mutual visits and marriages. Thereby, the immigrant language is continually refreshed and renewed and the pressures to shift towards the majority language may become somewhat softened.

### **3.1.3 Demographic determinants**

The demographic strength of an ethnolinguistic group and its geolinguistic distribution largely determine the degree of language maintenance and shift. The relative number of speakers of language X in relation to the speakers of the language of the majority, could be regarded as an indicator of the health of that particular language. Any decrease in the number of speakers of language X would put more pressure on it and encourage its speakers to shift towards the language of the majority. Clyne (1982) states the case of two Maltese immigrant groups in Australia of unequal size. The larger group was able to maintain its language, while the smaller group witnessed a higher degree of shift towards English.

The maintenance of a language can also be influenced by inter-ethnolinguistic marriages. In such marriages the language that has a higher prestige and a socio-economic value stands more chance to survive as home language. In his research, Pulte (1979) found that of all Cherokee members who

belong to a minority group and who were married outside their community, their offspring grew-up as monolinguals in English; i.e. the minority language had not been transmitted to the next generation. Clyne (1982) found that the shift to English in what he calls “Anglo-ethnic marriages” reaches 99.1% among second-generation children of Anglo-Dutch marriages in Australia.

### **3.1.4 Geo-distribution determinant**

Geo-linguistic distribution of an ethnolinguistic group usually has an impact on language use and maintenance. The degree of concentration of an ethnolinguistic group in a geographical location determines the degree of language use and maintenance within that particular community. In the case of Morocco, Berber languages (Tarifit, Tashlhit and Tamazight) are mostly concentrated in the highlands and mountains. While Moroccan Arabic is, for historical reasons, predominantly used in the plains, Berber varieties have always been a vehicle of the day-to-day concerns of the Berber population. Mountains are always considered as geo-ethnolinguistically Berber territories. There is currently a shift from Berber languages to Moroccan Arabic – the mode of communication of the majority in Morocco. First, ethno-Arab and ethno-Berber communities that are adjacent at the feet of the mountains find themselves code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and one of the Berber varieties in public encounters such as the weekly markets. Second, there are tribes which, for different social and historical reasons (inter-marriages, demographic out-numbering) have become either arabized or berberized. The establishment of the modern Moroccan State, the



implementation of institutionalised public services which have replaced the old tribal system, and the steady but slow shift from a rural to an urban society have led to a clearly marked shift towards Moroccan Arabic.

In Canada, French survived only because of the high concentration of its speakers in Quebec. In sharp contrast to this, speakers of French outside Quebec, where their concentration is markedly lower, tend to shift towards English. Wei (1982) also noticed that Chinese is maintained more by third generation Chinese living within Chinatowns than by those living outside. These examples suggest that the maintenance of language X gets its strength from the degree of groupness of its speakers within a geographical area which is promoted by geographical concentration.

On the other hand, historically, rural areas were more resistant to change than urban ones as particular language varieties are more maintained longer in the rural world than in the urban one. This has largely to do with the degree of isolation which a particular area is subjected to. The communication infrastructures, such as roads, phone-lines, mass media, hospitals and schools, do not reach much of the rural areas of Morocco. Thus the degree of maintenance of Berber varies from a remote rural area to the high street of a city. For example, the province of Khemisset in Morocco is located in a Berber area. The geo-linguistics of this province differs markedly and gradually from Berberophone villages in the remote parts to multilingual communities in the towns of the province. With the introduction of the modern state apparatus, Moroccan Arabic, Standard Arabic and French entered all civil domains, especially after the introduction of the

Arabophone civil service and modern education system to the Khemisset province.

### **3.1.5 Institutional support**

Some governments support the maintenance of minority languages in different ways. This support is usually intertwined with the political will to do so. The minority language gets a political recognition that enables it to be used in different aspects of life such as in education, media and administration. Canada is constitutionally a bilingual country where English and French enjoy the same status. In Spain, the regional languages Catalan, Basque and Galician enjoy the same rights as Spanish in the regions where they are spoken.

Institutional support for language maintenance come about through positive policies designed to maintain and promote the minority language through financial, technical and cultural support and allocation of funds. This is most effective in the areas of the media and education.

### **3.1.6 Mass media**

Mass media can have varying degrees of influence on the shift from one language to another depending on how prominent these languages are and how much space these media outlets offer to the minority languages. The restrictions were also technical due to the old media landscape and its

geographical limitations. With the advent of modern satellite broadcasting and the Internet during the 1990s, access to media has become freely available transcending political, geographic and technical restrictions. Since the introduction of mass media that was mostly state controlled in Morocco after 1956, there has been a degree of shift from Berber varieties and Moroccan Arabic to mostly Standard Arabic and French. It also has been noticed that with the introduction of cartoons and soap operas dubbed in Standard Arabic by the Moroccan TV stations since the mid eighties, Standard Arabic has gained more grounds at the expense of French among the younger generation. Since the early nineties Berber varieties have also forced their way into the national TV channel. News is broadcast daily in the three Berber varieties on the national TV. The satellite channels added another dimension to the provision of the audiovisual media. On one hand, the state lost its power to control what the public should or should not consume, on the other hand, the public is no longer restricted in their choice of programmes and the languages in which they prefer them. This is also a very important development for immigrant minority communities around the world. Now, they do not need to rely on their host state to provide them with indigenous media outlets.

Standard Arabic is the native language of no one. However, it always enjoys the front seat in the Arab media, literature and administration. It has gained this privileged position due to the general consensus of those who believe this. If it were not for this position, Standard Arabic, as we know it today, would not exist. It is most likely that the Arabic dialects in the Arab world would have developed as languages in their own right, as did the various languages in Europe

when Latin took a back seat after its decline. The use of Standard Arabic by the Arab mass media only helps to strengthen its position as a higher variety.

### **3.1.7 Education**

The role of education in maintaining a language can be considerable. While education can certainly keep a language alive there are some doubts on its ability to reverse the odds and turn the language into daily use. Standard Arabic and French are taught in Moroccan schools while native varieties of Morocco are not. In spite of the fact that Standard Arabic and French enjoy a higher status and are used in education, administration and business, they can hardly be called the people's languages. This is because they have failed to function as social languages reflecting the cultural and social needs of the people (See section 1.1.2 on Diglossia).

In my view, in spite the efforts of the Moroccan education system, most members of the Moroccan society find themselves rather culturally and socially distant from French and to some extent from Standard Arabic though the latter enjoys a somewhat nostalgic position in the hearts and minds of many Moroccans for historical and religious reasons. Clyne (1982) concluded in his work that the more distant two cultures are, the more difficult shift and assimilation become.

The understanding of the determinants and how they impact language use and maintenance is the key to engage in any debate on the causes and effects of language use and maintenance in an immigrant minority context.

### **3.2 Fishman's model and typology of language maintenance**

What is noticeable in Fishman's discussion is his re-occurring link between ethnicity and language maintenance, in the sense that ethnicity exercises a strong desire to maintain one's language as it is perceived as part of one's identity (1966, in 1972; 1989). This link is very important to better understand the urge and need for minority groups to strive for language maintenance as part of ethnic identity.

As a result of his work on minority communities of southern and eastern European origin in the United States, Fishman identifies seven model characteristics of language maintenance within such communities (1966, in 1972:52-53). In a later work, Fishman (1989:202-232) advocates "a typology of resolutions" for language use and maintenance, which he frames in a mathematical model.

Fishman argues (1966 in 1972:52-53) that:

1. Language rarely comes across as an ethnicity marker in day-to-day life as a spontaneous linguistic manifestation. (See chapter one, section 1.3.5.d).

2. The impact of urban culture and values on those of the minority ethnic group is so potent that any attempt to maintain a functional bilingualism is almost impossible beyond the first generation. It is much more difficult to maintain a language in an urban setting than in a rural one. The urban setting is simply overwhelming.

3. The community is more often dependent on institutions such as religious establishments and ethnic schools for its ethnic and language maintenance.

4. Attempts to make good use of the host society's organisations for culture and language maintenance result in little or no success, because usually this type of support is not properly focused on the specific needs of the minority community.

5. This results in a dramatic shift from the first generation; which advocates maintenance, to a second generation which gives little or no attention to the issue of culture and language maintenance.

6. The second generation usually maintains some ethnic link with its cultural and religious roots in a broader sense. This is usually achieved through its religious establishments and ethnic schools which reinforce a positive attitude towards ethnic culture and language even though they make little impact on language maintenance per se amongst the second generation.

7. The third and subsequent generations become more and more nostalgic towards the ethnic culture and language. They usually view the ethnic

language as something they miss. The help provided for language maintenance in these groups usually does not equal their interest.

Although Fishman concluded these models from his studies of Eastern and Southern European immigrant groups living in the USA, they can apply to all sorts of immigrant groups living in similar circumstances.

Fishman (1989: 202) suggests that language maintenance is concerned with three typological resolutions, which he formulates into the following mathematical equation:

Resolution 1:	B	→	A = A
Resolution 2:	B	→	A = B
Resolution 3:	B	→	A = B + A

Key: A = indigenous language.  
B = minority immigrant language.

In resolution 1, minority immigrant language loses to the dominant indigenous one, while in resolution 2, dominant language loses to the immigrant minority one; however, in resolution 3, we have a case of coexistence of both languages forming a bilingual situation.

Fishman's three resolutions are a reflection on the three possible scenarios which can affect the linguistic outcome of any minority group.

Each resolution is the product of a specific socio-politico-cultural as much as socio-linguistic environment. Issues like language policy, language planning, language teaching, and institutional support go a long way to determine

the outcome of a particular language and its maintenance or shift on one hand, or the creation of the right environment for bilingualism to flourish, on the other hand.

In the case of the Moroccan community in Britain resolution 1 applies where minority immigrant language loses to the dominant indigenous one.

Fishman (1968:76-134) goes on to suggest that the field of language use and maintenance enquiry comprises three major topical subcategories of interest. These are:

1. Habitual language use at more than one point in time:

This refers to any change and any degree of shift in language habitual use of a community on a time continuum. Language use and maintenance occurs within a bilingual environment in a language contact setting. While some linguistic researchers concern themselves with language use and maintenance on a micro level such as looking at grammatical, lexical, and phonological changes that result from language contact, others, such as educators and language planners, study language use and maintenance on a macro level. They reflect on this issue holistically. Fishman (1968:77 in 1972) reflects on this view as follows:

The measures that they have proposed from their disciplinary point of departure distinguish between phonetic, lexical and grammatical proficiency and intactness. At the other extreme stand educators who are concerned with bilingualism in terms of total performance contrasts...



The degree of language use and maintenance can vary with regard to different language skills. Levels of use and maintenance between writing, reading and speaking, for example, may vary depending on the circumstances of the speech community and its attitude towards language use as well as language domains such as family, school and media (Fishman, 1968:80 in 1972). When language shift takes place, it does so with varying degrees with respect to the different components of linguistic competence. Usually, writing ability is lost first, then the ability to converse in a given language. At the end of this process, one loses his or her passive knowledge of the language, resulting in language loss.

2. Psychological, social and cultural processes related to stability or change in habitual language use:

It is impossible to consider language use and maintenance without taking into consideration the psychological, social and cultural influences and their impact which reflects the community's spirit. Nonetheless, it is very difficult to limit the list of psychological, social and cultural variants and determinants (Fishman, 1968 in 1972). These determinants, such as religion, gender and social status can, influence language use and maintenance. This lack of a clear theoretical framework is seen as a symptom of the scholars' inability to develop a comprehensive working theory. Fishman (Fishman, 1968:94 in 1972) reflects on this point saying:

The result of such reliance on disjointed categories has been that no broadly applicable or dynamic theories, concepts or findings have been derived from most earlier studies. Indeed, the study of language maintenance and language shift currently lacks either a close

relationship to theories of socio-cultural change more generally or to theories of intergroup relations more specifically.

Even though this may be the case, it should not stop one from exploring the influence of the psychological, social and cultural processes on language use and maintenance.

### 3. Behaviour towards language in the contact setting:

Behaviour towards language does not equate to language behaviour. Fishman (1968:104 in 1972) is of the view that little is known about language attitudes, emotions, beliefs, and their impact on language use and maintenance. The gap in our understanding of the impact of these variants in the past four decades has been closing thanks to the advances in the studies of sociolinguistics in particular, and a better understanding of minority groups, especially the immigrant ones.

Although the study of language attitudes has become the norm rather than the exception in many sociolinguistic studies (Abbassi, 1977; Gravel, 1979; Bentahila, 1982), these attitudes do change and consequently the continued revisiting of attitudes towards language forces itself on the agenda of any study of language use and maintenance.

An influence through organisations both official and non-official can have an impact on language use and maintenance and shift as much as language use through language reinforcement and language planning. In turn, language

reinforcement and language planning are very much politically driven. Therefore, political orientations have some influence over the direction language maintenance and shift take.

### **3.3 Fase *et al.*, and language maintenance and shift**

Fase *et al.* (1992:3-13) present a discussion on language maintenance and shift in four points based on different scenarios:

1. A speech community may choose to limit its communication contact to a strict minimum in an attempt to spare its language a displacement which the dominant language may cause. One of the ways to achieve a maximum degree of isolation is to seek activities in areas which keep language contact to a minimum. Fase *et al.* (1992:5) refer to “the position of first generation migrant worker groups in western Europe”. Most members of the Moroccan immigrant minority use this strategy not so much to safeguard their native language, but because they find themselves in such isolating and unvalued jobs due to their illiteracy in the dominant language. (See chapter four, section 4.4.3). On the other hand, many may choose to keep cultural and social interaction with the dominant culture and the host society as limited as possible for fear of liberal western values and norms which they perceive as “corrupting” agents on their own social and cultural norms and values, especially on their family. This isolationist attitude inevitably has an impact on language use and maintenance.

2. In a number of cases, the dominant group accepts and allows the minority group to use its language in different spheres of social life as well as for official activities. This approach may be a reflection on the need for national cohesion as it is the case of the integration of French as the other official language of Canada alongside English, or the case of Spanish in many states of the USA. While this acceptance may be for political reasons as in the case of Canada, in other cases this strategy is used for purposes of integrating or even assimilating minority groups into the wider society. Fase *et al* (1992:5) do not mention this possibility but they talk of instances where the strategy of allowing the minority group to use its language may lead to two opposite results:

The dominant group may try to take the necessity out of the learning of the dominant language for minority group members, thus reinforcing the chances of segregation. And by allowing the minority language in certain situations, the dominant group may encourage intergroup contact, and in this way promote integration.

3. For political integration and national cohesion, different community groups within a country or society may opt to use and adopt a neutral language for official use in areas such as administration, education and economy. The language used for this purpose more often than not is the language of the former colonial power – for example, English is used throughout the Indian sub continent and parts of sub Saharan Africa, French in other parts of Africa. The purposes of such linguistic adoption are manifold, for instance, a group might not permit the use of the other group's language, as this would result in giving the latter group socio-political and socio-cultural advantages over the former. A different reason may be that certain languages are not felt to be able to fulfil their

role as a language medium for politics, administration, education, economy, research and sciences. Also, there are many neo-colonial economic pressures that makes the use of the former colonial power's language imperative.

In the long term, this linguistic strategy has its bearing on language use and maintenance of the local languages, usually in the form of borrowing, language mixing and code-switching.

4. Immigrant minority groups will always need at some point to use the dominant language for different activities which require interaction with society at large. The dominant language is vital in achieving either integration resulting in bilingualism whereby the two languages coexist comfortably within the minority group with each language fulfilling a particular role, or assimilation that leads to language shift and eventually to language lost.

The time span for language shift takes usually three generations resulting usually in language loss (Fase *et al.* 1992:6). This assumes that the minority group is closed in on itself and does not receive new members to its fold. In the case of certain immigrant minorities in Western Europe, this is yet to happen as the immigration process is still continuing as long as western economies require immigrant labour and as long as these immigrant communities opt for maintaining frequent contact with their country of origin.

Language loss does not automatically result in the disappearance of the minority group as an ethnic entity. Though language is a very important component of defining what ethnicity is, it remains a non-prerequisite. Therefore,

as long as the minority group manages to maintain its distinct ethnic and cultural identity, it will remain in existence as an identifiable group.

In a minority group context, interethnic and intraethnic communication has an impact on language maintenance and shift (Fase *et al.* 1992:6).

One would expect both communities to make an effort to communicate with each other to achieve interethnic communication; however, more often than not this communication is established in the language of the majority. Though the majority group for its part may look favourably on the language and culture of the minority group it does not try to acquire the linguistic knowledge of the minority group. The minority group on the other hand gets the chance to prosper in their language and culture. This process leads to the integration of the minority group and their becoming a bilingual community in most cases, but it may also lead to a language shift towards the language of the majority. Assimilation may be the eventual result if no action is taken by the majority to support the minority language, while “forced assimilation” on the other hand takes place when the majority group, through various means of legislation and social engineering, tries to eradicate the language and culture of the minority group. Examples of this process include the Australian experience towards the aborigine people of Australia during the twentieth century and the activities of many missionaries around the world especially during the discovery and colonial eras.

Intra-ethnic communication, on the other hand, is as important as interethnic communication. It is determined by various factors: The demographics and the social fabric of the minority group have a bearing on the pattern that governs language maintenance and shift.

Language death only occurs when intraethnic communication disappears, and, as mentioned before, this can normally only happen when the group itself dissolves owing to demographic causes (Dorian, 1980; quoted in Fase *et al.* 1992:6).

However, as argued before, language in itself and as a cultural and identity component is not a prerequisite for defining an ethnic group. Therefore, a minority group may find itself faced with a situation whereby its ethnic or native language is lost and has to make good use of the language of the majority. The extent of use of the minority language depends on the strength and extent of the minority community and its efforts to maintain its language. In other words, the increase or decrease of minority language use is linked and determined by the increase or decrease of the effectiveness of the minority community and the degree of their isolation. (See section 2.1.3 on Demographic determinants).

### **3.4 Language use and maintenance of Moroccan communities in Western Europe**

A great deal has been written about language use and maintenance in different contexts, especially in dealing with the issues of non-indigenous

communities and recently established immigrant communities in North America and Australia. This can be attributed to the long immigration history of these countries as they were literally built on immigration.

The Western European immigration history has followed different patterns from that of North America, Canada or Australia. The Europeans not only migrated internally from one part of Europe to another, they also migrated in mass to the New World as late as the fifties. This process, however, is still going on though at a much slower pace. British immigration to the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand is a point in case. While the immigrating European groups may be different linguistically from each other, they at least belong to a larger community that shares many of the western aspects, values and traditions, in a broader sense, of culture, religion and political systems.

One of the largest non-European Union communities in Western Europe of immigrant origin is the Moroccan community. Although the Moroccan community is mostly concentrated in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, Italy and Germany, it has a presence in every Western European country.

In this section, I propose to review some of the literature depicting aspects of language use and maintenance of the Moroccan community in Western Europe. Relatively, little has been written on this subject with respect to the Moroccan community as Extra and Verhoeven (1992:68) suggest:

Most of the relevant studies on this topic did not focus primarily on language use, but on other socio-cultural or socio-economic issues. As a consequence, the available data are rather limited in scope and not very sophisticated.



I feel that the characteristics of Moroccan immigration are rather different from those of other immigrant groups such as the Hispanics in the United States or the Dutch in Australia which have been reported on. First and foremost, one can suggest that Moroccan immigration came about as a result of a historical twist of fate. They started their journey as migrants, or guest workers as they were called some decades ago, hoping to work in the host country for a few years and return home to their families in Morocco to invest their hard-earned savings, only to find themselves becoming settled immigrants rather than returning to their country of origin.

This unplanned immigration was a disincentive towards any form of integration from the beginning. In contrast, immigration to the new world was from the start aimed at settling and sharing in a dream, therefore integration became paramount.

In addition to this, there are cultural and religious factors that will have a different impact on the process of language use and maintenance in the Moroccan community than they do in other communities of European origin and western culture.

As hardly anything has been written on language use and maintenance of the Moroccan community in Britain, the literature review will focus on accounts from other Western European countries where the Moroccan community forms a sizable minority group.

There may be differences in some of the characteristics related to the Moroccan communities from one European country to another as a result of the differences in political, educational and social systems within which they find themselves. This review should help to draw a better picture on language maintenance and use of the Moroccan community in Britain in comparison to other western European countries. It also should help form an opinion on the extent of language use maintenance and attitude of the Moroccan community under different systems and experiences across Western Europe. This literature would serve as an opportunity to compare and contrast the outcome of this study on language use and maintenance of the Moroccan community in Britain.

The presence of a large Moroccan community in Western Europe has drawn attention to the need for a better understanding of their integration and related problems, and a good insight to their linguistic and cultural needs. My personal view, which will be discussed later, is that the solving or at least the better understanding of the linguistic difficulties that they face is the key to their social integration and social prosperity.

In Morocco, only recently has some interest been shown in Moroccan immigration and a Ministry for the Moroccan Community Abroad has been created. Also in Morocco, one could suggest that there is a lack of proper studies to better understand the difficulties and the problems of the Moroccan emigrants. For this reason a studies and research centre for North African emigration movements (Centre d'Études des Mouvements Migratoires Maghrébins) has been formed at Mohammed 1<sup>st</sup> University, Oujda.

In what follows, I shall review the available literature on language use and maintenance of the Moroccan communities through samples of articles depicting these aspects in the Netherlands, France, Spain and Italy.

### **3.4.1 Language maintenance and use: Dutch experience**

Arguably, the Dutch have accumulated by far one of the leading experiences in the area of non-indigenous minority linguistic research, although there is considerable variation in scope and in depth of these studies. The article: *The Moroccan Community in the Netherlands Patterns of Language Choice and Language Proficiency*, by Extra and Verhoeven (1992), reviews the Dutch research efforts into linguistic minorities of immigrant origin. While the article touches lightly upon other minority groups in general, such as the Turkish minority, it focuses on the Moroccan minority in particular. It is worth noting that interest in non-indigenous minority groups, especially the Moroccans, did not take shape until the late eighties and early nineties. This may explain the limited number of studies on the linguistic situation of the Moroccan minority group, as well as their limited quality (Extra and Verhoeven 1992:68).

The Moroccan community is one of the largest minority groups in the Netherlands, second only to the Turkish one. Extra and Verhoeven (1992:62) are rather surprised that the demographic strength of the Moroccan community has shifted from Dutch born numbers to immigration numbers. They do offer some explanations indirectly by giving a hint to the reason for this phenomenon. They

suggest that there are more men than women within the Moroccan community. This fact leads many Moroccan men to seek spouses from Morocco. Others, on the other hand, bring their already existing families to join them in the Netherlands as soon as an opportunity rises and circumstances for a family reunification allow it. In addition to these reasons, the second and third generations have reached marriageable age. They seek spouses mostly through arranged traditional marriages from Morocco, which may be more of a sign of the state of marginalisation they live in rather than a strong attachment to tradition. This, inevitably, leads to a continuous rise in the numbers of the community and draws a picture of a continuous process of immigration. The data on the on-going process of immigration from my field study which I conducted between October 2000 and June 2001 shows clearly the presence of this phenomenon within the Moroccan immigrant community. These newcomers ensure the continuous survival of the community's indigenous linguistic and cultural repertoires.

From a sociolinguistic point of view and with respect to language use and maintenance, this point is very important. For the Moroccan community to use the country of ancestry, namely Morocco, as a pool to boost its demographic strength is, on one hand, a negative reflection on the process of social, economic and cultural integration, on the other hand, it represents an "umbilical cord" that ties the Moroccan community in the Netherlands (and Western Europe in general) to its roots in Morocco, which leads to a higher degree of not only language maintenance, but also the maintenance of their social and cultural norms and values of origin which in turn lead to a strengthening of their sense of Moroccan

identity. This is especially the case for those sections of the minority who feel marginalized from the wider Dutch society.

The education system is another area which can be seen as one of the barometers measuring the level of integration within the host society of non-indigenous communities. Extra and Verhoeven (1992:62-63) draw a bleak picture of the history of integration through education. Extra and Verhoeven (1992) present “remarkable” (to use their own expression) figures from the academic year 1986/87. 60% of Moroccan students are engaged in lower vocational training in contrast to only 20% of Dutch students. More disturbingly,

the absolute number of all 18 and 19 year-old Dutch university students (WO) was 22.478, as against one single Moroccan student in that young age range (cf. Ankersmit *et al.* 1989:155) referred to in (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:63).

In spite the fact that these are rather old statistics, they represent a closer conclusion, though not quite so stark, to the one I reached in my field study which I conducted between October 2000 and June 2001 which is that educational systems are failing immigrant communities.

This catastrophic failure of the educational system as an engine for change and social integration (or even social engineering) of the Moroccan minority is another indicator of the level of marginalisation this group suffers from. The extent of this can only be measured in perspective.

The establishment of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands goes back to as early as the late fifties and early sixties. Yet, after about twenty-five to thirty years of the community's existence in the Netherlands, the Dutch educational system was only able to manage to send one single student of Moroccan origin to university in the academic year of 1986/87.

Since then, the representation of Moroccan students in Dutch universities has been steadily increasing. The number of students of Moroccan origin was respectively 170 in 1997, 154 in 1998, 175 in 1999, 239 in 2000 and 203 in 2001 (Wolff, R. 2003:3). On the other hand, the accumulative dropout rate was respectively 24.21% in 1997, 25.20% in 1998 and 27.88% in 1999 (Wolff, R. 2003:3).

This increase remains nowhere near a meaningful figure, especially if one takes into consideration that "the Moroccan community in the Netherlands has grown to some 280.000 individuals of which about 40% are born in the Netherlands" (Ait Ouarasse, 2003:13). This leads one to suggest that the Dutch processes of integration through education is failing those it is meant to help integrate into Dutch society in the first place. "Up to 1998, only 2% of Moroccans are thought to have completed higher professional or university education, compared to 3%, 14%, 12% and 26% for Turks, Surinamese, Antilleans, and Dutch, respectively" (Martens, 1999. quoted in Ait Ouarasse, 2003:23). This has a negative impact on the Moroccan community's language use and maintenance of their language of origin in particular and social integration in general, as education is one of the most effective tools to help the immigrant groups to

acquire the ability to integrate and become bilingual and therefore avoid marginalisation.

The sociolinguistic patterns of Morocco are, to a large extent, reflected in language choice patterns of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. This is in addition to the Dutch sociolinguistic patterns, which they must try to “at least” come to grips with (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:65), if they are to have any meaningful communication with the host society. Extra and Verhoeven (1992:64) point to the linguistic gradual shift along the generational line from one linguistic code to another, which is a crucial characteristic of non-indigenous minorities.

My data shows similar patterns with respect to language use and maintenance of the Moroccan minority in Britain. This can be explained by the fact that the older/first generation are mostly uneducated and subsequently labouring, usually for very long hours, in unskilled positions which require no or very little linguistic ability or contact with the public. This arrangement does not encourage the acquisition of some degree of fluency in the host society’s language.

As for the second and following generations, the host society’s language is, generally speaking, their native or near-native language which they will acquire through education, the mass media, socialising, etc. While they will continue using the home language to communicate with their parents, the host society’s language remains their language and tool of communicating with society at large (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:64). This gradual shift in language use is

expected and seen as a natural evolution towards linguistic assimilation, if not a social assimilation, as a result of the prevailing circumstances. Reaching the same conclusion, Extra and Verhoeven, (1992:66) remark that in addition to:

a more sophisticated analysis [which] was carried out by DeRuiter (1989) ... similar results on reported language choice of 31 Moroccan and 36 Turkish elementary school children, aged 10-11, in contacts with parents versus siblings or friends, were presented in a study by VanHout *et al.* (1989).

Extra and Verhoeven (1992) make a distinction between studies which are based on reported language choice, and those which are based on observed language choice, and that “actual rather than reported data on L1 proficiency (Moroccan Arabic or Berber) are rare” (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:67). In the actual category, Extra and Verhoeven, (1992:67) refer to Nortier’s 1990 research study into bilingual proficiency of 15 Moroccans, aged 17-38. The issue of language proficiency is always critical to any linguistic study of a non-indigenous minority group. Yet,

The main focus of Nortier’s study, however, was on patterns of code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and Dutch. All speakers, except one, produced intrasentential and single word switches than intersentential switches (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:67).

Code-switching as a linguistic form of behaviour features widely among the Moroccan community, not only abroad but also within Morocco. However, the reasons, patterns and consequences that govern the use of code-switching can differ between the two groups.



Bilingual education was looked at too, to try to find out its impact on the education and language proficiency of Moroccan children. In this respect, Extra and Verhoeven (1992:68) refer to a study by Appel (1984) which looked at the impact of L1 as a medium of teaching on acquiring L2. “The conclusion was that L1 instruction does not need to harm L2 acquisition, and may even have a positive effect on this process” (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:68). This finding strengthens the view that maintaining one’s language can be highly rewarding. Nonetheless, it remains to be said that “the results of Moroccan children on a variety of both Arabic and Dutch language proficiency tasks were shown to be rather low” (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:68).

It is possible for Moroccan students at Dutch schools to follow courses in Standard Arabic as part of the main subjects and to be examined accordingly. This initiative has been organised by the CITO since 1974 (Extra and De Ruiter, 1993). Though the number of the Moroccan community in Holland reached 180.000 in 1996, only thirty-five students from five schools took this option in 1993. In 1994, the number went up to forty-nine students from six schools, and the results were unsatisfactory (De Graaf, 1995). However, it is worth mentioning that 69% of Moroccan students took classes in Arabic as an optional subject (Extra and De Ruiter, 1993), without the option of being examined in it which does not encourage for recognition. This shows that while some studies find the teaching of L1 can be beneficiary in the teaching of L2 (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:68), for the Moroccan communities in Western Europe this can be confusing and to the detriment of the community. For political reasons due to CITO agreement only official languages can be considered as L1

for teaching purposes. In the case of Moroccans this means Standard Arabic – which is not the mother tongue of these Moroccans because of Moroccan diglossia. This position hinders rather than helps the educational achievements of the Moroccan immigrant communities.

Several factors could justify these poor results by the Moroccan students. The form of Arabic, Standard Arabic, (see chapter one, section 1.2.1) is the native language of no one whether inside or outside the Arab world (Jamai, 1998). In addition to this fact, large proportions of Moroccans in Holland are from the Berber areas of the Rif in Morocco, and almost by definition, most of them, if not all, have Tarifit as their native Berber variety. Therefore, learning Standard Arabic, for many, is learning another somewhat alien language. Though it helps to promote Arabo-Islamic culture which Morocco is part of, it stops short of promoting the Moroccan culture (a blend of Berber and Arabo-Islamic cultures) which is unique to Morocco and its society. One could argue that such issues could be the discouraging factors and the reasons behind the poor school results.

The other striking remark is that, in general, Moroccan students in the Netherlands are performing poorly. During the academic year of 1989-90, only 67 of Moroccans went to technical colleges and 122 were enrolled at university level. Some of these students were, in fact, graduates of Moroccan universities. For example, in 1996 there were seven Moroccan students at Tilburg University, five of whom were graduates of Moroccan Universities and only two grew up and were educated in the Netherlands. This is in contrast with 13.2% of British

students from the Moroccan minority who graduate from British universities, as my field research shows.

This may lead to conclude that integration is more successful for Moroccans in Britain than it is in the Netherlands mostly for linguistic reasons. Language is certainly a decisive factor in this process. The Netherlands is to some extent a bilingual society. It uses, in addition to Dutch, English in the media, and mostly in higher and further education. A member of the Moroccan community whose home language is likely to be Tarifit has to learn Dutch at school which is quite normal, is persuaded to learn Standard Arabic in addition to the other languages that any student within the Dutch educational system is assumed to learn, such as French, German or Spanish. This student of Moroccan origin has also to master English if he or she is to succeed at university level where many subjects require its knowledge, hence the poor results.

The linguistic and cultural confusion that faces the Moroccan community in the Netherlands, which is largely of a Berber rather than Arab ethnicity, is a very serious barrier in their path. They are taught a language that they do not speak, and speak a language that generally they are not taught. The irony is that the official line is that Arabic is their native tongue *not* their Berber variety which they speak at home. Sadly, the Dutch government subscribe to this under a convention with the Moroccan government.

All this confusion leads only to keep the Moroccans at the margins of the Dutch society. One could suggest that the Moroccan minority in Holland

neither maintains its language and culture nor socially shifts towards the host community as a result of the abnormal situation they find themselves in.

The Netherlands went a step further than countries such as France and Spain and nominated Arabic language as an official foreign language in 1990. This implies that it can be taught at Dutch schools on the same level as English, French or German (DeGraaf, 1995). The form of Arabic is Standard Arabic. While some groups and schools try to provide classes in Moroccan Arabic and Berber varieties, the Dutch law on the teaching of foreign languages states that these must be the official languages of their respective countries of origin. Thus, officially, students can only learn and be examined in Standard/Classical Arabic. Only 2½ hours per week are offered for the teaching of Standard Arabic, and in many cases, this is done through the medium of Moroccan Arabic or one of the Berber varieties (Extra and DeRuiter, 1993).

While no one can deny that language learning is generally something positive, for students of Moroccan origin, it can be a double-edged sword. They are encouraged to learn what is assumed to be their “mother tongue” i.e. Standard Arabic, and yet the students know that it is not. This causes confusion and linguistic uncertainty in the minds of the students, especially at an age where the concepts of mother tongue and home language are not fully grasped although they understand the positive values associated with Standard Arabic and its prestige vis-à-vis their own Berber variety or Moroccan Arabic. (See chapter one, section 1.1.2 Diglossia)

### 3.4.1.1 Language use and attitude

In two papers, one by Extra & Verhoeven (1992), the other by Extra & DeRuiter (1993), an attempt is made to reflect on language use and attitude within the Moroccan community in the Netherlands.

The use of mass media shifts with the younger generation towards its consumption in Dutch (Extra & Verhoeven 1992). This can be explained by the fact that younger and second generation Moroccans have better access and contact with Dutch language and society. The other observation they point out is the difference in rates between use of audio-visual media and written media. In general, people have a tendency to acquire the ability of understanding what they see and hear earlier than acquiring the ability of reading. Reading is a more complex and active process. What follows is a table summarising the findings on Dutch mass media by the Moroccan community according to age and frequency of use.

**Table 3.1: Reported use of Dutch mass media**

Media	Age	Every day (Almost)	1-3 times per week	rarely or never	Total number of respondents
Dutch Paper	16 – 29	19	44	38	101
	30 – 44	19	34	48	280
	Above 44	2	15	83	330
Dutch Radio	16 – 29	30	32	38	101
	30 – 44	43	17	40	278
	Above 44	26	19	54	330
Dutch TV	16 – 29	70	22	8	101
	30 – 44	72	19	8	279
	Above 44	52	29	18	331

Reported use of Dutch mass media (in %) Source: Extra & Verhoeven, 1992:64

These results refer to the fact that the use of Dutch media in Dutch language is a reflection on the degree of integration process as well as a sign of language shift. The younger generation makes the most use of it as it feels at ease with such interaction. This is no surprise if one considers other factors such as the gradual linguistic and cultural shifts that are occurring within the community, especially the second and subsequent generations.

The other factor that the researchers may not have been able to investigate is the impact of satellite channels and the Internet as a source of choice for news and entertainment. When the above study was published in 1992, there were no Arab satellite channels or Arabic websites available. This leads one to assume that the Moroccan community did not have much of a choice and it would be interesting to find out what impact the digital age has made on language use and maintenance of immigrant communities in general and Moroccan one in particular.

Language choice and use is another important area Extra & Verhoeven (1992) look at through research work realised by De Jong *et al.* (1988), De Ruiter (1989) and Van Hout *et al.* (1989). It comes as no surprise that native dialects and varieties are still considered as home languages while Dutch language is seen as a vital mode of communication in society at large in which they live.

This interaction in Dutch in society includes interacting with other Moroccan friends and siblings. This finding is an indication of a language shift towards Dutch language and gives the impression that in addition to the identity

factor, home languages are still used for the sake of the first generation, i.e., the parents and extended family either in the Netherlands or back in Morocco.

However,

Reported preference for L2 was dominant from the beginning, and increased especially in the school contexts. Moreover, [...] significant correlations – at all moments of measurements – between reported choice, degree of contact with Dutch peers, Dutch proficiency of the parents. Children who preferred to speak Dutch with their siblings, had more contact with Dutch peers, and they had parents with a relatively high Dutch proficiency (Extra & Verhoeven 1992:67).

Moroccan students in the Netherlands make (as expected) more use of Dutch during their activities than any other form of Arabic or Berber variety. According to Extra & DeRuiter (1993:92-93), 57.9% have access to the media in Dutch. 67.4% write in Dutch, including writing letters. This point is highly significant with serious implications in the sense that the second generation is more likely to refrain from writing letters to their extended families and friends in Morocco if Dutch is the only language they can write in – a sign of language shift.

On the other hand, in parallel with other languages, home dialects and varieties within the family are still dominant with 43.6% for Moroccan Arabic; 45.9% for Tarifit (the Berber variety spoken in the Rif region, North of Morocco); Dutch is used at home in 15.6% of cases. The figures suggest that more than one of these varieties are used in the home.

With respect to language attitude, Extra & DeRuiter (1993, 94-5) mention that 60.9% of Moroccan students in the Netherlands value both Standard Arabic and Dutch languages on equal terms. While 16.3% consider Standard

Arabic to be the only important language, only 5.1% see Dutch as the most important language.

On the issue of language beauty, 48.8% of respondents consider both Standard Arabic and Dutch are equally beautiful. However, 24.7% see Standard Arabic as the most beautiful language, only 2.3% think so of Dutch.

The conclusion Extra & deRuiter (1993) come to is that though the Moroccan students think highly of Standard Arabic, it is the Dutch that they use more and that reflects a more practical importance, therefore, the dominant language in their daily lives. The emotional attachment to Standard Arabic language is a reflection on their identity and feeling of belonging to a community and culture.

#### **3.4.1.2 Fluency and integration**

Although most second-generation Moroccans are variably multilingual, it does not necessarily mean that they have full command of the languages they write or speak, as one may anticipate. From this view point, one may ask whether code-switching is used as a communicative strategy which takes the place of a language, and whether the user sees no need to master fully the required languages. On the other hand, the Netherlands' educational system is still short of helping to overcome this linguistic handicap: only 2½ hours per week are dedicated to learning Arabic language and Moroccan culture during official schooling time (El Bekkai, 1994).



Communicating is a social activity and key to any integration in that society. Each society has the right to impose its language(s) as the first medium of communication for someone who is willing to settle and live in that society (Extra and De Ruiter, 1993). Could code-switching be taken as a factor, among others, for not achieving an adequate standard of performance by these Moroccans in Dutch, or is it the first step towards language shift and therefore full competence in Dutch that can ensure an easy integration in the host society. Of course, variations between two distant cultures as Dutch and Moroccan cultures are, make it very difficult to pave the way to an easy integration.

### **3.4.2 French connection**

Language policy in the French educational system is divided into two categories as Hélot and Young (1999:1) report:

A la lecture de différents documents et textes officiels, on a l'impression qu'il existe en France deux types de langues, celles qui sont valorisées, majoritaires et ont un certain prestige, et celles des minorités qui sont considérées comme des langues de « seconde zone », celle dont la maîtrise est considérée comme un facteur positif et celles dont la maîtrise est ignorée ou perçue comme non utile.

Reading different official documents and texts, one has the impression that there are two groups of languages in France: those which are valued and used by the majority and have a certain prestige; and those of the minority groups which are considered as "second class" languages. The mastering of the former is considered as a positive factor, while the mastering of the latter is ignored or perceived as useless.

(My translation)

The finding of Hélot and Young (1999) as quoted above refers literally to an institutional two-tier language classification as reflected in the French official documents and texts. Those that have certain value and prestige and are better encouraged and those languages of minority groups, which are perceived as useless, are not.

This divide plays into the marginalisation of minority groups and can be seen as damaging to their personal identity. This classification reflects a fault line that exists within society. It is hardly the spirit of integration. This situation demonstrates the absence of the notion of linguistic pluralism and the recognition of the special needs of students of immigrant background (Hélot and Young, 1999).

The Moroccan government dispatches teachers to different European countries where the Moroccans form a sizable community. They are part of an agreement on the “teaching of languages and cultures of origin” (TLCO), in operation since 1973 within the state system in France. (Hélot and Young, 1999).

This programme was first devised with the aim of bringing assistance to a community that was expected to return to the country of origin. While this programme is still running, it no longer reflects the reality on the ground and now symbolises the illusion of the return. These students are, in the majority of cases, citizens of their respective adoptive countries. While it is very important for those willing to keep a link with their languages and cultures of origin, this programme has to recognise that these students are integrated (or at least trying to integrate) in their adoptive society and in many cases it is the only one they know.

A 1994 general inspectorate report in France found few links between the taught syllabus of the French national education and the TLCO (Hélot and Young, 1999:3). This lack of proper integration and complementarity between the two systems brings a negative effect to bear on the students of immigrant origin. It creates much confusion in their educational processes. Students are expected in many cases to learn a language that they do not speak at home, and an “official” model of culture that they do not relate to as a result of their integration in their adoptive country. For the Moroccan communities in immigration, these problems still persist.

As it is, the TLCO is perceived to be a monolingual programme. Although the communities of immigrant origin now see themselves as part and parcel of the country’s population fabric after so many reality changes, they are still expected to go through TLCO in its archaic form.

One possible way of resolving this linguistic dilemma is to implement the recommendations of the 1994 general inspectorate report in France which suggests transforming TLCO into Modern Languages concept (Hélot and Young, 1999:3). This will have major implications. First and foremost, the French establishment will have to elevate the status and prestige of TLCO from a system designed to encourage and prepare these students to return to the place of birth of their parents and grandparents to a welcoming system. A system which helps those from immigrant origin willing to maintain a link with their ancestral identity, language and culture and invites society at large to have an interest in

such languages and cultures as they already do towards English, Spanish and German.

This invitation is not extended under the present TLCO system. The TLCO gives the impression that it deals with the native/first language of the students it teaches. However, in the case of many students of Moroccan descent, their home language could be either Moroccan Arabic or one of the varieties of Berber language, in addition to French, their other native/home language. It is also the language of their adopted country and society. To these students, TLCO gives the impression that French is a second language, an impression that fails to support the process of integration; if anything, it helps to deepen their marginalisation. It fails to recognise the community as being bilingual or multilingual. This is another reason for changing the objectives of TLCO, to become a tool of integration rather than marginalisation.

This shift can only succeed if it has the financial backing and independence from the political interference of the countries of origin, which in most cases supply the teachers and the course materials in cooperation with the host countries. In many cases, these teachers have little or no grasp of neither the language of the host country nor its culture and dynamics.

The way the educational system for students of immigrant origin is devised gives an idea on how these students are perceived and treated within their own adoptive country. TLCO is a programme that was designed in 1973 between a number of European countries and those countries which represented the source of immigration to educate the children of immigrants in their ancestral languages

and cultures to prepare them to integrate in their countries of origin when the day comes. Both parties expected this to take place one day. However, history has moved on and the children are now full citizens of their adoptive countries. Yet, the establishments through TLCO still treat them as migrants who have to leave one day. The Moroccan community can only feel alienated and, not surprisingly, the students often withdraw from the TLCO system. This is absolutely not the way towards integration which supposedly all parties are seeking.

#### **3.4.2.1 Language use and maintenance in France**

Bentahila and Davies (1995) have conducted a comparative study on the use of code-switching between Moroccan children from both Morocco and France. The children are aged between 3 and 9 years. While the study looks at the spontaneous use of code-switching as a normal and acceptable linguistic behaviour by both groups, it fails to recognise that the group of children living in Morocco is going through various stages of bilingualism, and that they will never lose their native language for the simple reason that they live in an environment which uses Moroccan Arabic, Berber varieties, Classical Arabic, in addition to French. In short, they are living in their native environment which is multilingual and multicultural.

However, contrary to Bentahila and Davies (1995) claim that code-switching is a stepping stone towards fluency, one can argue that for the group that lives in France, code-switching may be seen as a step towards language shift

(Fishman, 1972). The “code-switchers” are children as young as three years old, who live in an environment where French language is dominant and would be considered as their native language even though it may not be that of their parents.

The data for Bentahila and Davies study (1995:41- 51) was collected while the group living in France was on holiday in Morocco. Their efforts to use Moroccan Arabic could be explained by their desire to show solidarity and identity as Moroccans in Morocco in addition to their efforts to communicate.

G, an informant, seems to be trying to use Arabic in order to accommodate to the interviewer, but frequently, after beginning an answer in Arabic, she soon resorts to French. (Bentahila and Davies, 1995:48)

It is quite understandable that code-switching is a powerful tool for better and quicker communication for bilingual and multilingual speakers, but in the case of many minority groups, it represents the first step of language shift towards the language of the majority, as is the case of this group of Moroccan origin living in France.

### **3.4.3 Language policy in Spain**

Relatively speaking, although Spain had a long history of emigration similar to that of Italy, it is only for the past decade that it has become a country of immigration. This has its roots in Spain’s modern history. Under General Franco, Spain was a rather underdeveloped economy and the Spaniards emigrated

to other European countries to seek employment. Spain's fortunes, however, have changed for the better, with the country's entrance to the European Union in 1986, along Portugal. This membership gave a desperately needed economic lifeline. In the years that followed, Spain has found itself in need of manpower mostly in areas of tourism, agriculture and construction, in addition to the services which the Spaniards have come to dislike performing. By far, the main source of immigrant labour to Spain is Morocco. Herrera (2003:3) describes the plight of the Moroccan immigrants as:

Many of the adults and young adults arrive [...] with few saleable skills apart from their practical knowledge of farming or undervalued academic qualifications. Out of necessity, most of them have no other choice on arrival but to accept backbreaking jobs as bricklayers, maids and farm labourers, usually under precarious conditions and for minimum wage.

Though there are no fully reliable statistics of their numbers, the Moroccans are estimated to form over a 1.000.000 strong community including illegal immigrants. This high figure is due largely to the geographical proximity of the two countries and their shared history. Spain has also vast strategic and economic interests in Morocco. All this makes Morocco an ideal candidate to answer the Spanish call for the labour force it needs and even sometimes it does not need in the form of illegal immigrants. Spain is also the transit country of over four million Moroccans living in Western Europe, mostly each summer when many of them drive to Morocco to visit their extended families and spend their holidays. These factors explain the rapid increase of the Moroccan community once Spain opened its doors to immigration.

It seems that just like in the rest of Western Europe, “there has never been any systematic effort to record the academic performance and paths of Moroccan students living in Spain” (Herrera, 2003:2). This makes it almost impossible to reflect on the extent of the Moroccan community’s language use and maintenance. On the other hand, the Moroccan community is very recent one in modern historical terms. Most have immigrated starting from 1993 and many of them are still single. Therefore, the issue of language use and maintenance does not rise to prominence with the present generation. It will rather do so with the upcoming one. This brings us to the following question: what is Spain preparing for its future citizens of immigrant descent to help them maintain their languages and culture of origin and what impact that will have, if any, on their language use? Lack of any comprehensive such studies on the Moroccan community, “is not to say that Moroccan students, or migrant minorities in general, do not suffer from the effects of school ethnocentrism and xenophobia” as (Herrera, 2003:2) points out. This will have a great impact on the level of integration coupled with the maintenance of one’s distinct language and identity. In general, the community seems to be under strong pressures from the dominant values and culture of the host society, creating a direct challenge to their family values and creating a cultural conflict.

Education is one of the barometers of identity, language and cultural maintenance. However, in Spain, the Moroccans suffer from a very high level of underachievement at a rate between 25% and 30% (Gomez-Granell & Martinez, 2002 quoted in Herrera, 2003:4) according to official criteria at the end of



compulsory education. This is an indication of a system failure and a marginalized community that fails to cope with the system.

Just as with some other European countries with which Morocco has a Language & Culture of Origin (TLCO) agreement, the 1980 cultural cooperation treaty between Spain and Morocco forms the basis for TLCO and its implementation in Spain. While Spain provides the infrastructure, Morocco provides, in addition to the syllabus used in the TLCO which is developed in Morocco, the teachers and pays their salaries. Just as in the case of France and Holland discussed before, and though there is no longer talk of promoting the return of these Moroccans, the programme appears to be exactly the same in spirit in the sense that it teaches a language described as the mother tongue although it may be an alien language to the students and their homes. It is a language that they do not use or speak at home except for those who use it to read the Qur'an during religious ceremonies or writing letters to their extended families in Morocco. The confusion rises when young children are told at school that this form of Arabic is their native language. The programme fails to recognise the diglossic nature of Arabic (see chapter one, section 1.1.2 on Diglossia) on one hand, and on the other, fails to take into consideration that a sizable section of the community has one of the varieties of Berber as its mother tongue, just as is the case within the Moroccan community in the Netherlands or Germany. TLCO only serves to accentuate a state of linguistic confusion to the Moroccan community. In many cases, this programme represents extra work and effort for the students who have also to take the mainstream Spanish curriculum. The result of this burden is overall poor achievement and a high dropout level.

### 3.4.4 Language policy in Italy

Italy is no different from other European countries which shifted from being an emigration country as late as the 1960's to a country of immigration especially in the early 1980's. However, it was not until the period 1996 – 2001 that many immigrant groups started settling in Italy and the family reunification took shape. This change in fortunes came about as a result of Italy's economic prosperity and the downturn of many Third World economies, mostly those of North Africa. The geographic proximity of North Africa is another factor that has a clear impact on the numbers of certain immigrant groups. Thus the Tunisians and the Moroccans form some of the largest communities.

In Italy, immigrants find an insertion point mainly in the informal economy, in specific spaces occupying places that Italians had abandoned or creating their own new jobs (as it is the case of street-vendors) (Campani & Silva, 2003:2).

By far, the Moroccan community is the largest immigrant community in Italy. In 2002, there were 158.094 Moroccans living in Italy (Source: Caritas, 2002:96 quoted in Campani & Silva, 2003:5). If one is to add the figures of illegal Moroccan immigrants too, the total number will be much higher. These have simply melted into the Italian informal economy, as Campani & Silva, (2003:4) point out:

A considerable number of immigrants remain in an irregular situation; only a part of them will manage to regularise their position through the last 2002 amnesty (*sanatoria*), reserved for only two categories of workers: “home help” and “home care”.

It was only in 1998 that Italy started formulating a comprehensive immigration policy within a legal framework. This delay in immigration management through regulations and laws (Campani & Silva, 2003) explains the absence of any systematic structures that cater for the needs of immigrant groups. This point is very important especially in the discussion of language maintenance and use among the Moroccans in Italy. Their assistance towards integration is left to local agencies to manage. This has led to a chaotic situation, which in many cases has showed little or no understanding of the real needs of such community. This situation is made worse by the official position of the government. In fact and as Campani & Silva (2003:19) point out,

the centre-right government is not encouraging integration. Hostile to multiculturalism, the centre-right doesn't want to consider immigrants as a minority... In the concept of linguistic minorities, new ethnic groups, resulting from immigration, should not be included.

This official position of the Italian government leaves no doubt but to suggest that the adopted policy towards immigrant groups, including the Moroccans, is to favour assimilation. This means that no effort is made to safeguard and maintain these groups' linguistic and cultural diversity and identity.

Italy has always been linguistically, culturally and ethnically a diverse country. Italian is the second language of these Moroccans.

In spite of this diversified linguistic landscape, in Italian education system, few attention has been given to the bilingualism or multilingualism of the students, except for few areas where a bilingual or multilingual education is foreseen (Campani & Silva, 2003:21).

This picture becomes more complex once immigrant groups are considered. The use of the Italian education system by immigrant minorities presents a linguistic challenge. Yet, politicians and educationalists seem unable to rise up to this challenge, and grasp the initiative to promote multilingualism and cultural diversity that the immigrants bring and represent. In Italy, diversity is still perceived apparently as a problem not richness (Campani & Silva, 2003).

15.6% of students of foreign origin in Italian schools are Moroccans (Campani & Silva, 2003:23). These students face a total lack of support as students with special needs to help them overcome their difficulties within the Italian educational system. Most of these students have little or no command of the Italian language which makes it very difficult to properly integrate into the Italian educational system due mostly to linguistic and cultural isolation. This is surely not a healthy environment for the promotion of the integration of non-indigenous minorities in Italy. For the Moroccans as well as for the other non-indigenous minorities in Italy it means that they will always remain on the fringe of society.

The bulk of Moroccan immigration to Italy is comparatively recent. This means that the community is still mostly made up of the first generation. No studies related to the Moroccan community could be found. However, one can assume that most of these Moroccans are unqualified and unskilled workers. They can give little support with respect to their children's education, hence the high rate of school failure among not only the Moroccans but across the board of non-indigenous minorities in Italy (Campani & Silva, 2003). The second generation

still uses its native languages at home and in its close community and it picks-up some level of Italian language, but falls short of the level required for proper and full mastery of the language needed for integration.

### 3.5 Conclusion

Language as a tool of communication is the key to any integration. This chapter looks at the literature produced regarding language use and maintenance. Through this corpus of literature it attempts to evaluate the nature and extent of assistance given to second generation Moroccans in a number of western European countries towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It showed that these Moroccans, who are now citizens of these Western European countries, are the victims of unbalanced cultural and linguistic situations. Because of several factors leading to a breakdown in communication, the community fails to mix and integrate in harmony in the two cultures and acquire good commands of both languages.

The choice of second generation Moroccans is very significant in that these Moroccans represent a “lost” generation: They are lost between their indigenous culture and languages, and the culture and the language of the host community which will become the native ones of next generations. Their parents have already been forged in their culture and language of origin before leaving Morocco. Some of these parents may never learn the host community language. The weak performances and results that some of these second generation Moroccans obtain, one may suggest, are due to their “loss”, as well as the Western European educational systems which fail to provide a coherent schooling programme for the second generation of Moroccans as a minority. Although efforts are being made in this direction, it is still far from the objective as only 2½

hours of Classical Arabic language and Moroccan culture is provided which is insufficient to restore their damaged linguistic abilities and their cultural identity.

The level of support varies from one country to the other. While the Netherlands is opting for the integration of minority groups, Italy chooses to ignore these groups. France and Spain on the other hand have opted to implement the cultural treaty they have signed with Morocco. The treaty was devised to prepare the community for their eventual return to Morocco as they were expected to do so eventually. This return turned out to be nothing more than an illusion. The treaty gave Morocco political power over language policy of the Moroccan minority in several Western European countries, most notably the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, France and Spain. Ait Lakhyari (1995:5-6) is of the view that,

وبصفة عامة نجد أن الأبحاث التي أنجزت لتقييم مدى تحقق الأهداف المتوخاة من هذا التعليم، قد انتهت إلى ما يلي:

- على مستوى الهدف الأول المتعلق بمساهمة اللغة الأصلية في تدليل الصعاب المدرسية أمام التلاميذ، نجد أن نسبة التأخر والفشل الدراسي تظل عالية جدا لدى أبناء المهاجرين المغاربة، سواء استفادوا من دروس لغة الأم أم لا...
- أما بالنسبة للهدف الثاني، المتعلق بتدعيم التواصل مع الأهل والأسرة، فلم يتحقق إلا بشكل جزئي جدا، وذلك بفعل جاذبية نمط التنشئة المدرسية والمجتمعية للدول المستقبلة، مقارنة مع تراجع، وإنحصار النماذج القيمية والمرجعية للأسرة المهاجرة.

In general, we find that the studies conducted to evaluate the level of success in reaching the goals expected from such education have resulted in what follows:

- with respect to the first goal relating to the contribution of the language of origin in the over-coming of difficulties at school by students, we find that the percentage of school failure remains very high amongst the children of Moroccan immigrants, whether they have benefited from mother tongue lessons or not...
- As for the second goal, which is related to the forging of stronger links with the immediate and extended families, this was not realised

except in very limited measure. This was due to the attraction of the education of school and society of the host country, in contrast to the regression of the values and reference models of the immigrant family.

(My translation)

The Language and Culture of Origin programme (TLCO) has failed miserably, as Ait Lakhyari (1995) explains, because it promotes an agenda and policy which have little understanding of the peculiarities and special needs of the Moroccan community in Western Europe. The programme is also ideologically orientated and allows the Moroccan government to attempt to impose its official doctrine on the community. This interference does nothing to help the community; if anything, it is a cause of confusion and a factor of failure for the Moroccan minority. The situation is made more difficult where by this programme runs parallel to, but outside of, the educational system of the respective countries.

With respect to language maintenance, it is very difficult to assess it in the light of contradictory messages. The children are told that their mother tongue is Standard Arabic, while they have a different one. It is simply untrue to claim that Standard Arabic is a mother-tongue language. In fact, Standard Arabic has no native speakers. Yet, this is the official line of the Moroccan government which is unfortunately endorsed by western European governments, and may be, at least partly, responsible for the poor performance of the second generation. The problem is not only the teaching of language and culture of origin but it is pedagogical as well. Current syllabi tend to hamper rather than help efforts of language and identity maintenance. This situation may explain the gradual



language shift within the second generation and the generations thereafter. While the teaching of languages of origin is very important to the communities of immigrant origin, the teaching of the cultures of origin does not necessarily have to be conducted in the medium of Standard Arabic or any other native variety. The language of the host society may stand a better chance in helping to promote native culture and identity than Standard Arabic.

Studies on language maintenance and use within the Moroccan communities across Western Europe are very rare and limited in scope. This is largely due to two factors. The first factor is that it was only very recently that interest in the Moroccan community (which only recently has become the largest non-European community) became visible. This belated interest could be explained on the grounds that the presence of the community was seen to be temporary. Second, in many countries there is no political will to help integrate these communities, such as the case of Italy.

In chapter four, the discussion focuses on Moroccan immigration to Britain. A historical overview is presented with the aim of establishing the reasons which led these Moroccans to opt for Britain as an immigration destination as a result of the historical links between Britain and Morocco.

The historical background to Moroccan immigration to Britain looks at two eras in the history of Morocco – pre-and-post Moroccan independence. The chapter looks also at the patterns and characteristics of the settlement of Moroccans in Britain, focusing on the problematic issue of their numbers as well

as presenting aspects of their socio-economic situation, i.e., communication, education, employment, housing, health and crime.

## **Chapter 4: Moroccan immigration to Britain**

### **4 Introduction**

This chapter introduces the Moroccan community in Britain. The community has deep-rooted socio-cultural as well as socio-economic problems. These problems have an impact on the lives of the members of the community, especially the second and subsequent generations in their quest to use and maintain their ethnic languages and culture.

Modern Moroccan immigration to Britain is relatively recent and small in size as a minority community. There is an ongoing and passionate debate about the numbers and statistics with respect to the Moroccan community. The parties involved cannot agree on the figures for different reasons, and as a consequence the first victims of this lack of understanding are members of the Moroccan community itself. In addition to the issue of statistics and its importance to the community, this chapter looks also into the socio-economic situation of the Moroccan minority community.

The chapter concludes by examining the issue of social exclusion and to what extent the British government standards or definition of social exclusion might apply to the Moroccan community. To help establish this argument as objectively as possible and in the absence of reliable statistical figures on the Moroccan community *per se*, I shall rely on deduction and use statistical data compiled from the wards (districts) where it is known that the Moroccan

community forms a majority of the population. The largest section of the Moroccan community in Britain lives in the poorest parts of the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea, namely the wards of Golborne, Colville and St Charles. Generally speaking, this can be seen as a representative sample of the Moroccan community in Britain. The statistical data appears in a number of reports and studies, and presents a bleak picture of an area and its population which are desperately in need of regeneration and integration. For political and financial reasons, these statistics appear to be conservative and reflect only part of the picture.

It seems that the biggest obstacle facing the community is communication as, without it, access to services is almost impossible. Because of this problem of communication and also because of its cultural and religious heritage, the Moroccan community loses out and social integration becomes an up-hill struggle. This pushes the Moroccan community to isolation, as Rumman (1994:4) remarks:

The result of this is a community which, to a large extent, is self-contained and looks within its realms to deal with problems through mutual support.

However, mutual support and help can be interpreted as proof of solidarity within the Moroccan community and most certainly is a positive element that must be celebrated. As regards community efforts to maintain its language, further encouragement, external intervention and help is the only way

forward to save the Moroccan community and others like it from a miserable existence and help it integrate into the general society.

The subject of Moroccan immigration is best presented against its historical background. This sheds light on a part of Anglo-Moroccan relations through immigration and settlement which is most neglected as there are hardly any studies concerning Moroccan immigration to Britain.

A very large number of the members of the Moroccan community are also British citizens and as such have all the rights and obligations that British law offers all citizens. From this perspective, the British-Moroccans constitute a newly established ethnic minority in Britain.

## **4.1 Historical background**

### **4.1.1 Pre-1956 immigration**

Anglo-Moroccan relations date back to as early as the Elizabethan times when a large number of Moors sought refuge and asylum from Spain in England only to be denied this later and to be expelled from England as Queen Elisabeth I issued a decree specifically ordering the deportation of every Moorish refugee in her dominion (Jones, 1971:20), but the peak of the British involvement in Morocco was the occupation of Tangier – a city in the extreme Northwest of Morocco (see Appendix D) on the Straits of Gibraltar – in 1662 during the reign of Charles II. The occupation of Tangier and the involvement in Morocco was a direct result of the arranged political marriage by the King of Portugal between his country and the United Kingdom by marrying his daughter Catherine of Braganza to Charles II, so as to acquire an ally to stand up to Spain which was harassing his kingdom. As part of the dowry, the King of Portugal, who had Tangier under his control at the time, gave it to Charles II. The Moroccans laid siege to the city and regained control of Tangier in 1684.

British interests in Morocco grew stronger politically and economically, especially by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Anglo-Moroccan relations became stronger during the reign of Queen Victoria. This was reflected by a number of conventions and treaties. At Tangier, October 24<sup>th</sup> 1861, a convention allowing Morocco to raise a loan in London was signed. This convention gave the British the right to control all customs tax collections of all Moroccan ports after which they handed 50% of the proceeds to the Moroccan

Sultan until the loan and its service charges were fully paid, as stipulated by paragraph one of Article I:

His Majesty the Emperor of Morocco engages that from and after the ratification of the present convention there shall be paid over to the commissioner named by her Britannic Majesty 50 percent of the custom duties at all ports of the Empire of Morocco. (Anglo-Moroccan 1861 Loan Convention)

Such British involvement in Morocco resulted in the movement of people between the two countries, as British interests grew stronger. Therefore, the Moroccan presence in the United Kingdom dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century in a significant way. A dozen or so Moroccan families mostly of Fassi and Jewish origin settled in Manchester alone as early as 1874, and were actively involved in commerce and the textile industry, as owners of a number of mills, (Pamplin, 1993; Chigueur & Faleh 1997). Many of these Moroccans became British political protégés, in other words British citizens, in accordance with Article XVI of the Madrid Conference signed at Madrid, July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1880 between Morocco, USA and the major European powers of the day. One such first beneficiary of Article XVI of the 1880 Madrid Conference was Haj L'Arbi Bel-Mehdi Menebhi, Minister of War of Moulay Abdelaziz, Sultan of Morocco (Selous, 1956).

The major European powers, i.e., Germany, France and United Kingdom especially had their eyes on Morocco as part of their imperial expansionist policies. This issue was resolved in a diplomatic manner in 'L'entente cordiale': a Declaration between the United Kingdom and France which included a section on Egypt and Morocco, together with the secret articles

signed at the same time in London, April 8<sup>th</sup> 1904. L'entente cordiale declaration of 1904, which Germany was not part of, recognises imperial interests of the United Kingdom in Egypt and those of France in Morocco, but most importantly it recognised the British economic interests in Morocco as stipulated in Article II:

...They [the British] declare that they will not obstruct the action taken by France for this purpose, provided that such action shall leave intact the rights which Great Britain, in virtue of treaties, conventions and usage, enjoys in Morocco, including the right of coasting trade between the port of Morocco, enjoyed by British vessels since 1901 (1904 Anglo – French entente cordiale).

The 1904 Anglo-French Entente Cordiale Declaration shows clearly the importance of British interests in Morocco. As such and realising the imminent occupation of Morocco by France, the United Kingdom offered British citizenship to a number of Moroccans and their immediate families and entourages. These included, among others, interpreters, secretaries and employees who were at the service of the British commercial and diplomatic posts as part of the 1880 Madrid Conference. By March 1912, the year France and Spain occupied Morocco; the United Kingdom had commercial and diplomatic posts in every Moroccan port-city in addition to Marrakech and Fez in the interior. It is not clear how many Moroccans emigrated to the United Kingdom nor how many have enjoyed British citizenship between 1880 and 1956. It must be said that it was a limited exercise from which benefited a very limited number of privileged and well-positioned Moroccans who served the interests of the United Kingdom in Morocco (Selous, 1956).



Eventually, Morocco became a colony divided between France and Spain in 1912 as a result of the 1906 Algeciras Conference. In addition, in 1923 the major European powers and the USA agreed that Tangier should become an international territory because of its unique strategic position on the Straits of Gibraltar. The United Kingdom became a major player in the city until its integration with newly independent Morocco in 1956.

#### **4.1.2 Post-1956 immigration**

The United Kingdom kept a strong presence in the Northwest of Morocco (see Appendix D) especially in Tangier and some of the surrounding towns after Morocco's independence in 1956. This was mainly due to the close proximity of the United Kingdom to Morocco via Gibraltar. The difficult relations between Spain and the United Kingdom, and the subsequent closure of the border between Spain and Gibraltar by the Spanish ruler General Franco in 1969, witnessed the start of a major wave of the post 1956 Moroccan immigration to both Gibraltar and the United Kingdom to replace the shortage of Spanish labour force for the United Kingdom and Gibraltar job-market as a direct result of the sanctions brought about by the Spanish government of the time against Gibraltar. In addition, Moroccan immigrants were quick to take over the vacancies left by many Spaniards and Portuguese immigrants in Britain itself who preferred to return to their homeland after the establishment of democratic governments in Spain and Portugal in 1975 and their membership of the European Union in 1985.

These waves of immigration differ markedly from that preceding 1956 in the sense that the United Kingdom made those Moroccans British citizens between 1880 and 1956 on political grounds for showing loyalty to the United Kingdom and serving its interests mostly in Morocco. However, the post-1956 period witnessed a shift in the reasons for immigration, and therefore the reasons for the granting of citizenship. Economic immigration is the prime source for naturalisation of Moroccan immigrant communities in the post World War II Western Europe. These communities have shifted from being immigrant communities to minority communities in their adoptive countries (see chapter one, section 1.2.5). This matter is further emphasised with the emergence of the respective minority generations.

Gibraltar also played a major role acting as a springboard for Moroccan immigration to the United Kingdom. This role could be explained by two factors: First, Gibraltar played an introductory role for the Moroccan labour force to the United Kingdom labour market, which at the time was a monopoly of the ex-British colonies in the Indian sub-continent and the Caribbean among others. The second reason is that Gibraltar has a stringent law concerning residency of non-Gibraltarians on the Rock. This law was formulated in 1889. It stipulates that only native Gibraltarians have the exclusive right to residency on the Rock that even British citizens cannot claim. Like all non-Gibraltarians, the Moroccans who found work on the Rock since 1969 can never gain full residency rights under such law and therefore will never be naturalised, resulting in the loss of many social benefits and rights one would normally gain. Many Moroccans were living in barrack-like dormitories, while others took the ferry daily from and

to Tangier. (This proximity of 14 Km across the straight of Gibraltar (see Appendix D) which explains why large numbers of the Moroccan community come from the North West of Morocco.) This situation had its negative bearing on the social as well as moral well-being of the Moroccan immigrants. For these and other reasons, many of these workers immigrated to the United Kingdom for a better and more stable mostly economic life.

In my UK field-study (see section 5.3.1) involving 219 respondents who were randomly selected and which I conducted between October 2000 and June 2001, the percentage of male Moroccan immigrants jumped from 7.3% in 1963 to 14.6% in 1969 – the year Spain blockaded Gibraltar – while that of female Moroccan immigrants went up from 7.3% in 1969 to 21.9% in 1971 – two years respectively after the men immigrated. This suggests family reunion once the men secured their positions and made their situation favourable for family reunion. But the wave of female immigrants in 1971 suggests more than merely members joining their spouses. Many females came to the United Kingdom in their own right – in many cases as singles – to seek their own fortune.

The large majority of these immigrants took jobs in cleaning and catering in the public sector industries such as the National Health Service and in the private sector mostly in tourism. Most of these Moroccan immigrants formed a Moroccan community in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea in London, and another comparatively recent one at St Albans in Hertfordshire north of London.

## **4.2 Establishment of the Moroccan community**

The Moroccan immigrants to Britain come largely from the north west of Morocco (see appendix D: Map of Morocco), an area that historically enjoys strong links with Britain. Britain is not perceived as a traditional destination for Moroccan immigration in general. This is reserved for France and Belgium, and to a lesser extent Germany, Netherlands, Italy and most recently Spain.

Moroccan immigration to Britain picked up in 1969, but it started in the late 1950s and early 1960s when Spanish agents based in London and Tetouan (a city in the north West of Morocco) started recruiting Moroccans mainly from the former occupied Spanish zone in the north of Morocco to work in the catering industry in Britain (Haousa, 1992). This first group of Moroccan immigrants, who had to pay the equivalent of £15 in 1970 and about £100 in 1973 for the work permit (Pamplin, 1993), started a chain reaction by arranging work permits for their relatives and friends in Morocco to come and work in Britain, which explains the fact that the majority of them originate from the same geographical area, the north west of Morocco. Another group of Moroccan immigrants came via Gibraltar after working there on the building of a naval base and other military installations on the Rock.

## **4.3 Statistics of ethnic Moroccans in Britain**

It is impossible to determine how many ethnic Moroccans there are in Britain at any given time. This is due to the way censuses are organised and

figures are compiled in Britain. Although all numbers must be taken with caution as they rarely reflect the strength in numbers of the Moroccan community which I estimate to be between 35,000 and 50,000 strong. The figures from the Moroccan sources are based on consular registrations of Moroccans living in Britain. However, many immigrants do not register and therefore they do not show up in the Moroccan statistics. On the other hand, as it is discussed at some length in the following paragraphs, there is no clear provision for ethnic Moroccans to register themselves as such in the British census or the equal opportunity monitoring form. (See Appendix F on Equal opportunity form).

With these provisions in mind, there were 14,590 Moroccans reported to be resident in 1991 in Britain (Naji, 1993). The largest concentration of Moroccans was in England, in particular in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea in London with a population of 12,179 among which in the early 1990s lived approximately 620 illegal Moroccan immigrants (Naji, 1993). In Scotland, the largest concentration of Moroccans is located in the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, with an estimated population of 2,193 among which lived an estimated 110 illegal Moroccan immigrants (Naji, 1993). The figures of illegal immigration are highly disputed due to the very nature of illegal immigration, which is part of the underground world, therefore, without records or documentation. The 218 remainder are scattered all over the rest of the British Isles. However, according to Hassan II Association for Moroccans Abroad, the latest figures available in 1998 of Moroccans officially resident in Britain are as follows:

**Table 4.1: Distribution of Moroccans in Britain**

Males	Females	Children	Total
6 201	4 131	9 000	19 332

Source: Fondation HassanII

It is worth mentioning that these figures do not include illegal Moroccan immigrants to the UK. Moreover, my correspondence with the British Home Office led me to believe that no one knows the real statistical numbers of the members of the ethnic Moroccan minority in Britain. This is due to different factors, especially the rules that govern the census procedure in Britain, which is confusing for those who are illiterate and/or those who feel intimidated by the design of the forms (see appendix F: sample on equal opportunity form) they have to complete (Skali, 1998). Rumman (1994:3) remarks:

The 1991 Census was the first to include ethnic categories; however, Moroccan was not listed so respondents characterised themselves under the category they felt was most appropriate, such as White, African or Other. It has also been suggested that for a variety of reasons, such as the community charge, immigration status and language barriers, many Moroccans did not complete the census form. This has meant that it is not possible to identify how many Moroccans live in the Royal Borough.

Pamplin (1993:3) gives what could be considered as the clearest picture illustrating the statistical predicament of the Moroccan community when she argues that:

Government statistics, whilst less troublesome to collate, nevertheless are problematic. Apart from the lack of statistics which are broken down into ethnic groups, official statistics tend to be variable and perhaps sometimes politically orientated. If the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea is conservative in its estimates of the number of Moroccans within the Borough, for instance, then it could possibly

claim that the community is too small for specific financial aid. If however, the census figures overstate the number of Moroccan inhabitants, the community is in a more powerful position. The accuracy of census and official survey material has also been jeopardised by opposing factions within the Moroccan Community, who have argued at various times that their members should or should not fill in questionnaires for various reasons. This is in addition to the usual problems associated with the collation of questionnaires.

The establishment of the size of the Moroccan community is crucial as a number of services provided for the benefit of minority groups depend on these statistics. This in turn affects the process of inclusion and integration in the broader society. It has been suggested that for financial as well as sometimes political reasons, many local authorities who have the statutory obligation to provide services to help integrate minority groups dispute the statistical figures and belittle them so as to avoid providing the necessary services. Smaller figures also deprive the minority group from a stronger lobbying voice to promote its interests in the local authority and agencies' decision-making process.

#### **4.4 Aspects of the socio-economic situation**

##### **4.4.1 Communication**

The community relations' adviser on the Moroccan community in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea concludes in an internal report dated 17 February 1994 that one of the major obstacles to socio-economic development of the Moroccan community is communication, as the vast majority among the

first generation immigrants in particular have very poor or no command of the English language. This has a negative effect on their access to services and jobs.

The author of the report, Rumman (1994:5), remarks that:

Another factor common to many responses concerned the issue of language difficulties experienced by clients and staff, compounded by the inability of many organisations to employ a translator or interpreter because of financial constraints. This was perceived as inevitably affecting the quantity and quality of service offered and received by Moroccan clients.

The report draws a very interesting picture, which must be seen as an example of the problems faced by the Moroccan community not only in the area which the report concerns itself with, but also a reflection on the plight of the Moroccan community all over Britain. Many local authorities and agencies claim that they do provide services for the Moroccan community, and yet they fail to provide what could arguably be considered as the most important service, i.e., translation and interpreting. Lack or inadequacy of this particular service deepens the isolation and marginalisation of the Moroccan community. The integration of the 1998 European Human Rights Act within the British law with effect from October 2000 makes it an obligation for public services providers to provide unfettered access to public services. This also means interpreting services in their native or preferred language for members of minority groups who have little or no command of English. However, from personal experience and during my field study between October 2000 and June 2001, I have noticed that many authorities and agencies are still failing the minority groups in this duty. This is made worse by the fact that many members of the Moroccan community are ignorant of their



basic rights such as the right to an interpreter. If the parents have inadequate access to services, this has a domino effect not only on them but also on their children and the quality of services they receive. More often than not this means a continuous cycle of social exclusion from one generation to another. Skali (1998:13) notes that:

All statutory and voluntary agencies agreed that language is the main barrier to education and training areas and stressed that something should be done to help alleviate this barrier which has an impact on communication between home and school, and between schools and their pupils.

#### **4.4.2 Education**

Often the tragic consequences of the predicament of inadequate or total lack of communication is that:

A large number of Moroccan pupils leave school with no qualifications at all, some are not able to sit GCSE exams although they have been born or brought up in the UK. (Skali, 1998:13)

Moreover, the level of illiteracy of the parents who are in their vast majority uneducated first generation immigrants compounds the problem, and even for those with some level of education since theirs is not compatible with the British one. This fact has a negative impact on the education of their children. The parents find themselves unable to help with the homework; others feel intimidated by the experience and simply become disinterested in the process of education.

This may explain the findings of a report by Al-Hasaniya Moroccan Women's Centre (1999:12) in London which states that:

Moroccan students are much less literate in Arabic compared to other Arab students – only 16% claim that their written and oral skills are both very good, as compared to 30% of other Arabs. Overall, 44% of Moroccan students claim Arabic literacy (6+ on the combined scale) compared with 64% of other Arab students.

Another parameter for measuring under-achievement in education is the level of exclusion from school. This may partly be due to alienation, i.e. children not feeling part of the school community and not obeying the rules either because they do not fully appreciate their meaning or because they do not agree with their underlying social norms and values. In this respect, the report by Al-Hasaniya Moroccan Women's Centre (1999:13) gives the following figures,

**Table 4.2: School exclusion of Moroccans**

School	Moroccans % Excluded	Other Arabs % Excluded
School 1	23	13
School 2	20	21
School 3	0	31
School 4	20	4

The report is a comparison of achievement between the Moroccan students and the rest of the Arab community. Even so, the figures must cause concern as they are very high. Exclusion from schools has a negative impact on the process of social integration. The report goes on to remark that:

... while one in five (approximately 20%) of the children in our survey reported being excluded from school at one time or another, the rate of exclusions among all secondary children, admittedly in Kensington & Chelsea alone is 2.2%. Thus, this would seem to be a major issue concerning Arabic-speaking children in the local area (Al-Hasaniya Moroccan Women's Centre, 1999:13).

No matter how bleak the picture for the Moroccan community may appear to be with respect to education, there are a number of Moroccan students who against all odds have managed to secure a bright future. Sadly, these members of the community represent the exception rather than the norm. In knowledge based economy such as the British one, prosperity and social integration and advancement starts with education.

#### **4.4.3 Employment**

The ever rapidly changing labour market leaves immigrant minorities vulnerable to these changes. The very fact that most members of the Moroccan community are unskilled with little or no education compounds this vulnerability.

The early waves of Moroccan immigrants came over to Britain on work permits to already allocated low-paid unskilled jobs in hotels, catering and hospitals. The financial needs of this workforce were so high that many of the immigrants took up more than one job. Many were hoping to make as much money as possible in the shortest period of time possible to allow themselves a comfortable life in their homeland. For most of them this proved to be an illusion as they were entrapped in a cycle of poor existence compounded by the

misfortunes of the Moroccan economy starting from mid-seventies. Many felt that they now had little reason to return to their homeland. Another very important factor in swaying the balance towards such decision was family reunification in Britain and the education of the children who would feel uprooted if returned to what is for them a strange country and culture regardless of their ethnic and cultural origins.

The initial eagerness to save money in order to eventually rebuild their lives in Morocco led many Moroccan immigrants to work long and unsociable hours in what may be qualified as an extreme manner hoping to make good money for the return journey. This employment approach has led many of them to a state of total burnout. In this respect, Pamplin (1993:29) remarks that:

Moroccan migrants, along with other ethnic minority groups were not averse to working long and unsociable hours for very little pay. Due to their flexibility and the relative demand for labour, jobs were very easily obtained. Many, however, have suffered for their eagerness to work excessively, even when physically unfit and these Moroccans in the 40 to 50 age group are now unable to work at all due to their poor health.

The professional prospects for most of these Moroccans are uninviting, and it is almost impossible for them to branch out to private enterprise. The issues of compatible education, skills and training come back, time and again, to haunt the Moroccan community, as Skali (1998:14) points out:

This lack of command of English language and lack of confidence make business opportunities very remote from the Moroccan community as without them there will be problems with drawing business plans, financial plans and planning permissions which are the

basis for any business adventure. Not being able to do all that, the Moroccan community is marginalized and have no success in business setting like other Moroccan communities living in other parts of the European Union.

With every economic downturn, the first to suffer are the immigrant minority groups. This is owing to their particularities and their inability to access retraining to keep up with the ever-changing work conditions and practices. They are locked into jobs which are usually the first to go during an economic downturn.

There are no precise statistical figures concerning unemployment within the Moroccan community; however, the nearest picture to a clearer impression can be deduced from the general figures of unemployment in the areas where the Moroccan community constitute a majority. In a survey by the polling organisation MORI (1999:15) the levels of unemployment in the wards (districts) where the Moroccan community constitute a majority are as follows:

**Table 4.3: Unemployment rates – trends**

Ward (District)	July 1998	December 1998
Golborne	15.4	13.5
Colville	11.8	10
St Charles	14.5	12.4
Great Britain	---	4.4

One can only deduce that the Moroccan community suffers from high rates of unemployment: 13.5% in Dec 1998 in the Golborne ward compared with the national rate at the time of only 4.4%. Another observation is that there is a

decline in the level of unemployment in general as a reflection of good fortunes of the British economy and its emergence from the eighties and early nineties recession. Its positive outcome filters down to benefit the minority groups including the Moroccans, but it does little to bridge the gap between the minority groups and the rest of the general population.

The issue of pay is intrinsically linked to the type and quality of employment. The jobs which the Moroccan community occupy are unskilled and very low paid. The survey by the polling organisation MORI (1999:17) stated:

At £289 the average weekly earnings of Golborne residents in employment are lower than residents within other wards in the Borough and in the Borough as a whole, although Kensington & Chelsea shows higher earnings than Britain.

**Table 4.4: Average weekly earnings of employees 1996**

Golborne	£288.50
Colville	£359.80
St Charles	£317.00
RBKC	£401.20
Greater London	£480.10
GB	£367.60

Source: Figures compiled by RBKC using 1991 Census and 1996 New Earnings Survey

As mentioned earlier, the Moroccan community constitutes the majority of the population of Golborne, Colville and St Charles. The weekly incomes of these wards (districts) are among the lowest in Britain. In addition to this, the Moroccan family is traditionally a large one; therefore, such weekly pay does not go far. It only serves for a basic existence made difficult by the fact that many Moroccans are also sometimes the only breadwinners of their families back

home in Morocco towards whom they feel they have the moral duty to support them especially financially. This is often at the expense of their own families' well being in Britain.

#### **4.4.4 Housing**

The housing patterns of the Moroccan community are typical of many immigrant minority groups living in Britain. Usually men immigrated first as singles or if they were married, the family stayed behind in Morocco until the head of the family was able to secure some form of accommodation for the family. This often meant that the male immigrant had to find the cheapest accommodation possible, usually a room in shared accommodation in a deprived area. The rationale behind this thinking is that he has to save enough money to clear his debt as a result of buying the work permit and the air ticket which allowed him to come to Britain in the first place. Then he has to save enough to bring over his bride or young family. This process usually takes two years and requires the immigrant to take up two or more jobs to be able to execute his plans. Indeed, in my field study involving 219 respondents mentioned earlier, the percentage of male Moroccan immigrants arriving in Britain jumped from 7.3% in 1963 to 14.6% in 1969, while that of female Moroccan immigrants went up from 7.3% in 1965 to 21.9% in 1971 – two years respectively after the men immigrated. However, many were unable to provide proper accommodation for their families and were forced to live in slum-like conditions, often in one bedroom for the whole family. Some had to endure these conditions until the late

seventies before their situation was addressed by the local housing authority (Pamplin, 1993:18-19). While the situation of the majority of the members of the Moroccan community with respect to housing is now better than in the Sixties and Seventies, it is by no means up to satisfactory standards of living in Britain. Overcrowding due to large families or allocated small accommodations compounded by lack of maintenance and security makes the living conditions of the Moroccan community in general rather poor. The community has little voice to complain to try to remedy the situation because of the communication difficulties (see section 4.5.4 of this chapter), which in turn are made worse by a maze of bureaucracy to which they are total strangers. The survey by the polling organisation MORI (1999:10) points out that:

Patterns of housing in Golborne are indicative of its deprived and socially excluded nature. Levels of social housing are high, most properties tend to be purpose-built flats and poor housing conditions and overcrowding are relatively common problems.... Three-quarters of households in Golborne live in social housing, including half who live in council rented accommodation and 27% who rent from a Housing Association. A further 12% live in private rented housing. Owner-occupiers form another 12% of households.

The housing conditions of the Moroccan community based on the housing patterns in Golborne ward (district), where most of them live, are another indication of their socio-economic exclusion as the survey by the polling organisation MORI (1999:10) seems to indicate. With increasing demands on social housing and lack of convenient job opportunities and retraining for members of the Moroccan community, this problem of housing will persist



because most will never be able to afford their way out of this housing problem as long as these problems continue to exist.

#### **4.4.5 Health**

It is difficult to talk about health conditions of the Moroccan community. This is due to the complexities of socio-economic factors such as diet, employment, housing, education and communication. The following discussion looks at the health patterns mostly in the Golborne ward (district) where the Moroccan community form the majority of the population; and it is based on the survey by the polling organisation MORI (1999:42-60). As they suggest, one of the benchmarks by which to measure the health condition of a community is Standardised Mortality Ratios (SMR). With respect to Golborne, MORI (1999:45) argues that:

Golborne's SMR is considerably higher than the national average, at 153.6. Indeed, the gap between the ward and the national average widened between 1981 and 1991, indicating that Golborne has not kept up with improvements in health and mortality rates seen at a national level. The 20 percentage point increase in SMR for Golborne is also higher than the 10 point increase experienced by the most deprived fifth of wards within Greater London.

High levels of SMR within a community usually are an indication of unacceptable levels of social deprivation. This would qualify Golborne as one of the most deprived areas in Britain. In fact, MORI (1999:45) argues that:

While some of the wards ... have improved their position between 1981 and 1991, SMR scores in Golborne have increased, placing it second amongst the top ten most deprived in 1991.

It seems that the Moroccan community has been left behind in the process of social improvement and integration. In addition to health issues they have to deal with, crime is another major headache the Moroccan community has to live with.

#### **4.4.6 Crime**

The wards (districts) where the Moroccan community form a majority, especially in Golborne, are considered as black-spots of crime, riddled by drugs, burglary, prostitution and anti-social behaviour. MORI (1999:64) reports that:

Key issues in the area include crack cocaine, prostitution, associated harassment and distress to local residents, harassment by local youths (abuse and vandalism), and petty crime (particularly in the Portobello Road market).

Such picture of crime is symptomatic of deprived areas and socially excluded and marginalized communities. The Moroccan community is not immune from the effects of crime.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

The Moroccan ethnic minority is a newly established minority community in Britain. It started immigrating to Britain as early as the 1950's, and ever since has grown in strength, although its strength in numbers is debatable. Most members of the Moroccan community in Britain settled in some of the poorest wards (districts) in Britain, particularly in the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea in London. The area and the community are burdened by almost every symptom of socio-economic deprivation. Many issues that the Moroccan community faces could easily be resolved if only a viable system of communication (mostly linguistic ability which means mastering English language) could be established. The social cost in human suffering and financial losses to all parties concerned is far too great to measure. A reliable and integrated system of communication would cost a fraction and it would have an ever-lasting positive impact not only on the Moroccan community, but also on society at large. This step should be seen as a preventive measure. Socio-economic integration; therefore, begins with, among other elements, communication.

The impression is that more often than not the problem for immigrant minority groups including Moroccans is access to services due to lack of communication, not their inexistence. For politico-financial considerations, some authorities tend to cut services to minority groups on the grounds that these services are underused. The truth of the matter is that these services cannot be accessed, as they ought to be because of the inexistence of a reliable communication system. Most, but certainly not all, problems from which the Moroccan community suffers

can be attributed to the communication issue; in addition to the cultural and religious attitudinal factors that contribute to the isolation of the community.

The relevance of this chapter is to demonstrate that social exclusion can be better understood if we appreciate the linguistic as well as cultural behaviours of the Moroccan community with a view to devise a better communication as well as education strategy to help in the integration of the community in larger society.

The issue of the Moroccan community's inability to establish proper communication to access services which results in social exclusion brings us to the main thrust of this research, i.e., language use and maintenance within the Moroccan community. Many studies such as Wei (1982) tend to suggest that low economic status immigrant communities tend to shift towards the language of the majority as a way to compensate for its low social status. Appel and Muysken (1987: 33) claim that economic status is a "prominent factor in nearly all studies on language maintenance and shift".

The British government through its Social Exclusion Unit, Cabinet office, defines social inclusion as complex and interrelated factors that come about in collusion to force social exclusion. The British government says that:

Social exclusion is a short hand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime environment, bad health and family breakdown (Social Exclusion Unit, Cabinet office, quoted in Skali, 1998:1).

Generally speaking, the socio-economic parameters have a very important impact on language use and maintenance of any given community. With respect to the Moroccan community in Britain, understanding its socio-economic parameters goes a long way in helping to understand its language use and maintenance.

The other point about the relevance of this chapter concerns the Moroccan community itself. This study would be incomplete without introducing to the reader the community it concerns itself with. To the best of my knowledge, no in-depth study as this one has been produced concerning the Moroccan community in Britain. This gives this chapter an added relevance, as the literature on the Moroccan community is extremely rare. There are very few internal reports and studies most of which are for local as well as national governmental (usually internal) use, which are very hard to come by. This chapter does not pretend to answer all questions with respect to introducing the Moroccan community to the readers, but hopefully it may be seen as a step in the right direction.

This chapter concludes part one of this research which looked at different terms and concepts used in this research in chapter one, while chapter two presents the sociolinguistics of Morocco. Chapter three reviews literature overview on language use and maintenance in an immigrant minority context. Finally, this chapter establishes a picture of the Moroccan immigration to Britain and the socioeconomic environment the community finds itself living in.

Part two of this research will investigate language use and maintenance within the Moroccan community based on the analysis of the field study conducted

in 2000-20001. It deals with the presentation and the analysis of data of the field study, in addition to methodology.

In this respect, the next chapter looks at different methodological aspects adopted in this research such as the pilot study and the questionnaires and their formulation. It also looks at the respondents and their parents.

## **Chapter 5: Methodology**

### **5 Introduction**

Part one of this study introduced in four chapters the theoretical framework on which this research is based. It clarified certain sociolinguistic terms and concepts with reference to Arabic, as well as sociological terms and concepts that are relevant in the discussion with respect to immigration and minority before dealing with the main study of language use and maintenance and the determinants by which they are affected. Particular reference is made to Fishman's and Fasse *et al.*, models of language maintenance and shift. Literature on language use and maintenance of the Moroccan community in a number of Western European countries where they form a sizable minority is reviewed in this chapter so as to provide a wider context.

Chapters two and four of part one provide background to my study. Chapter two looks at the different sociolinguistic aspects of Morocco, providing a general sociolinguistic picture of Morocco, and on the other hand, serving as contrast to determine the nature and the degree of language use and maintenance within the Moroccan community in Britain. The last chapter of part one concentrates on Moroccan immigration to Britain. It introduces the community and discusses different aspects affecting the lives of the members of the community such as education, employment and health. These aspects determine the social status of the community that in turn impacts on their language use and maintenance outcome.

Part two represents the empirical side of this study. In addition to it dealing with practical issues and the analysis of the fieldwork, Part Two tries to highlight issues of language use and maintenance in the Moroccan minority in Britain. Questions asked include: Is there maintenance or shift? Which language within the community is affected and to what degree? My initial impression formed by observations in Morocco and in the Netherlands was that language use and maintenance is shifting at different rates. My aim was thus to find out to what extent this impression is reflected by the Moroccan community in Britain.

The present chapter deals with the methodological issues concerning this thesis. It looks at the formulated research hypothesis. In addition to this, the chapter discusses the pilot study, the questionnaires and data collection which forms the backbone of the field study, and how it was statistically analysed. A background on respondents is also presented. It gives an idea on who these respondents and their parents are, as well as the languages they use.



## **5.1 Research hypothesis**

My initial assumption was that the Moroccan communities in Britain are experiencing language shift by the third generation of immigrants. Yet, I could also observe that the new-comers to the community keep the mother tongue alive in the community as a whole, thus contributing to its maintenance.

This assumption was based purely on observation. I have noticed that second generation Moroccan immigrants from different Western European countries on their summer holidays in Morocco and those living in the Netherlands had rather limited levels of education and talked about limited or no institutional support in their adoptive countries. They seemed to be confused about their linguistic background and repertoire. This confusion became later clearer to me as a result of the nature of the conflicting linguistic and cultural expectations put on them by both their community such as after school or Saturday Classical Arabic classes (see chapter two, section 2.5), and what they have to offer as well as their adoptive societies which are trying to assimilate them.

The Moroccan community in Britain is subjected to the same conflicting expectations of maintenance and assimilation. The second generation and subsequent ones are torn between their almost nostalgic desire to maintain their ancestral languages and culture, and the hard realities imposed on them by their adoptive society. It seems that they are still unable to bridge the gap between the two universes they live in – West and East.

Another assumption I am making is that the Moroccan sociolinguistic picture is reflected or duplicated within the Moroccan community living in Britain. This assumption is based on the links the community has with Morocco. It is the result of extensive links the community maintains with their country of origin through on-going immigration and modern modes of communication and mass media. To what extent this is true is the question I shall try to answer in part two of this study.

## **5.2 Language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain field study**

In addition to Part One, which consists of theoretical review, the main field research study is based on data collection, questionnaires and background personal and linguistic information on respondents and their parents. This information and data shall be analysed in chapters six, seven and eight, however, in what follows is a description of the process by which these were obtained.

### **5.2.1 Data collection**

The data was collected by means of a questionnaire. As all my data was collected by the same method the design of the questionnaire was obviously crucial. A successful questionnaire should be designed in such a way, that it would not discourage the respondents from completing it. For this reason and

following the experience gained from the pilot study, I opted for a multiple-choice type of questionnaire where the respondents choose from among the many given possibilities that reflect best their answer.

For this study, I collected data from Morocco in order to build a sociolinguistic picture of Morocco. The data was used in chapter three. The purpose of this was a twin track one: first, to update the available sociolinguistic information on Morocco because most of the research realized in this area was done in the seventies and early eighties. Second, the aim was also to contrast the sociolinguistic picture of Morocco with that of the Moroccan community in Britain.

The questionnaires used both in Morocco and in Britain cover a wide range of questions, which I feel might shed light on sociolinguistic practices in Morocco and language maintenance and use among the Moroccan community in Britain.

For other types of information required for this research such as socio-economic and demographic determinants relating to the Moroccan community in Britain I choose to rely on the fieldwork of other organisations (Al-Hasaniya Moroccan Women's Centre, 1999; MORI, 1999) and individuals (Skali, 1998; Pamplin, 1993; Rumman, 1994) involved directly or indirectly in the issues relevant to the Moroccan community in Britain.

Respondents were asked to answer what best describes their situation, feeling, opinion and attitudes with respect to questions and situations they were

asked about. Collecting data in this self-reporting manner is bound to carry some degree of subjectivity. It was impossible to carry some form of impartial tests to obtain objective data. Neither time nor the budget allowed for controlled tests and information gathering. On the other hand, one has to trust the respondents judgement. It is hoped that the number of erroneous statements are negligible and offset to some extent by the large number of respondents used.

#### **5.2.1.1 Questionnaires**

The first questionnaire I designed was a very basic one; however, it spanned over fifteen pages. This length proved to be unacceptable. The questions were straightforward, and sometimes rather long. Space was left between questions for respondents to provide written answers. I asked some friends to go through the questionnaire and try to play the role of the respondents and provide me with feedback. The two points which came to prominence and were stressed by all the participants were the length of the questionnaire and the method of providing answers which demanded lots of writing. Writing is an issue strongly felt especially by those who have limited literacy. The other point is that this early questionnaire was very difficult to accommodate using statistical software. This questionnaire took on average over one hour to complete which was far too long. This particular questionnaire did not make it beyond the drawing board.

After several attempts, I came to the decision that the best way to design my questionnaire was by gathering sets of questions in the form of

multiple-choice in tables (see appendix E: questionnaires). I was thus able to limit the size of the questionnaire and to spare the respondents having to give written answers, which is time consuming and could be intimidating and discouraging them from being willing to complete the questionnaire. A technical issue which needs mentioning is that I also had to ensure the compatibility of any questionnaire with the statistical software package SPSS I intended to use.

I produced two sets of questionnaires. One coded MA (stands for Maroc: Morocco in French) was used in Morocco and the analysis of its data was mostly used in chapter two of this study; the other questionnaire which is coded GB (stands for Great Britain) was used in England for the collection of data from the Moroccan Community in Britain.

#### **5.2.1.2 Pilot study**

A pilot study is a methodological tool and a mock run of the primary study at a much smaller scale with the sole purpose of identifying and anticipating any difficulties, problems and pitfalls (Wray *et al.*, 1998). The aim of a pilot study is to produce a set of data which will help to clarify all sorts of issues and questions one needs to know about before embarking on the larger project as it points to both strengths and weaknesses of the study. It gives the researcher a chance to avoid what could prove to be a very costly decision if a pilot study were not to be conducted. In other words, a pilot study is very useful for testing

methodological and analytical tools and gives one a general picture about the viability of one's project.

In addition to the testing of the methodological tools, especially the questionnaire, my pilot study was also an opportunity to detect the pulse of the community with respect to the different aspects which impact language use and maintenance among the Moroccan community in Britain.

### **5.2.1.3 Pilot study: results**

Twelve respondents were selected randomly for the purpose of the pilot study. Three of these were females. All respondents were asked about the degree and place of acquisition and use of different languages in different settings. These languages and dialects are Moroccan Arabic, Berber, English, Classical Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, French and Spanish.

As for the locations where the respondents acquired their languages, all but one of them said that they have acquired Moroccan Arabic both at home in the UK and in Morocco. All respondents in the pilot study acquired English both at home and school. One respondent acquired Classical Arabic at home in the UK while four acquired it at school. Only one respondent acquired French at school.

Code-switching is present as a conversational strategy for most respondents. One respondent rarely mixes Moroccan Arabic and Berber in the same conversation while two respondents rarely mix Moroccan Arabic and

English, however, five feel that they often mix Moroccan Arabic and English, while four say that they very often do mix Moroccan Arabic and English. Two of the same respondents often mix Moroccan Arabic and French on one hand and Moroccan Arabic and Egyptian Arabic on the other. One respondent often mixes English and Egyptian Arabic.

When the respondents were asked about whom they code-switch with, and in what languages, almost all of them indicated that they code-switch between English and Moroccan Arabic in all given situations. The results were as follows: 66.6% code-switch with part of the family (either their fathers, mothers or sisters/brothers). 91.6% code-switch with their whole family. 1 code-switch with their friends and relatives in Britain while 91.6% in Morocco. 66.6% said that they code-switch in other situations which refer to situations not mentioned in the questionnaire. Only two code-switch between Moroccan Arabic and French with their friends and relatives in Morocco and in other situations. The very fact that Moroccan – French code-switching is adopted by the Moroccan community in Britain may be explained by the fact that Moroccan Arabic – French code-switching and mixing is quite common linguistic behaviour in Morocco.

On the other hand, if we look at the languages different interlocutors mix in a conversation, we find that most switching and mixing occurs between Moroccan Arabic and English. 75% of fathers code-switch and mix between Moroccan Arabic and English, in contrast with 66.6% of the mothers and sisters or brothers. 1 respondent mixes within the family and with friends in Britain is while 91.6% of respondents mix when talking with friends/relatives in Morocco.

As for code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and French by interlocutors, 2 of friends/ relatives in Morocco and others do. 1 interlocutor code-switches between Moroccan Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. 2 of the parents code-switch between English/Moroccan Arabic/Spanish.

Access to the media is quite important to determine the languages an respondent can make use of. The respondents were asked about Arab satellite TV stations and the viewing rates were as follow: Moroccan TV: 91.6%, MBC: 66.6%, ART: 66.6%, Aljazeera: 41.6%, Egyptian TV: 58.3%, Dubai: 33.3%, Tunisian TV: 33.3%, Algerian TV: 50%, and ANN: 41.6%.

As for the other types of media, all respondents in the pilot study, i.e., 100%, read books in English while one also read them in Moroccan Arabic and in Classical Arabic. 100% of the respondents read newspapers in English; two read them in Classical Arabic, and one respondent read them in Egyptian Arabic. The rates for reading magazines are as follow: 100% read them in English. One respondent read them in Moroccan Arabic, two in Classical Arabic, one in Egyptian Arabic, French and Spanish. This is indicative of the fact that all respondents are educated and able to read both in English and Arabic. This quality does not extend to all respondents in my field study which I conducted between October 2000 and June 2001. One listen to radio in Moroccan Arabic, and 100% listen to it in English. 91.6% have access to cable TV in English, while only one respondent has access to it in French, Spanish and other languages. 91.6% of the respondents have satellite TV channels in Moroccan Arabic, two respondents in



Berber, 100% in English, 58.3% in Classical Arabic and Egyptian, 33.3% in French, 41.6% in Spanish and 33.3% in other languages.

25% of the respondents watch films/plays in Moroccan Arabic and 91.6% in English.

75% of the respondents listen to music in Moroccan Arabic, 25% in Berber, 100% in English, 25% in Classical Arabic, 41.6% in Egyptian Arabic, 2 in French, 41.6% in Spanish and 2 in other languages.

Language use and maintenance within the Moroccan community vary depending on the nature language or variety itself. The vast majority of these members acquire Moroccan Arabic at home and through interacting with the community, while all of them acquire English at home, school and in society at large. As for the other languages such as Standard Arabic and French, extra efforts and commitment is required which is not always easy to come-by. Only a minority who make such commitment.

Code-switching as a strategy is wide spread in the community owing to its multilingualism.

Mass media has changed beyond recognition during last decade or so, thanks to advents in satellite and digital communication at a fraction of what it used to cost. The vast majority of members of the Moroccan community have access to satellite radio and television broadcasting which enables them to have access to their preferred channels in their preferred variety.

#### **5.2.1.4 Pilot study: conclusions**

The aim of the pilot study was to experience and evaluate different methodological and research tools that I was considering for adoption in my research. As expected, I faced different problems ranging from the design of the questionnaire to the practical aspect of contacting female respondents. I must point out that some of these issues were uncharted terrain for me up to that time such as asking sensitive private questions about the family because many respondents were suspicious of my intentions. This made it an up-hill struggle to convince them to participate in the study. The other problem I faced was the restricted access I had to female members of a family. In every sense of the word, this pilot study was an eye opener for me.

It became clear to me from this pilot study that the host society has heavily influenced the Moroccan minority in Britain, resulting in a degree of language shift. Though the use of the English language is paramount for the second generation, there is still some use of Moroccan Arabic by this generation. As for cultural shift, it rather still limited and almost creating a schizophrenic situation for mostly the second generation, many of whom are torn between the values and norms of two worlds they find difficult to bridge.

The major difficulty I faced in this pilot study was the design of the questionnaire and the establishment of contact with the respondents. As for the questionnaire, the first one I designed was rather long and somewhat demanding as the respondents were expected to write down their answers in the space provided which was time consuming and bound to have bored the respondents.

As for the respondents, I had some difficulties in finding the large number that I had wanted. Out of thirty questionnaires that were distributed only twelve were returned. This was mostly due to the fact that I had very limited access to respondents who live in the Northwest of England. Only after I finished this pilot study was I able to secure a degree of co-operation from the Moroccan Information Centre for access to respondents of Moroccan origin in London.

The other sticking point was access to female respondents. It is extremely difficult, because it is culturally inappropriate, to ask to speak to someone's daughter, sister or wife. The customs dictate that no stranger should have access to the female members of a family. I had to ask the brothers to either answer the questionnaire on their behalf assuming that they have enough knowledge of their sister's linguistic behaviour or otherwise act as an emissary between us by asking the female members of the family to fill-in the questionnaire. Data obtained in this way is obviously less desirable than data obtained at first hand. The data which was collected through members of the immediate family (fathers or brothers of the daughters or sisters) is treated in good faith on the assumption that male family members are close enough to the respondent to know about their linguistic behaviour. The females in the pilot study represent only 25% and I knew that for the major project I had to aim to have a higher representation than the 25% and, more importantly, better access to the females than for this pilot study.

### **5.2.1.5 MA questionnaire**

Although the same themes ranging from information on respondents and their parents to language use and attitude are covered by both sets of questionnaires, there are, nonetheless, some differences in the way sets of questions were presented. For example: in the questionnaire (see Appendix E: questionnaire MA) distributed in Morocco I asked about the social status not only of the parents but also that of the rest of the members of the family in addition to their linguistic repertoire. In the case of the British sample, this was limited to the linguistic knowledge of the rest of the members of the family because among the British sample it was considered highly sensitive to give personal details concerning the rest of the family. 500 questionnaires were distributed and 413 were returned: a response rate of 82.6%. The full data from this field study is collated in Appendix B: Data of sociolinguistics of Morocco. The field study in Morocco was carried out prior to the British one. It indirectly served as another pilot study to the British study as insights gained were incorporated into the methodology.

### **5.2.1.6 GB questionnaire**

The questionnaire GB comprises fifteen tables, which are classified according to six themes. (See appendix E: questionnaire GB).

Theme one is about personal questions concerning age, place of birth, gender, year of settlement in the UK, occupation and education of the respondents

(See appendix E: questionnaire GB, Table 1), and the same personal questions regarding the parents of the respondent (See appendix E: questionnaire GB, Table 2). Respondents were assured absolute anonymity and therefore questions about names, explicit immigration history and places (place of birth) were excluded. One code was used for the sole purpose of differentiating questionnaires handed out in Britain, from those handed out in Morocco. The slightest indicator that could be traced back to a respondent was eliminated or that particular questionnaire form was excluded from the final count.

Theme two deals with language use. It looks at respondents' degree of language use in different environments (See appendix E: questionnaire GB, Table 3). Tables nine, ten and eleven look at the respondents' use of the media according to what language is involved. Respondents are asked about the use they make of the different major Arabic satellite television stations and British terrestrials. This theme also covers questions about the languages in which the respondent has access to different elements of the media: books, newspapers, magazines, radio documentaries, films, plays and music.

Theme three concentrates on the place of language acquisition and questions are contained in Table 4 (See appendix E: questionnaire GB).

Theme four looks at linguistic competence and native language(s) which are dealt with in Table 5 (See appendix E: questionnaire GB).

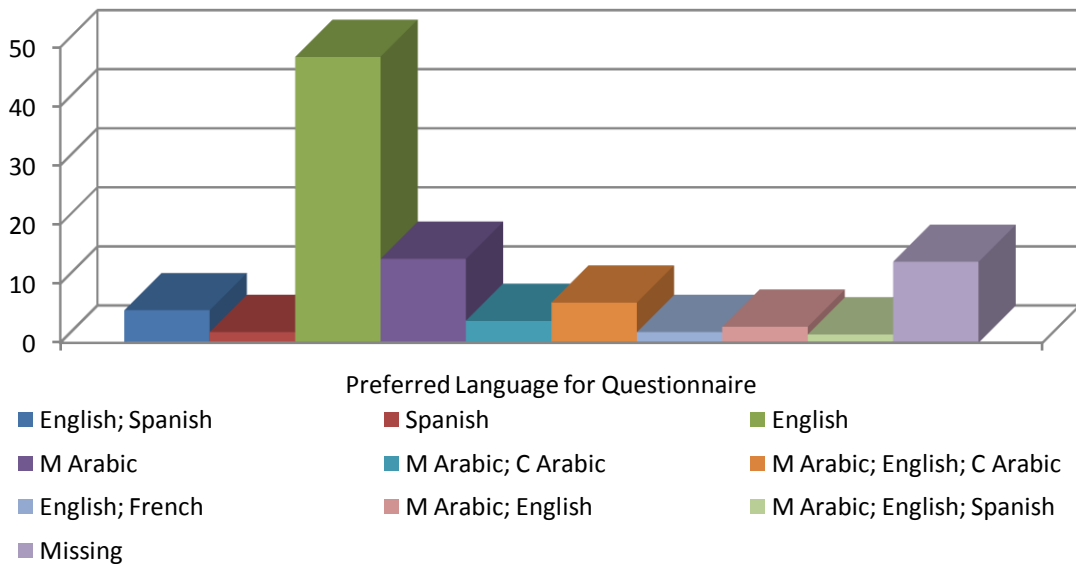
Theme five is about code-switching and mixing. It looks at the degree to which an respondent mixes languages in a conversation and the languages an

respondent mixes in a conversation with different interlocutors in (See appendix E: questionnaire GB, Table 6), while Table 7 reflects on the languages different interlocutors mix in a conversation with the respondent and to what degree.

Theme six asks questions related to language attitude. Language address, i.e., language choice when addressing different interlocutors, is dealt with in Table 12 (See appendix E: questionnaire GB). Language aesthetic, language domination, language prestige, language difficulty and language comfort are all concentrated in Table 13 (See appendix E: questionnaire GB).

Respondents were also asked to mention in which language they would have preferred to answer the questionnaire if they had a choice.

**Figure 5.1: Respondents' preferred language of questionnaire**



In some cases, a number of respondents preferred to be asked in two or three languages, but 48.4% of the respondents preferred to be asked in English, while 14.2% would rather have been asked in Moroccan Arabic. This seems that

that almost half of the members of the community feel more comfortable with English rather than Moroccan Arabic which could signal the beginning of a language shift in favour of English.

### **5.3.1 UK-based Moroccan respondents**

250 questionnaires were distributed randomly among the Moroccan communities in London, Manchester and Liverpool. Out of these 250 questionnaires, I received back 219 – a rate of 87.6%. 49.8% of the respondents are females and 50.2% are males.

All respondents belong to either the first or second generation of immigrants, with the majority being members of the second generation, namely 67.6% were born in the UK. Their average age is 16 years. 11% of the respondents work in the cleaning sector, 3.7% in management, 7.3% are workers in industry, 50.7% are students and 12.8% are unemployed. 48.4% of the respondents have reached secondary level of education while 13.2% have a higher level of education. (For full data see appendix A: Data of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain frequencies).

### **5.3.3 Parental background**

There are a few respondents from mixed marriages. Most respondents have both parents of Moroccan origin. All the fathers in the mixed marriages are

of either Jamaican or Portuguese origin, while all the mothers of all the respondents are of Moroccan and British origin. The average age of a respondent's father is 50 years, and that of the mother is 40 years. With regard to level of education, the fathers are less well educated than the mothers are. 51.6% of the fathers have no form of education, in comparison with 44.3% of the mothers. 3.2% of the fathers have some form of primary education, while only 14.2% of the mothers reached that level. 7.3% of fathers have some form of secondary education; on the other hand 4.1% of the mothers have some form of secondary education. 4.6% of fathers have some form of higher education, while 5.9% of mothers do so. 33.3% of the fathers' level of education was not declared, while that of the mothers is 31.5%. Education is a highly valued asset and since respondents choose not to declare it may simply mean that there is little or nothing to declare. If this assumption proves to be true, it means that the level of education of the first generation parents is very low because being educated is seen in the community as a badge of honour not something one fails to mention if one is educated.

### **5.3.4 Linguistic background**

Language transcends its primary function as a communicative tool and acquires a more significant role of self-awareness and identity. Language is also seen as a common denominator, which binds its speakers together and strengthens their feelings of belonging to the group with whom they identify. This is more apparent in a multiethnic and multilingual environment where the struggle for



maintaining one's language and identity is greater when there is pressure to shift and assimilate. Linguistic assimilation and shift are usually seen as a departing point from one's identity, while there are no guarantees that assimilation and shift processes will result in a "comfortable" shift in identity too, even when it is desirable.

All respondents were asked the same questions about Moroccan Arabic, Berber, English, Classical Arabic, Egyptian Arabic (Egyptian Arabic is widely known in the Arab world. It is seen as a lingua franca), French and Spanish. However, most respondents mentioned that they use neither Berber nor Egyptian Arabic. On the other hand, Classical Arabic, French and Spanish are used by only a very small number of the respondents. This limited use will be mentioned when relevant. The major languages used by the respondents, however, are Moroccan Arabic and English.

29.7% of the respondents see English as their native language, and 63.9% of those same respondents see Moroccan Arabic as being their native language too. 2.7% of the respondents see both English and Moroccan Arabic as their native tongues.

No respondent regards Classical Arabic as being his or her native language which, is only natural, given the special features of Classical Arabic as regards its functions and use.

## 5.4 Statistics

Wray *et al.* (1998:255-256) define the areas of linguistics which require statistical analysis as those where there is variability:

... any type of linguistic study that does not need to measure variability, that is, differences in people's linguistic behaviour or in the patterns of the language itself, does not need to use statistics directly. However, as soon as we focus on variability there is a role for statistics in a surprising large range of areas....

Language maintenance, use and attitude are all about measuring change and variability. Statistics plays a pivotal role as a methodological tool to help ascertain in a quantitative as much as qualitative manner the linguistic picture projected by the study.

The present study bases its analysis on the accumulated frequencies using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences software: SPSS v11.

Frequency refers to actual total number of replies plus the missing answers which are represented as a percentage. The data is presented in tables and in three categories: Percent, Valid Percent and Cumulative Percent (see Table 5.1 below). While the analyses of my study make use solely of the first category, i.e., Percent, the other two categories and, indeed, the full set of data are provided in Appendix A: Language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain and Appendix B: Sociolinguistics of Morocco, frequencies for the reader to consult.

**Table 5.1: Sample of frequency data table**

sample one: 14.1 Respondent's Aesthetic View of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	87	39.7	50.3	50.3
	Beautiful	48	21.9	27.7	78.0
	Neutral	26	11.9	15.0	93.1
	Harsh	12	5.5	6.9	100.0
	Total	173	79.0	100.0	
Missing	System	46	21.0		
Total		219	100.0		

The Percent category takes account of the total number of the respondents, including those who did not provide all the answers, a category referred to as “Missing”, and therefore did not complete fully their questionnaire. Whereas the number of respondents remained constant, the number of replies to parts of questions varies. This obviously has an effect because this lack of provision of full answers is in itself an expression of opinion that must be allowed for.

On the other hand, Valid Percent looks only at those who provided answers to a particular question. As these are inconstant, it becomes more confusing to make any sense of the figures as the total Valid Percent is always inferior to the total number of the respondents as it does not account for the missing data and therefore is never a true representation across the sets of data. While Valid Percent is undoubtedly a vital tool in expressing data in other situations, I simply do not feel that this study is one of them. Cumulative Percent is simply the accumulation of the Valid Percent figures at different stages. The valid percent and cumulative percent keep changing because they are dependent on the missing percent, i.e. the percent of those who did not give an answer to a

particular question. For reasons of clarity I choose to only rely on frequency expressed in percentage.

The data was processed using SPSS v11. The same software was used to produce the tables in appendix A: Language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain frequencies and appendix B on Sociolinguistics of Morocco frequencies. These tables were accumulated in graphs according to common themes. The final graphical representations and editing were achieved using Microsoft Office v2007 Graphs.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

This chapter dealt with issues surrounding my research hypotheses that chapters six, seven and eight will deal with in more detail. My assumption is that the Moroccan community finds it difficult to maintain its native tongue and that the present-day sociolinguistic picture of Morocco is reflected on the community in Britain. To what extent this is the case is yet to be determined in chapters six, seven and eight.

The pilot study helped me to resolve a number of issues and avoid pitfalls in my wider study. It also helped to develop and refine the methodological tools such as the questionnaire and the interpretation as well as the presentation of the data. The two sets of questionnaires used both in Morocco and in Britain were at the heart of the fieldwork exercise and much depended on them, that is why much effort was devoted to them.

Chapter six shall look into the Moroccan community and highlight the linguistic determinants that affect its language maintenance and use. These shall include addressing issues such as language use, language acquisition and language competence as well as education and native language of the community.

Full knowledge about the present-day language practices of English and Moroccan Arabic is a prerequisite to any determination concerning the community's language maintenance.

## **Chapter 6: Linguistic determinants of language use and maintenance**

### **6 Introduction**

Several factors determine the trend of language use and maintenance among a minority group. These factors are part of the support and understanding for this chapter which are reviewed in Part One of this study: chapter one which discusses several terms and concepts of linguistic and sociological nature, but also chapter two which refers to the determinants which affect language use and maintenance. These determinants will be at the heart of the analysis of the present data.

The 219 respondents who are of Moroccan descent were from London, the Northwest and Merseyside areas of England. There was no pre-planned methodology in their selection. 67.6% of them were born in Britain and therefore belong to the second generation. The females represent 49.8% of all respondents. It is worth saying, at this stage, that the numbers and profile of respondents are statistically viable if one takes into consideration that the total number of the Moroccan community is estimated to be 34,000 to 50,000 strong. Therefore, it can be considered a representative sample of the Moroccan community living in Britain.

The set of data analysed in the following sections reflects what is held to be particularly important and relevant to this study; however, the complete data

set is attached to this study as Appendix A: Language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain Frequencies.

The present chapter looks at different linguistic and social determinants that impact language use and maintenance. Issues like the demographic strength of the community and its geographic distribution as well as its socio-economic status greatly help in determining the extent of language maintenance and the nature of language use.

To be able to determine language use and maintenance within the Moroccan community in Britain I first had to identify this community: Who are they? Where did they come from and why had they come to Britain? Then I had to establish where they have settled and under what conditions they find themselves. After this, I had to determine the community's linguistic background, finding answers to questions such as: What are their native languages and dialects? What languages and dialects do they speak? Where did they acquire and learn them? What competence were they able to achieve in their varieties.

The following sections discuss a range of demographic as well as language related particulars that allow one to build up a sociolinguistic profile of this immigrant minority group. The results of this part of the questionnaire are to a large degree fairly straightforward as they are based on questions designed to elicit factual information.

## **6.1 UK field study**

As mentioned in chapter 5 (section 5.3.1). At the beginning, 250 questionnaires were distributed among the Moroccan community in London, Manchester and Liverpool. Out of these 250 questionnaires, I received 219 completed ones back – a response of 87.6%. Female respondents represent 49.8% while male respondents represent 50.2%.

### **6.1.1 UK-based respondents**

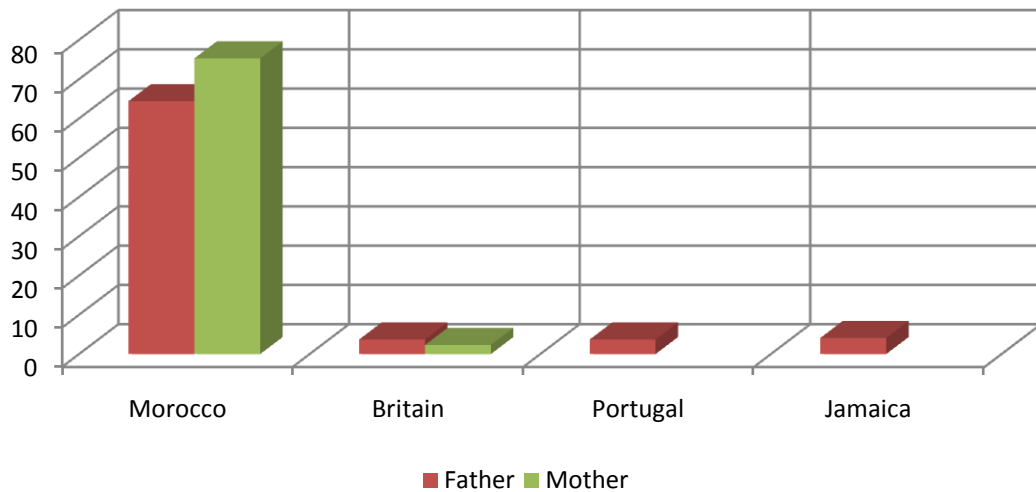
148, i.e., 67.6% of respondents belong to the second generation, and were born in the United Kingdom. 71 of respondents, i.e., 32.4% belong to the first generation. The unifying factor between the two generations, and the subsequent ones, is that they are considered British citizens of Moroccan decent and, therefore, form a particular minority group in their own right. Their average age is 26 years. 1.8% of the respondents work in the catering sector, 7.3% are general workers, 1.8% work in the engineering, 50.7% are students and 12.8% are unemployed, 1.8% are housewives, 11% work in cleaning, 3.7% are in management, 1.8% are technicians, 1.8% are teachers, 1.8% run a business, and 3.7% are undergoing some form of training. 12.8% of the respondents have no level of formal education, while 23.7% have some level of primary education, 48.4% have reached some degree of secondary level of education while 13.2% have a higher level of education.



### 6.1.2 Parents

146 respondents, i.e. 66.7%, chose to declare the origin of their fathers, as such, 11.5% of the respondents are from paternal mixed marriages, and 170 respondents, i.e. 77.6%, chose to give the origin of their mothers. The mothers of non-Moroccan origin represent 2.3%, bringing the total of mixed marriages to 13.8%.

**Figure 6.1: Parents' place of birth**



Almost a quarter (24.2%) of the respondents did not report on the origin of their fathers and 22.4% on that of their mothers. The fathers in the mixed marriages are of British, Jamaican and Portuguese origins while the mothers in the mixed marriages are of British origin only. 141 of respondents gave the age of their fathers representing 64.4%. The average age of fathers is 55.8 years, 149 of respondents (68%) revealed the age of their mothers. The average age of the mother is, therefore, 49.8 years. Overall, the fathers have less formal education than the mothers have – a somewhat surprising result. 51.6% of the fathers have

no form of education, in comparison with 44.3% of the mothers. Only 3.2% of the fathers reported some form of primary education, while 14.2% of the mothers had reached that level. 7.3% of fathers have some form of secondary education; on the other hand only 4.1% of the mothers have achieved such level. As for higher education, only 4.6% of the fathers reached such level while 5.9% of the mothers did so.

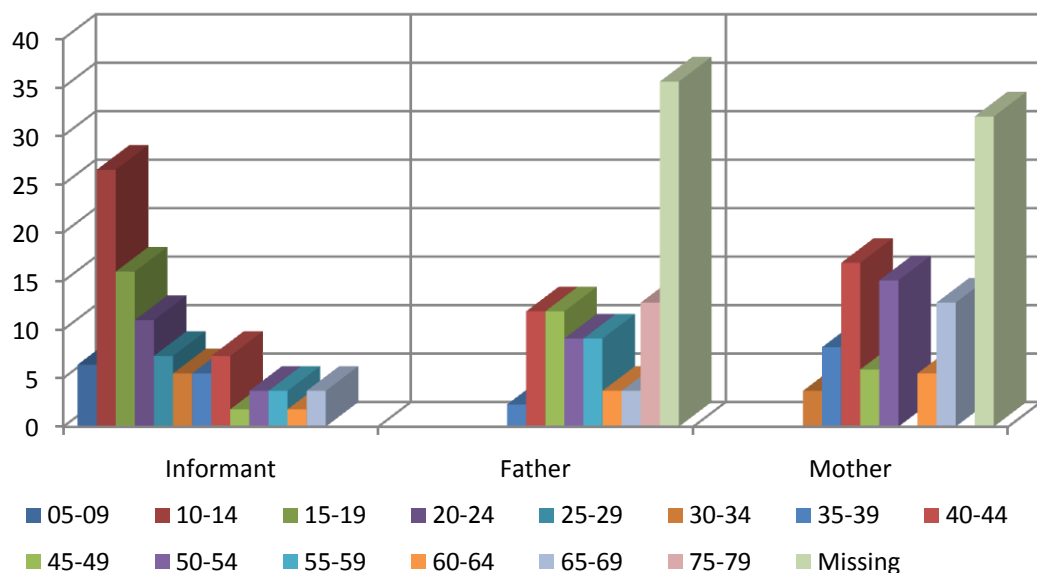
### **6.1.3 Demographic factors**

As mentioned earlier, we believe that most Moroccans in Britain live in London. This concentration may help to maintain Moroccan Arabic and limit its shift to ensure its survival for future generations. However, a small number of respondents were from Manchester and Liverpool, where the Moroccan minority is thought to be very limited in numbers. However, with respect to my own statistics and due to the system of assured anonymity I used in my data gathering, their true number simply could not be traced.

The community as a whole is still young and in its second generation verging on the third. Figure 6.2 shows that with respect to respondents, 59.8% are aged between 5 and 24 years. 27.4% are aged between 25 and 49 years. The age issue is very important in language use and maintenance. The younger members of a linguistic minority are more susceptible to social, cultural and linguistic influences. The older one is the more difficult it is to shift (Fishman, 1968).

As for the parents, on average, mothers are a few years younger than the fathers. As a contrast, 16.9% of mothers in my corpus are aged between 40 and 44 years, while only 11.9% of fathers are in this category. Similarly, 15.1% of mothers are aged between 50 and 54 years, and fathers in this category represent 9.1%. While there are 12.8% of fathers aged between 75 – 79 years, there are no mothers in this age bracket. This difference in age can be explained with reference to Moroccan traditions and culture, among other things.

**Figure 6.2: Age**



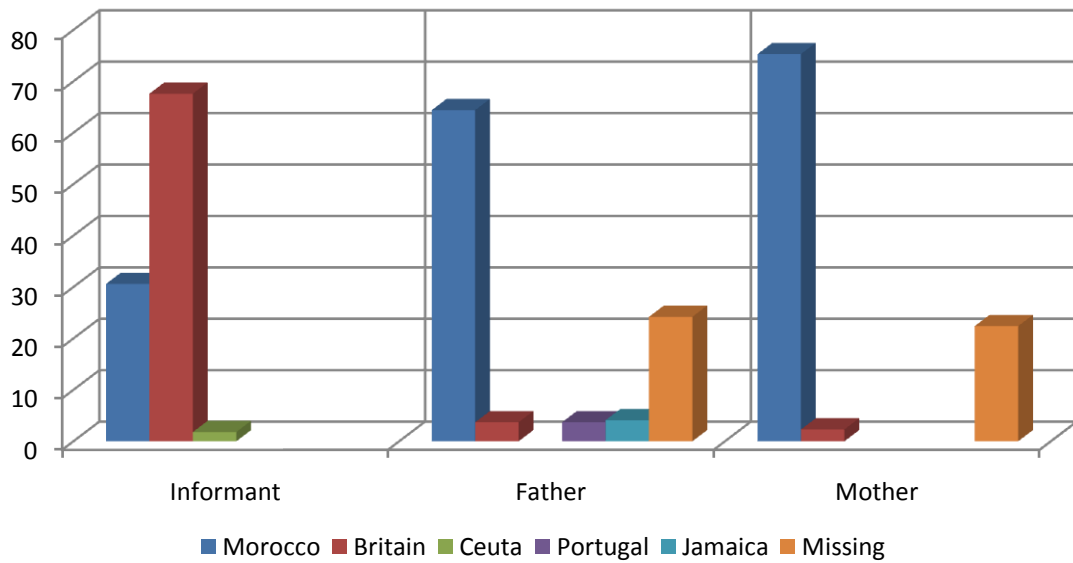
Place of birth has some bearing on language use and maintenance of both respondents and parents. The longer they spend in their country of birth, i.e., Morocco, the more resistant to shift they are, and the easier it seems to maintain one's language and culture of origin. Depending on circumstances, if the person is born in Morocco and spends a number of years there before immigrating to Britain, he or she is unlikely to shift towards English. However, it is quite difficult

for a person born and bred in Britain to maintain their ancestral language and culture and not to embrace English at least for some functions.

Figure 6.3 illustrate the parental place of birth. 30.6% of respondents were born in Morocco in contrast with 67.6% born in Britain. 1.8% were born in Ceuta (a Northern Moroccan enclave occupied by Spain).

The data shows that 64.4% of their fathers and 75.3% of their mothers were born in Morocco; this is a reflection of the difference in numbers of males and females who came to settle in Britain. The higher number of females than males could be attributed to two factors: First, the number of Moroccan females who immigrated to Britain is historically higher than that of men. In my data, the percentage of male Moroccan immigrants jumped from 7.3% in 1963 to 14.6% in 1969 while that of female Moroccan immigrants went up from 7.3% in 1969 to 21.9% in 1971 – two years respectively after the men immigrated. This suggests family reunion. But the wave of female immigrants in 1971 suggests more than merely members joining their spouses. Many females immigrated to Britain in their own right – in many cases as singles (see chapter four, section 4.1.2). Second, allowing for cultural reasons, many members of the Moroccan community, mostly men, seek spouses from Morocco. This umbilical link with Morocco has consequences on the family's choice of home language which is likely to be Moroccan Arabic; therefore, greatly affecting the process of language and culture maintenance in the community.

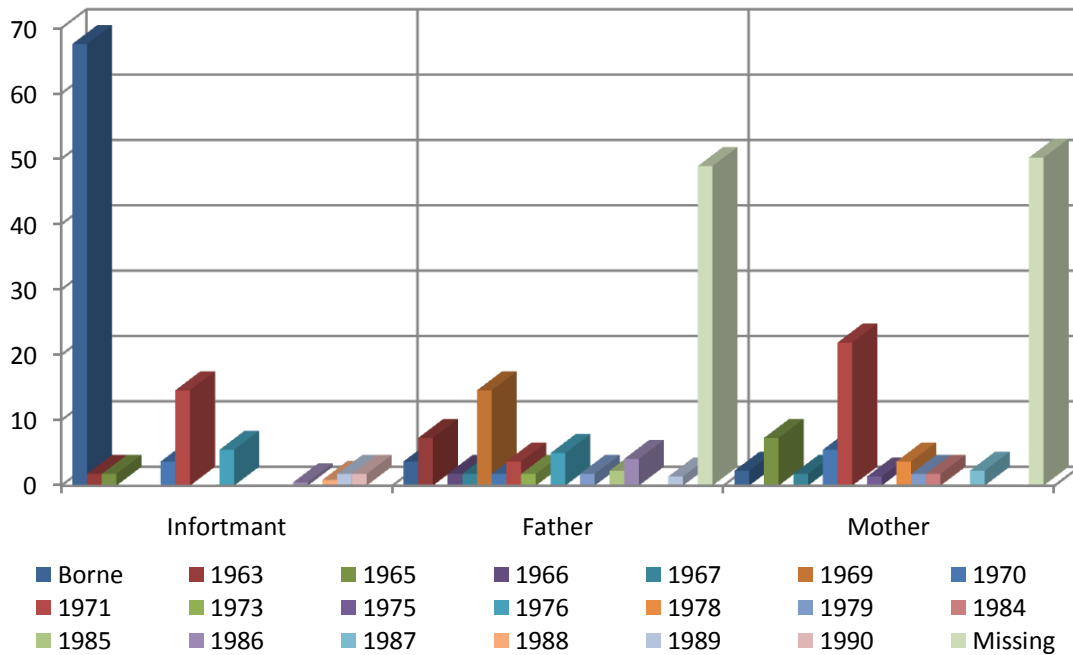
**Figure 6.3: Place of birth**



11.5% of respondents come from a mixed marriage where the fathers are of British, Portuguese, and Jamaican origins. 2.3% of mothers are of British origin. This fact will have much weight on language use and maintenance and the linguistic direction the children of these couples will take. In mixed marriages, the shift usually is towards the language of the majority. There are a number of researches which points to this situation. Clyne (1982) found that the shift to English in what he calls “Anglo-ethnic marriages” reaches 99.1% among second-generation children of Anglo-Dutch marriages in Australia. Pulte (1979) states that the children of all Cherokee who were married outside their community grew-up as monolinguals in English; i.e. the minority language had not been transmitted to the next generation.

The respondents’ gender distribution is almost evenly divided. 49.8% are females and 50.2% are males. However, figure 6.4 shows the year of settlement in Britain. On one hand, it reflects uneven waves of immigration:

**Figure 6.4: Year of settlement in Britain**



In 1963, 7.3% of fathers immigrated to Britain, in 1965 7.3% of mothers immigrated to Britain. This tends to suggest a two-year cycle for family reunification. Figures for immigrant fathers rose sharply in 1969 to 14.6%. Two years later, the mothers' immigration rate has jumped to 21.9% in 1971. Until recently, the two-year family reunification cycle was the norm. Lately, the average family reunification time seems to be one year. This has an impact on the family, especially if there are children involved. To what extent this has an impact on language maintenance and use is not clear. On the other hand, the data represented in Figure 6.4 are an indication of the length of residency in the adoptive country. The length of residency is a very important determinant worth considering when investigating language use and maintenance.

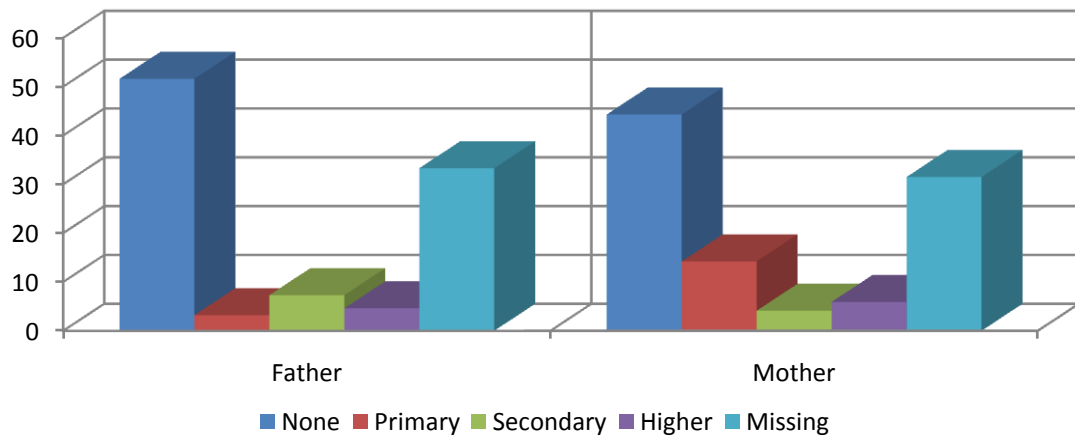
#### **6.1.4 Geo-distribution**

Since the majority of the Moroccan minority in Britain lives in London, it is possible to argue that the sample in this study is an overall representation of the Moroccan community in Britain as a whole. The data tends to suggest that there is a degree of shift towards English. The limited use of Moroccan Arabic outside the home tends to support this view. 12.8% of respondents use Moroccan Arabic mostly outside home, while 37.9% do from time to time. The community is not large enough to permit a much active use of Moroccan Arabic to ensure its maintenance in the community at large. Moreover, the fact that there are scattered pockets of Moroccan communities outside London limits their abilities to maintain their language and culture further.

#### **6.1.5 Socio-economic determinants**

There is a very noticeable difference in socio-economic status between the first and the second generations. While the first generation has a limited level of education, 13.3% of the respondents have some level of higher education while 48.4% have achieved secondary level of education. As for the parents, 51.6% of fathers and 44.3% of mothers had no education according to figure 6.5.

**Figure 6.5: Parents' Education**



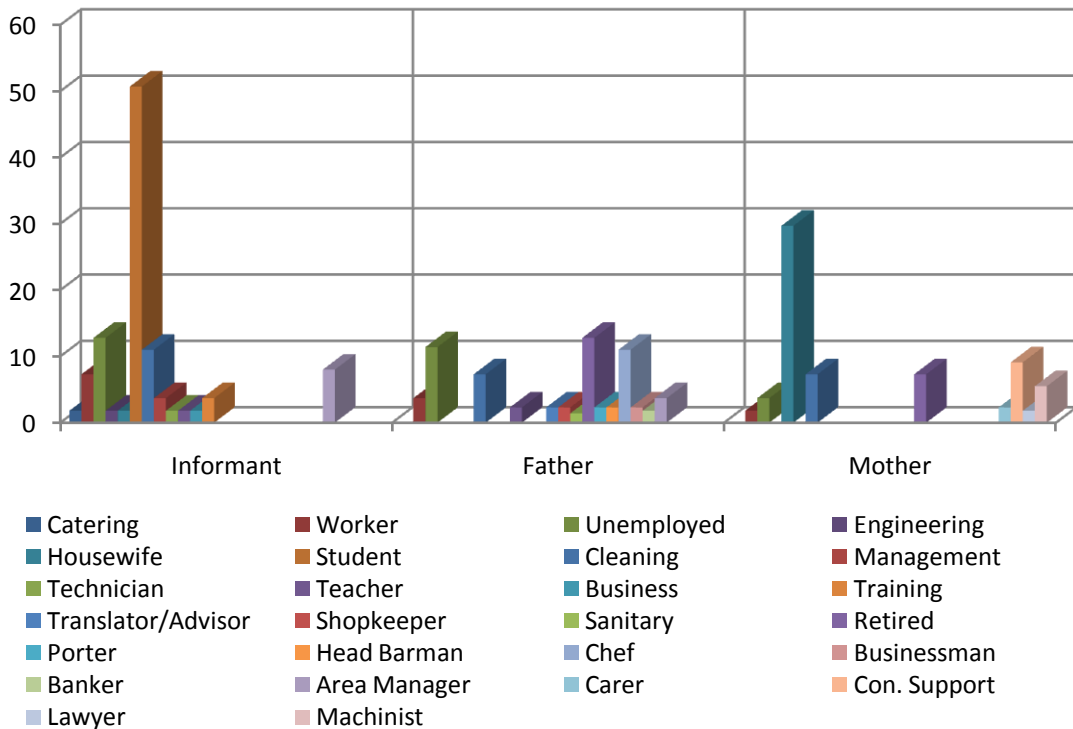
This is a reflection on the situation in Morocco itself: a Third World country emerging from colonialism and struggling to provide public services to its citizens, which colonialism by its very nature did not provide. Moroccans started emigrating in the early sixties and throughout the seventies – they are the generation that missed out most. One also can suggest that British employers did not give much attention to these immigrants' level of education or lack of it. In fact, it could be argued that the less educated they were, the more likely they were to be viewed as an obedient workforce that as a consequence did not know its rights. With hindsight we can observe today that this attitude to employ an uneducated workforce may have led to lack of communication, which may have contributed to their marginalisation. This may have resulted in many of the problems, including linguistic ones that immigrant communities experience not only in Britain but also in the rest of Western Europe.

Education has an impact on the quality of jobs and opportunities available to the second generation. Although Figure 6.6 shows a variety of jobs



and professions, what is noticeable in the second generation category is that it is mostly still at school and about to enter the job market in significant numbers.

**Figure 6.6: Occupation**



This access to education and to better jobs can only be achieved, in addition to the qualifications required by the job, by the mastering of English as the language of promotion and success. 50.7% are students, and they stand a better chance of occupying jobs and positions that simply were unavailable to their parents. 3.7% of respondents are in management. 1.8 % are in business. 1.8% are in engineering. However, most still occupy the same areas of activity as their parents. 11% of respondents work as cleaners. Unemployment remains an issue for the community. It reached 12.8% in 2001 (see chapter 4, section 4.5 and 4.5.3), while the national average was between 5% and 6%. In his paper, Naji

(1993) states that the rate of unemployment among the Moroccan community is 12.5% for the whole of Britain. The second generation still has its share of high unemployment, but it has access to better jobs and it is better educated than the first one.

These socio-economic determinants indicate poor social mobility within the community. It reflects and creates social marginalisation within the community which influence cultural as well as linguistic trends. This marginalisation will result inevitably in language shift on medium to long term (see chapter two, section 2.2.1).

## **6.2 Linguistic determinants**

Linguistic determinants such as native varieties, education, language use, attitude, acquisition and language competence are crucial factors in any study of language use and maintenance.

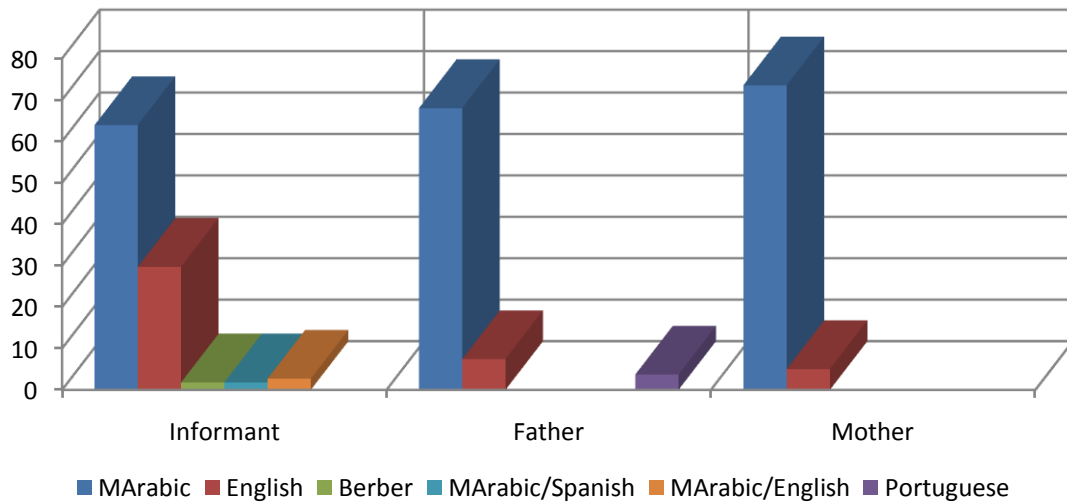
### **6.2.1 Native language**

Before any further discussion on linguistic determinants of language use and maintenance within the Moroccan community in Britain can be undertaken, one has first to establish what the community's native language is. This study deals with the perceived native language rather than the actual one.

This is because of the way the question was formulated in the questionnaire, which asked the respondents to mention their native language as they see it.

The results related to that question are represented in Figure 6.7. 63.9% of respondents claim Moroccan Arabic as their native language; this is in contrast with 29.7% who say that English is their mother tongue. 1.8% of respondents claim Berber as their native variety. On the other hand, no more than 2.7% of respondents see themselves as bilinguals in both Moroccan Arabic and English, and 1.8% do so in both Moroccan Arabic and Spanish. This suggests that the members of the community see themselves as first and foremost monolingual.

**Figure 6.7: Native language**



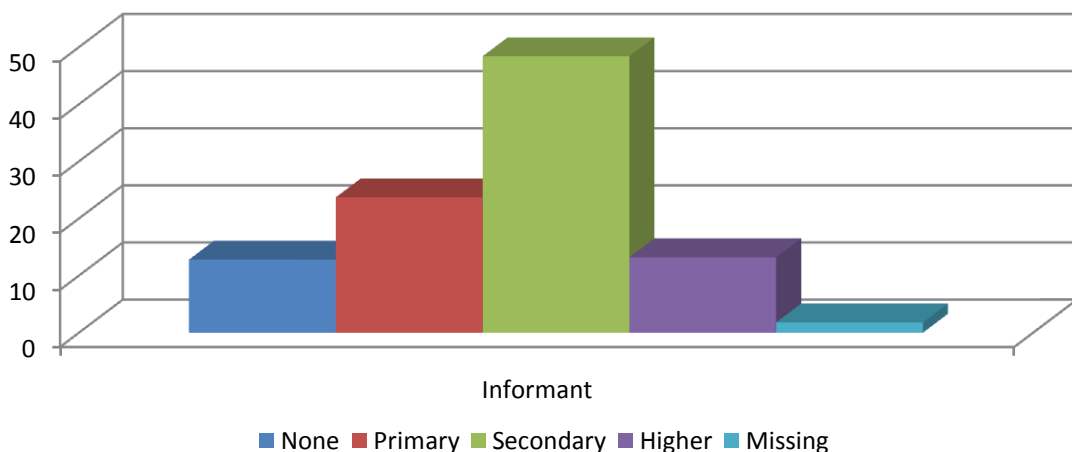
Moroccan Arabic is seen as the native language of most parents: 68% of fathers and 73.5% of mothers. Mixed marriages bring in their respective native languages to the family unit and therefore to the community. 7.8% of fathers' native language is English and 3.7% is Portuguese. Only 5% of mothers have English as their native language.

This indicates among other reasons that intermarriage is very low in the community. Therefore, the largest proportion of language use and maintenance within the community takes place at the level of the family unit where both parents are ethnically Moroccan and speak Moroccan Arabic.

### 6.2.2 Education

Education has a very important role in language use and maintenance. If the educational process is monolingual in the majority's language, it may lead towards language shift; otherwise education can be used as a useful tool for bilingual education and for the maintenance of the language of origin if it is well thought through and well designed. The results of my data with regard to educational achievement are represented in Figure 6.8.

**Figure 6.8: Respondent's Education**



12.8% of respondents have no education. This can only mean that they have not been educated in Britain where education is compulsory. This leads to

the assumption that they are first generation immigrants. 23.7% have primary education. This category most likely will include first generation immigrants and second-generation students who, perhaps, were expelled or withdrawn from secondary education. A minority of parents who believe that sending their children to school is nothing but exposing them to bad influence (especially for girls) and a waste of time, without providing them with alternative education, withdraw them from school usually around the age of fourteen to start work so that they contribute to the family purse. Another factor has to do with family reunification. Many fathers and mothers could not afford (because of financial as well as housing difficulties: see chapter 4, sections: 4.5.3 and 4.5.4) to bring over their children whom they left behind with grandparents or relatives in Morocco. Most of these families who immigrated in the sixties seventies and eighties come from a mostly rural background where schooling until recently was extremely limited, which explains their modest level of education.

On the other hand, 48.4% of respondents have completed a secondary education level, and 13.2% have achieved a university degree. This can mean two things: On one hand, these respondents were/are educated within the British main education stream which requires the English language as a medium of education, and since they were born in Britain their proficiency in English, for most of them, is likely to be that of a native speaker.

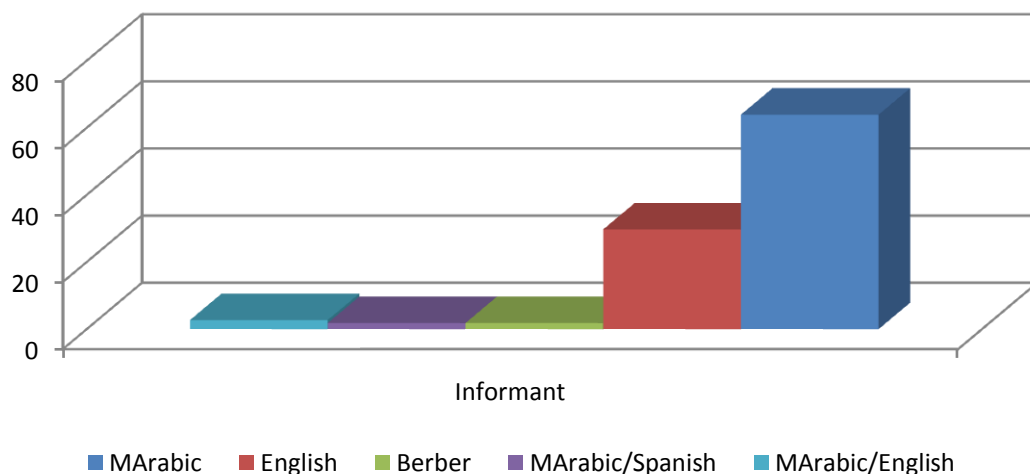
On the other hand, the degree of education will give them access to better jobs and to the wider society where English is the dominant language. This

situation can only encourage the shift process towards English, while the use of Moroccan Arabic is dropping even at home.

### 6.2.3 Language use

All respondents were asked the same questions about Moroccan Arabic, Berber, English, Classical Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, French and Spanish languages which are the languages most used in Morocco. However, only four respondents claimed that they use Berber. On the other hand, Classical Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, French and Spanish have a limited use by a limited number of respondents. This limited use will be mentioned were relevant. The major languages used by the respondents are Moroccan Arabic and English, as can be seen in the following Figure 6.9:

**Figure 6.9: Respondent's Native Language**



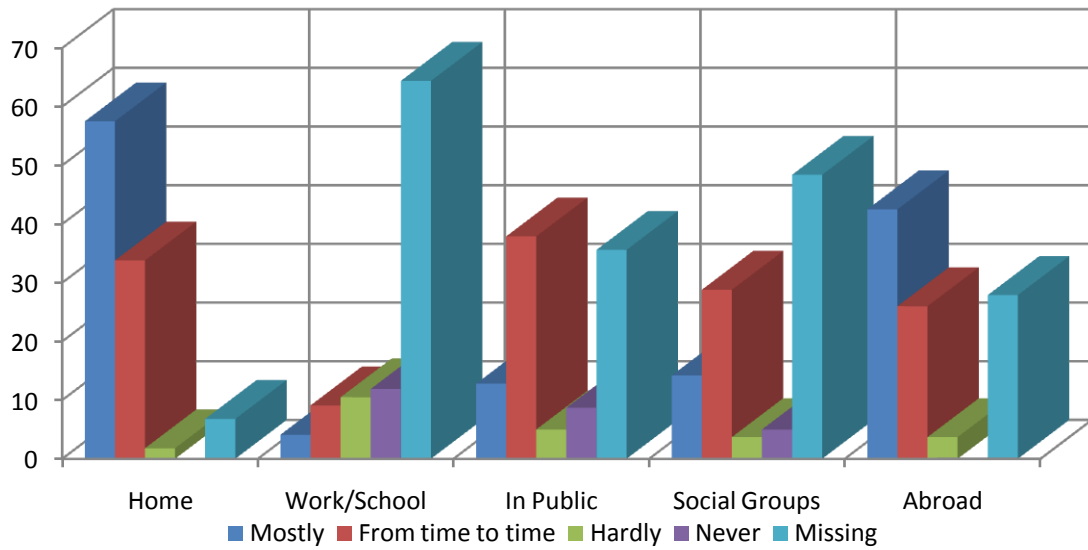
63.9% of respondents see Moroccan Arabic as their first language, and 29.7% of the respondents see English as being their first language. 1.8% of the respondents think of Berber as their native language, while 2.7% of respondents think of both English and Moroccan Arabic as their native languages and 1.8% see Moroccan Arabic and Spanish as their native languages. As such 4.5% of the respondents see themselves as having two native languages: English and Moroccan Arabic or Spanish and Moroccan Arabic. As can be expected, no respondent regards Classical Arabic as being his or her native language.

The respondents were asked about the degree of use of different languages in different settings. The results are discussed in the next section.

#### **6.2.3.1 Use of Moroccan Arabic**

There is a rather noticeable regression of the use of Moroccan Arabic among respondents. Only 57.5% use Moroccan Arabic exclusively at home while 33.8% use it from time to time, this is in contrast with English, which is used exclusively at home by 46.6% of respondents in comparison to 29.7% who use it from time to time.

**Figure 6.10: Respondents' degree of use of Moroccan Arabic**



However, in public, 12.8% use mostly Moroccan Arabic and 37.9% do so from time to time, while 64.4% use mostly English in public and 18.7% do so from time to time.

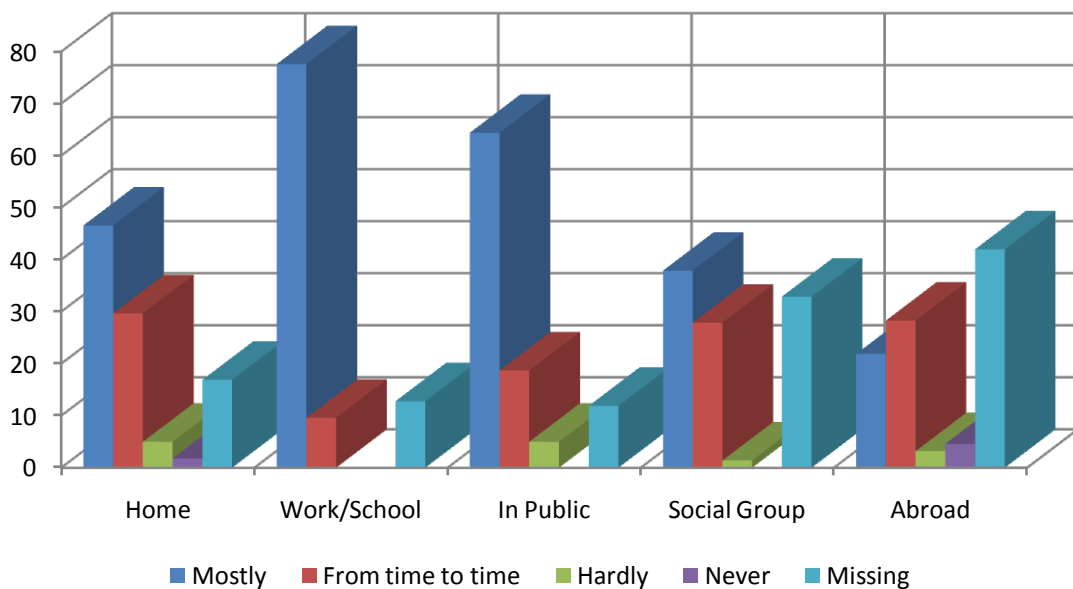
Though over half of the respondents, i.e., 56.5%, consider having a high degree of use of Moroccan Arabic. I can only suggest that those respondents who have a fair or no command of Moroccan Arabic and yet consider it to be their native language, do so for reasons of self-esteem and identity solidarity. In a number of interviews with some of the respondents this view was frequently expressed.



### 6.2.3.2 Use of English

The importance of English for the community is quite clear. This is reflected by the gradual increase in English use. While only 29.7% see English as their native language, its use is much higher at home and in public. This is in spite of the fact that 63.9% of respondents regard Moroccan Arabic as their native language.

**Figure 6.11: Respondents' degree of use of English**

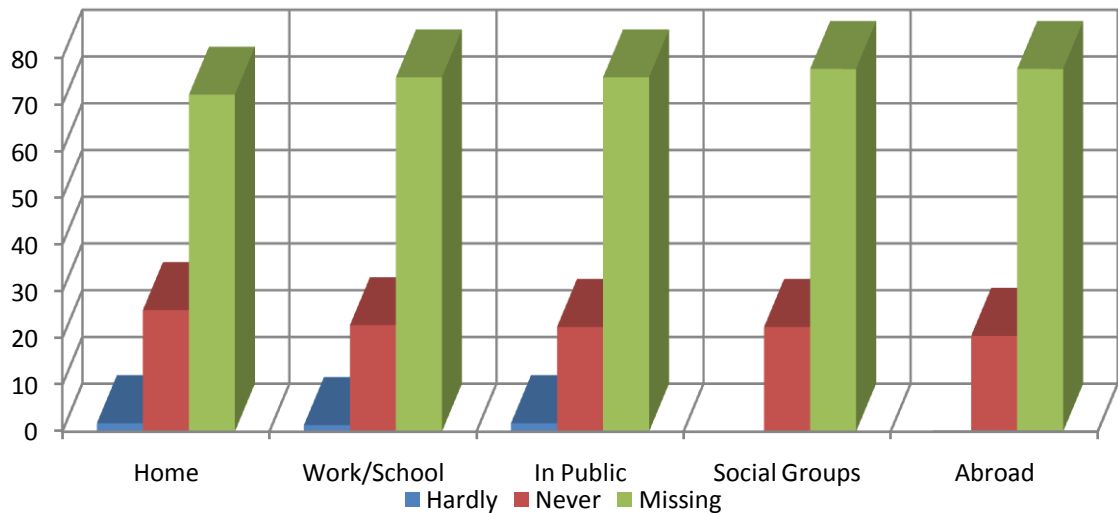


Linguistic ability in the host society's language is crucial to any socio-economic prosperity for immigrant communities. It is no wonder that English registers high in the work place and school. Where the community comes into contact with the host society, English is the dominant language. Inevitably, this has an impact on language use at home where English is gaining ground and this is a clear indication of language shift.

### 6.2.3.3 Use of Berber

Although Berber is one of the native languages of Morocco, the use of one of the Berber varieties is very limited within the Moroccan community in Britain as the graph 6.12 shows. This is due to the demographic composition of the Moroccan community in Britain that it is not considered further. The community comes largely from the Northwest of Morocco – a predominantly Arab region.

Figure 6.12: Respondents' degree of use of Berber

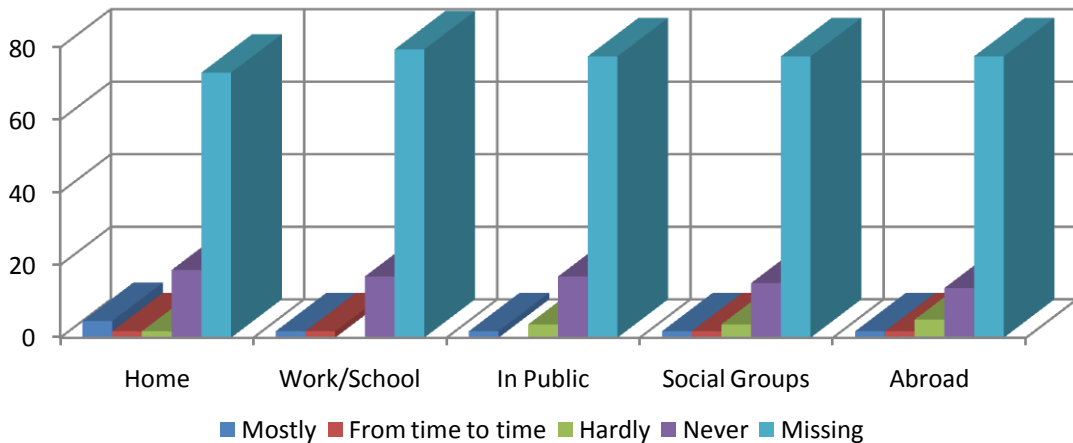


### 6.2.3.4 Use of Classical/Standard Arabic

The use of Classical/Standard Arabic is rather limited too. This is due to the very nature of this language. It is only used in a diglossic relationship with Moroccan Arabic (see chapter 1, section 1.2.4) and since Classical/Standard Arabic is no one's native/first language (Aabi, 1999; Jamai, 1998), therefore, it has to be formally learned (see chapter 1, section 1.2.1). Low educational background of immigrants and the restricted usefulness of Classical/Standard

Arabic in an immigrant context in Britain explains its limited use. Only 4.6% of respondents claim they use mostly Classical/Standard Arabic at home and 1.8% report that they use it in almost all other situations.

**Figure 6.13: Respondents' degree of use of Classical/Standard Arabic**



### 6.2.3.5 Use of Egyptian Arabic

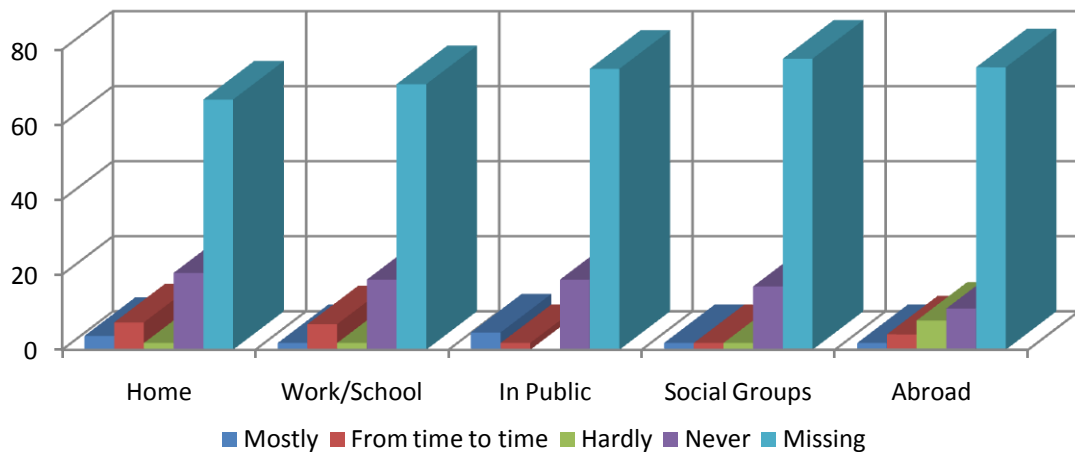
Egyptian Arabic is mostly used to interact with media products, especially music, films and plays. It is also largely viewed as the lingua franca of the Arab world. It is largely used to communicate with interlocutors from other parts of the world when no other mutually understood language can be used.

While 3.7% of respondents use Egyptian Arabic mostly at home, 9.1% report that they use it rarely. The use of Egyptian Arabic in other spheres of life is negligible.

### 6.2.3.6 Use of French and Spanish

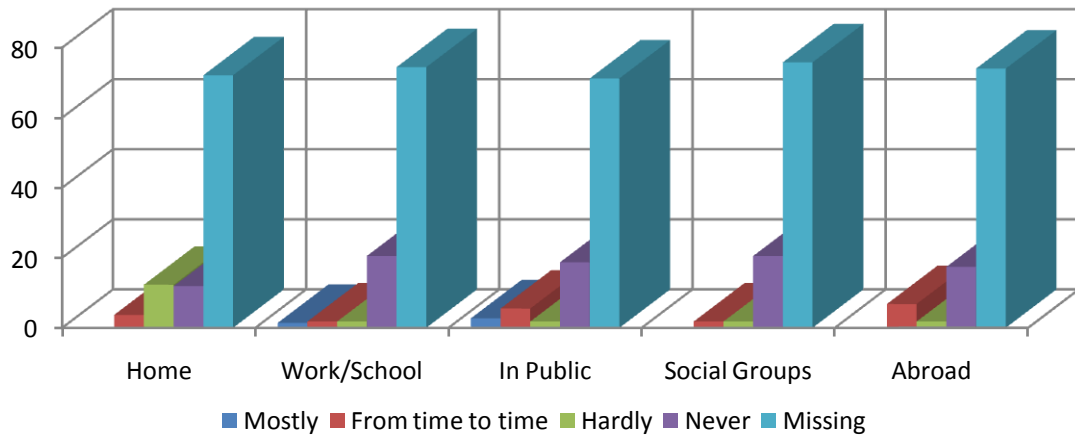
For the Moroccan community in Britain, the use of French and Spanish is limited. These languages having been learnt at school, unlike in Morocco, both of them have little or no use in public in Britain, as Britain is a predominantly a monolingual English-speaking society. This explains the low frequencies of language use in Figures 6.14 and 6.15.

**Figure 6.14: Respondents' degree of use of French**



French is mostly used at home by 3.7% of respondents, while 7.3% use it from time to time. 6.8% use it from time to time at work or school. In public, 4.6% claim to do so mostly. This use of French may suggest that its use is predominantly within the Moroccan community, thus reflecting a feature of Moroccan sociolinguistics (see chapter 2, section 2.6 and 2.8).

**Figure 6.15: Respondents' degree of use of Spanish**



Spanish is used from time to time at home by 3.7% of respondents. It is used by 6.8% while abroad. This most likely refers to its use in Spain especially during the transit of many members of the community while travelling on their way to spend their holidays in Morocco.

The use of both French and Spanish in public will be mostly within the community itself between the first generation who most likely acquired these two languages in Morocco and the second generation who learnt them at school in Britain if they are unable to use either English or Moroccan Arabic.

#### **6.2.4 Language acquisition**

Language acquisition in an immigrant context is a major issue if it involves the acquisition of the minority language. It is then a reflection on the community's efforts to maintain its native language(s) and to transform itself into a bilingual community rather than experience language shift and even language

loss. Language acquisition and language learning take place in a number of environments depending on what the community can afford to provide for its members.

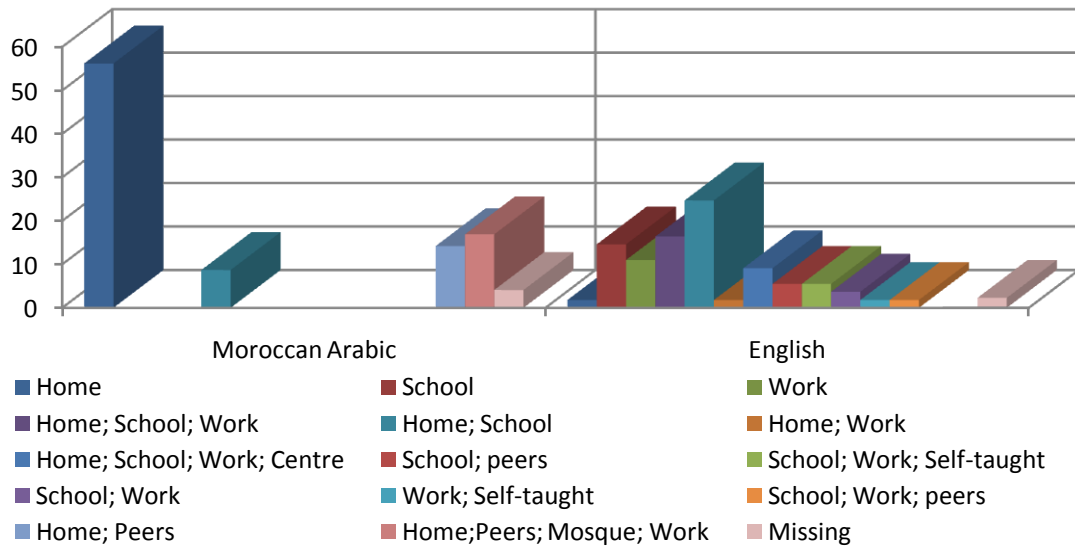
The situation and locations where the respondents acquired their languages is diverse. Many respondents have mentioned more than one place or situation.

#### **6.2.4.1 Acquisition of Moroccan Arabic**

Moroccan Arabic is still acquired primarily at home, as it is the first/ancestral dialect of most members of the Moroccan community in Britain. 56.2% of respondents said they acquire Moroccan Arabic at home. Those respondents who acquire Moroccan Arabic within the community – at home, the mosque, at work and with peers, represent 16.9%. 14.2% acquire it at home and with peers. Home and school is the place where 8.6% of respondents come to acquire Moroccan Arabic.

This shows that neither the family unit nor the community play a very influential role in language maintenance. At the present, the community is starting to shift at an increasing rate. Already within only one generation span the community has been able to maintain its Moroccan Arabic acquisition rate only at a maximum of 63% fluency (see chapter six, section 6.8.1).

**Figure 6.16: Respondents' place of learning language X**



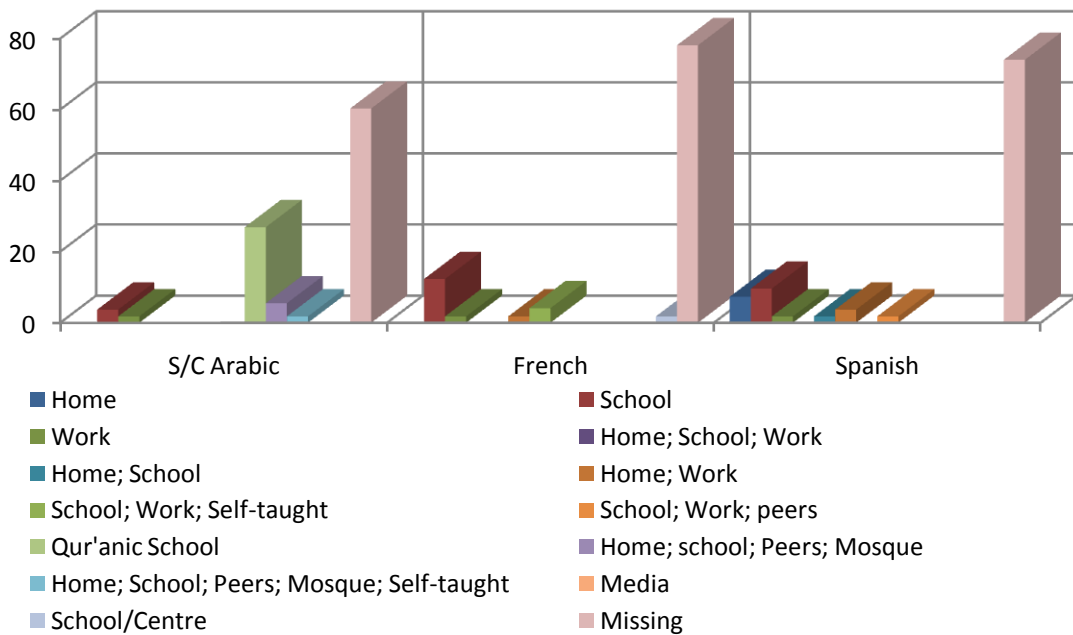
#### 6.2.4.2 Acquisition of English

As Figure 6.16, most of the process of learning English happens in the community in conjunction with home. Only 1.8% of respondents acquire English exclusively at home. However, 24.7% of respondents learn English both at home and school. 16.4% do so at home, school and work. 14.6% at school, 11% at work. 9.1% at school, work, centre and home. These patterns of learning English are an indication that the community is still in the process of learning the language it needs to integrate. Both school and workplace play a major role in this process, although English is also acquired in a variety of other contexts. It is still not seen and felt as being the native language of the majority of members of the community.

### 6.2.4.3 Learning of Classical/Standard Arabic

Classical Arabic is perceived as somewhat a nostalgic language by many in the community. While Classical Arabic is highly respected and admired (see chapter 1, section 1.2.1), only 26.9% members of the community manage to learn it mostly in the mosque or a Qur’anic school. School has a 3.7% share – a negligible one. 60.3% of respondents did not provide an answer – an assumption that they have no learning of Classical Arabic; otherwise, with the prestige of such language, they would have mentioned it as knowledge of it is something to be proud of.

**Figure 6.17: Respondents’ place of learning language X**





#### **6.2.4.4 Learning of French and Spanish**

Both French and Spanish are mostly learnt at school 12.3% and 9.6% respectively. Neither French nor Spanish have within the community in Britain the same prestigious position they enjoy back in Morocco.

#### **6.2.5 Language competence**

The degree of language competence and fluency speakers achieve is a very good indicator of language use and maintenance. The Moroccan community strives to maintain its languages; therefore, its language fluency is a measure of its success or failure. All the data on language competence is self reported and therefore can only be seen to be subjective. The design of my questionnaire could not allow for objective measuring of language competence of the Moroccan community in Britain.

##### **6.2.5.1 Competence in Moroccan Arabic**

70.3% of respondents say they have an excellent understanding of Moroccan Arabic in contrast to 19.2% who rate their understanding as good, 3.7% as fair and 1.8% as poor. 5% of respondents did not answer.

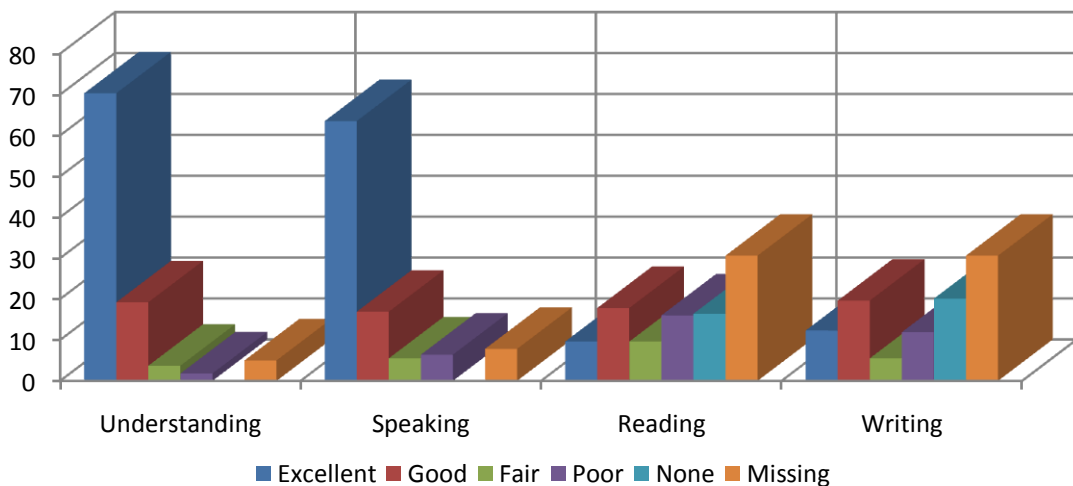
Speaking requires arguably more advanced skills than understanding. This explains the discrepancy in the results. 63.5% of respondents claim that their

ability to speak Moroccan Arabic is excellent, while 16.9% reckon that it is good. 5.5% see it as fair and 6.4% as poor.

Moroccan Arabic is a non-codified spoken dialect (see chapter 1, section 1.2.1). Though it has no written form, some write it using Arabic script. Usually, those who have a poor command of Classical Arabic do this.

12.3% of respondents say that their writing ability of Moroccan Arabic is excellent, while 19.6% refer to it as good and 5.5% as fair. 11.9% see it as poor. 20.1% say they cannot write it at all. 30.6% did not give an answer that leads one to believe that they too have little or no ability or no occasion to write Moroccan Arabic.

**Figure 6.18: Respondents' degree of fluency in Moroccan Arabic**

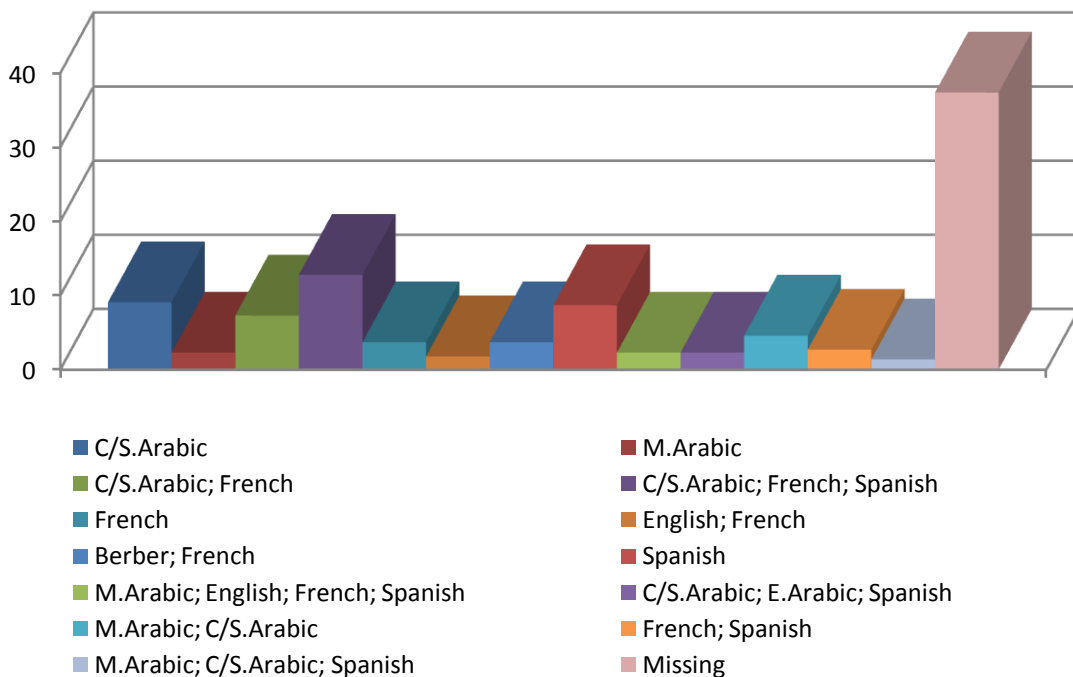


As figure 6.18 shows, the number of respondents able to read Moroccan Arabic is also rather low, partly, this could be because it is rather unusual for Moroccan Arabic to be written, and as a consequence, there is little material available. 9.6% feel that their ability to read Moroccan Arabic is

excellent, 17.8% see it as good; while 9.6% regard it as fair. 16% of respondents report poor reading ability in Moroccan Arabic, while 16.4% rate theirs as non-existent. 30.6% did not answer this question.

Out of those respondents who consider themselves to have unsatisfactory knowledge of Moroccan Arabic, 62.6% said they would use another language as a medium to learn Moroccan Arabic. This would be in a semi-formal or formal setting using one or several other languages to learn or improve the knowledge of Moroccan Arabic as shown in Figure 6.19.

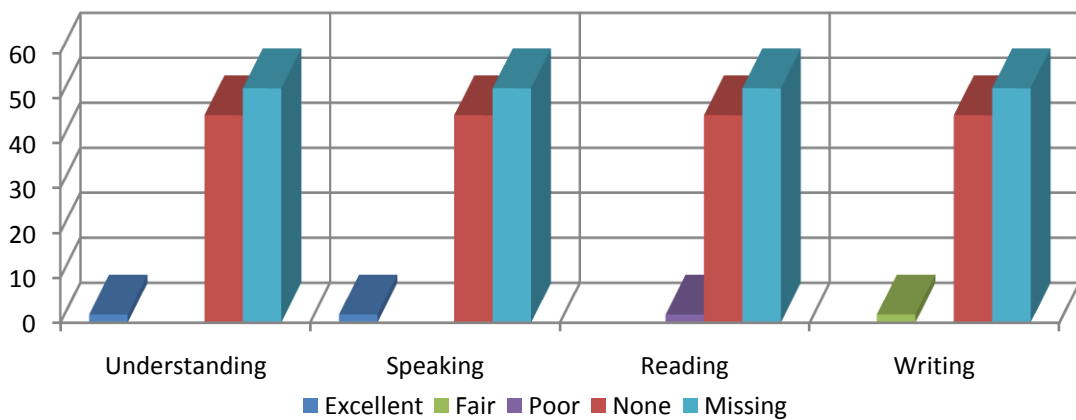
**Figure 6.19: Respondents' language of choice to learn Moroccan Arabic**



### 6.2.5.2 Competence in Berber

Berber varieties are under-represented in the Moroccan community's speech repertoire. Only four respondents out of 219 have the ability to understand and speak Berber, and make up 1.8% of the total sample. Berber is a non-codified spoken family of three varieties (see chapter 3, section 3.3)

**Figure 6.20: Respondents' degree of fluency in Berber**



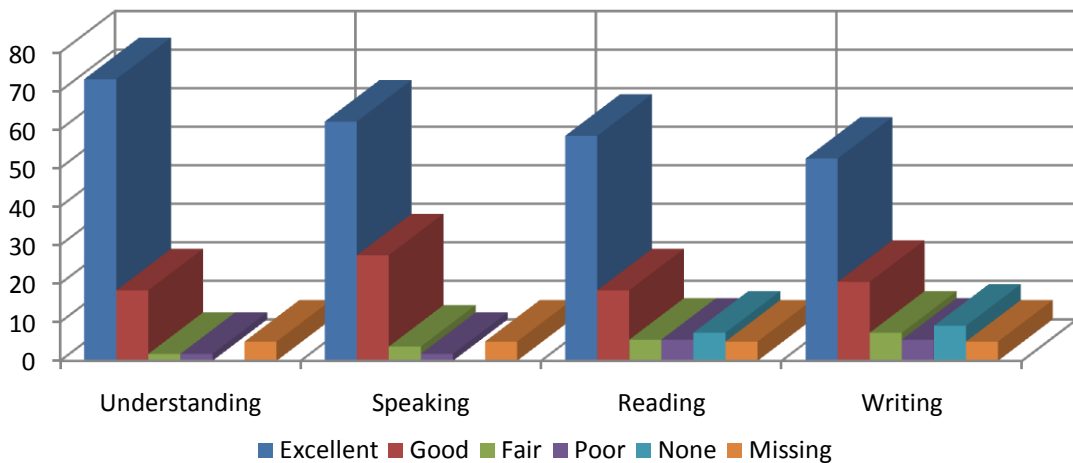
Although Berber has its own ancient script, most of those who attempt to write it do so using the Arabic or Latin alphabets. However, the Royal Institute for Amazigh (Berber) Culture in Morocco suggested in 2003 that Berber should only be written using Tifinagh script and this suggestion made it to the Moroccan statutory book. However, the Berbers in the immigrant community and even Moroccans in Morocco who are interested in writing and reading Berber varieties have yet to learn the Tifinagh alphabet. It is easy to see then why 1.8% of my respondents rate their ability respectively to read as poor and to write as fair. 46.1% report no knowledge of writing Berber and 52.1% did not answer this question.

### 6.2.5.3 Competence in English

73.1% of respondents report an excellent understanding of English, and 18.3% have a good understanding of English. 62.1% of respondents say they have an excellent and 27.4% a good command of speaking English.

Unlike Moroccan Arabic, English is a codified language with a strong written tradition. 52.5% and 20.5% of respondents rate their writing ability as excellent and good respectively. 7.3% see theirs as fair, 5.5% as poor and 9.1% as non-existent. Reading fares well too. 58.4% and 18.3% feel that their reading ability is excellent and good respectively. This may be due to the fact that many have invariably been educated in English in Britain which represents an advantage.

**Figure 6.21: Respondents' degree of fluency in English**



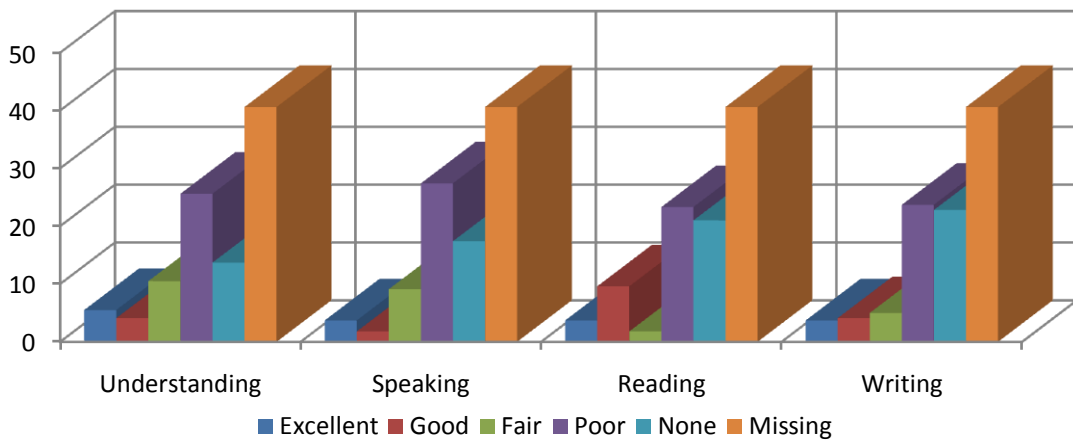
Just like Moroccan Arabic, English has a strong presence in the community. In fact, English registers +2.8% difference in the understanding

ability at 73.1% and a -1.4% in the speaking ability at 62.1% in comparison to Moroccan Arabic.

#### 6.2.5.4 Competence in Classical/Standard Arabic

The community has a low command of Classical Arabic. This is reflected in the results provided by respondents, in spite of the high prestige it holds in the community. Only 5.5% of respondents have an excellent understanding of Classical Arabic, 4.1% have a good one, 10% have a fair one and 26.6% have a poor one. 13.7% of respondents say they have none.

Figure 6.22: Respondents' degree of fluency in Classical/Standard Arabic



Classical Arabic requires much effort to learn, and members of the community would learn it mostly at a mosque or Qur'anic school (see chapter 6, section 6.7.3.1). Mosques and Qur'anic schools play this role not only as part of their services to the community, but also because of the religious dimension of Classical Arabic.

Speaking stems from understanding the language. As the community in general has poor understanding of Classical Arabic, this has a knock on effect on its ability to speak it. Only 3.7% rate their ability to speak Classical Arabic as excellent. 1.8% as good, 9.1% as fair. However, the majority feel that their ability is poor. This represents 27.4%. 17.4% mention that they have no ability while 40.6% did not volunteer an answer. With the prestige Arabic has in the community, this may possibly mean that they too have no such ability. Reading and writing, too, do not fare well. About 23% of respondents have a poor ability in these skills.

#### **6.2.5.5 Competence in French and Spanish**

French and Spanish, too, have a very restricted use within the community in Britain. Their importance as part of the Moroccan sociolinguistics does not extend to the Moroccan community in Britain. These respondents who report some competence in French and Spanish have learnt them mostly at school. This is no different from the rest of the members of host society. However, their use becomes important within the community in Britain and on their way on summer holiday to Morocco through France and Spain, not to mention Morocco itself.

### 6.3 Conclusion

The present chapter aims to establish the linguistic determinants which affect language use and maintenance among the Moroccan community in Britain. These determinants include such issues as the demographic and socio-economic factors of the community on one hand, and linguistic determinants, i.e., native language, education, language use, language acquisition and language competence.

A number of languages and varieties are variably in use within the Moroccan community, but by far Moroccan Arabic and English are the ones most used by the community. The use of the other languages and varieties is limited to circumstances such as visiting Morocco where these other languages and varieties are to some extent in common use.

The community is experiencing some degree of language shift from Moroccan Arabic to English. This can be seen in different areas of the community's language repertoire, use and competence. The language shift is taking place on a generational scale, i.e. 57.5% use Moroccan Arabic exclusively at home while 33.8% use it from time to time, and this is in contrast with English, which is used exclusively at home by 46.6% of respondents in comparison to 29.7% who use it from time to time. These figures reflect a shift experienced from the first generation to the second one. This implies that the third and subsequent generations will witness much higher rates of language shift to the extent of language loss if no language maintenance measures are taken.



Geo-distribution of the Moroccan community is largely concentrated in the southeast of England in general and London in particular. While the geo-distribution is in favour of the community as they are concentrated in limited areas, the demographic situation does not favour them, as they are not a large enough community to enable them to actively try to maintain their languages and dialects compared to those from the Indian sub-continent or the Caribbean.

Maybe the most important extra-linguistic determinant is the socio-economic determinant. In this respect the community is generally very poor facing an uphill struggle to financially support itself and accessing different services others may take for granted. This situation has an effect on language use and negatively impacts the process of language maintenance.

In chapter seven, I shall discuss the issue of the community's language behaviour and attitude. Their choice of language and the way they use it can be an indicator of the direction their language maintenance is taking and what is the extent of the impact of these issues on the main question of language maintenance and use.

## **Chapter 7: Language behaviour and attitude**

### **7 Introduction**

This chapter discusses how the results of the study give indication of the Moroccan community's language behaviour and attitudes at the turn of the century. This aspect of my research should help understand the processes of language use and maintenance that are experienced among my respondents.

Language behaviour can manifest itself in a number of ways such as code-switching and mixing. I will be arguing that, in addition to it being a strategy of communication, it is, nonetheless, another indicator of language shift in an immigrant minority context. As the Moroccan community is not linguistically homogenous, its members tend to code-switch as a means of communicating. In this case code-switching is a compensational communicative strategy. Code-switching becomes a vital tool of communication in the case of the Moroccan community in Britain; unlike in Morocco where code-switching is a tool by which one denotes one's socio-economic status and westernised credentials (see chapter 2, section 2.8). While in Morocco, code-switching in general is a sign of bilingualism, for the Moroccan community in Britain code-switching is likely to be a sign of language shift (see in this chapter, section 7.1.1.1). In my field study, all respondents code switch or mix and their interlocutors reciprocate. Code-switching and mixing occurs mostly between Moroccan Arabic and English, which is to be expected.

My argument is that while code-switching and mixing is a powerful strategy for fluent communication, it is nonetheless a strategy that leads towards language shift once the need for this strategy is reduced or becomes irrelevant from one generation to the next. Though some like Bentahila and Davis's (1995) view that code-switching can be a "stepping stone" to bilingual fluency in an immigrant minority context, I do not subscribe to this view.

Language attitude (see chapter one, section: 1.2.2) is another indicator which can show the direction language use and maintenance is taking among the Moroccan community (see chapter two, section: 2.5.1.1). Aspects such as manner of addressing interlocutors, prestige, comfort, and difficulty can be interpreted in such a way that it indicates the psycho-linguistic mood of the community and to demonstrate the degree of language maintenance and use.

In what follows, I will be discussing the use of code-switching as a communicative strategy in different situations by the Moroccan community. Most of my respondents variably code-switch and their interlocutors reciprocate.

Language attitude, which is also discussed in this chapter, considers issues such as language register, language aesthetic, language dominance, language prestige, language comfort and language difficulty. The aim is to determine these factors within the Moroccan community in Britain. The collected data is based on reported attitude as perceived by respondents therefore the analysis is based on subjective data.

## **7.1 Language behaviour**

### **7.1.1 Code-switching and mixing**

Code-switching is present as a conversational strategy for most respondents as the following Figure 7.1 reveals. 8.3% of respondents report they rarely mix Moroccan Arabic and Berber in the same conversation while 16.6% rarely mix Moroccan Arabic and English, however, 41.6% feel that they often mix Moroccan Arabic and English, while 33.3% think that they very often do. 16.6% of the same respondents often mix Moroccan Arabic and French on one hand and Moroccan Arabic and Egyptian Arabic on the other. 8.3% of respondents often mix English and Egyptian Arabic.

When the respondents were asked with whom they code-switch and in what languages, almost all of them indicated that they code-switch between English and Moroccan Arabic in all given situations. The results were as follow: 66.6% code-switch with their fathers, mothers and sisters/brothers. 91.6% code-switch with their whole family. 83.3% code-switch with their friends and relatives in Britain while 91.6% code-switch while in Morocco. 66.6% said that they code-switch in other situations. Only 16.6% code-switch between Moroccan Arabic and French with their friends and relatives in Morocco and in other situations.

On the other hand, if we look at the languages different interlocutors mix in a conversation with the respondent (see figure 7.5) we find that most switching occurs between Moroccan Arabic and English. 75% of the fathers code-switch between Moroccan Arabic and English, in contrast with 66.6% of the

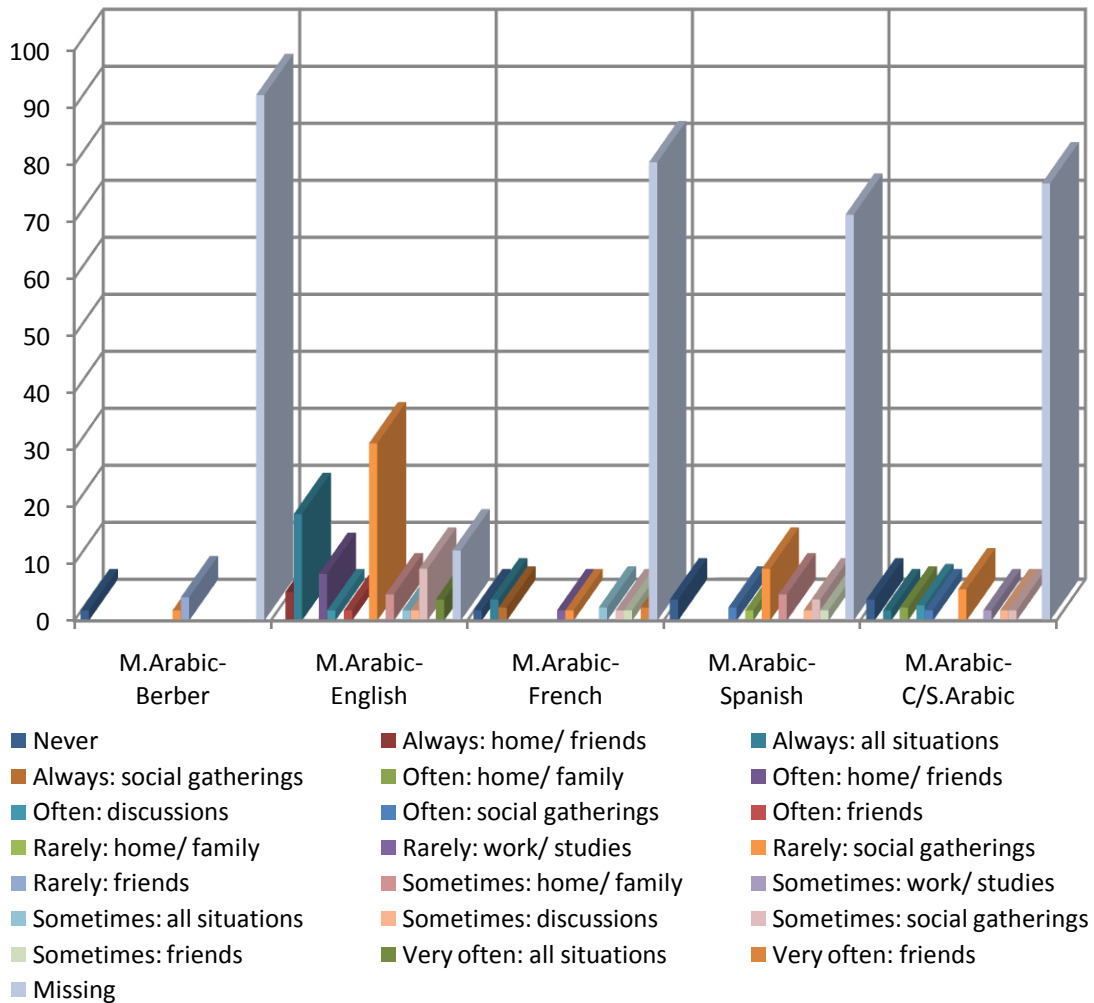
mothers and sisters or brothers, 83.3% of whole family and friends/relatives in Britain, and 91.6% of friends/relatives while visiting Morocco. As for code-switching between Moroccan Arabic and French by interlocutors, 16.6% of friends/relatives in Morocco and others do. 8.3% of interlocutors code-switch between Moroccan Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. 16.6% of fathers and mothers code switch between English/Moroccan Arabic/Spanish.

#### **7.1.1.1 Respondents' code-switching and mixing**

Out of those, 87.7% of respondents, 31.1% of respondents said they rarely code switch and mix in social gatherings. While 18.7% always code switch and mix in all situations. One could argue that this trend shows clearly that English is becoming an increasingly important language in the lives of especially the second generation. 17.8% of respondents invariably code switch and mix between Moroccan Arabic and English at home (see full breakdown of different situations in figure 7.1).

If the trend keeps going on at this rate it is only a matter of time before Moroccan Arabic loses its place as the main language among the upcoming generations. It seems from the data that code-switching and mixing as a linguistic behaviour is well established among the Moroccan community in Britain.

**Figure 7.1: Respondents' Code-switching and mixing**



Code-switching and mixing is negligible between Berber and Moroccan Arabic within the Moroccan community in Britain. One of the reasons could be the limited number of those who speak Berber. 5.9% of respondents rarely code switch and mix between Moroccan Arabic and Berber. 92.2% of respondents did not provide an answer. This may mean that they do not code switch and mix between the two varieties as most Moroccan immigrants in Britain are of Arabophone descent.

On one hand, only 17.8% of respondents code switch and mix between Moroccan Arabic and French in different situations, 1.8% never do and 80.4% did not give an answer. Moroccan Arabic – Spanish code-switching and mixing is rather low. 25.1% of respondents code switch and mix in different situations. 3.7% say they never do, while 71.2% did not provide an answer. Nonetheless, Moroccan Arabic – Spanish code-switching and mixing is more prevalent than Moroccan Arabic – French code-switching and mixing due to historical reasons. The vast majority of Moroccans in Britain come mostly from the Northwest region of Morocco. This region was a Spanish colony until 1956. During the colonial era, Spain made sure that Spanish was widely used. That decision led to a number of generations growing up fluent or semi-fluent in Spanish. Most members of first generation immigrants to Britain grew up under such a system, hence the use of Spanish among some members of the community.

In addition, 19.6% of respondents report that they use Moroccan Arabic – Classical Arabic code-switching and mixing in different situations. 3.7% never do, while 76.6% did not provide an answer. This situation may be due to the fact that the Moroccan community's knowledge Classical Arabic is restricted (see chapter six, section: 6.8.4). In a situation where Classical Arabic is the lingua franca of the Arab world and Arab communities around the world in addition to its use by most in diglossic situations (see chapter one, section 1.2.1). These situations lead in many instances to Moroccan Arabic – Classical Arabic code-switching and mixing.

**Figure 7.2: Respondents' code-switching & mixing**

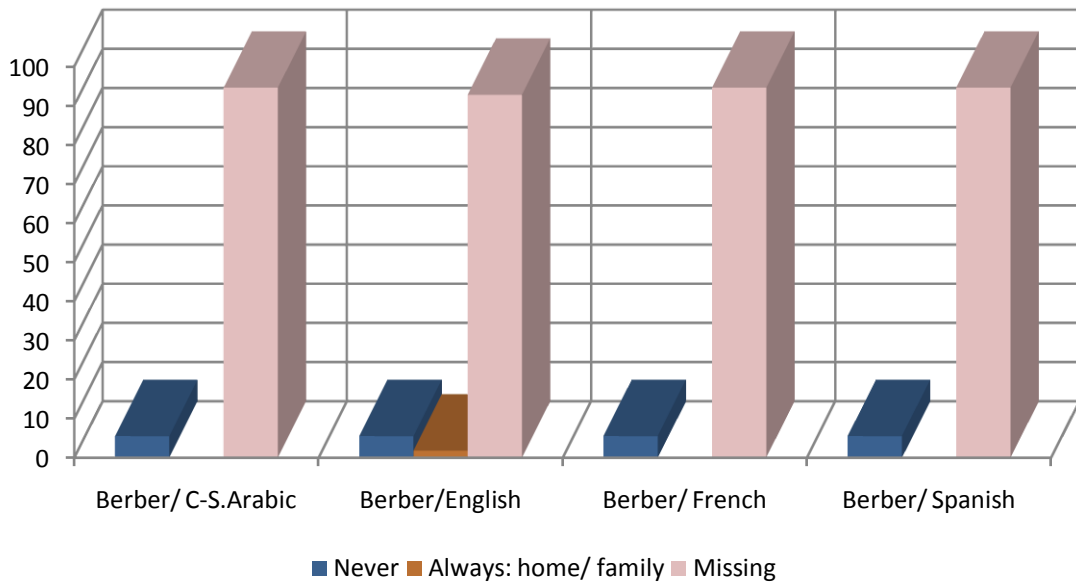
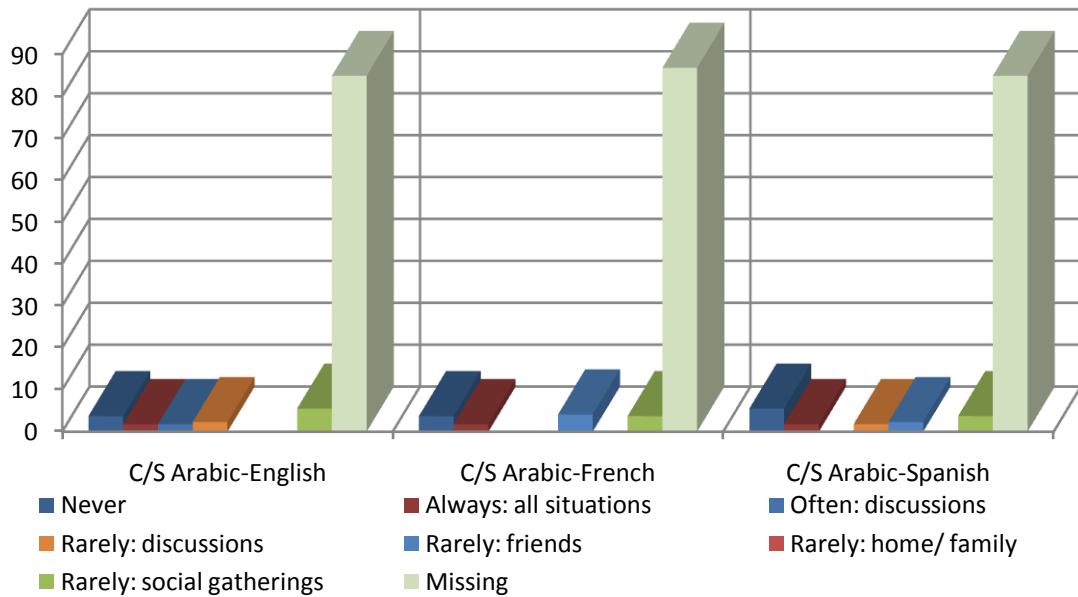


Figure 7.2 demonstrates that Berber varieties have little space and role to play in the code-switching and mixing. This is chiefly due to the demographic composition of the Moroccan community in Britain.

Code-switching and mixing between Classical Arabic and the European languages is low too as figure 7.3 shows. In different situations, code-switching and mixing between Classical Arabic and English is 11.4%. With Spanish, the rate is 9.6%.



**Figure 7.3: Respondents' code-switching and mixing**

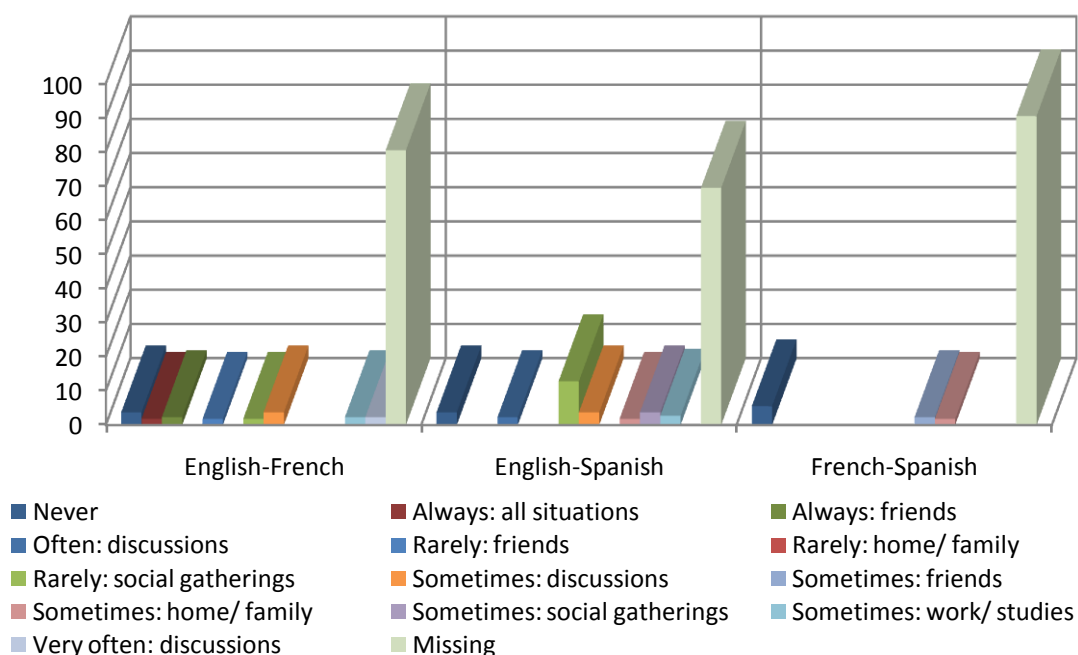


However, code-switching and mixing between Classical Arabic and French is 9.5%. This area of code-switching and mixing between Classical Arabic and European languages requires a bare minimum knowledge of these languages obtained mostly through schooling. It seems odd to occur in a British setting. It may be that this kind of linguistic usage reflects language behaviour the users may have acquired through the influences of sociolinguistics of Morocco. (See section 2.8 on code-switching).

Figure 7.4 sheds light on code-switching and mixing between European languages, though negligible, is nonetheless reported to be present as a linguistic behaviour within the Moroccan community in Britain. Code-switching and mixing between English and French in different situations has a rating of 15.9%. However, code-switching and mixing between English and Spanish in different situations represents 26.9%. This emphasises the importance that Spanish still enjoys within the community. As mentioned earlier (see chapter 4,

section: 4.3), there is a historical link rooted in Spain’s colonial past of the geographical area in Morocco, which the majority of members of the community originally come from.

**Figure 7.4: Respondents’ code-switching and mixing**



Code-switching and mixing between French and Spanish is very negligible at 4.1% in different situations. This is because very few Moroccans from the community learn simultaneously both these languages.

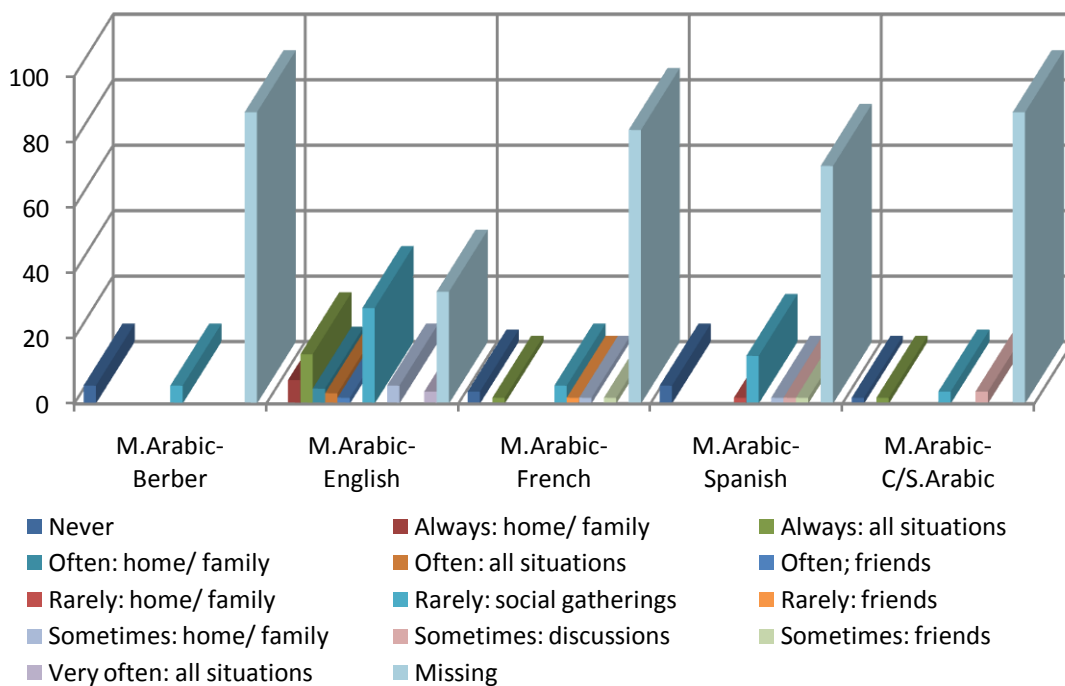
### 7.1.1.2 Interlocutors’ code-switching and mixing

In this study, interlocutors are those people whom respondents have a conversation with. They are mostly other members of the same community as some aspects of conversation can only take place within the same speech

community such as code-switching and mixing between Moroccan Arabic and other languages. The interlocutors' code-switching and mixing behaviour is looked at through the eyes of respondents.

As mentioned earlier, Berber varieties have little presence within the community; consequently, code-switching and mixing is rare within the community. In addition to respondents, interlocutors reflect this too. Figure 7.5 demonstrates that only 5.5% rarely code switch and mix in social gatherings. 5.5% never do code switch and mix while 89% did not give an answer.

**Figure 7.5: Interlocutors' code-switching & mixing**



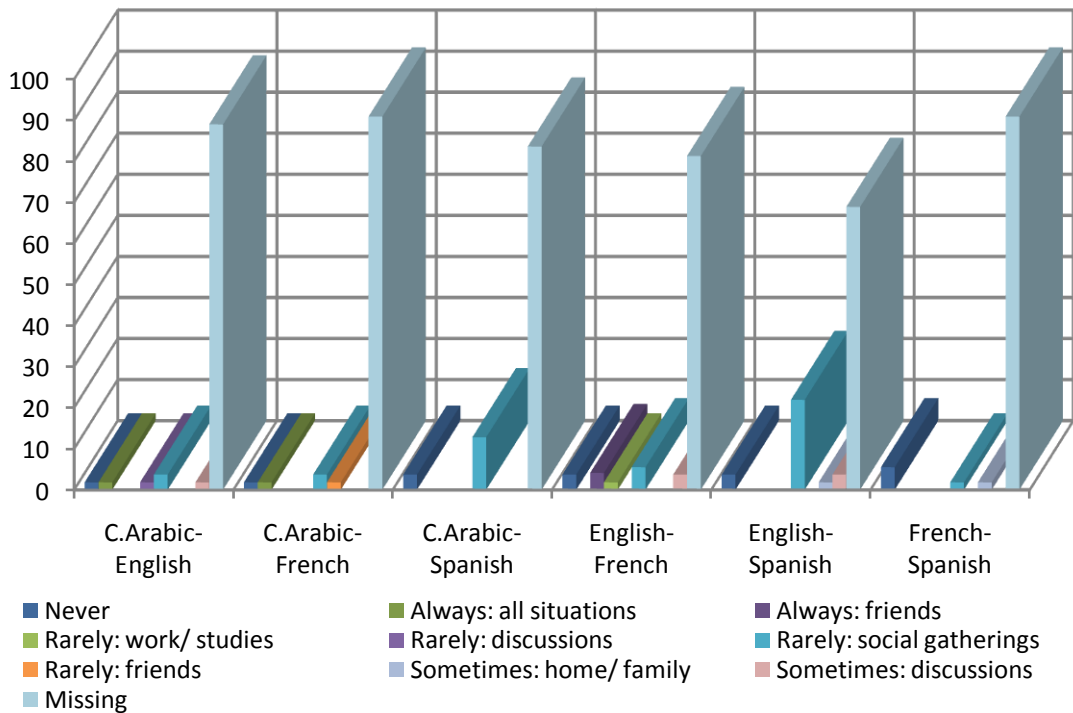
As one would expect in this environment, 65.8% of interlocutors initiate most of the code-switching and mixing in different situations, which takes place between Moroccan Arabic and English. 29.2% of these interlocutors rarely

code switch and mix in social gatherings. On the other hand, 15.1% of interlocutors always code switch and mix in all situations.

Code-switching and mixing between Moroccan Arabic and French is rare. It represents 12.7% of which 5.5% takes place in social gatherings. 21.9% of interlocutors code switch and mix between Moroccan Arabic and Spanish. 14.6% takes place in social gatherings. 9.2% of interlocutors code switch and mix between Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic, and similarly between Classical Arabic and English – a rare occurrence.

As for code-switching and mixing initiated by interlocutors between Classical Arabic, French, English and Spanish, this remains a rare linguistic behaviour, ranging between 3.6% for French – Spanish code-switching and mixing, and 27.4% for English – Spanish code-switching and mixing (see figure 7.6 for details).

**Figure 7.6: Interlocutors' code-switching & mixing**



One notices that the community uses three major languages to code switch and mix. These are Moroccan Arabic, English and Spanish. Though the use of French, Berber and classical Arabic in code-switching and mixing is present, it remains nonetheless negligible in the wider picture of the community's language behaviour, especially code-switching and mixing.

## 7.2 Language attitude

Language attitude is a very important determinant in language behaviour and use. It reflects views and opinions of individuals as well as speech communities on different issues related to aspects of language (see chapter one, section: 1.2.2 and chapter two, section: 2.5.1.1).

### 7.2.1 Language of choice

Respondents choose different language(s) to address different sections of their community based on their age and/or gender mostly for linguistic and cultural reasons. This helps to see signs of language use and maintenance, especially the way different generations are addressed by their own community members.

**Figure 7.7: respondents' language of address**

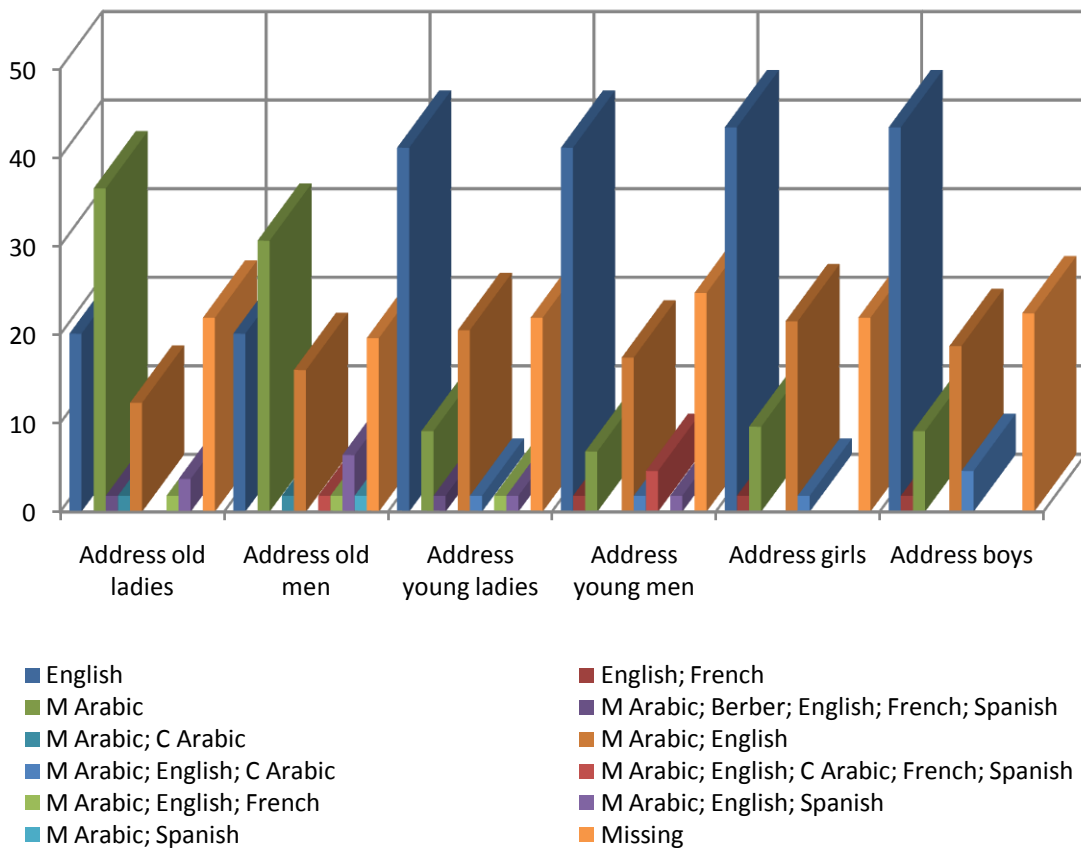


Figure 7.7 shows that on one hand, a high proportion of the 78.1% of respondents who responded to this question said that they use Moroccan Arabic to address older women in their community. Out of those who were asked, 36.5%

use Moroccan Arabic, 20.1% use English and 12.3% use both Moroccan Arabic and English simultaneously. On the other hand, 80.4% of respondents who address older men, 30.6% do so in Moroccan Arabic and 20.1% in English. However, 16% do so in both Moroccan Arabic and English. As 20.1% of respondents said they use only English in addressing the older generation this may suggest a language shift of about 20% towards English because the older section of the community is the least fluent in English.

It is interesting to see that the use of Moroccan Arabic drops to 9.1% when addressing young women. The use of English is more than four-times that at 41.1% when addressing this group of the community. 20.5% of respondents said they use both Moroccan Arabic and English. 78.1% of respondents have answered this question. The same pattern occurs when addressing young men. The use of Moroccan Arabic drops even further to 6.8%; however, the use of English remains the same within this category at 41.1%. The use of both Moroccan Arabic and English at the same time is 17.4%. 75.3% of respondents answered this question.

The use of English rises even further to 43.4% when addressing both girls and boys. Moroccan Arabic is 9.6% and 9.1% respectively. The use of both Moroccan Arabic and English simultaneously is 18.7%. 77.6% of respondents provided an answer.

Respondents' preferred language of addressing their interlocutor is a good indicator of language shift which is taking place within the community when it is seen that the younger speakers increasingly use the dominant language. With regard to my sample, the shift to the use of English is from 20.1% to 43.4%. The

drop in Moroccan Arabic use is from 36.5% to 6.8% from the first generation to the second and subsequent ones. These shifts are taking place between the two generations: the first and second. This can be interpreted as an indicator pointing towards language shift at a generational level.

### **7.2.2 Language aesthetics**

Language aesthetics investigates the aesthetic perceptions of a language. How a language is perceived to be (beautiful, neutral, harsh, poetic, etc.) helps to understand the position it comes to occupy in terms of language use and maintenance. Though these perceptions can only be subjective, they nonetheless provide us with an insight to the opinion of the respondents, who are most importantly its users.

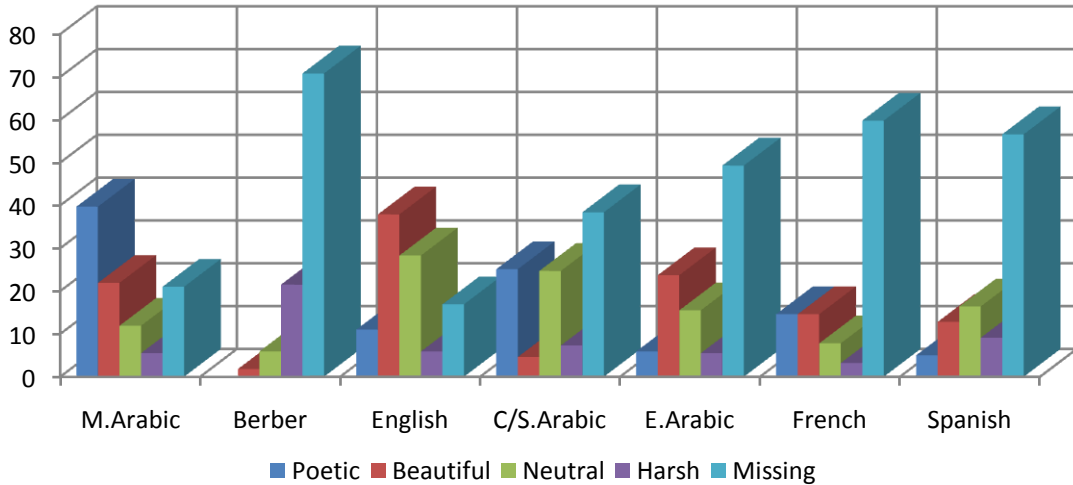
Respondents were asked to express their view on language Aesthetics. As shown in figure 7.8 and with respect to Moroccan Arabic, 39.7% of respondents feel that it is poetic, 21.9% beautiful and 11.9% neutral. Only 5.5% see it as harsh. Being the dialect of the majority, this is no surprise. About 20% of respondents did not express their view on Moroccan Arabic Aesthetics.

21.5% of respondents see Berber varieties as harsh, 5.9% as neutral, but only 1.8% feel that Berber varieties are beautiful. These figures are rather low because Berber varieties have little presence within the Moroccan community in Britain



English enjoys a better status. 11% of respondents think it is poetic, 37.9% see it as beautiful, and 28.3 feel that English is neutral.

**Figure 7.8: Respondents' aesthetic view of language X**



Classical Arabic is seen as poetic by 25.1% of respondents and 24.7% as neutral. However, only 4.6% feel that Classical Arabic is beautiful. This is rather out of line with the presumed prestigious status classical Arabic enjoys.

23.7% regard Egyptian Arabic as beautiful and 15.5% as neutral, but only 5.9 see it as poetic.

40.2% of respondents expressed their view regarding the Aesthetics of French. 14.6% think that French is a poetic language. Similarly, another 14.6% view this language as beautiful. Only 7.8% see it as neutral.

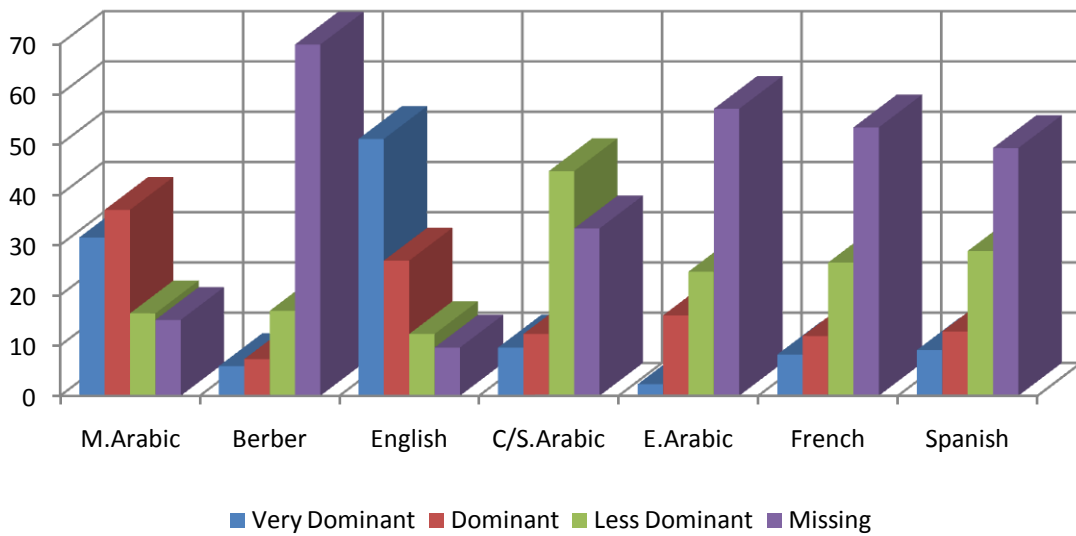
Spanish does not fair much better than French in respondents' opinions. 16.4% of respondents have a neutral perception of Spanish, while 12.8%

see it as beautiful. Only 5% think Spanish is poetic and 9.1% feel it is harsh. 43.4% expressed a view.

### 7.2.3 Language dominance

The perceived language domination is another aspect of language attitude. Respondents were asked to express their opinion regarding the perceived notion that a language holds a level of domination vis-à-vis other languages.

**Figure 7.9: Respondents' view on language domination**



Out of the seven languages used within the community, English is the most dominant language. 90.4% of respondents expressed a view, and out of these, 50.1% are of the view that English is very dominant. 26.9% see it as dominant and 12.3% as less dominant.

This is no surprise as many in the community consider English as their dominant first or second language. In addition, English is not only the language of the host society, but also it is the international language par excellence – a lingua franca of the world.

Out of 84.9% of respondents who mentioned that Moroccan Arabic has some degree of domination, 31.5% of them say that Moroccan Arabic is very dominant. 37% feel that Moroccan Arabic is dominant while 16.4% see it as less dominant. In addition to Moroccan Arabic being the native/ancestral dialect of members of the community, it is still widely used within the Moroccan community, which may account for such high opinion with respect to its domination.

30.1% have expressed an opinion on Berber varieties. 5.9% think they are very dominant and 7.3% see them as dominant. However, 16.9% feel that Berber varieties are less dominant.

66.7% said that Classical Arabic has some level of domination within the Moroccan community. This may be explained by the fact that on one hand, many in the community still need Classical Arabic to write letters to their relatives and friends in Morocco, on the other hand, many within the community still need Classical Arabic to attend to their affairs in Morocco. Out of these, 9.6% say that Classical Arabic is very dominant. On the other hand, 12.3% view Classical Arabic as dominant while 44.7% find it less dominant.

Classical Arabic lacks some of its perceived domination it is supposed to command within any Arab speech community. This is most likely because the cultural and linguistic contexts which are quite different in an immigrant environment than they are in the Arab countries. This is because Classical Arabic has always relied on both religious and political support for its degree of domination and importance in the Arab world. This support it lacks in an immigrant community environment.

The level domination of Egyptian Arabic stems from its influence over the Arabic media, especially entertainment. 42.9% expressed feeling in this respect. 2.3% see Egyptian Arabic as very dominant, while 16% feel that it is dominant and 24.7% as less dominant.

French and Spanish do not really figure in this. About 50% of respondents expressed a view and less than 29% think that both French and Spanish are less dominant. Less than 13% see them as dominant and only less than 12% see them as very dominant.

This is a reflection on the community distancing itself from both French and Spanish, in contrast to the importance attributed to them in Morocco. This is different from the Moroccan sociolinguistics, which is unexpected.

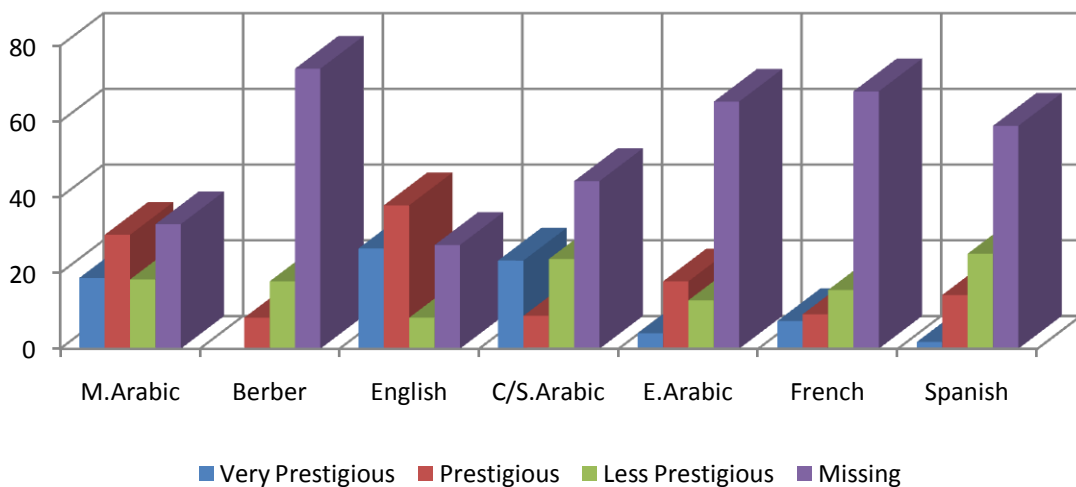
### 7.2.4 Language prestige

Language prestige is a reflection on attitude towards a particular language. It is all about perception and opinion of the speaker. For example: though Classical Arabic has a prestigious presence in the psyche of most Arabs and Muslims, the perception is that it is a difficult language to learn which may explain the comparatively low figures of its fluent speakers.

Figure 7.10 shows that 67.1% of respondents expressed their opinion with respect to Moroccan Arabic. Out of these, 18.7% think that Moroccan Arabic is very prestigious and 30.1% are of the view that it is prestigious; however, 18.3% see Moroccan Arabic as less prestigious.

This is less than how English is perceived. Out of the 72.6% of respondents gave an answer, 26.5% of respondents view English as a very prestigious language and 37.9% of respondents see it as prestigious. On the other hand, only 8.2% think that English is less prestigious.

**Figure 7.10: Respondents' view on language prestige**



The difference in attitude towards both English and Moroccan Arabic may be because many members of the community especially within the second and upcoming generations see and feel the extent of use of both languages and realise the importance of the language of the adoptive country which is so evident in both spoken and written forms. That is why English is more appreciated than Moroccan Arabic is.

Berber holds little prestige in the opinion of the 26% of respondents who gave one. Only 8.2% of respondents feel that Berber is prestigious, while 17.8% are of the view that it is less prestigious. This could be explained by the limited position of Berber varieties within the community as only 1.8% of respondents are fluent in one of the varieties (see figure 6.20 on competence in Berber).

When asked about Classical Arabic prestige, 55.7% of respondents expressed their view. Out of these, 23.3% feel that Classical Arabic is very prestigious. However, 8.7% feel it is prestigious, while 23.7% say that Classical Arabic is less prestigious.

This level of prestige stems from the position classical Arabic holds in the Arab and Muslim psyche (see chapter 1, section: 1.2.1)

The prestige of Egyptian Arabic, French and Spanish is rather limited at 17.8%, 9.1% and 14.2% respectively. This is mainly because the use of these languages is very limited within the community.

### **7.2.5 Language comfort**

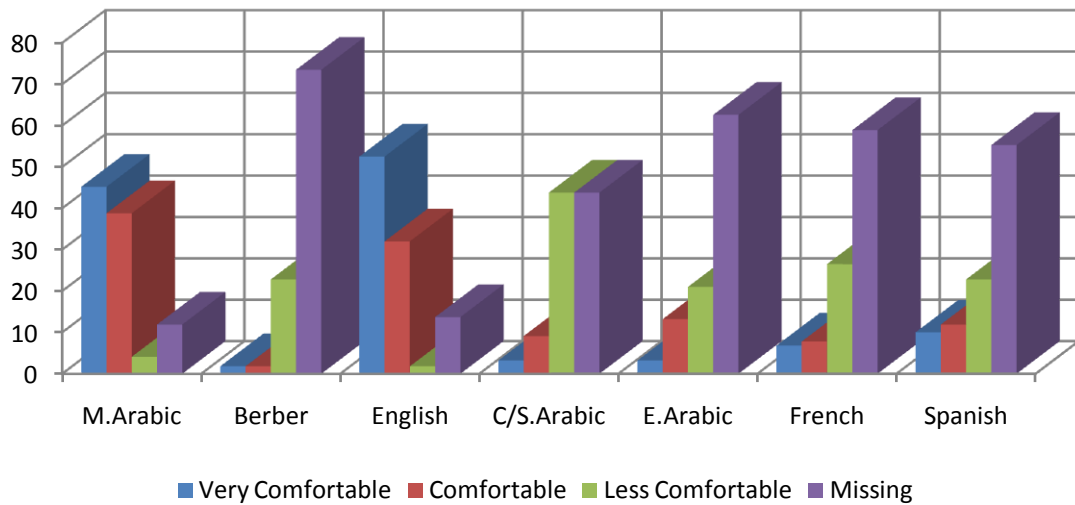
Language comfort refers to how comfortable an respondent feels towards a particular language or set of languages either through using them, or merely as a matter of perception and attitude. This has an impact on the degree of their readiness to use and maintain their languages.

With regard to Moroccan Arabic, figure 7.11 demonstrates that 45.2% of respondents feel very comfortable towards it, and 38.8% see it as comfortable. Only 4.1% feel that it is less comfortable. Total respondents' participation, i.e., the figure of responses is 88.1%. This is no surprise as most respondents consider Moroccan Arabic as either their native or second tongue.

The degree of comfort felt towards Berber varieties is very low. Only 26.5% of respondents expressed a view. 1.8% feel that it is either very comfortable or comfortable with it, however, 22.8% of respondents feel that Berber varieties are less comfortable. Again, these poor results with respect to Berber varieties are linked to their level of presence in the community, which is negligible.

It is no surprise that English scores the highest degrees of comfort felt by respondents among the other languages that are used by the Moroccan community. Out of the 86.3% of respondents who gave an opinion, 52.5% of them feel that English is a very comfortable language, and 32% see it as comfortable, while only 1.8% feel that English is less comfortable.

**Figure 7.11: Respondents' degree of comfort towards language X**



Classical Arabic does not fair well with respect to degree of comfort of use. Out of 56.2% of respondents who expressed a view, 43.8% feel less comfortable towards the use of Classical Arabic. This is the lowest level of such feeling alongside the one proportionally registered by Berber varieties, though it has to be said that Berber has a negligible speech community within the larger Moroccan community in Britain. Lack of comfort towards Classical Arabic is mostly due to its difficulty to learn and master. Its grammar and style are rather complex in comparison to the other European languages the community uses.

The use of Egyptian Arabic is rather limited to the audiovisual sector of the media. In this respect, it has a passive use in the sense that respondents rarely interact using it. They mostly listen. Nonetheless, out of the 37.4% of respondents who expressed a view in this respect, 13.2% say they feel comfortable with it and 21% are less comfortable towards Egyptian Arabic.



Both French and Spanish do not fair that well. 26.5% and 22.8% of respondents feel less comfortable towards the use of French and Spanish respectively.

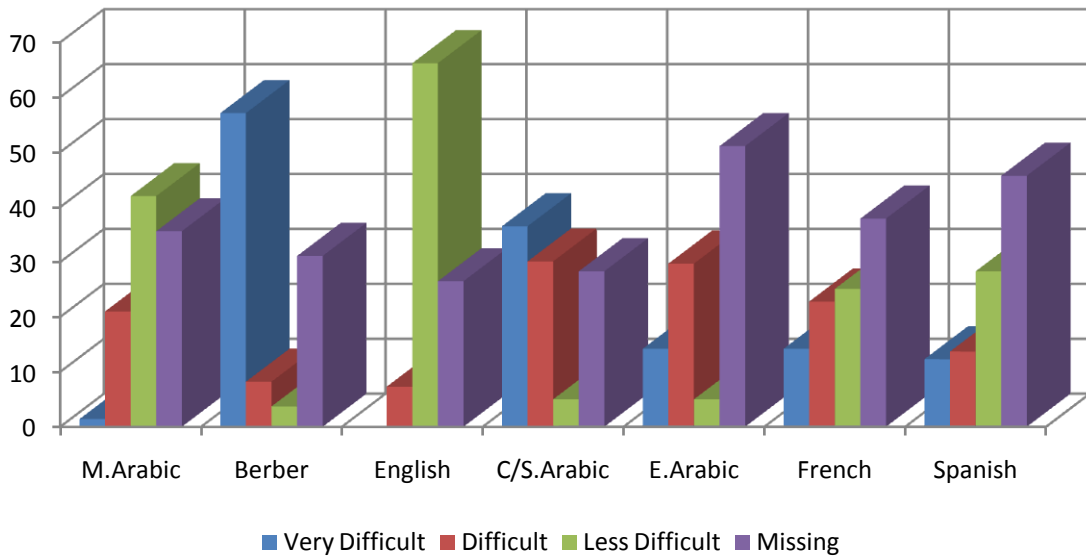
### **7.2.6 Language difficulty**

The perceived difficulty towards learning a language, be it their own or that of the adoptive country, is important to help judge the linguistic mood and orientation of an immigrant community. This, in turn helps to determine the degree of ease or difficulty to accommodate language use and maintenance.

Figure 7.12 reveals that only 1.4% of respondents think that Moroccan Arabic is very difficult to learn. 21% judge it as difficult to learn while 42% see it as less difficult to learn. Total expressed view is 64.4%.

The fact that some within the community consider that Moroccan Arabic is difficult to learn could be interpreted as the view of those who feel that they have a less than desirable level of competence in Moroccan Arabic, which is a sign of language shift. Out of the 68.9% of respondents who provided their view on the difficulty to learn Berber varieties, 57.1% feel that it is very difficult to learn these. 8.2% say that it is difficult to do so, but only 3.7% are of the view that it is not very difficult to learn Berber varieties. Though Berber varieties are native to Morocco, they are less used within the community.

**Figure 7.12: Respondents' view on language learning difficulty**



73.5% of respondent gave an answer to the level of difficulty to learn English. 7.3% of respondents feel that English is difficult to learn while 66.2% view it as less difficult to learn. This could be expected because English is used by the community and around it. English also has all the support a language can get. It is taught at school, used in day-to-day life in the wider community, while Moroccan Arabic is limited to the immigrant community and has no institutional support.

On the other hand, Classical Arabic is seen as being very difficult to learn by 36.5% of respondents, and 30.1% feel that it is difficult to learn while only 5% are of the view that it is less difficult to learn. This level of difficulty may explain the low numbers of respondents who have some degree of fluency in Classical Arabic. This is coupled with the very limited opportunities to learn these languages and lack of institutional support which may explain why some feel that they are difficult to learn.

For Egyptian Arabic, French and Spanish no less than 14.2% of respondents think that these languages are very difficult to learn and no less than 29.7% feel that these languages are difficult to learn while no less than 28.3% are of the view that they are less difficult to learn.

### 7.3 Conclusion

With respect to language behaviour reflected in code-switching and mixing, the figures show that it is used more between the first generation and the second one and less between this latter and the third one. This indicates that code-switching and mixing is used mostly as a communicative strategy only with the first generation in the context of the Moroccan community in Britain which is rather different from the way it is used back in Morocco (see chapter three: Sociolinguistics of Morocco). Generally speaking, code-switching and mixing is seen as a transition towards the use of mostly English.

Language attitude, too, has a very important impact on the language shift which is taking place within the community. Language of choice, language dominance, language comfort and language difficulty all favour English language at the expense of all others. This indicates two elements: firstly, English will continue to gain space at the expense of all other languages and dialects used by the community and secondly, this shift is taking place at a generational scale.

The next chapter eight looks at the impact of the extra-linguistic determinants such as mass media and institutional support factors, and the role they play in influencing language maintenance and use in the Moroccan community. It will consider the level of this influence and what consequences it has on the degree to which the community is able and willing to continue to use the language of their ethnic origin.

The outcome of this chapter seems to indicate that both language behaviour and attitude in the Moroccan community in Britain indicate that the community is going through a generational language shift.

## **Chapter 8: Extra-linguistic determinants of language use and maintenance**

### **8 Introduction**

The issues impacting language use and maintenance among the Moroccan community in Britain are not limited to purely linguistic determinants but extend to extra-linguistic ones. In this chapter, I present mass media and institutional support as factors playing a major role in influencing language use and maintenance among the Moroccan community in Britain. The wide availability and the easiness of access to satellite TV broadcasting in addition the limited literacy and ability to access printed media may explain the Moroccan community's preference for mainly TV broadcasting.

The luck of the Moroccan community in Britain, like all other immigrant and newly established communities, has turned for the better with regards to satellite television and radio broadcasting and access to the Internet. The advances in these two sectors mean that some of the linguistic and cultural isolation the Moroccan community may have been experiencing for decades come to an end, at least partially; however, it may not be sufficient to have a significant influence on the level of language use and maintenance of the Moroccan community. It, nonetheless, represents a moral boost and a cultural support. Now the Moroccan community has a real choice of radio and television channels and programmes in the languages and varieties this community prefers. The Moroccan community is no longer limited to the terrestrial channels which may not satisfy

its linguistic and cultural self-awareness and which do not reflect its identity (Helmke, 2007). Since I last conducted my field research, the number of satellite radio and television channels broadcasting in indigenous varieties and cultures has mushroomed, and the choice has become even greater.

However, printed media represent a challenge for the Moroccan community, on one hand, due to the low rate of education in general and literacy in particular it suffers from, on the other hand, due to the prohibitive cost involved for many within the community most of whom have very limited income.

Institutional support can be divided into two major categories: Advice and advocacy which are mostly about providing interpreting and translation to access services such as health, housing and benefits in Ladbroke area of London; and after school and Saturday classes of which there are only 150 places. This institutional support is limited and has probably less effect on the community than could be desired. This is due to its reduced capacity in contrast with the high number of potential members of the Moroccan community who may otherwise need such support. (See section 8.2 of this chapter).

## 8.1 Mass media

Access to the media is quite important to determine the languages an respondent can make use of. 80.1% of my respondents have access to satellite TV channels, but only 27.4% of them view TV programmes in both Moroccan Arabic and English. However, when these two varieties are considered separately, the figures change totally as only 15.1% of my respondents reported to view TV channels purely in English while this figure drops to 5.5% for only Moroccan Arabic. Meanwhile, 11% of my respondents said they view TV stations in a combination of the following languages and dialects (see figure: 8.5): Moroccan Arabic, English, Classical Arabic, Egyptian, French, and Spanish.

Mass media in general, but audiovisual media in particular, is important for the Moroccan community in Britain for the process of language use and maintenance. Contrary to printed media, audiovisual media is relatively easy to consume. This is very important for the community for at least two reasons: First, this suits the oral cultural tradition of the Moroccan community's heritage. Second, the rate of literacy within the Moroccan community is rather low compared to the British national average (see chapter six, sections: 6.5.2 and 6.6.2) which is an obvious disadvantage. For this reason many within the Moroccan community in Britain cannot access the printed media. Therefore, the audiovisual media is their obvious choice. In addition, audiovisual media can prove to be a powerful educational tool for the community and their window onto the wider world. This has become increasingly possible thanks the advent of satellite TV and the Internet technologies for the past decade. These technologies



have allowed the Moroccan community in Britain to get closer to its roots and stay informed of different developments in their country of origin and with similar Moroccan communities in the Diaspora. These technologies have also allowed the community to update different aspects of its linguistic repertoire, thus preventing them from becoming trapped in a time warp.

As for the other types of media, 40.2% of respondents said they read books in English while 14.6% of them said they read them in English and in Classical Arabic. 59.4% of respondents read newspapers in English, but this figure drops dramatically to 1.8% read them in both English and Classical Arabic. The rates for reading magazines are 63.9% in for English. No respondent declared that they do so in Classical Arabic.

While only 3.7% of respondents declared that they listen to radio in Moroccan Arabic, 47.5% of them said they do listen to it in English – a huge disparity. 10% and 17.4% of respondents respectively said they watch documentaries and films/plays respectively in Moroccan Arabic and in English, while 44.7% of respondents watch documentaries and 39.7% watch films/plays respectively in English only.

### **8.1.1 Printed media**

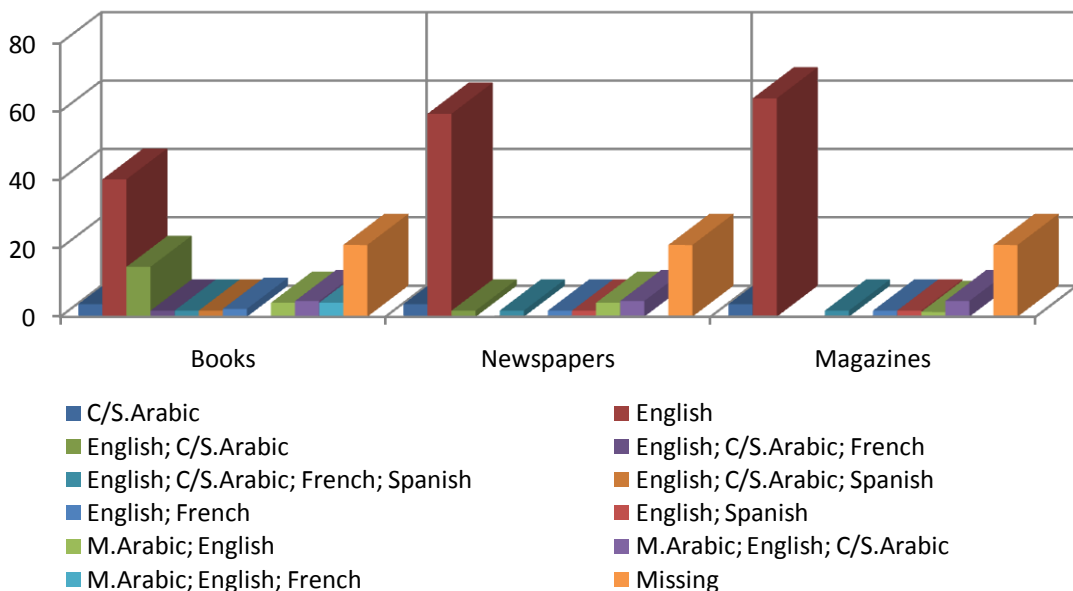
Written media use by a speech community is a good indicator of its language use trends. It can indicate to some extent the degree of language shift. However, this perception has to be taken with some precaution. Written media

remains expensive; especially, the imported ones. Choice is also dictated by quality and level of trust in the product.

Moroccan written media is very limited and expensive in Britain. However, due to the diglossic nature of Moroccan sociolinguistics (see chapter 1, section 1.1.2), and its bilingual aspect (see chapter 2) where both Standard Arabic and French are the most dominant languages of the Moroccan media as a whole, access to it remains negligible.

To have access to written media one needs the linguistic ability to read. In this respect, many feel more comfortable reading in English than in Arabic, let alone in French – the dominant media language in Morocco.

**Figure 8.1: Respondents' language of printed media**



40.2% of respondents read books in English, while 14.6% read them in both English and Classical Arabic. This figure, which is obviously different

from the one obtained in the pilot study, may be interpreted as an indicator of the community's gradual language shift towards English. As the community's native/ancestral language is predominantly a spoken one, English represents the obvious choice for many for reading and writing. The alternative is to use Classical/Standard Arabic which needs learning in a formal setting – few in the community can afford such luxury.

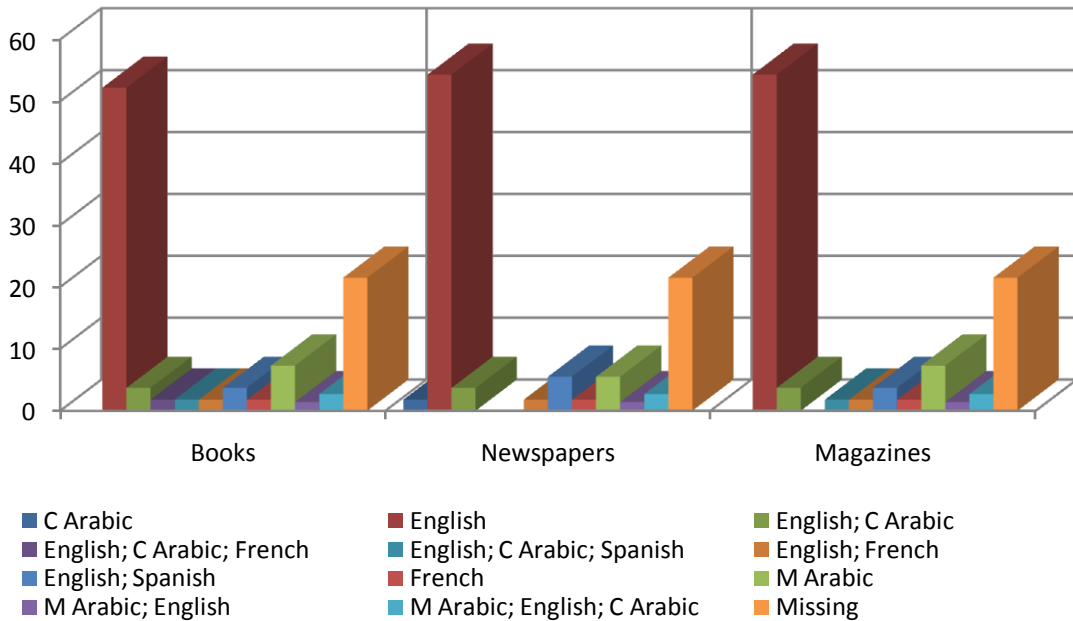
As for newspapers, 59.4% of respondents said they read them in English, but only 3.7% of respondents did so in Classical Arabic. I suggest that this is more to do with the quality of uncensored reporting and trust in English news sources, which are usually the source of much of the news quoted in Arabic newspapers.

However, 63.9% of respondents read magazines in English, in contrast with only 3.7% who do so in standard Arabic. Magazines in English cover much wider interests than do those in Arabic. Not only political censorship but also a cultural one, i.e., restrictions as regards the choice of topic that are culturally and socially acceptable that can be written about. This may be at the heart of this shift towards reading in English in addition to the fact that most second generation members are British educated.

When asked about their preferred language to access the written media, 52.5% say they would prefer to read books in English while only 3.7% would prefer to do so in both Classical Arabic and English. On the other hand, the preferred language for reading newspapers is 54.3% for English and 1.8% for Classical Arabic. However, for reading magazines, 54.3% of respondents prefer to

do so in English, while 3.7% would prefer to read them in both English and Classical Arabic.

**Figure 8.2: Respondents' preferred language of written media**

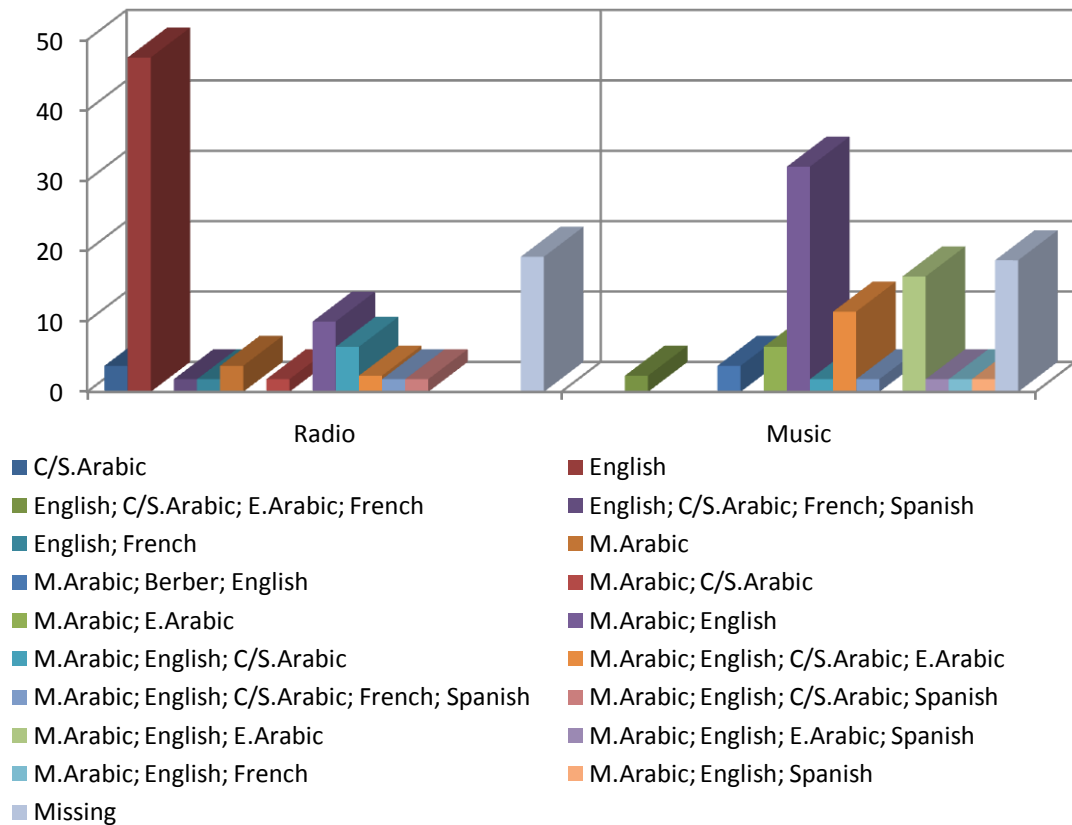


Even when given a choice rather than having to do with what is available, a considerable section of the community would prefer the medium of English to read. Very little desire is given to classical Arabic. We may assume this is a case of language shift at a second-generation level as literacy of the first generation is near non-existent, especially in English (see figure 6.4).

### 8.1.2 Audio media

Listening to radio and music is another area where one can detect the degree of shift in language use. 47.5% of respondents listen to radio in English and 10% do so in both English and Moroccan Arabic.

**Figure 8.3: Language of media listening**

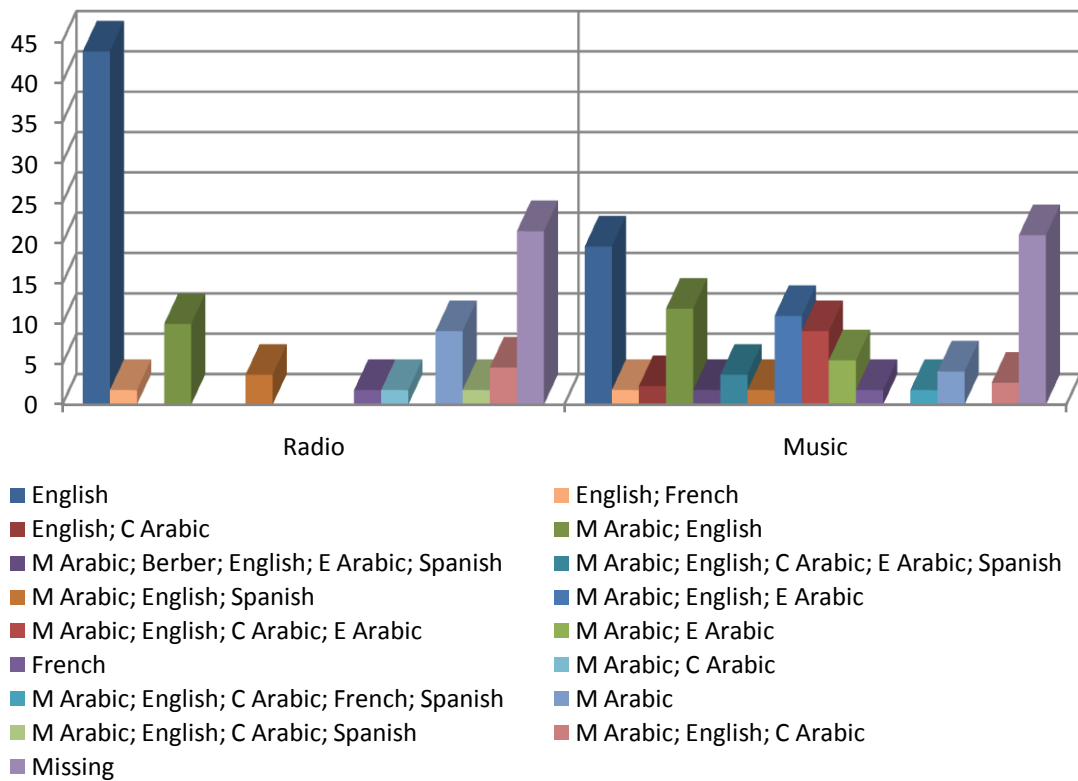


There is a noticeable difference in language of listening between radio programmes in general and music. 32% of respondents listen to music in Moroccan Arabic and English, while 16.4% listen to it in Moroccan Arabic, English and Egyptian Arabic. However, no respondent listens to music in English alone. Music is more about taste and culture. Music, unlike radio programmes, projects cultural identity. This suggestion could count for the difference in language use between radio and music.

On the other hand, when asked about the preferred language of listening to radio programmes, 43.8% of respondents would prefer to listen to radio in English and 10% would prefer to do so in both Moroccan Arabic and English.

As for music, 19.6% of respondents would prefer to listen to music in English. This is in fact a surprise as no respondent mentions the use of English as a language of listening to music and yet 19.6% of them would prefer to do so. 11.9% of respondents would prefer to listen to music in Moroccan Arabic and English. This is a dramatic drop from the 32% actual listening to music in English. The same trend can be observed with respect to listening to music in Moroccan Arabic, English and Egyptian Arabic as 11% of respondents do so. This is a difference from 16.4% of respondents who actually do so.

**Figure 8.4: Respondents' preferred language of media listening**



### **8.1.3 Audiovisual media**

The technological advances have changed mass media landscape beyond recognition during the last ten years, especially in the areas of satellite television and the Internet and their availability. Broadcasting of television from the country of origin has become widely available, in addition to programmes that reflect the cultural and linguistic heritage of the immigrant communities broadcasted from other countries with which the community identifies with culturally and linguistically. These possibilities have reduced the linguistic and cultural isolation that the Moroccan immigrant community may have felt in earlier times.

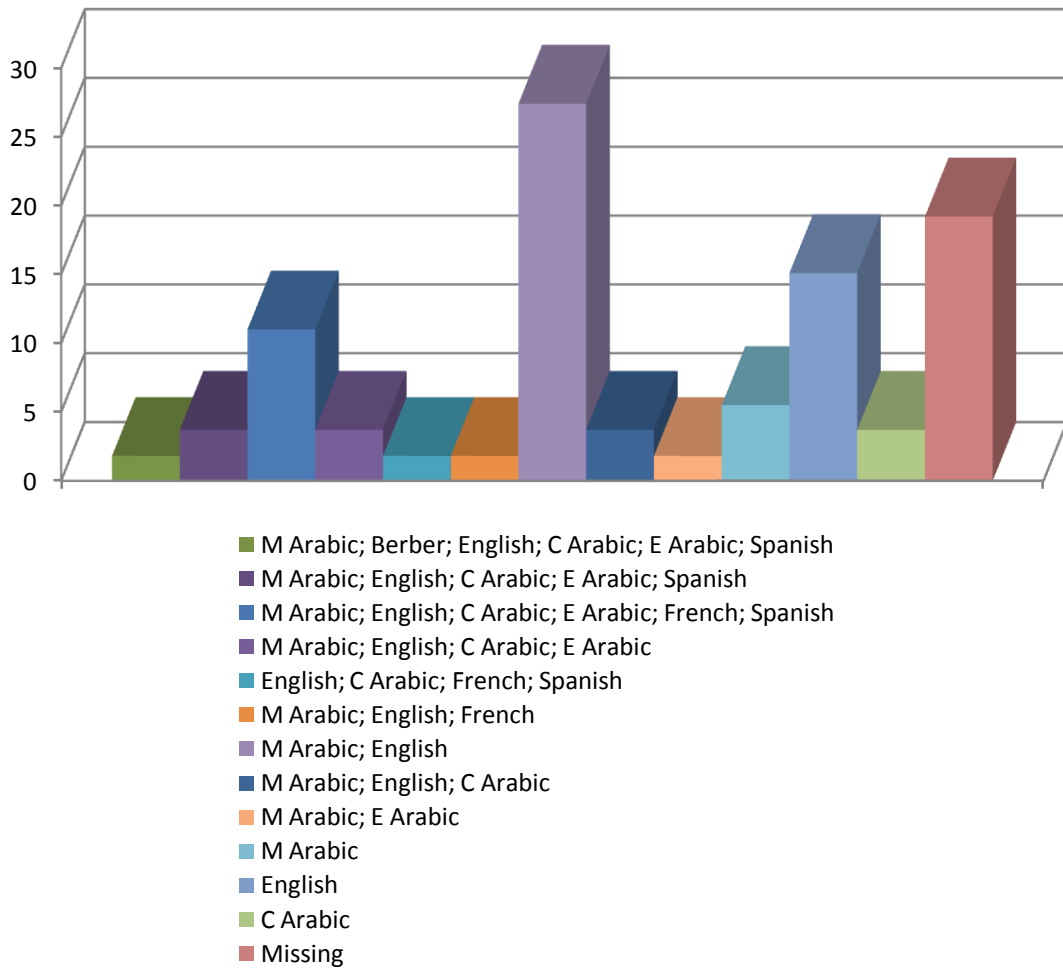
#### **8.1.3.1 TV**

The development and the availability of the media to the Moroccan minority plays a role in keeping the community in touch with its language and culture mainly through satellite TV. 80.8% of respondents have access to satellite TV stations.

27.4% use a satellite receiver for programmes in both Moroccan Arabic and English. However, viewing in English alone represents 15.1%. On the other hand, viewing programmes in Moroccan Arabic, English, Classical Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, French and Spanish represent 11%.

The digital age has dramatically changed the picture by making programmes available in the ancestral languages of the immigrant minority groups. A far cry from what was available in the sixties, seventies and eighties.

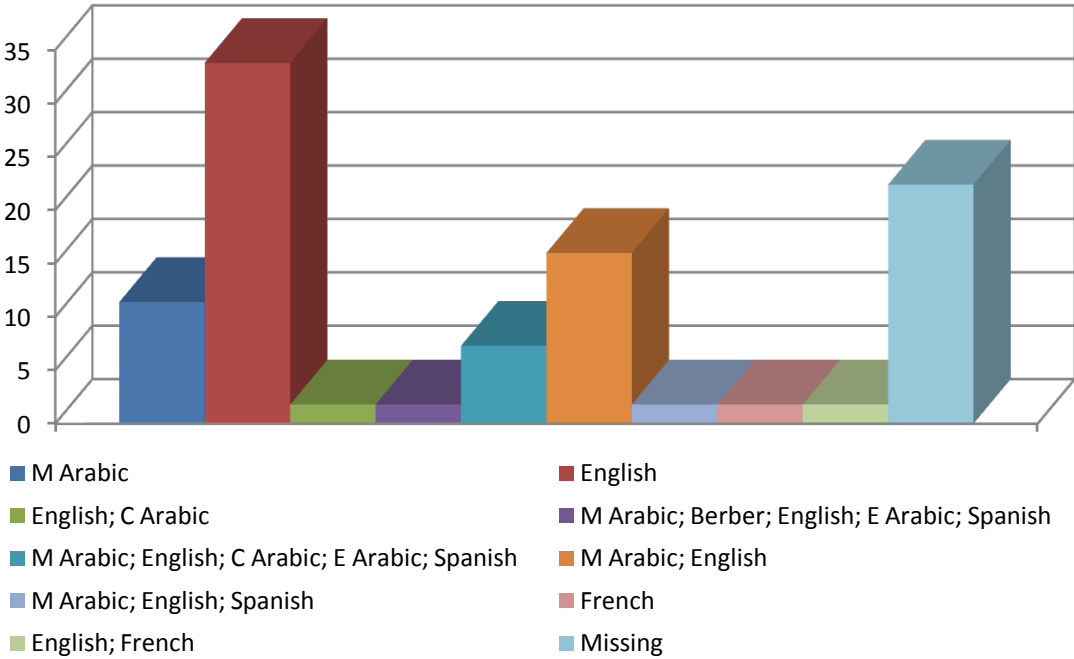
**Figure 8.5: Respondents' language of viewing satellite TV**



11.4% of respondents said they would prefer to view satellite TV in Moroccan Arabic. This is a rise from 5.5%. This rise can be justified by a nostalgic desire to linkup with what is Moroccan, especially cultural programmes and news about Morocco. On the other hand, 33.8% of respondents would prefer to view satellite TV in English – a jump from 15.1%. It shows the perceived importance of English to the community. However, the data reveals that 16% of respondents would prefer to view satellite TV in both Moroccan Arabic and English – a drop from 27.4% of those respondents who actually do so.

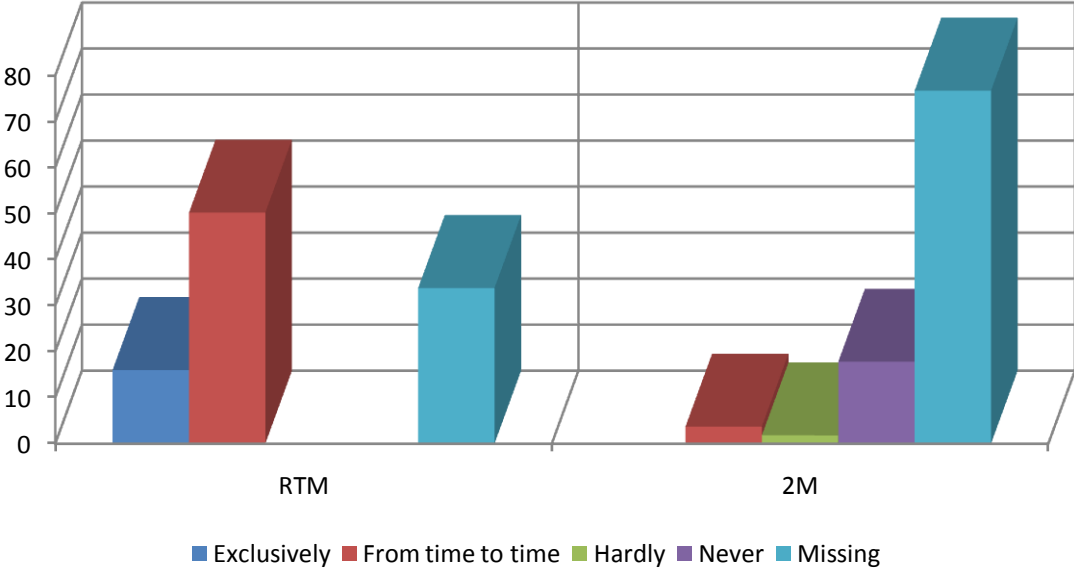


**Figure 8.6: Respondents' preferred language of viewing satellite TV**



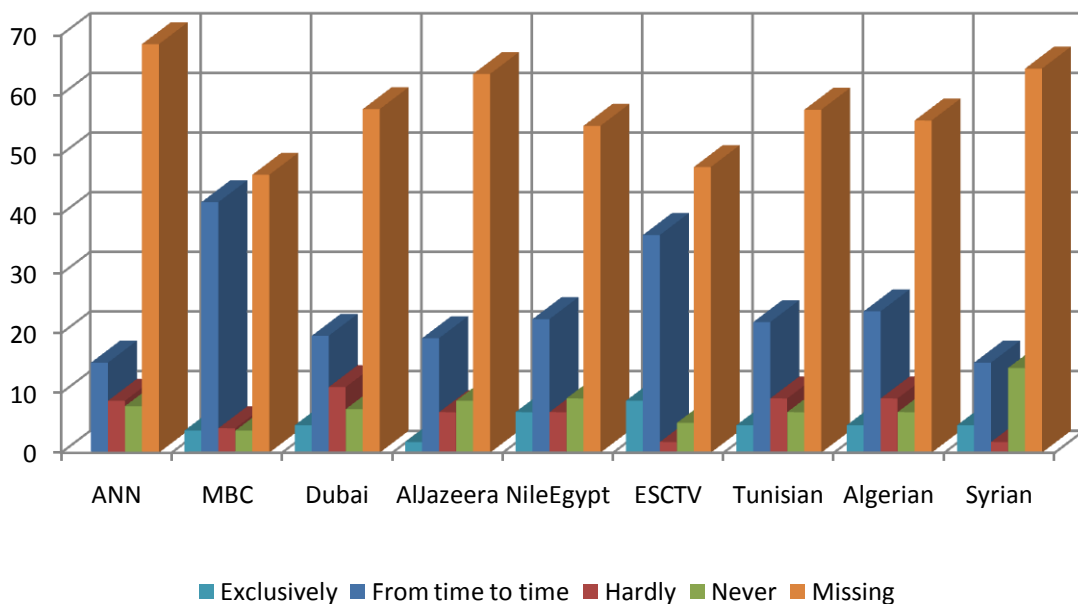
Morocco has two terrestrial TV stations that are available to the immigrant community via satellite receivers. These are RTM and 2M.

**Figure 8.7: Respondents' degree of viewing Moroccan TV stations**



The demand for viewing both channels is unequal. RTM has a better rating than its sister channel 2M. While 16% of respondents view RTM exclusively, no respondent claims to watch 2M exclusively. 50.2% view RTM from time to time compared to only 3.7% who view 2M from time to time. These clear differences in viewing ratings are largely due to the differences in programming. Though both channels are bilingual, 2M is simply too francophone for the liking of many respondents. The use of French by the community is rather modest to say the least as was seen on chapter six, figure 6.14, especially by the second generation.

**Figure 8.8: Respondents' degree of viewing Arabic satellite TV stations**



Arabic satellite TV stations can be divided into two categories. Those that offer general entertainment programmes such as films and music, and those that fall under the category of factual programmes and 24 hours news delivery. Al-Jazeera is the Arabic TV station equivalent to CNN or BBC News24. Its rating

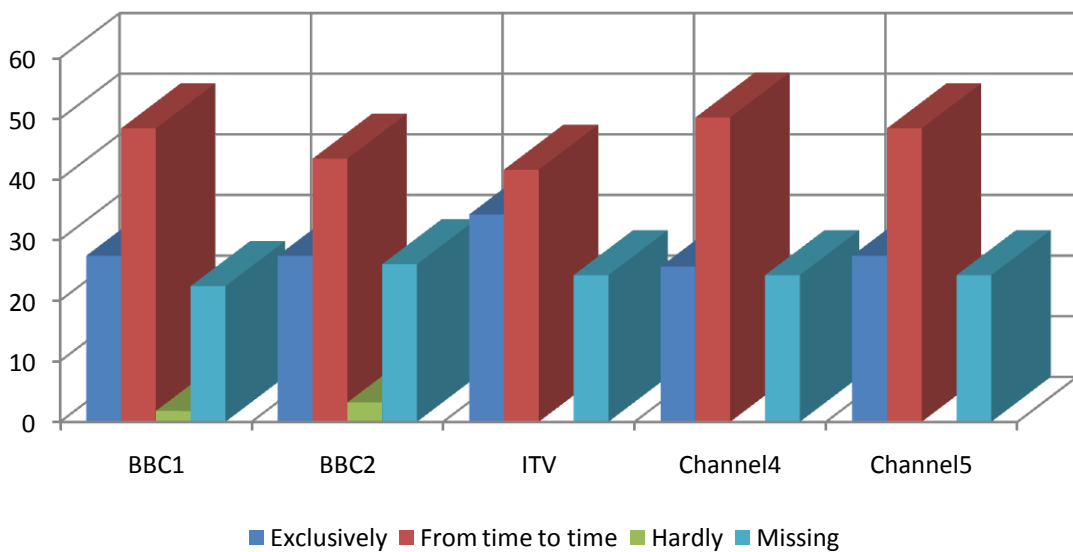
fluctuates depending on the world events, most notably in the Arab world. The other channels offer general entertainment programmes and are representing their respective countries.

The viewing of these different channels is quite significant in the sense that some TV stations are multilingual such as the Moroccan, the Algerian or MBC stations. Others are monolingual such as Aljazeera and ANN, which broadcast in Standard Arabic.

The access to Moroccan and Arab satellite TV certainly helps the Moroccan minority to remain in touch with its language and culture even if as a spectator, a privilege which was not available to it before.

British terrestrial TV stations have a significant presence in the viewing habit of the Moroccan community. The relevance of this is that it does so in English as the British TV stations are monolingual.

**Figure 8.9: Respondents' degree of viewing British Terrestrials**



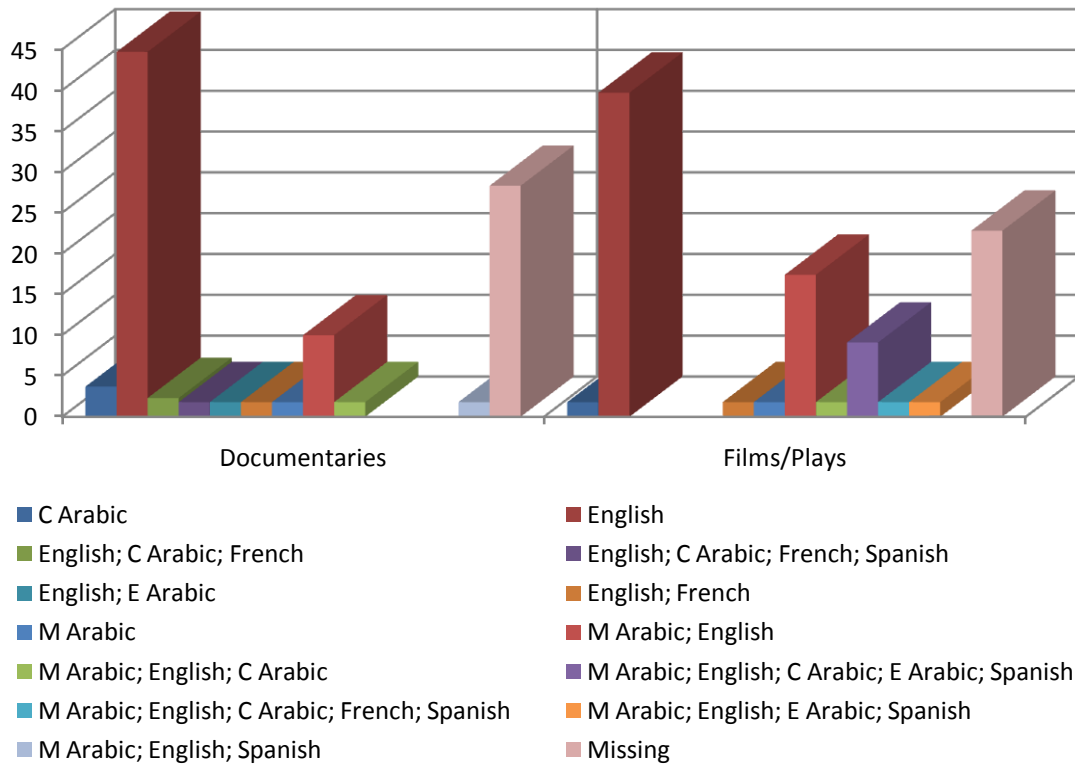
27.4% of respondents view BBC1 exclusively, and 48.4% do so from time to time. BBC2 has an exclusive rating share of 27.4%, and 43.4% from time to time viewing rating. On the other hand, 34.2% of respondents view ITV exclusively, and 41.6% from time to time. On the other hand, channel4 has 25.6% exclusive viewing, and 50.2% from time to time viewing. However, 27.4% of respondents view channel5 exclusively and 48.4% do so from time to time.

On balance, British terrestrial viewing has a strong presence. The implication of this viewing on the linguistic behaviour of many members of the community can be crucial. While for some it is part of their bilingual linguistic pattern, for many it is a case of language shift towards the dominant language, i.e., English.

### **8.1.3.2 Documentaries, films and plays**

Documentaries, films and plays are some of the most popular viewing programmes. While 44.7% of respondents view documentaries in English and 10% do so in both Moroccan Arabic and English, 39.7% of respondents view films and plays in English, 17.4% view them in both Moroccan Arabic and English and 9.1% do so in a set of languages: Moroccan Arabic, English, Classical Arabic, Egyptian Arabic and Spanish.

**Figure 8.10: Respondents' language of documentaries, films & plays**

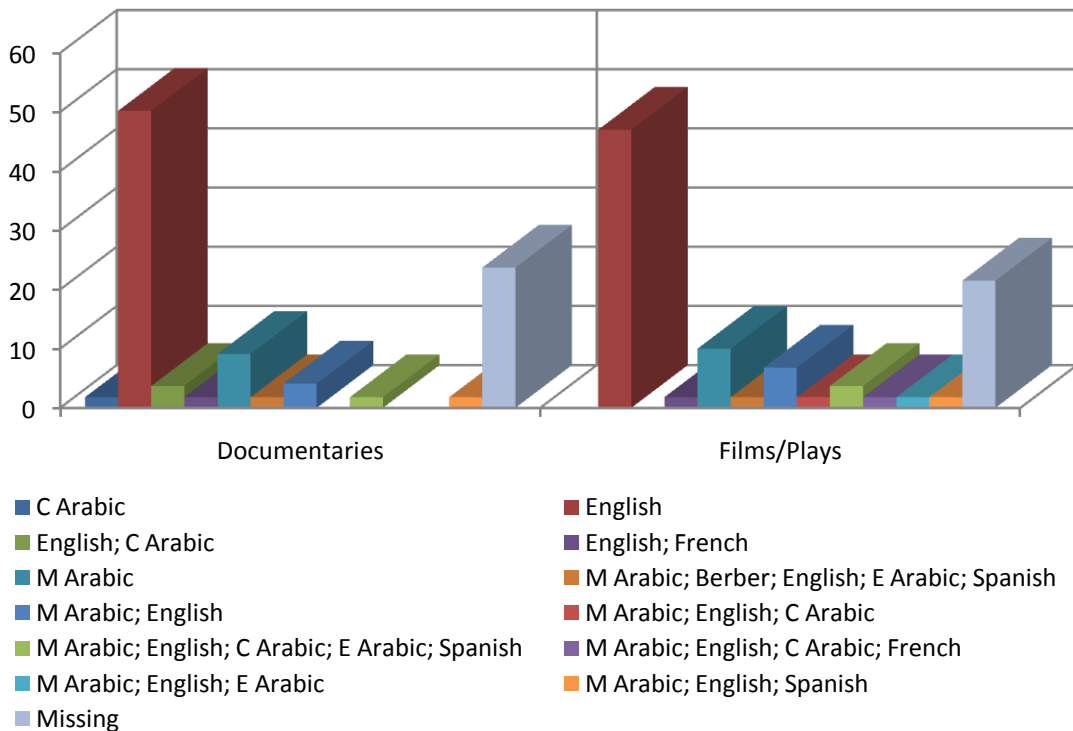


Although some other Arab countries are starting to claim their share of the Arab film and play market, Egypt is the leading producer not only of films and plays, but also of music in the Arab world. It does so in both Egyptian dialect and Standard Arabic. Thus, the cultural and linguistic influence Egypt holds in the Arab world and the use of Egyptian Arabic by many in the Arab world or of Arab origin.

As for the preferred language of viewing these media, 50.2% of respondents would prefer to view documentaries in English, while 9.1% would prefer to do so in Moroccan Arabic. This latter figure may be explained by the fact that a sizable number of Moroccans in Britain are illiterate and cannot view such programme in English or Classical Arabic.

On the other hand, 47% of respondents would prefer to view films and plays in English, while 10% would prefer to do so in Moroccan Arabic. Again this preferred desire of English is an indication of a shift in language use within the community.

**Figure 8.11: Respondents' preferred language of documentaries, films and plays**



## 8.2 Institutional support

There is no institutional support for the Moroccan community outside London. This may be justified by their limited number. In London, however, the Moroccan community has an Islamic centre and an advice and information centre to promote and help the community to prosper. Among the activities of the advice and information centre is the running of a school to teach, among other subjects,

computing, maths, English, Standard Arabic, but more importantly, Moroccan Arabic and Culture. These classes are run on Saturdays and after school hours during some days of the week. The classes are mixed and intended for pupils of 11 plus. The local authorities assure the budget of the centre and its school. Though the capacity is for about 150 students who benefit from the services of the centre, it is nowhere near catering for the needs of a 34,000 to 50,000 strong Moroccan community. Although the centre could be seen as recognition for the needs of the Moroccan community, it simply cannot give its services to a growing number of mainly second generation Moroccans. However, the government recognises the right of minority groups to have access to their language, religion and culture under Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, but it has left the matter of organisation to the minority groups themselves. It is their responsibility to organise and seek help from non-governmental organisations and from local authorities away from mainstream society. This policy does not help the maintenance of Moroccan Arabic and culture and leaves the door open for shift towards English. Rather than encouraging multilingual and multicultural approaches, this could lead to assimilation (chapter 2, sections: 2.2.5 and 2.5).

The Moroccan community has some hampering distinctive characteristics which may explain the lack of any meaningful institutional support it may otherwise have.

The Moroccan community is largely deprived and socio-economically homogeneous and this has an impact on the community's ability to put forward a credible leadership, which is something that is usually associated with members of

the middle class in the case of other minority communities. It is compounded by the fact that the Moroccan community is also a fragmented and disunited community as it has no representation. For these reasons, the Moroccan community has failed to lobby for institutional support where other communities have succeeded. Another point is that unlike homogeneous communities where the church or the synagogue play a leading role in their respective community, I suggest that a mosque cannot play similar role for any Muslim community let alone specifically for Moroccans because a mosque (in theory at least) belongs to all Muslims irrespective of their origin or the community they come from. Moreover, generally speaking, when a mosque offers any classes in language and culture these are limited to Classical Arabic – the language of the Qur'an (see chapter one, section 1.2.1) and Islamic culture, but not Moroccan Arabic and Moroccan culture and identity. To make a difficult situation worse, many Muslims including those of Moroccan origin shun going to mosques altogether due to fears of being labelled as “extremists” especially after the events of September 11, 2001 in the USA and the international war on terrorism. These problems and issues add to the Moroccan community's inability to properly maintain its varieties and culture from an institutional perspective.



### **8.3 Conclusion**

The Moroccan community in Britain makes the best use possible of mass media. 80.1% of my respondents have reported to have access to satellite broadcasting which one would assume would be used mostly for receiving satellite TV programmes and to some extent satellite radio broadcasting in mostly Moroccan Arabic as well as Standard Arabic. At the time of this field study in 2001, about 15.1% were accessing satellite TV channels in English, but only 5.5% of all respondents were accessing TV stations in Moroccan Arabic. After almost six years and the increase in the numbers of satellite TV channels, I can only assume that the intake of TV channels in Moroccan Arabic has reached higher levels among the Moroccan community in Britain.

With respect to language use and maintenance, the importance of these Moroccan and Arab TV channels is two-fold: on one the hand, they provide the Moroccan community with an indigenous linguistic lifeline in the form of programmes in local dialects and Arabic language. On the other hand, many of the programmes have a cultural dimension, which is all the more important and highly appreciated in an immigrant community context. The cultural dimension strengthens one's identity, which could have a positive impact on language use and maintenance. However, it has to be said that the intake of TV programmes in English is almost three times higher than it is in Moroccan Arabic. This may only be interpreted as a language shift.

The Internet, too, has helped to revolutionise the way the community accesses information and modes of communication in its indigenous varieties,

especially the second and following generations who are more knowledgeable in this respect than the first generation. The community increasingly makes good use of chat and telephone programs and software on the internet not only to communicate with their loved ones and friends in Morocco, but also to keep that established link with them alive at no extra cost to all parties. This facility helps the community to keep in touch with its roots thus helping to maintain its identity.

As for written media, the community has difficulties in accessing it. This is largely due to its poor levels of education, however, out of those who do access the written media, only 40.2% of respondents said that they read books in English while that figure drops to 4.6% for English, Moroccan Arabic (books in Moroccan Arabic are extremely rare and very hard to come by in Britain) and Classical Arabic simultaneously. All 59.4% and 63.9% of those respondents who answered this question said they accessed newspapers and magazines respectively in English. The figures for Arabic are negligible. This is another indication of language shift towards English.

In my opinion, institutional support for the Moroccan community in Britain does not rise to the challenge and remains very limited with a token presence even in London where most of the community is located. This is because there is no political will to invest adequately in such support. The problem is compounded by the community's inability to organise itself and lobby NGOs, local and central governments for much needed support that would facilitate integration. The community has a very long way to go. The only other institutions that might provide some help are the mosques, but their contribution is

insignificant as the Moroccan community is only part of a wider Arab and Muslim community and mosques rarely cater for the needs of a specific community as they are considered as places of worship belonging to all Muslims; they are there to promote Islamic culture rather than a specific national culture and identity.

As one may notice from the findings in this chapter, all indicators in all aspects of extra-linguistic determinants discussed here seem to indicate that language shift towards English is taking place within the Moroccan community in Britain. Moroccan Arabic gradually seems to be taking second position.

## **Conclusion**

Language use and maintenance among immigrant communities is a complex area of study for newly established minorities. The Moroccan minority in Britain is proving to be no exception to this rule. Language use and maintenance is determined by a number of determinants and factors. Broadly speaking, these determinants fall under one of two categories: sociolinguistic and sociologic/socio-economic. The Moroccan community is highly concentrated in London in particular and the Southeast of England in general (see chapter 7, section: 7.2). This concentration of the community in a relatively limited geographic area, however, does not translate into a strong maintenance of Moroccan Arabic. This does not compare to what for example Wei (1982) has remarked on language maintenance taking place in Chinatowns (chapter 3, section: 3.1.4). Within one generation, 29.7% of the members of the Moroccan community claim that English has become their first language. This is proportionally a rather high level of shift (see chapter 7, section: 7.8.1). It seems that somehow the Moroccan community is failing to take advantage of its concentration in London (see chapter 4, section: 4.4) and Southeast of England to help maintain its language(s). Apparently, the geo-distribution has little or no effect on language maintenance within the Moroccan community in Britain. Most likely this is because of the limited demographic numbers of the community on one hand, and their socio-economic status, on the other.

There is an ongoing debate about the real numbers of the Moroccan minority in Britain. Statistics in this respect are confusing and claims which are made about their numbers are faced with counter claims. However, with the

highest figures the Moroccan minority remains rather restricted by its limited size to effectively maintain its language and culture (see chapter 4, section: 4.4)

The socio-economic exclusion of the community proves to be a barrier towards both language maintenance and social integration. For the Moroccan community, the root of its socio-economic predicament is its inability to access valued jobs, which is a direct consequence of its underachievement. Ironically most of the first generation Moroccans were recruited and immigrated to Britain because they were poor and uneducated and therefore willing to occupy the jobs hardly anyone else wanted to do. Low socio-economic status and underachievement (see chapter 7, section: 7.4) are usually negative factors in both language maintenance and social integration. In fact, low socio-economic status and underachievement are seen by many scholars, such as for instance Appel and Muysken (1987:33) and Wei (1982) as the main causes of not only language shift but also language assimilation (see chapter 3, section: 3.1.1). It appears to be the case that this particular language shift determinant, namely that of low economic status and social exclusion, has also contributed to language shift among the Moroccans in Britain, even though there may be some attempts to improve its status.

Institutional support as a determinant of language maintenance is negligible. The Moroccan community has very little access to institutional support, and it is left to fend for itself. It has to be said that there are two support centres for the Moroccans: the Moroccan Information Centre and Al-Hasaniya Women's Association. However, their capacity to service the Moroccan

community is a token one. Both the Moroccan Information Centre and Al-Hasaniya Women's Association provide mostly information and advocacy services on day-to-day issues, and very little by way of language support as they only offer about 150 places to teach standard Arabic and the Moroccan curriculum. The community deserves much more institutional support than what it is receiving in proportion to its size which I estimate between 34000 and 50000 strong. (See section 4.3 on statistics of ethnic Moroccans in Britain). Whatever effort these two centres are providing, it has no visible impact at all on the community as a whole. In fact, one major area of their activity is the teaching of standard Arabic and yet the level of competence in Standard Arabic is very low; as we saw in chapter 6, and it seems that any the teaching efforts that do exist are going in vain (see figure: 6.18). The Moroccan community in Britain suffers from high levels of illiteracy. 12.8% have no level of education at all, and 23.7% have some level of primary education. This may be a reflection on the difficulties post-colonial Morocco faced in providing universal primary education for a generation of Moroccans. Moreover, schooling dropout of Moroccan pupils of second generation is much higher than national average as a result of social marginalisation and exclusion. Only 13.2% have some level of higher education. This is a rather bleak picture as these uneducated members of the community are hampered by their lack of education to positively contribute to the efforts of the community to maintain its languages and culture and help it integrate as a bilingual community rather than assimilate it.

The digital age, especially satellite broadcasting and the Internet, opened the possibilities to access mass-media programmes in the community's

linguistic repertoire, which about a decade ago it could only dream of. It seems that access to mass media is more to do with entertainment and information rather than language maintenance, as a relatively high proportion of 43.8% of respondents report they prefer to listen to radio in English. This is supported by the finding that over a quarter of respondents, i.e. 27.4%, use satellite receiver for both Moroccan Arabic and English programmes. Just over half of respondents view RTM, the Moroccan TV channel. This indicates that there is still a degree of desire to have a little of Morocco through TV programmes, to satisfy a cultural thirst. The other satellite Arabic TV stations have a presence too. As many of them use primarily Standard Arabic, their viewing would mostly be for cultural reasons as the level of proficiency in Standard Arabic on part of the viewers in Britain is low. Viewing British terrestrial channels is high and that is another indicator of language shift, because, to follow programmes in English one would need a minimum level of comprehension of the language. To support this argument, the majority of viewing of films, plays and documentaries takes place in English. When asked about the preferred language to view these Media, English comes at the top of other languages with 50.2% while Moroccan Arabic scores only 9.1% (see chapter 7, section: 7.7.3.2).

Language use of a speech community is a good indicator of the linguistic changes and the direction the community is taking. Language use of the Moroccan community in Britain is steadily shifting towards English. This finding is similar to those of many other such studies. The studies on the Chinese community in Britain which Wei (1982; 1994) has reported on are cases in point. This statement is backed by the data, as only 57.5% of members of the community

use exclusively Moroccan Arabic at home – a drop of 42.5% in one generation. English seems to have taken that ground from Moroccan Arabic. 46.6% of the community claim to use English exclusively at home. This presents an issue but it does not change the fundamental point that the community is shifting towards English. The issue is that there is a discrepancy of 4.1%. This is probably because some members use Moroccan Arabic exclusively with certain members of the family, while using English exclusively with others. This also means that many members of the community are bilingual. Language use at home is arguably the strongest indicator of language shift. This will have an impact on the linguistic upbringing of the children, and that may potentially filter through the generations. However, Fishman (1966 in 1972:52-53) argues that it is almost impossible to maintain ancestral language beyond the first generation due to the enormous pressure of urban life where most immigrant communities live. Having said that, there is a correlation between home and community. Each one influences the other. However, it is generally agreed that language use at home has the strongest influence on language maintenance because the home is the transmitter of the minority language to the next generation, particularly in contexts where there is not strong community support. Only 56.2% of members of the community acquire Moroccan Arabic at home in contrast with 1.8% for English who acquire it at home, in spite the fact that 63.9% claim that Moroccan Arabic is their mother tongue. This discrepancy is a reflection on the identity crisis some members of the community may feel. Although they do not have native fluency of Moroccan Arabic, nonetheless they claim it purely to identify themselves with the community as Moroccans. English, on the other hand, is predominantly learnt at



home, school and society in general. After all, the community is living in a predominantly monolingual society. Fluency is another indicator of the extent of language maintenance and shift as the more fluent they are in their ancestral language the more they may be able to maintain it. In this respect, 70.3% claim that their fluency in Moroccan Arabic is excellent. This leaves 29.7% of the members who are undergoing some degree of language shift, at least on the level of fluency. On the other hand, 62.1% of the members of the community claim to speak English fluently – an indication of the prominence of the use of English in the community. Code-switching and mixing play a role in determining language fluency in an immigrant context. It is seen as a transitional period in language shift (Bentahila and Davis, 1995:48). As much as 87.7% of the community code switch and mix.

Language of address is a very interesting way of looking at the pattern of language shift through the generational line without the prerequisite of observing the community for a generation. Of course, this does not totally compensate for such a longitudinal study. When addressing the older generation, 36.5% and 30.6% of community addresses old women and old men respectively in Moroccan Arabic versus 20.1% for both in English. The picture changes completely as only 9.6% and 9.1% of members of the community would address girls and boys respectively in Moroccan Arabic. The level of use of English rises dramatically to 43.4% for both. This is helped further by the view that English is seen by 78.1% of the community as either very dominant or dominant.

Forming a picture of language use and maintenance within the Moroccan community in Britain relies on a number of determinants (see chapter 2, section 2.2 & chapter 7). However, at every stage of this study and as the data shows, the Moroccan community in Britain is experiencing language shift. Moreover, there are no indications of any serious effort exercised by the community to maintain its language(s). In fact, the impression one may gather is that the third generation of the community most likely is going to experience total shift.

On the hypothesis that the sociolinguistic picture of the Moroccan community in Britain is similar to that present in Morocco on the assumption that the Moroccan community in Britain draws its sociolinguistic characteristics from Morocco proved to be a false assumption hypothesis. The linguistic repertoire of the two communities is different. The Moroccan community in Britain relies mostly on Moroccan Arabic and English. Its relationship with Classical Arabic is primarily a nostalgic one. This is explained by the low numbers of those who are report that they are fluent in Classical Arabic. The other difference between the two sides is the importance of French. For Morocco, French is very important in areas of education, economy and finances, as well as social achievement. For the Moroccan community in Britain, French has no role beyond that of a foreign language taught at school.

The reasons for code-switching use differ markedly between Morocco and the Moroccan minority in Britain. While in Morocco code-switching is mostly used to denote a social status and project an image of achievement and success;

for the Moroccan community in Britain, code-switching is used mostly as a mode of communication to bridge the language gap between first and second generation, as it is used to compensate for lack of language proficiency. As such, code-switching must be seen as a marker of language shift. So, the Moroccan community in Britain is not only shifting towards English – the language of the majority, it is also shifting from the sociolinguistic patterns of Morocco where its roots may rest.

As scholars such as Extra and Verhoeven (1992) have remarked that there is a distinction between studies which are based on reported data, and those which are based on observed data, and that “actual rather than reported data on L1 proficiency (Moroccan Arabic or Berber) are rare” (Extra and Verhoeven, 1992:67), the same could be said about the present research which is based on reported data. Though, on one hand, this may be seen as leading to an inaccurate picture of language use and maintenance within the community, on the other hand, it reflects how the immigrant community views itself and to what extent both reported and actual pictures may be close to each other.

The theoretical frameworks of this research which are based on Fishman’s (1966 in 1972; 1989) seven models and typology of language maintenance (see chapter 3, section 3.2) and Fase *et al.* (1992) four hypothesis of language maintenance and shift (see chapter 3, section 3.3) have proved to be a guiding light in my research.

I am satisfied, to a very large degree, that Fishman’s (1966 in 1972; 1989) seven models may support the results and observations of my study of the

Moroccan minority's language use and maintenance process. With respect to Fishman's typology, his first resolution may be applicable in the case of the Moroccan minority: They are losing their ethnic Moroccan varieties to English – the dominant language (See section 3.2 on Fishman's model and typology of language maintenance).

As for Fase *et al.* (1992) four hypothesis of language maintenance and shift (see chapter 3, section 3.3), only their fourth hypothesis or scenario may be applicable to the Moroccan minority in Britain which is that this community will always need to use the dominant language for most aspects of life outside the community. For considerable language shift to occur, it takes three generations (Fase *et al.* 1992:6).

It is very important to determine how a community views itself before determining its actual characteristics. This will help in establishing as accurately as possible what the community is going through and what solution it may need to facilitate its integration while maintaining its language(s). This research, though based on reported data, could be seen as the foundation work for a future study on the language use and maintenance among the Moroccan community in Britain based on empirical data.

This research study and the results it embodies are a historical snapshot of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain prior to the events of 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 and the subsequent “wars on terror”, and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. The Moroccan community in Britain like most if not all Arab and Muslim communities around the world, felt

their impact very strongly. As such, access to this community which was already difficult, all of a sudden became near impossible. We cannot be sure whether access, if any, will ever be the same. For this reason the data obtained between October 2000 and June 2001 is the last of its kind as the environment in which it was gathered might never be replicated. Moreover, the factors that influence language use and maintenance may have changed under the influence of new pressures and different ideologies. For these reasons I elected to preserve this data and work with it to record a specific moment in the history of the Moroccan minority's language use and maintenance in Britain.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Data of language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain

The following data is collated from the language use and maintenance among the Moroccan minority in Britain field study conducted in Britain between October 2000 and June 2001

#### Frequencies

1:1 Respondent's Age					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	05-09	14	6.4	6.4	6.4
	10-14	58	26.5	26.5	32.9
	15-19	35	16.0	16.0	48.9
	20-24	24	11.0	11.0	59.8
	25-29	16	7.3	7.3	67.1
	30-34	12	5.5	5.5	72.6
	35-39	12	5.5	5.5	78.1
	40-44	16	7.3	7.3	85.4
	45-49	4	1.8	1.8	87.2
	50-54	8	3.7	3.7	90.9
	55-59	8	3.7	3.7	94.5
	60-64	4	1.8	1.8	96.3
	65-69	8	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total		219	100.0	100.0	

1:2 Respondent's Gender					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Female	109	49.8	49.8	49.8
	Male	110	50.2	50.2	100.0
	Total	219	100.0	100.0	

1:3 Respondent's Place of Birth					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Morocco	67	30.6	30.6	30.6
	Britain	148	67.6	67.6	98.2
	Ceuta	4	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	219	100.0	100.0	

1:4 Respondent's Year of Settlement in UK					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Born	148	67.6	67.6	67.6
	1963	4	1.8	1.8	69.4
	1965	4	1.8	1.8	71.2
	1970	8	3.7	3.7	74.9
	1971	32	14.6	14.6	89.5
	1976	12	5.5	5.5	95.0
	1986	1	.5	.5	95.4
	1988	2	.9	.9	96.3
	1989	4	1.8	1.8	98.2
	1990	4	1.8	1.8	100.0
	Total	219	100.0	100.0	

1:5 Respondent's Occupation					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Catering	4	1.8	1.8	1.8
	Worker	16	7.3	7.3	9.1
	Unemployed	28	12.8	12.8	21.9
	Engineering	4	1.8	1.8	23.7
	Housewife	4	1.8	1.8	25.6
	Student	111	50.7	50.7	76.3
	Cleaning	24	11.0	11.0	87.2
	Management	8	3.7	3.7	90.9
	Technician	4	1.8	1.8	92.7
	Teacher	4	1.8	1.8	94.5
	Business	4	1.8	1.8	96.3
	Training	8	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	219	100.0	100.0	

1:6 Respondent's Native Language					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	140	63.9	63.9	63.9
	English	65	29.7	29.7	93.6
	Berber	4	1.8	1.8	95.4
	M Arabic/Spanish	4	1.8	1.8	97.3
	M Arabic/English	6	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	219	100.0	100.0	

1:7 Respondent's Education					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	None	28	12.8	13.0	13.0
	Primary	52	23.7	24.2	37.2
	Secondary	106	48.4	49.3	86.5

	Higher	29	13.2	13.5	100.0
	Total	215	98.2	100.0	
Missing	System	4	1.8		
Total		219	100.0		

2:1 Father's Age					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	35-39	5	2.3	3.5	3.5
	40-44	26	11.9	18.4	22.0
	45-49	26	11.9	18.4	40.4
	50-54	20	9.1	14.2	54.6
	55-59	20	9.1	14.2	68.8
	60-64	8	3.7	5.7	74.5
	65-69	8	3.7	5.7	80.1
	75-79	28	12.8	19.9	100.0
	Total	141	64.4	100.0	
Missing	System	78	35.6		
Total		219	100.0		

2:2 Father's Place of Birth					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Morocco	141	64.4	84.9	84.9
	Britain	8	3.7	4.8	89.8
	Portugal	8	3.7	4.8	94.6
	Jamaica	9	4.1	5.4	100.0
	Total	166	75.8	100.0	
Missing	System	53	24.2		
Total		219	100.0		

2:3 Father's Year of Settlement in UK					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Borne	8	3.7	7.1	7.1
	1963	16	7.3	14.3	21.4
	1966	4	1.8	3.6	25.0
	1967	4	1.8	3.6	28.6
	1969	32	14.6	28.6	57.1
	1970	4	1.8	3.6	60.7
	1971	8	3.7	7.1	67.9
	1973	4	1.8	3.6	71.4
	1976	11	5.0	9.8	81.3
	1979	4	1.8	3.6	84.8
	1985	5	2.3	4.5	89.3
	1986	9	4.1	8.0	97.3
	1989	3	1.4	2.7	100.0
	Total	112	51.1	100.0	



Missing	System	107	48.9		
Total		219	100.0		

2:4 Father's Occupation					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid		73	33.3	33.3	33.3
	Area Manager	8	3.7	3.7	37.0
	Banker	4	1.8	1.8	38.8
	Businessman	5	2.3	2.3	41.1
	Chef	24	11.0	11.0	52.1
	Cleaner	16	7.3	7.3	59.4
	Head Barman	5	2.3	2.3	61.6
	Porter	5	2.3	2.3	63.9
	Retired	28	12.8	12.8	76.7
	Sanitary	3	1.4	1.4	78.1
	Shopkeeper	5	2.3	2.3	80.4
	Teacher	5	2.3	2.3	82.6
	Translator/Advisor	5	2.3	2.3	84.9
	Unemployed	25	11.4	11.4	96.3
	Worker	8	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total		219	100.0	100.0	

2:5 Father's Native Language					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid		45	20.5	20.5	20.5
	English	17	7.8	7.8	28.3
	M Arabic	149	68.0	68.0	96.3
	Portuguese	8	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	219	100.0	100.0	

2:6 Father's Education					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	None	113	51.6	77.4	77.4
	Primary	7	3.2	4.8	82.2
	Secondary	16	7.3	11.0	93.2
	Higher	10	4.6	6.8	100.0
	Total	146	66.7	100.0	
Missing	System	73	33.3		
Total		219	100.0		

2:7 Mother's Age					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	30-34	8	3.7	5.4	5.4
	35-39	18	8.2	12.1	17.4
	40-44	37	16.9	24.8	42.3

	45-49	13	5.9	8.7	51.0
	50-54	33	15.1	22.1	73.2
	60-64	12	5.5	8.1	81.2
	65-69	28	12.8	18.8	100.0
	Total	149	68.0	100.0	
Missing	System	70	32.0		
Total		219	100.0		

2:8 Mother's Place of Birth					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Morocco	165	75.3	97.1	97.1
	Britain	5	2.3	2.9	100.0
	Total	170	77.6	100.0	
Missing	System	49	22.4		
Total		219	100.0		

2:9 Mother's Year of Settlement in UK					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Borne	5	2.3	4.6	4.6
	1965	16	7.3	14.7	19.3
	1967	4	1.8	3.7	22.9
	1970	12	5.5	11.0	33.9
	1971	48	21.9	44.0	78.0
	1975	3	1.4	2.8	80.7
	1978	8	3.7	7.3	88.1
	1979	4	1.8	3.7	91.7
	1984	4	1.8	3.7	95.4
	1987	5	2.3	4.6	100.0
	Total	109	49.8	100.0	
Missing	System	110	50.2		
Total		219	100.0		

2:10 Mother's Occupation					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid		69	31.5	31.5	31.5
	Carer	5	2.3	2.3	33.8
	Cleaner	16	7.3	7.3	41.1
	Con. Support	20	9.1	9.1	50.2
	Housewife	65	29.7	29.7	79.9
	Lawyer	4	1.8	1.8	81.7
	Machinist	4	1.8	1.8	83.6
	Machinist	8	3.7	3.7	87.2
	Retired	16	7.3	7.3	94.5
	Unemployed	8	3.7	3.7	98.2
	Worker	4	1.8	1.8	100.0

	Total	219	100.0	100.0	
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2:11 Mother's Native Language					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid		47	21.5	21.5	21.5
	English	11	5.0	5.0	26.5
	M Arabic	161	73.5	73.5	100.0
	Total	219	100.0	100.0	

2:12 Mother's Education					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	None	97	44.3	64.7	64.7
	Primary	31	14.2	20.7	85.3
	Secondary	9	4.1	6.0	91.3
	Higher	13	5.9	8.7	100.0
	Total	150	68.5	100.0	
Missing	System	69	31.5		
Total		219	100.0		

4.1 Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	126	57.5	61.8	61.8
	From time to time	74	33.8	36.3	98.0
	Hardly	4	1.8	2.0	100.0
	Total	204	93.2	100.0	
Missing	System	15	6.8		
Total		219	100.0		

4.2 Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	9	4.1	11.5	11.5
	From time to time	20	9.1	25.6	37.2
	Hardly	23	10.5	29.5	66.7
	Never	26	11.9	33.3	100.0
	Total	78	35.6	100.0	
Missing	System	141	64.4		
Total		219	100.0		

4.3 Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	28	12.8	19.9	19.9
	From time to time	83	37.9	58.9	78.7
	Hardly	11	5.0	7.8	86.5
	Never	19	8.7	13.5	100.0

	Total	141	64.4	100.0	
Missing	System	78	35.6		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.4 Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	31	14.2	27.4	27.4
	From time to time	63	28.8	55.8	83.2
	Hardly	8	3.7	7.1	90.3
	Never	11	5.0	9.7	100.0
	Total	113	51.6	100.0	
Missing	System	106	48.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.5 Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	93	42.5	58.9	58.9
	From time to time	57	26.0	36.1	94.9
	Hardly	8	3.7	5.1	100.0
	Total	158	72.1	100.0	
Missing	System	61	27.9		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.6 Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Hardly	4	1.8	6.6	6.6
	Never	57	26.0	93.4	100.0
	Total	61	27.9	100.0	
Missing	System	158	72.1		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.7 Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Hardly	3	1.4	5.7	5.7
	Never	50	22.8	94.3	100.0
	Total	53	24.2	100.0	
Missing	System	166	75.8		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.8 Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Hardly	4	1.8	7.5	7.5
	Never	49	22.4	92.5	100.0
	Total	53	24.2	100.0	

Missing	System	166	75.8		
Total		219	100.0		

4.9 Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	49	22.4	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	170	77.6		
Total		219	100.0		

4.10 Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	45	20.5	91.8	91.8
	Other	4	1.8	8.2	100.0
	Total	49	22.4	100.0	
Missing	System	170	77.6		
Total		219	100.0		

4.11 Respondent's Degree of Use of English at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	102	46.6	56.0	56.0
	From time to time	65	29.7	35.7	91.8
	Hardly	11	5.0	6.0	97.8
	Never	4	1.8	2.2	100.0
	Total	182	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	37	16.9		
Total		219	100.0		

4.12 Respondent's Degree of Use of English at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	170	77.6	89.0	89.0
	From time to time	21	9.6	11.0	100.0
	Total	191	87.2	100.0	
Missing	System	28	12.8		
Total		219	100.0		

4.13 Respondent's Degree of Use of English Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	141	64.4	73.1	73.1
	From time to time	41	18.7	21.2	94.3
	Hardly	11	5.0	5.7	100.0
	Total	193	88.1	100.0	
Missing	System	26	11.9		
Total		219	100.0		

4.14 Respondent's Degree of Use of English at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	83	37.9	56.5	56.5
	From time to time	61	27.9	41.5	98.0
	Hardly	3	1.4	2.0	100.0
	Total	147	67.1	100.0	
Missing	System	72	32.9		
Total		219	100.0		

4.15 Respondent's Degree of Use of English Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	48	21.9	37.8	37.8
	From time to time	62	28.3	48.8	86.6
	Hardly	7	3.2	5.5	92.1
	Never	10	4.6	7.9	100.0
	Total	127	58.0	100.0	
Missing	System	92	42.0		
Total		219	100.0		

4.16 Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	10	4.6	16.9	16.9
	From time to time	4	1.8	6.8	23.7
	Hardly	4	1.8	6.8	30.5
	Never	41	18.7	69.5	100.0
	Total	59	26.9	100.0	
Missing	System	160	73.1		
Total		219	100.0		

4.17 Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	4	1.8	8.9	8.9
	From time to time	4	1.8	8.9	17.8
	Never	37	16.9	82.2	100.0
	Total	45	20.5	100.0	
Missing	System	174	79.5		
Total		219	100.0		

4.18 Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	4	1.8	8.2	8.2
	Hardly	8	3.7	16.3	24.5
	Never	37	16.9	75.5	100.0
	Total	49	22.4	100.0	
Missing	System	170	77.6		

Total	219	100.0		
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4.19 Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	4	1.8	8.2	8.2
	From time to time	4	1.8	8.2	16.3
	Hardly	8	3.7	16.3	32.7
	Never	33	15.1	67.3	100.0
	Total	49	22.4	100.0	
Missing	System	170	77.6		
Total		219	100.0		

4.20 Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	4	1.8	8.2	8.2
	From time to time	4	1.8	8.2	16.3
	Hardly	11	5.0	22.4	38.8
	Never	30	13.7	61.2	100.0
	Total	49	22.4	100.0	
Missing	System	170	77.6		
Total		219	100.0		

4.21 Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	8	3.7	14.0	14.0
	Hardly	20	9.1	35.1	49.1
	Never	29	13.2	50.9	100.0
	Total	57	26.0	100.0	
Missing	System	162	74.0		
Total		219	100.0		

4.22 Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	5	2.3	10.0	10.0
	Hardly	4	1.8	8.0	18.0
	Never	41	18.7	82.0	100.0
	Total	50	22.8	100.0	
Missing	System	169	77.2		
Total		219	100.0		

4.23 Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Hardly	4	1.8	8.9	8.9
	Never	41	18.7	91.1	100.0

	Total	45	20.5	100.0	
Missing	System	174	79.5		
Total		219	100.0		

4.24 Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Hardly	4	1.8	8.9	8.9
	Never	41	18.7	91.1	100.0
	Total	45	20.5	100.0	
Missing	System	174	79.5		
Total		219	100.0		

4.25 Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	3	1.4	6.7	6.7
	Hardly	8	3.7	17.8	24.4
	Never	34	15.5	75.6	100.0
	Total	45	20.5	100.0	
Missing	System	174	79.5		
Total		219	100.0		

4.26 Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	8	3.7	11.0	11.0
	From time to time	16	7.3	21.9	32.9
	Hardly	4	1.8	5.5	38.4
	Never	45	20.5	61.6	100.0
	Total	73	33.3	100.0	
Missing	System	146	66.7		
Total		219	100.0		

4.27 Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	4	1.8	6.3	6.3
	From time to time	15	6.8	23.4	29.7
	Hardly	4	1.8	6.3	35.9
	Never	41	18.7	64.1	100.0
	Total	64	29.2	100.0	
Missing	System	155	70.8		
Total		219	100.0		

4.28 Respondent's Degree of Use of French outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	10	4.6	18.2	18.2



	From time to time	4	1.8	7.3	25.5
	Never	41	18.7	74.5	100.0
	Total	55	25.1	100.0	
Missing	System	164	74.9		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.29 Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	4	1.8	8.2	8.2
	From time to time	4	1.8	8.2	16.3
	Hardly	4	1.8	8.2	24.5
	Never	37	16.9	75.5	100.0
	Total	49	22.4	100.0	
Missing	System	170	77.6		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.30 Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	4	1.8	7.4	7.4
	From time to time	9	4.1	16.7	24.1
	Hardly	17	7.8	31.5	55.6
	Never	24	11.0	44.4	100.0
	Total	54	24.7	100.0	
Missing	System	165	75.3		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.31 Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	8	3.7	13.1	13.1
	Hardly	27	12.3	44.3	57.4
	Never	26	11.9	42.6	100.0
	Total	61	27.9	100.0	
Missing	System	158	72.1		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.32 Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	3	1.4	5.4	5.4
	From time to time	4	1.8	7.1	12.5
	Hardly	4	1.8	7.1	19.6
	Never	45	20.5	80.4	100.0
	Total	56	25.6	100.0	
Missing	System	163	74.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

4.33 Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	6	2.7	9.5	9.5
	From time to time	12	5.5	19.0	28.6
	Hardly	4	1.8	6.3	34.9
	Never	41	18.7	65.1	100.0
	Total	63	28.8	100.0	
Missing	System	156	71.2		
Total		219	100.0		

4.34 Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	4	1.8	7.5	7.5
	Hardly	4	1.8	7.5	15.1
	Never	45	20.5	84.9	100.0
	Total	53	24.2	100.0	
Missing	System	166	75.8		
Total		219	100.0		

4.35 Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	15	6.8	26.3	26.3
	Hardly	4	1.8	7.0	33.3
	Never	38	17.4	66.7	100.0
	Total	57	26.0	100.0	
Missing	System	162	74.0		
Total		219	100.0		

5.1 Respondent's Place of Learning Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At Home; With Peers	31	14.2	14.8	14.8
	At home	123	56.2	58.6	73.3
	At Home; With Peers; In the Mosque; At Work	37	16.9	17.6	91.0
	At home; School	19	8.7	9.0	100.0
	Total	210	95.9	100.0	
Missing	System	9	4.1		
Total		219	100.0		

5.2 Respondent's Place of Learning Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At Home; At Work	4	1.8	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	215	98.2		
Total		219	100.0		

5.3 Respondent's Place of Learning English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At home	4	1.8	1.9	1.9
	At School	32	14.6	15.0	16.8
	At Work	24	11.0	11.2	28.0
	Home; School; Work	36	16.4	16.8	44.9
	Home; School	54	24.7	25.2	70.1
	Home; Work	4	1.8	1.9	72.0
	Home; School; Work; Centre	20	9.1	9.3	81.3
	At School; With peers	12	5.5	5.6	86.9
	School; Work; Self- taught	12	5.5	5.6	92.5
	School; Work	8	3.7	3.7	96.3
	Work; Self-taught	4	1.8	1.9	98.1
	At School; Work; With peers	4	1.8	1.9	100.0
	Total	214	97.7	100.0	
Missing	System	5	2.3		
Total		219	100.0		

5.4 Respondent's Place of Learning Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At School	8	3.7	9.2	9.2
	At Work	4	1.8	4.6	13.8
	At Qur'anic School	59	26.9	67.8	81.6
	At home; school; With Peers; In the Mosque	12	5.5	13.8	95.4
	Home; School; Work; With Peers; Mosque; Self-taught	4	1.8	4.6	100.0
		Total	87	39.7	100.0
Missing	System	132	60.3		
Total		219	100.0		

5.5 Respondent's Place of Learning Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At home	4	1.8	23.5	23.5
	Media	13	5.9	76.5	100.0
		Total	17	7.8	100.0
Missing	System	202	92.2		
Total		219	100.0		

5.6 Respondent's Place of Learning French					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At School	27	12.3	56.3	56.3
	At Work	4	1.8	8.3	64.6
	At School & a Centre	4	1.8	8.3	72.9
	At home; At Work	4	1.8	8.3	81.2
	At School; Self-taught	9	4.1	18.8	100.0
	Total	48	21.9	100.0	
Missing	System	171	78.1		
Total		219	100.0		

5.7 Respondent's Place of Learning Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At home & school	4	1.8	7.0	7.0
	At home	16	7.3	28.1	35.1
	At School	21	9.6	36.8	71.9
	At Work	4	1.8	7.0	78.9
	At home; At Work	8	3.7	14.0	93.0
	School; With peers; Self-taught	4	1.8	7.0	100.0
	Total	57	26.0	100.0	
Missing	System	162	74.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.1 Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	154	70.3	74.0	74.0
	Good	42	19.2	20.2	94.2
	Fair	8	3.7	3.8	98.1
	Poor	4	1.8	1.9	100.0
	Total	208	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	11	5.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.2 Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	139	63.5	68.8	68.8
	Good	37	16.9	18.3	87.1
	Fair	12	5.5	5.9	93.1
	Poor	14	6.4	6.9	100.0
	Total	202	92.2	100.0	
Missing	System	17	7.8		
Total		219	100.0		

6.3 Respondent's Degree of Reading in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Excellent	21	9.6	13.8	13.8
	Good	39	17.8	25.7	39.5
	Fair	21	9.6	13.8	53.3
	Poor	35	16.0	23.0	76.3
	Non	36	16.4	23.7	100.0
	Total	152	69.4	100.0	
Missing	System	67	30.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.4 Respondent's Degree of Writing in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	27	12.3	17.8	17.8
	Good	43	19.6	28.3	46.1
	Fair	12	5.5	7.9	53.9
	Poor	26	11.9	17.1	71.1
	Non	44	20.1	28.9	100.0
	Total	152	69.4	100.0	
Missing	System	67	30.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.5 Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	4	1.8	3.8	3.8
	None	101	46.1	96.2	100.0
	Total	105	47.9	100.0	
Missing	System	114	52.1		
Total		219	100.0		

6.6 Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	4	1.8	3.8	3.8
	None	101	46.1	96.2	100.0
	Total	105	47.9	100.0	
Missing	System	114	52.1		
Total		219	100.0		

6.7 Respondent's Degree of Reading in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poor	4	1.8	3.8	3.8
	None	101	46.1	96.2	100.0
	Total	105	47.9	100.0	
Missing	System	114	52.1		
Total		219	100.0		

6.8 Respondent's Degree of Writing in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Fair	4	1.8	3.8	3.8
	None	101	46.1	96.2	100.0
	Total	105	47.9	100.0	
Missing	System	114	52.1		
Total		219	100.0		

6.9 Respondent's Degree of Understanding in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	160	73.1	76.9	76.9
	Good	40	18.3	19.2	96.2
	Fair	4	1.8	1.9	98.1
	Poor	4	1.8	1.9	100.0
	Total	208	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	11	5.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.10 Respondent's Degree of Speaking in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	136	62.1	65.4	65.4
	Good	60	27.4	28.8	94.2
	Fair	8	3.7	3.8	98.1
	Poor	4	1.8	1.9	100.0
	Total	208	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	11	5.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.11 Respondent's Degree of Reading in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	128	58.4	61.5	61.5
	Good	40	18.3	19.2	80.8
	Fair	12	5.5	5.8	86.5
	Poor	12	5.5	5.8	92.3
	Non	16	7.3	7.7	100.0
	Total	208	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	11	5.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.12 Respondent's Degree of Writing in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	115	52.5	55.3	55.3
	Good	45	20.5	21.6	76.9
	Fair	16	7.3	7.7	84.6
	Poor	12	5.5	5.8	90.4

	None	20	9.1	9.6	100.0
	Total	208	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	11	5.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.13 Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	12	5.5	9.2	9.2
	Good	9	4.1	6.9	16.2
	Fair	23	10.5	17.7	33.8
	Poor	56	25.6	43.1	76.9
	None	30	13.7	23.1	100.0
Total		130	59.4	100.0	
Missing	System	89	40.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.14 Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	8	3.7	6.2	6.2
	Good	4	1.8	3.1	9.2
	Fair	20	9.1	15.4	24.6
	Poor	60	27.4	46.2	70.8
	None	38	17.4	29.2	100.0
Total		130	59.4	100.0	
Missing	System	89	40.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.15 Respondent's Degree of Reading in Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	8	3.7	6.2	6.2
	Good	21	9.6	16.2	22.3
	Fair	4	1.8	3.1	25.4
	Poor	51	23.3	39.2	64.6
	None	46	21.0	35.4	100.0
Total		130	59.4	100.0	
Missing	System	89	40.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.16 Respondent's Degree of Writing in Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	8	3.7	6.2	6.2
	Good	9	4.1	6.9	13.1
	Fair	11	5.0	8.5	21.5
	Poor	52	23.7	40.0	61.5
	None	50	22.8	38.5	100.0

	Total	130	59.4	100.0	
Missing	System	89	40.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.17 Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	8	3.7	7.8	7.8
	Good	6	2.7	5.8	13.6
	Fair	19	8.7	18.4	32.0
	Poor	40	18.3	38.8	70.9
	None	30	13.7	29.1	100.0
	Total	103	47.0	100.0	
Missing	System	116	53.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.18 Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	4	1.8	3.9	3.9
	Good	10	4.6	9.7	13.6
	Fair	11	5.0	10.7	24.3
	Poor	36	16.4	35.0	59.2
	None	42	19.2	40.8	100.0
	Total	103	47.0	100.0	
Missing	System	116	53.0		
Total		219	100.0		

6.19 Respondent's Degree of Reading in Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	4	1.8	4.2	4.2
	Good	6	2.7	6.3	10.5
	Fair	4	1.8	4.2	14.7
	Poor	19	8.7	20.0	34.7
	None	62	28.3	65.3	100.0
	Total	95	43.4	100.0	
Missing	System	124	56.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.20 Respondent's Degree of Writing in Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Good	10	4.6	10.5	10.5
	Fair	7	3.2	7.4	17.9
	Poor	16	7.3	16.8	34.7
	None	62	28.3	65.3	100.0
	Total	95	43.4	100.0	
Missing	System	124	56.6		



Total	219	100.0		
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6.21 Respondent's Degree of Understanding in French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	12	5.5	9.4	9.4
	Good	28	12.8	21.9	31.3
	Fair	9	4.1	7.0	38.3
	Poor	3	1.4	2.3	40.6
	None	76	34.7	59.4	100.0
	Total	128	58.4	100.0	
Missing	System	91	41.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.22 Respondent's Degree of Speaking in French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	8	3.7	6.3	6.3
	Good	32	14.6	25.0	31.3
	Fair	9	4.1	7.0	38.3
	None	79	36.1	61.7	100.0
	Total	128	58.4	100.0	
Missing	System	91	41.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.23 Respondent's Degree of Reading in French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	8	3.7	6.3	6.3
	Good	32	14.6	25.0	31.3
	Fair	9	4.1	7.0	38.3
	Poor	3	1.4	2.3	40.6
	None	76	34.7	59.4	100.0
	Total	128	58.4	100.0	
Missing	System	91	41.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.24 Respondent's Degree of Writing in French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	17	7.8	13.3	13.3
	Good	23	10.5	18.0	31.3
	Fair	9	4.1	7.0	38.3
	Poor	3	1.4	2.3	40.6
	None	76	34.7	59.4	100.0
	Total	128	58.4	100.0	
Missing	System	91	41.6		
Total		219	100.0		

6.25 Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	22	10.0	16.2	16.2
	Good	38	17.4	27.9	44.1
	Fair	13	5.9	9.6	53.7
	Poor	7	3.2	5.1	58.8
	None	56	25.6	41.2	100.0
	Total	136	62.1	100.0	
Missing	System	83	37.9		
Total		219	100.0		

6.26 Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	18	8.2	13.2	13.2
	Good	38	17.4	27.9	41.2
	Fair	13	5.9	9.6	50.7
	None	67	30.6	49.3	100.0
	Total	136	62.1	100.0	
Missing	System	83	37.9		
Total		219	100.0		

6.27 Respondent's Degree of Reading in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	10	4.6	7.4	7.4
	Good	34	15.5	25.0	32.4
	Fair	9	4.1	6.6	39.0
	Poor	15	6.8	11.0	50.0
	None	68	31.1	50.0	100.0
	Total	136	62.1	100.0	
Missing	System	83	37.9		
Total		219	100.0		

6.28 Respondent's Degree of Writing in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	10	4.6	7.4	7.4
	Good	26	11.9	19.1	26.5
	Fair	13	5.9	9.6	36.0
	Poor	15	6.8	11.0	47.1
	None	72	32.9	52.9	100.0
	Total	136	62.1	100.0	
Missing	System	83	37.9		
Total		219	100.0		

7.1 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid	Cumulative

				%	%
Valid	Never	4	1.8	23.5	23.5
	Rarely with friends	9	4.1	52.9	76.5
	Rarely in social gatherings	4	1.8	23.5	100.0
	Total	17	7.8	100.0	
Missing	System	202	92.2		
Total		219	100.0		

7.2 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Rarely in social gatherings	68	31.1	35.4	35.4
	Sometimes at home/ with friends	10	4.6	5.2	40.6
	Sometimes in discussions	4	1.8	2.1	42.7
	Sometimes in all situations	4	1.8	2.1	44.8
	Sometimes in social gatherings	20	9.1	10.4	55.2
	Often at home/ with friends	18	8.2	9.4	64.6
	Often with friends	4	1.8	2.1	66.7
	Often in discussions	4	1.8	2.1	68.8
	Very often in all situations	8	3.7	4.2	72.9
	Always at home/ with friends	11	5.0	5.7	78.6
	Always in all situations	41	18.7	21.4	100.0
Total		192	87.7	100.0	
Missing	System	27	12.3		
Total		219	100.0		

7.3 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	4	1.8	9.3	9.3
	Rarely at work/ studies	4	1.8	9.3	18.6
	Rarely in social gatherings	4	1.8	9.3	27.9
	Sometimes with friends	4	1.8	9.3	37.2
	Sometimes in all situations	5	2.3	11.6	48.8
	Sometimes in social gatherings	4	1.8	9.3	58.1

	Very often with friends	5	2.3	11.6	69.8
	Always in all situations	8	3.7	18.6	88.4
	Always in social gatherings	5	2.3	11.6	100.0
	Total	43	19.6	100.0	
Missing	System	176	80.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

7.4 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	12.7	12.7
	Rarely at home/ with family	4	1.8	6.3	19.0
	Rarely in social gatherings	20	9.1	31.7	50.8
	Sometimes at home/ with family	10	4.6	15.9	66.7
	Sometimes with friends	4	1.8	6.3	73.0
	Sometimes in discussions	4	1.8	6.3	79.4
	Sometimes in social gatherings	8	3.7	12.7	92.1
	Often in social gatherings	5	2.3	7.9	100.0
	Total	63	28.8	100.0	
Missing	System	156	71.2		
	Total	219	100.0		

7.5 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	15.7	15.7
	Rarely in social gatherings	12	5.5	23.5	39.2
	Sometimes at work/ studies	4	1.8	7.8	47.1
	Sometimes in discussions	4	1.8	7.8	54.9
	Sometimes in social gatherings	4	1.8	7.8	62.7
	Often at home/ with family	5	2.3	9.8	72.5
	Often in discussions	6	2.7	11.8	84.3
	Often in social gatherings	4	1.8	7.8	92.2
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	7.8	100.0
	Total	51	23.3	100.0	
Missing	System	168	76.7		
	Total	219	100.0		

7.6 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	207	94.5		
Total		219	100.0		

7.7 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	75.0	75.0
	Always at home/ with family	4	1.8	25.0	100.0
	Total	16	7.3	100.0	
Missing	System	203	92.7		
Total		219	100.0		

7.8 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	207	94.5		
Total		219	100.0		

7.9 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	207	94.5		
Total		219	100.0		

7.10 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Classical Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	24.2	24.2
	Rarely in discussions	5	2.3	15.2	39.4
	Rarely in social gatherings	12	5.5	36.4	75.8
	Often in discussions	4	1.8	12.1	87.9
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	12.1	100.0
	Total	33	15.1	100.0	
Missing	System	186	84.9		
Total		219	100.0		

7.11 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Classical Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Never	8	3.7	27.6	27.6
	Rarely with friends	9	4.1	31.0	58.6
	Rarely in social gatherings	8	3.7	27.6	86.2
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	13.8	100.0
	Total	29	13.2	100.0	
Missing	System	190	86.8		
Total		219	100.0		

7.12 Respondent's Language Mixing/ Classical Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	36.4	36.4
	Rarely with friends	5	2.3	15.2	51.5
	Rarely in discussions	4	1.8	12.1	63.6
	Rarely in social gatherings	8	3.7	24.2	87.9
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	12.1	100.0
	Total	33	15.1	100.0	
Missing	System	186	84.9		
Total		219	100.0		

7.13 Respondent's Language Mixing/ English-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	18.6	18.6
	Rarely with friends	4	1.8	9.3	27.9
	Rarely in social gatherings	4	1.8	9.3	37.2
	Sometimes at work/ studies	5	2.3	11.6	48.8
	Sometimes in discussions	8	3.7	18.6	67.4
	Very often in discussions	5	2.3	11.6	79.1
	Always with friends	5	2.3	11.6	90.7
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	9.3	100.0
	Total	43	19.6	100.0	
Missing	System	176	80.4		
Total		219	100.0		

7.14 Respondent's Language Mixing/ English-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	11.9	11.9

	Rarely in social gatherings	28	12.8	41.8	53.7
	Sometimes at home/ with family	4	1.8	6.0	59.7
	Sometimes at work/ studies	6	2.7	9.0	68.7
	Sometimes in discussions	8	3.7	11.9	80.6
	Sometimes in social gatherings	8	3.7	11.9	92.5
	Often in discussions	5	2.3	7.5	100.0
	Total	67	30.6	100.0	
Missing	System	152	69.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

7.15 Respondent's Language Mixing/ French-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	57.1	57.1
	Sometimes at home/ with family	4	1.8	19.0	76.2
	Sometimes with friends	5	2.3	23.8	100.0
	Total	21	9.6	100.0	
Missing	System	198	90.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

8.1 Respondent's choice of Language to Learn M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	C Arabic	20	9.1	14.6	14.6
	M Arabic	5	2.3	3.6	18.2
	C Arabic; French	16	7.3	11.7	29.9
	C Arabic; French; Spanish	28	12.8	20.4	50.4
	French	8	3.7	5.8	56.2
	English; French	4	1.8	2.9	59.1
	Berber; French	8	3.7	5.8	65.0
	Spanish	19	8.7	13.9	78.8
	M Arabic; English; E Arabic; French; Spanish; German	5	2.3	3.6	82.5
	C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	5	2.3	3.6	86.1
	M Arabic; C Arabic	10	4.6	7.3	93.4
	French; Spanish	6	2.7	4.4	97.8
	M Arabic; C Arabic; Spanish	3	1.4	2.2	100.0
	Total	137	62.6	100.0	

Missing	System	82	37.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

9.1 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	50.0	50.0
	Rarely in social gatherings	12	5.5	50.0	100.0
	Total	24	11.0	100.0	
Missing	System	195	89.0		
	Total	219	100.0		

9.2 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Rarely in social gatherings	64	29.2	44.4	44.4
	Sometimes at home/ with family	12	5.5	8.3	52.8
	Often at home/ with family	10	4.6	6.9	59.7
	Often with friends	4	1.8	2.8	62.5
	Often in all situations	7	3.2	4.9	67.4
	Very often in all situations	8	3.7	5.6	72.9
	Always at home/ with family	6	2.7	4.2	77.1
	Always in all situations	33	15.1	22.9	100.0
	Total	144	65.8	100.0	
Missing	System	75	34.2		
	Total	219	100.0		

9.3 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	22.2	22.2
	Rarely with friends	4	1.8	11.1	33.3
	Rarely in social gatherings	12	5.5	33.3	66.7
	Sometimes at home/ with family	4	1.8	11.1	77.8
	Sometimes with friends	4	1.8	11.1	88.9
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	11.1	100.0
	Total	36	16.4	100.0	



Missing	System	183	83.6		
Total		219	100.0		

9.4 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	20.0	20.0
	Rarely at home/ with family	4	1.8	6.7	26.7
	Rarely in social gatherings	32	14.6	53.3	80.0
	Sometimes at home/ with family	4	1.8	6.7	86.7
	Sometimes with friends	4	1.8	6.7	93.3
	Sometimes in discussions	4	1.8	6.7	100.0
Total		60	27.4	100.0	
Missing	System	159	72.6		
Total		219	100.0		

9.5 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-C. Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	4	1.8	16.7	16.7
	Rarely in social gatherings	8	3.7	33.3	50.0
	Sometimes in discussions	8	3.7	33.3	83.3
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	16.7	100.0
	Total	24	11.0	100.0	
Missing	System	195	89.0		
Total		219	100.0		

9.6 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-C. Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	211	96.3		
Total		219	100.0		

9.7 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	207	94.5		
Total		219	100.0		

9.8 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-French					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	207	94.5		
Total		219	100.0		

9.9 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	207	94.5		
Total		219	100.0		

9.10 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ C. Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	4	1.8	16.7	16.7
	Rarely in discussions	4	1.8	16.7	33.3
	Rarely in social gatherings	8	3.7	33.3	66.7
	Sometimes in discussions	4	1.8	16.7	83.3
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	16.7	100.0
	Total	24	11.0	100.0	
Missing	System	195	89.0		
Total		219	100.0		

9.11 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/C. Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	4	1.8	20.0	20.0
	Rarely with friends	4	1.8	20.0	40.0
	Rarely in social gatherings	8	3.7	40.0	80.0
	Always in all situations	4	1.8	20.0	100.0
	Total	20	9.1	100.0	
Missing	System	199	90.9		
Total		219	100.0		

9.12 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ C. Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	22.2	22.2
	Rarely in social gatherings	28	12.8	77.8	100.0
	Total	36	16.4	100.0	
Missing	System	183	83.6		

Total	219	100.0		
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9.13 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ English-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	19.5	19.5
	Rarely at work/ studies	4	1.8	9.8	29.3
	Rarely in social gatherings	12	5.5	29.3	58.5
	Sometimes in discussions	8	3.7	19.5	78.0
	Always with friends	9	4.1	22.0	100.0
	Total	41	18.7	100.0	
Missing	System	178	81.3		
Total		219	100.0		

9.14 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ English-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	8	3.7	11.8	11.8
	Rarely in social gatherings	48	21.9	70.6	82.4
	Sometimes at home/ with family	4	1.8	5.9	88.2
	Sometimes in discussions	8	3.7	11.8	100.0
	Total	68	31.1	100.0	
Missing	System	151	68.9		
Total		219	100.0		

9.15 Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ French-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	12	5.5	60.0	60.0
	Rarely in social gatherings	4	1.8	20.0	80.0
	Sometimes at home/ with family	4	1.8	20.0	100.0
	Total	20	9.1	100.0	
Missing	System	199	90.9		
Total		219	100.0		

10.1 Respondent's Language of Reading Books					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	88	40.2	50.9	50.9

	C Arabic	8	3.7	4.6	55.5
	English; C Arabic	32	14.6	18.5	74.0
	English; C Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	76.3
	English; C Arabic; French	4	1.8	2.3	78.6
	English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	80.9
	M Arabic; English; French	9	4.1	5.2	86.1
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	10	4.6	5.8	91.9
	English; French	5	2.3	2.9	94.8
	M Arabic; English	9	4.1	5.2	100.0
	Total	173	79.0	100.0	
Missing	System	46	21.0		
	Total	219	100.0		

10.2 Respondent's Language of Reading Newspapers					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	130	59.4	75.1	75.1
	C Arabic	8	3.7	4.6	79.8
	English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	82.1
	English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	84.4
	English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	86.7
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	89.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	10	4.6	5.8	94.8
	M Arabic; English	9	4.1	5.2	100.0
	Total	173	79.0	100.0	
Missing	System	46	21.0		
	Total	219	100.0		

10.3 Respondent's Language of Reading Magazines					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	140	63.9	80.9	80.9
	C Arabic	8	3.7	4.6	85.5
	English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	87.9
	English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	90.2
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	92.5
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	10	4.6	5.8	98.3
	M Arabic; English	3	1.4	1.7	100.0

	Total	173	79.0	100.0	
Missing	System	46	21.0		
	Total	219	100.0		

10.4 Respondent's Language of Listening to Radio					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	104	47.5	58.8	58.8
	C Arabic	8	3.7	4.5	63.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	65.5
	M Arabic	8	3.7	4.5	70.1
	M Arabic; English	22	10.0	12.4	82.5
	M Arabic; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	84.7
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic	5	2.3	2.8	87.6
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	14	6.4	7.9	95.5
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	97.7
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	177	80.8	100.0	
Missing	System	42	19.2		
	Total	219	100.0		

10.5 Respondent's Language of Viewing TV/Satellite					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	33	15.1	18.6	18.6
	C Arabic	8	3.7	4.5	23.2
	M Arabic; Berber; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	25.4
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	8	3.7	4.5	29.9
	M Arabic; English	60	27.4	33.9	63.8
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	8	3.7	4.5	68.4
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French; Spanish	24	11.0	13.6	81.9
	M Arabic	12	5.5	6.8	88.7
	M Arabic; E Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	91.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic	8	3.7	4.5	95.5
	English; C Arabic; French;	4	1.8	2.3	97.7

	Spanish				
	M Arabic; English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	177	80.8	100.0	
Missing	System	42	19.2		
	Total	219	100.0		

10.6 Respondent's Language of Viewing Documents					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	98	44.7	62.4	62.4
	C Arabic	8	3.7	5.1	67.5
	M Arabic; English	22	10.0	14.0	81.5
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.5	84.1
	M Arabic	4	1.8	2.5	86.6
	English; E Arabic	4	1.8	2.5	89.2
	English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.5	91.7
	English; French	4	1.8	2.5	94.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.5	96.8
	English; C Arabic; French	5	2.3	3.2	100.0
	Total	157	71.7	100.0	
Missing	System	62	28.3		
	Total	219	100.0		

10.7 Respondent's Language of Viewing Films/Plays					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	87	39.7	51.5	51.5
	C Arabic	4	1.8	2.4	53.8
	M Arabic; English	38	17.4	22.5	76.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	20	9.1	11.8	88.2
	M Arabic	4	1.8	2.4	90.5
	M Arabic; English; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	92.9
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	95.3
	English; French	4	1.8	2.4	97.6
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.4	100.0
		Total	169	77.2	100.0
Missing	System	50	22.8		
	Total	219	100.0		

10.8 Respondent's Language of Listening to Music					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic; English	70	32.0	39.3	39.3
	M Arabic; English; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.2	41.6
	M Arabic; Berber; English	8	3.7	4.5	46.1
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.2	48.3
	M Arabic; English; E Arabic	36	16.4	20.2	68.5
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic	25	11.4	14.0	82.6
	M Arabic; E Arabic	14	6.4	7.9	90.4
	English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.2	92.7
	M Arabic; English; French	4	1.8	2.2	94.9
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.2	97.2
	English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	5	2.3	2.8	100.0
Total		178	81.3	100.0	
Missing	System	41	18.7		
Total		219	100.0		

11.1 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Moroccan TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	35	16.0	24.1	24.1
	From time to time	110	50.2	75.9	100.0
	Total	145	66.2	100.0	
Missing	System	74	33.8		
Total		219	100.0		

11.2 Respondent's Degree of Viewing 2M TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	8	3.7	15.7	15.7
	Hardly	4	1.8	7.8	23.5
	Never	39	17.8	76.5	100.0
	Total	51	23.3	100.0	
Missing	System	168	76.7		
Total		219	100.0		

11.3 Respondent's Degree of Viewing ANN					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	33	15.1	47.8	47.8
	Hardly	19	8.7	27.5	75.4
	Never	17	7.8	24.6	100.0
	Total	69	31.5	100.0	
Missing	System	150	68.5		
Total		219	100.0		

11.4 Respondent's Degree of Viewing MBC					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	8	3.7	6.8	6.8
	From time to time	92	42.0	78.6	85.5
	Hardly	9	4.1	7.7	93.2
	Never	8	3.7	6.8	100.0
	Total	117	53.4	100.0	
Missing	System	102	46.6		
Total		219	100.0		

11.5 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Dubai TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	10	4.6	10.8	10.8
	From time to time	43	19.6	46.2	57.0
	Hardly	24	11.0	25.8	82.8
	Never	16	7.3	17.2	100.0
	Total	93	42.5	100.0	
Missing	System	126	57.5		
Total		219	100.0		

11.6 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Aljazeera TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	4	1.8	5.0	5.0
	From time to time	42	19.2	52.5	57.5
	Hardly	15	6.8	18.8	76.3
	Never	19	8.7	23.8	100.0
	Total	80	36.5	100.0	
Missing	System	139	63.5		
Total		219	100.0		

11.7 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Nile Egypt TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	15	6.8	15.2	15.2
	From time to time	49	22.4	49.5	64.6
	Hardly	15	6.8	15.2	79.8
	Never	20	9.1	20.2	100.0
	Total	99	45.2	100.0	



Missing	System	120	54.8		
Total		219	100.0		

11.8 Respondent's Degree of Viewing ESC TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	19	8.7	16.7	16.7
	From time to time	80	36.5	70.2	86.8
	Hardly	4	1.8	3.5	90.4
	Never	11	5.0	9.6	100.0
	Total	114	52.1	100.0	
Missing	System	105	47.9		
Total		219	100.0		

11.9 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Tunisian TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	10	4.6	10.8	10.8
	From time to time	48	21.9	51.6	62.4
	Hardly	20	9.1	21.5	83.9
	Never	15	6.8	16.1	100.0
	Total	93	42.5	100.0	
Missing	System	126	57.5		
Total		219	100.0		

11.10 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Algerian TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	10	4.6	10.3	10.3
	From time to time	52	23.7	53.6	63.9
	Hardly	20	9.1	20.6	84.5
	Never	15	6.8	15.5	100.0
	Total	97	44.3	100.0	
Missing	System	122	55.7		
Total		219	100.0		

11.11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Syrian TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	10	4.6	12.8	12.8
	From time to time	33	15.1	42.3	55.1
	Hardly	4	1.8	5.1	60.3
	Never	31	14.2	39.7	100.0
	Total	78	35.6	100.0	
Missing	System	141	64.4		
Total		219	100.0		

11.12 Respondent's Degree of Viewing BBC1 TV					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	60	27.4	35.3	35.3
	From time to time	106	48.4	62.4	97.6
	Hardly	4	1.8	2.4	100.0
	Total	170	77.6	100.0	
Missing	System	49	22.4		
Total		219	100.0		

11.13 Respondent's Degree of Viewing BB2 TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	60	27.4	37.0	37.0
	From time to time	95	43.4	58.6	95.7
	Hardly	7	3.2	4.3	100.0
	Total	162	74.0	100.0	
Missing	System	57	26.0		
Total		219	100.0		

11.14 Respondent's Degree of Viewing ITV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	75	34.2	45.2	45.2
	From time to time	91	41.6	54.8	100.0
	Total	166	75.8	100.0	
Missing	System	53	24.2		
Total		219	100.0		

11.15 Respondent's Degree of Viewing CH4 TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	56	25.6	33.7	33.7
	From time to time	110	50.2	66.3	100.0
	Total	166	75.8	100.0	
Missing	System	53	24.2		
Total		219	100.0		

11.16 Respondent's Degree of Viewing CH5 TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	60	27.4	36.1	36.1
	From time to time	106	48.4	63.9	100.0
	Total	166	75.8	100.0	
Missing	System	53	24.2		
Total		219	100.0		

12.1 Respondent's Language of Preference for Reading Books					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
				%	%

Valid	English	115	52.5	66.9	66.9
	English; C Arabic	8	3.7	4.7	71.5
	English; Spanish	8	3.7	4.7	76.2
	English; C Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	78.5
	M Arabic	16	7.3	9.3	87.8
	French	4	1.8	2.3	90.1
	English; C Arabic; French	4	1.8	2.3	92.4
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	94.8
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	6	2.7	3.5	98.3
	M Arabic; English	3	1.4	1.7	100.0
	Total	172	78.5	100.0	
Missing	System	47	21.5		
	Total	219	100.0		

12.2 Respondent's Language of Preference for Reading Newspapers					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	119	54.3	69.2	69.2
	C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	71.5
	English; C Arabic	8	3.7	4.7	76.2
	English; Spanish	12	5.5	7.0	83.1
	M Arabic	12	5.5	7.0	90.1
	French	4	1.8	2.3	92.4
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	94.8
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	6	2.7	3.5	98.3
	M Arabic; English	3	1.4	1.7	100.0
	Total	172	78.5	100.0	
Missing	System	47	21.5		
	Total	219	100.0		

12.3 Respondent's Language of Preference for Reading Magazines					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	119	54.3	69.2	69.2
	English; C Arabic	8	3.7	4.7	73.8
	English; Spanish	8	3.7	4.7	78.5
	English; C Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	80.8
	M Arabic	16	7.3	9.3	90.1
	French	4	1.8	2.3	92.4
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	94.8

	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	6	2.7	3.5	98.3
	M Arabic; English	3	1.4	1.7	100.0
	Total	172	78.5	100.0	
Missing	System	47	21.5		
	Total	219	100.0		

12.4 Respondent's Language of Preference For Listening to Radio					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	96	43.8	55.8	55.8
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	8	3.7	4.7	60.5
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	62.8
	M Arabic; English	22	10.0	12.8	75.6
	M Arabic	20	9.1	11.6	87.2
	French	4	1.8	2.3	89.5
	M Arabic; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	91.9
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	10	4.6	5.8	97.7
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	172	78.5	100.0	
Missing	System	47	21.5		
	Total	219	100.0		

12.5 Respondent's Language of Preference for Viewing TV/Satellite					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	25	11.4	14.7	14.7
	English	74	33.8	43.5	58.2
	English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.4	60.6
	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	62.9
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	16	7.3	9.4	72.4
	M Arabic; English	35	16.0	20.6	92.9
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	95.3
	French	4	1.8	2.4	97.6
	English; French	4	1.8	2.4	100.0
		Total	170	77.6	100.0
Missing	System	49	22.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

12.6 Respondent's Language of Preference for Viewing Documents					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	110	50.2	65.9	65.9
	C Arabic	4	1.8	2.4	68.3
	English; C Arabic	8	3.7	4.8	73.1
	M Arabic; English	9	4.1	5.4	78.4
	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	80.8
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	83.2
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	85.6
	M Arabic	20	9.1	12.0	97.6
	English; French	4	1.8	2.4	100.0
	Total	167	76.3	100.0	
Missing	System	52	23.7		
Total		219	100.0		

12.7 Respondent's Language of Preference for Viewing Films/Plays					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	103	47.0	59.9	59.9
	M Arabic; English	15	6.8	8.7	68.6
	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	70.9
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	8	3.7	4.7	75.6
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	77.9
	M Arabic; English; E Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	80.2
	M Arabic	22	10.0	12.8	93.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	95.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French	4	1.8	2.3	97.7
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	172	78.5	100.0	
	Missing	System	47	21.5	
Total		219	100.0		

12.8 Respondent's Preferred Language of Listening to Music					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	43	19.6	24.9	24.9

	English; C Arabic	5	2.3	2.9	27.7
	M Arabic; English	26	11.9	15.0	42.8
	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	45.1
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	8	3.7	4.6	49.7
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	52.0
	M Arabic; English; E Arabic	24	11.0	13.9	65.9
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic	20	9.1	11.6	77.5
	M Arabic; E Arabic	12	5.5	6.9	84.4
	French	4	1.8	2.3	86.7
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	89.0
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	91.3
	M Arabic	9	4.1	5.2	96.5
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	6	2.7	3.5	100.0
	Total	173	79.0	100.0	
Missing	System	46	21.0		
	Total	219	100.0		

13.1 Respondent's Language of Address of Old Ladies					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	80	36.5	46.8	46.8
	English	44	20.1	25.7	72.5
	M Arabic; Berber; English; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	74.9
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	8	3.7	4.7	79.5
	M Arabic; English	27	12.3	15.8	95.3
	M Arabic; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	97.7
	M Arabic; English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	171	78.1	100.0	
Missing	System	48	21.9		
	Total	219	100.0		

13.2 Respondent's Language of Address of Old Men					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	67	30.6	38.1	38.1
	English	44	20.1	25.0	63.1
	M Arabic; Berber;	4	1.8	2.3	65.3

	English; French; Spanish				
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	14	6.4	8.0	73.3
	M Arabic; English	35	16.0	19.9	93.2
	M Arabic; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	95.5
	M Arabic; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	97.7
	M Arabic; English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	176	80.4	100.0	
Missing	System	43	19.6		
	Total	219	100.0		

13.3 Respondent's Language of Address of Young Ladies					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	20	9.1	11.7	11.7
	English	90	41.1	52.6	64.3
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	66.7
	M Arabic; English;	45	20.5	26.3	93.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	95.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	4	1.8	2.3	97.7
	M Arabic; English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	171	78.1	100.0	
Missing	System	48	21.9		
	Total	219	100.0		

13.4 Respondent's Language of Address of young Men					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	15	6.8	9.1	9.1
	English	90	41.1	54.5	63.6
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	4	1.8	2.4	66.1
	M Arabic; English	38	17.4	23.0	89.1
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.4	91.5
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	10	4.6	6.1	97.6
	English; French	4	1.8	2.4	100.0
	Total	165	75.3	100.0	
Missing	System	54	24.7		
	Total	219	100.0		

13.5 Respondent's Language of Address of girls					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	21	9.6	12.3	12.3
	English	95	43.4	55.6	67.8
	M Arabic; English	47	21.5	27.5	95.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	4	1.8	2.3	97.7
	English; French	4	1.8	2.3	100.0
	Total	171	78.1	100.0	
Missing	System	48	21.9		
Total		219	100.0		

13.6 Respondent's Language of Address of boys					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	20	9.1	11.8	11.8
	English	95	43.4	55.9	67.6
	M Arabic; English	41	18.7	24.1	91.8
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	10	4.6	5.9	97.6
	English; French	4	1.8	2.4	100.0
	Total	170	77.6	100.0	
Missing	System	49	22.4		
Total		219	100.0		

14.1 Respondent's Aesthetic View of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	87	39.7	50.3	50.3
	Beautiful	48	21.9	27.7	78.0
	Neutral	26	11.9	15.0	93.1
	Harsh	12	5.5	6.9	100.0
	Total	173	79.0	100.0	
Missing	System	46	21.0		
Total		219	100.0		

14.2 Respondent's Aesthetic View of Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Beautiful	4	1.8	6.3	6.3
	Neutral	13	5.9	20.3	26.6
	Harsh	47	21.5	73.4	100.0
	Total	64	29.2	100.0	
Missing	System	155	70.8		
Total		219	100.0		



14.3 Respondent's Aesthetic View of English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	24	11.0	13.2	13.2
	Beautiful	83	37.9	45.6	58.8
	Neutral	62	28.3	34.1	92.9
	Harsh	13	5.9	7.1	100.0
	Total	182	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	37	16.9		
Total		219	100.0		

14.4 Respondent's Aesthetic View of C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	55	25.1	40.7	40.7
	Beautiful	10	4.6	7.4	48.1
	Neutral	54	24.7	40.0	88.1
	Harsh	16	7.3	11.9	100.0
	Total	135	61.6	100.0	
Missing	System	84	38.4		
Total		219	100.0		

14.5 Respondent's Aesthetic View of E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	13	5.9	11.7	11.7
	Beautiful	52	23.7	46.8	58.6
	Neutral	34	15.5	30.6	89.2
	Harsh	12	5.5	10.8	100.0
	Total	111	50.7	100.0	
Missing	System	108	49.3		
Total		219	100.0		

14.6 Respondent's Aesthetic View of French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	32	14.6	36.4	36.4
	Beautiful	32	14.6	36.4	72.7
	Neutral	17	7.8	19.3	92.0
	Harsh	7	3.2	8.0	100.0
	Total	88	40.2	100.0	
Missing	System	131	59.8		
Total		219	100.0		

14.7 Respondent's Aesthetic View of Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	11	5.0	11.6	11.6
	Beautiful	28	12.8	29.5	41.1
	Neutral	36	16.4	37.9	78.9

	Harsh	20	9.1	21.1	100.0
	Total	95	43.4	100.0	
Missing	System	124	56.6		
Total		219	100.0		

14.8 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	69	31.5	37.1	37.1
	Dominant	81	37.0	43.5	80.6
	Less Dominant	36	16.4	19.4	100.0
	Total	186	84.9	100.0	
Missing	System	33	15.1		
Total		219	100.0		

14.9 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	13	5.9	19.7	19.7
	Dominant	16	7.3	24.2	43.9
	Less Dominant	37	16.9	56.1	100.0
	Total	66	30.1	100.0	
Missing	System	153	69.9		
Total		219	100.0		

14.10 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	112	51.1	56.6	56.6
	Dominant	59	26.9	29.8	86.4
	Less Dominant	27	12.3	13.6	100.0
	Total	198	90.4	100.0	
Missing	System	21	9.6		
Total		219	100.0		

14.11 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	21	9.6	14.4	14.4
	Dominant	27	12.3	18.5	32.9
	Less Dominant	98	44.7	67.1	100.0
	Total	146	66.7	100.0	
Missing	System	73	33.3		
Total		219	100.0		

14.12 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	5	2.3	5.3	5.3

	Dominant	35	16.0	37.2	42.6
	Less Dominant	54	24.7	57.4	100.0
	Total	94	42.9	100.0	
Missing	System	125	57.1		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.13 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	18	8.2	17.6	17.6
	Dominant	26	11.9	25.5	43.1
	Less Dominant	58	26.5	56.9	100.0
	Total	102	46.6	100.0	
Missing	System	117	53.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	20	9.1	18.0	18.0
	Dominant	28	12.8	25.2	43.2
	Less Dominant	63	28.8	56.8	100.0
	Total	111	50.7	100.0	
Missing	System	108	49.3		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.15 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	41	18.7	27.9	27.9
	Prestigious	66	30.1	44.9	72.8
	Less Prestigious	40	18.3	27.2	100.0
	Total	147	67.1	100.0	
Missing	System	72	32.9		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.16 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Prestigious	18	8.2	31.6	31.6
	Less Prestigious	39	17.8	68.4	100.0
	Total	57	26.0	100.0	
Missing	System	162	74.0		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.17 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	58	26.5	36.5	36.5

	Prestigious	83	37.9	52.2	88.7
	Less Prestigious	18	8.2	11.3	100.0
	Total	159	72.6	100.0	
Missing	System	60	27.4		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.18 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	51	23.3	41.8	41.8
	Prestigious	19	8.7	15.6	57.4
	Less Prestigious	52	23.7	42.6	100.0
	Total	122	55.7	100.0	
Missing	System	97	44.3		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.19 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	9	4.1	11.8	11.8
	Prestigious	39	17.8	51.3	63.2
	Less Prestigious	28	12.8	36.8	100.0
	Total	76	34.7	100.0	
Missing	System	143	65.3		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.20 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	16	7.3	22.9	22.9
	Prestigious	20	9.1	28.6	51.4
	Less Prestigious	34	15.5	48.6	100.0
	Total	70	32.0	100.0	
Missing	System	149	68.0		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.21 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	4	1.8	4.4	4.4
	Prestigious	31	14.2	34.4	38.9
	Less Prestigious	55	25.1	61.1	100.0
	Total	90	41.1	100.0	
Missing	System	129	58.9		
	Total	219	100.0		

14.22 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Very Difficult	3	1.4	2.1	2.1
	Difficult	46	21.0	32.6	34.8
	Less Difficult	92	42.0	65.2	100.0
	Total	141	64.4	100.0	
Missing	System	78	35.6		
Total		219	100.0		

14.23 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Difficult	125	57.1	82.8	82.8
	Difficult	18	8.2	11.9	94.7
	Less Difficult	8	3.7	5.3	100.0
	Total	151	68.9	100.0	
Missing	System	68	31.1		
Total		219	100.0		

14.24 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Difficult	16	7.3	9.9	9.9
	Less Difficult	145	66.2	90.1	100.0
	Total	161	73.5	100.0	
Missing	System	58	26.5		
Total		219	100.0		

14.25 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Difficult	80	36.5	51.0	51.0
	Difficult	66	30.1	42.0	93.0
	Less Difficult	11	5.0	7.0	100.0
	Total	157	71.7	100.0	
Missing	System	62	28.3		
Total		219	100.0		

14.26 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Difficult	31	14.2	29.0	29.0
	Difficult	65	29.7	60.7	89.7
	Less Difficult	11	5.0	10.3	100.0
	Total	107	48.9	100.0	
Missing	System	112	51.1		
Total		219	100.0		

14.27 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Very Difficult	31	14.2	22.8	22.8
	Difficult	50	22.8	36.8	59.6
	Less Difficult	55	25.1	40.4	100.0
	Total	136	62.1	100.0	
Missing	System	83	37.9		
Total		219	100.0		

14.28 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Difficult	27	12.3	22.7	22.7
	Difficult	30	13.7	25.2	47.9
	Less Difficult	62	28.3	52.1	100.0
	Total	119	54.3	100.0	
Missing	System	100	45.7		
Total		219	100.0		

14.29 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	99	45.2	51.3	51.3
	Comfortable	85	38.8	44.0	95.3
	Less Comfortable	9	4.1	4.7	100.0
	Total	193	88.1	100.0	
Missing	System	26	11.9		
Total		219	100.0		

14.30 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	4	1.8	6.9	6.9
	Comfortable	4	1.8	6.9	13.8
	Less Comfortable	50	22.8	86.2	100.0
	Total	58	26.5	100.0	
Missing	System	161	73.5		
Total		219	100.0		

14.31 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	115	52.5	60.8	60.8
	Comfortable	70	32.0	37.0	97.9
	Less Comfortable	4	1.8	2.1	100.0
	Total	189	86.3	100.0	
Missing	System	30	13.7		
Total		219	100.0		

14.32 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards C Arabic					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	7	3.2	5.7	5.7
	Comfortable	20	9.1	16.3	22.0
	Less Comfortable	96	43.8	78.0	100.0
	Total	123	56.2	100.0	
Missing	System	96	43.8		
Total		219	100.0		

14.33 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	7	3.2	8.5	8.5
	Comfortable	29	13.2	35.4	43.9
	Less Comfortable	46	21.0	56.1	100.0
	Total	82	37.4	100.0	
Missing	System	137	62.6		
Total		219	100.0		

14.34 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	15	6.8	16.7	16.7
	Comfortable	17	7.8	18.9	35.6
	Less Comfortable	58	26.5	64.4	100.0
	Total	90	41.1	100.0	
Missing	System	129	58.9		
Total		219	100.0		

14.35 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	22	10.0	22.4	22.4
	Comfortable	26	11.9	26.5	49.0
	Less Comfortable	50	22.8	51.0	100.0
	Total	98	44.7	100.0	
Missing	System	121	55.3		
Total		219	100.0		

15.1 Respondent's Preferred Language of the Questionnaire					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English; Spanish	12	5.5	6.3	6.3
	Spanish	4	1.8	2.1	8.5
	English	106	48.4	56.1	64.6
	M Arabic	31	14.2	16.4	81.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic	8	3.7	4.2	85.2
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	15	6.8	7.9	93.1

	English; French	4	1.8	2.1	95.2
	M Arabic; English	6	2.7	3.2	98.4
	M Arabic; English; Spanish	3	1.4	1.6	100.0
	Total	189	86.3	100.0	
Missing	System	30	13.7		
	Total	219	100.0		



## Appendix B: Data of sociolinguistics of Morocco

The following data is collated from the Sociolinguistics of Morocco field study conducted in Morocco from 21 March 1999 to 24 April 1999.

### Frequencies

Respondent's Age					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	16	3	.7	.7	.7
	20	12	2.9	2.9	3.6
	21	33	8.0	8.0	11.6
	22	20	4.8	4.8	16.5
	23	45	10.9	10.9	27.4
	24	28	6.8	6.8	34.1
	25	40	9.7	9.7	43.8
	26	29	7.0	7.0	50.8
	27	24	5.8	5.8	56.7
	28	12	2.9	2.9	59.6
	29	15	3.6	3.6	63.2
	30	23	5.6	5.6	68.8
	31	12	2.9	2.9	71.7
	32	21	5.1	5.1	76.8
	33	18	4.4	4.4	81.1
	34	12	2.9	2.9	84.0
	35	9	2.2	2.2	86.2
	36	9	2.2	2.2	88.4
	37	9	2.2	2.2	90.6
	38	15	3.6	3.6	94.2
	39	6	1.5	1.5	95.6
40	6	1.5	1.5	97.1	
41	3	.7	.7	97.8	
50	3	.7	.7	98.5	
53	3	.7	.7	99.3	
60	3	.7	.7	100.0	
Total		413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Birth (Q01)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Khemisset	15	3.6	3.6	3.6
	Taza	66	16.0	16.0	19.6
	Fez	120	29.1	29.1	48.7
	Taounate	21	5.1	5.1	53.8
	Casablanca	6	1.5	1.5	55.2

Guersif	9	2.2	2.2	57.4
Assila	3	.7	.7	58.1
Tangiers	9	2.2	2.2	60.3
Tetouan	9	2.2	2.2	62.5
Ouad-amlil	4	1.0	1.0	63.4
Marrakesh	5	1.2	1.2	64.6
Meknes	5	1.2	1.2	65.9
Ksar	2	.5	.5	66.3
Karia Ba Mohammed	21	5.1	5.1	71.4
Errachidia	20	4.8	4.8	76.3
Agadir	6	1.5	1.5	77.7
Berkan	3	.7	.7	78.5
Elhoucima	6	1.5	1.5	79.9
Nador	3	.7	.7	80.6
Rabat	9	2.2	2.2	82.8
Beni Mellal	7	1.7	1.7	84.5
Ifran	3	.7	.7	85.2
Khenifra	3	.7	.7	86.0
Tiffelt	3	.7	.7	86.7
Midelt	8	1.9	1.9	88.6
Sefrou	18	4.4	4.4	93.0
Khouribga	3	.7	.7	93.7
Oujda	6	1.5	1.5	95.2
Settat	3	.7	.7	95.9
Kenitra	3	.7	.7	96.6
Taroudante	6	1.5	1.5	98.1
Sale	3	.7	.7	98.8
Larache	2	.5	.5	99.3
Sidi Kassem	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Gender (1)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Male	341	82.6	82.6	82.6
	Female	72	17.4	17.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Settlement (01)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Khemisset	45	10.9	10.9	10.9
	Taza	36	8.7	8.7	19.6
	Fez	234	56.7	56.7	76.3
	Taounate	13	3.1	3.1	79.4
	Casablanca	3	.7	.7	80.1
	Ksar	7	1.7	1.7	81.8

	Tangiers	11	2.7	2.7	84.5
	Karia Ba Mohammed	15	3.6	3.6	88.1
	Nador	6	1.5	1.5	89.6
	Rabat	6	1.5	1.5	91.0
	Beni Mellal	3	.7	.7	91.8
	Errachidia	5	1.2	1.2	93.0
	Guersif	6	1.5	1.5	94.4
	Assila	3	.7	.7	95.2
	Ouad-amlil	4	1.0	1.0	96.1
	Tetouan	9	2.2	2.2	98.3
	Agadir	1	.2	.2	98.5
	Elhoucima	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Berkan	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Year of Settlement (01)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Born	234	56.7	56.7	56.7
	1964	3	.7	.7	57.4
	1968	6	1.5	1.5	58.8
	1970	3	.7	.7	59.6
	1972	12	2.9	2.9	62.5
	1973	12	2.9	2.9	65.4
	1974	2	.5	.5	65.9
	1975	3	.7	.7	66.6
	1977	2	.5	.5	67.1
	1978	6	1.5	1.5	68.5
	1979	22	5.3	5.3	73.8
	1980	9	2.2	2.2	76.0
	1982	9	2.2	2.2	78.2
	1983	6	1.5	1.5	79.7
	1984	11	2.7	2.7	82.3
	1985	5	1.2	1.2	83.5
	1986	17	4.1	4.1	87.7
	1989	3	.7	.7	88.4
	1990	3	.7	.7	89.1
	1991	3	.7	.7	89.8
	1992	12	2.9	2.9	92.7
	1994	9	2.2	2.2	94.9
	1995	3	.7	.7	95.6
1997	3	.7	.7	96.4	
1998	12	2.9	2.9	99.3	
1999	3	.7	.7	100.0	
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Occupation (01)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Banker	15	3.6	3.6	3.6
	Student	122	29.5	29.5	33.2
	Officer	15	3.6	3.6	36.8
	Driver	9	2.2	2.2	39.0
	Trainee	9	2.2	2.2	41.2
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	60.8
	Technician	9	2.2	2.2	63.0
	Tailor	6	1.5	1.5	64.4
	Labourer	30	7.3	7.3	71.7
	Teacher	9	2.2	2.2	73.8
	Researcher	3	.7	.7	74.6
	Mechanic	3	.7	.7	75.3
	Waiter	12	2.9	2.9	78.2
	Carpenter	3	.7	.7	78.9
	Farmer	3	.7	.7	79.7
	Decorator	6	1.5	1.5	81.1
	Electrician	9	2.2	2.2	83.3
	Accountant	3	.7	.7	84.0
	Salesman	6	1.5	1.5	85.5
	Hairdresser	6	1.5	1.5	86.9
	Businessman	18	4.4	4.4	91.3
	Printer	9	2.2	2.2	93.5
	Manager	3	.7	.7	94.2
	Secretary	6	1.5	1.5	95.6
	Asst. Professor	3	.7	.7	96.4
	Artisan	3	.7	.7	97.1
Builder	3	.7	.7	97.8	
Caretaker	3	.7	.7	98.5	
Soilder	3	.7	.7	99.3	
Controller	3	.7	.7	100.0	
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Education Level (01)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	non	21	5.1	5.1	5.1
	BA	57	13.8	13.8	18.9
	1st year higher	52	12.6	12.6	31.5
	2nd year higher	40	9.7	9.7	41.2
	3rd year higher	29	7.0	7.0	48.2
	4th year higher	28	6.8	6.8	55.0
	MA	6	1.5	1.5	56.4
	1st year praimary	3	.7	.7	57.1
	2nd year praimary	3	.7	.7	57.9

3rd year praimary	3	.7	.7	58.6
4th year praimary	3	.7	.7	59.3
5th year praimary	18	4.4	4.4	63.7
PhD	3	.7	.7	64.4
1st year secondary	9	2.2	2.2	66.6
2nd year secondary	12	2.9	2.9	69.5
3rd year secondary	21	5.1	5.1	74.6
4th year secondary	30	7.3	7.3	81.8
5th year secondary	18	4.4	4.4	86.2
6th year secondary	12	2.9	2.9	89.1
7th year secondary	45	10.9	10.9	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Father's Age (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	77	18.6	18.6	18.6
	33	3	.7	.7	19.4
	35	3	.7	.7	20.1
	40	3	.7	.7	20.8
	42	2	.5	.5	21.3
	44	3	.7	.7	22.0
	45	12	2.9	2.9	24.9
	47	1	.2	.2	25.2
	48	6	1.5	1.5	26.6
	49	3	.7	.7	27.4
	50	19	4.6	4.6	32.0
	51	6	1.5	1.5	33.4
	52	12	2.9	2.9	36.3
	53	5	1.2	1.2	37.5
	54	20	4.8	4.8	42.4
	55	23	5.6	5.6	47.9
	57	9	2.2	2.2	50.1
	58	15	3.6	3.6	53.8
	59	9	2.2	2.2	55.9
	60	25	6.1	6.1	62.0
	61	6	1.5	1.5	63.4
62	20	4.8	4.8	68.3	
63	15	3.6	3.6	71.9	
64	12	2.9	2.9	74.8	
65	12	2.9	2.9	77.7	
66	6	1.5	1.5	79.2	
67	9	2.2	2.2	81.4	
68	24	5.8	5.8	87.2	
69	6	1.5	1.5	88.6	
70	18	4.4	4.4	93.0	

	71	2	.5	.5	93.5
	72	1	.2	.2	93.7
	75	8	1.9	1.9	95.6
	76	3	.7	.7	96.4
	78	3	.7	.7	97.1
	80	3	.7	.7	97.8
	82	3	.7	.7	98.5
	84	3	.7	.7	99.3
	92	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Father's Place of Birth (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	77	18.6	18.6	18.6
	Khemisset	9	2.2	2.2	20.8
	Taza	72	17.4	17.4	38.3
	Fez	43	10.4	10.4	48.7
	Taounate	29	7.0	7.0	55.7
	Casablanca	3	.7	.7	56.4
	Ksar	2	.5	.5	56.9
	Karia Ba Mohammed	15	3.6	3.6	60.5
	Nador	9	2.2	2.2	62.7
	Bni Mellal	12	2.9	2.9	65.6
	Errachidia	20	4.8	4.8	70.5
	Guersif	15	3.6	3.6	74.1
	Assila	3	.7	.7	74.8
	Tetouan	12	2.9	2.9	77.7
	Ouad-Amlil	4	1.0	1.0	78.7
	Marrakesh	3	.7	.7	79.4
	Berkan	3	.7	.7	80.1
	Elhoucima	12	2.9	2.9	83.1
	Oujda	12	2.9	2.9	86.0
	Sefrou	24	5.8	5.8	91.8
	Khouribga	3	.7	.7	92.5
	Missour	3	.7	.7	93.2
	Settat	3	.7	.7	93.9
	Eljadida	3	.7	.7	94.7
	Taroudante	3	.7	.7	95.4
	Menzel	3	.7	.7	96.1
	Gulmim	2	.5	.5	96.6
	Midelt	2	.5	.5	97.1
	Zagora	3	.7	.7	97.8
	Boulmane	3	.7	.7	98.5
Larache	3	.7	.7	99.3	
Sidi Kassem	3	.7	.7	100.0	

	Total	413	100.0	100.0	
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Father's Place of Settlement					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	77	18.6	18.6	18.6
	Khemisset	21	5.1	5.1	23.7
	Taza	48	11.6	11.6	35.4
	Fez	144	34.9	34.9	70.2
	Taounate	19	4.6	4.6	74.8
	Ksar	3	.7	.7	75.5
	Tangiers	11	2.7	2.7	78.2
	Karia Ba Mohammed	15	3.6	3.6	81.8
	Beni Mellal	3	.7	.7	82.6
	Errachidia	14	3.4	3.4	86.0
	Guersif	6	1.5	1.5	87.4
	Assila	3	.7	.7	88.1
	Tetouan	9	2.2	2.2	90.3
	Ouad-amlil	4	1.0	1.0	91.3
	Berkan	3	.7	.7	92.0
	Elhoucima	6	1.5	1.5	93.5
	Midelt	3	.7	.7	94.2
	Khouribga	3	.7	.7	94.9
	Boulmane	3	.7	.7	95.6
	Taroudante	3	.7	.7	96.4
	Sahara	1	.2	.2	96.6
	Sefrou	3	.7	.7	97.3
	Sidi Kassem	3	.7	.7	98.1
France	3	.7	.7	98.8	
Netherlands	3	.7	.7	99.5	
Spain	2	.5	.5	100.0	
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Father's Year of Settlement (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	77	18.6	18.6	18.6
	Born	172	41.6	41.6	60.3
	1954	3	.7	.7	61.0
	1955	6	1.5	1.5	62.5
	1958	3	.7	.7	63.2
	1959	3	.7	.7	63.9
	1960	6	1.5	1.5	65.4
	1961	6	1.5	1.5	66.8
	1962	6	1.5	1.5	68.3
	1963	3	.7	.7	69.0
	1964	3	.7	.7	69.7

1965	3	.7	.7	70.5
1968	3	.7	.7	71.2
1969	9	2.2	2.2	73.4
1970	14	3.4	3.4	76.8
1971	6	1.5	1.5	78.2
1972	12	2.9	2.9	81.1
1973	18	4.4	4.4	85.5
1974	2	.5	.5	86.0
1975	6	1.5	1.5	87.4
1977	2	.5	.5	87.9
1978	3	.7	.7	88.6
1979	13	3.1	3.1	91.8
1984	2	.5	.5	92.3
1986	8	1.9	1.9	94.2
1989	3	.7	.7	94.9
1992	9	2.2	2.2	97.1
1994	6	1.5	1.5	98.5
1998	3	.7	.7	99.3
1999	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Father's Occupation (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	77	18.6	18.6	18.6
	Officer	15	3.6	3.6	22.3
	Driver	6	1.5	1.5	23.7
	Unemployed	6	1.5	1.5	25.2
	Technician	2	.5	.5	25.7
	Labourer	27	6.5	6.5	32.2
	Teacher	24	5.8	5.8	38.0
	Mechanic	3	.7	.7	38.7
	Carpenter	3	.7	.7	39.5
	Farmer	49	11.9	11.9	51.3
	Baker	3	.7	.7	52.1
	Electrician	3	.7	.7	52.8
	Accountant	3	.7	.7	53.5
	Salesman	2	.5	.5	54.0
	Businessman	20	4.8	4.8	58.8
	Manager	3	.7	.7	59.6
	Secretary	3	.7	.7	60.3
	Soilder	4	1.0	1.0	61.3
	Executive officer	3	.7	.7	62.0
	Retired	127	30.8	30.8	92.7
Administrator	3	.7	.7	93.5	
Postman	3	.7	.7	94.2	



	Clergy	6	1.5	1.5	95.6
	Lecturer	2	.5	.5	96.1
	Tax-collector	3	.7	.7	96.9
	Notary	1	.2	.2	97.1
	Headmaster	3	.7	.7	97.8
	Grosser	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Health Worker	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Estate Agent	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Father's Education Level (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	non	151	36.6	36.6	36.6
	1st year secondary	8	1.9	1.9	38.5
	2nd year secondary	3	.7	.7	39.2
	3rd year secondary	3	.7	.7	40.0
	4th year secondary	44	10.7	10.7	50.6
	5th year secondary	6	1.5	1.5	52.1
	6th year secondary	3	.7	.7	52.8
	7th year secondary	13	3.1	3.1	55.9
	Died	77	18.6	18.6	74.6
	1st year primary	6	1.5	1.5	76.0
	2nd year primary	3	.7	.7	76.8
	3rd year primary	18	4.4	4.4	81.1
	4th year primary	3	.7	.7	81.8
	5th year primary	26	6.3	6.3	88.1
	2nd year higher	1	.2	.2	88.4
	PhD	2	.5	.5	88.9
	BA	18	4.4	4.4	93.2
Qur'anic School	28	6.8	6.8	100.0	
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Mother's Age (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	35	8.5	8.5	8.5
	29	3	.7	.7	9.2
	30	3	.7	.7	9.9
	35	3	.7	.7	10.7
	36	3	.7	.7	11.4
	37	3	.7	.7	12.1
	38	10	2.4	2.4	14.5
	40	9	2.2	2.2	16.7
	42	22	5.3	5.3	22.0
	44	18	4.4	4.4	26.4
	45	28	6.8	6.8	33.2

46	10	2.4	2.4	35.6
47	6	1.5	1.5	37.0
48	12	2.9	2.9	40.0
49	6	1.5	1.5	41.4
50	38	9.2	9.2	50.6
51	9	2.2	2.2	52.8
52	22	5.3	5.3	58.1
53	12	2.9	2.9	61.0
54	29	7.0	7.0	68.0
55	12	2.9	2.9	70.9
56	18	4.4	4.4	75.3
57	6	1.5	1.5	76.8
58	14	3.4	3.4	80.1
59	3	.7	.7	80.9
60	29	7.0	7.0	87.9
61	6	1.5	1.5	89.3
63	12	2.9	2.9	92.3
64	3	.7	.7	93.0
65	9	2.2	2.2	95.2
67	3	.7	.7	95.9
68	3	.7	.7	96.6
70	5	1.2	1.2	97.8
73	3	.7	.7	98.5
77	3	.7	.7	99.3
78	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Mother's Place of Birth (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	35	8.5	8.5	8.5
	Khemisset	9	2.2	2.2	10.7
	Taza	72	17.4	17.4	28.1
	Fez	51	12.3	12.3	40.4
	Taounate	29	7.0	7.0	47.5
	Ksar	2	.5	.5	47.9
	Karia Ba Mohammed	16	3.9	3.9	51.8
	Nador	9	2.2	2.2	54.0
	Bni Mellal	12	2.9	2.9	56.9
	Errachdia	18	4.4	4.4	61.3
	Assila	3	.7	.7	62.0
	Tetouan	9	2.2	2.2	64.2
	Quad-Amlil	4	1.0	1.0	65.1
	Berkan	6	1.5	1.5	66.6
	Elhoucima	15	3.6	3.6	70.2
	Marrakesh	9	2.2	2.2	72.4

Meknes	14	3.4	3.4	75.8
Guersif	18	4.4	4.4	80.1
Tiffelt	3	.7	.7	80.9
Taroudante	6	1.5	1.5	82.3
Sefrou	18	4.4	4.4	86.7
Missour	3	.7	.7	87.4
Settat	6	1.5	1.5	88.9
Oujda	9	2.2	2.2	91.0
Eljadida	3	.7	.7	91.8
Bellaksiri	3	.7	.7	92.5
Menzel	3	.7	.7	93.2
Larache	8	1.9	1.9	95.2
Tissa	3	.7	.7	95.9
Ouazzane	6	1.5	1.5	97.3
Midelt	2	.5	.5	97.8
Sraghna	3	.7	.7	98.5
Boulmane	3	.7	.7	99.3
Sidi Kassem	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Mother's Place of Settlement (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	35	8.5	8.5	8.5
	Khemisset	27	6.5	6.5	15.0
	Taza	48	11.6	11.6	26.6
	Fez	174	42.1	42.1	68.8
	Taounate	16	3.9	3.9	72.6
	Ksar	5	1.2	1.2	73.8
	Tangiers	11	2.7	2.7	76.5
	Karia Ba Mohammed	13	3.1	3.1	79.7
	Rabat	3	.7	.7	80.4
	Beni Mellal	6	1.5	1.5	81.8
	Errachidia	11	2.7	2.7	84.5
	Assila	3	.7	.7	85.2
	Tetouan	9	2.2	2.2	87.4
	Ouad-amlil	4	1.0	1.0	88.4
	Guersif	12	2.9	2.9	91.3
	Agadir	1	.2	.2	91.5
	Berkan	3	.7	.7	92.3
	Elhoucima	6	1.5	1.5	93.7
	Tiffelt	3	.7	.7	94.4
	Midelt	3	.7	.7	95.2
	Taroudante	3	.7	.7	95.9
	Oujda	3	.7	.7	96.6
	Sefrou	3	.7	.7	97.3

	Sidi Kassem	3	.7	.7	98.1
	Netherlands	3	.7	.7	98.8
	Spain	2	.5	.5	99.3
	France	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Mother's Year of Settlement (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	35	8.5	8.5	8.5
	Born	183	44.3	44.3	52.8
	1940	3	.7	.7	53.5
	1947	3	.7	.7	54.2
	1950	3	.7	.7	55.0
	1952	2	.5	.5	55.4
	1954	3	.7	.7	56.2
	1956	3	.7	.7	56.9
	1958	3	.7	.7	57.6
	1959	3	.7	.7	58.4
	1960	9	2.2	2.2	60.5
	1961	9	2.2	2.2	62.7
	1962	3	.7	.7	63.4
	1963	3	.7	.7	64.2
	1964	6	1.5	1.5	65.6
	1965	6	1.5	1.5	67.1
	1968	3	.7	.7	67.8
	1969	15	3.6	3.6	71.4
	1970	15	3.6	3.6	75.1
	1971	6	1.5	1.5	76.5
	1972	12	2.9	2.9	79.4
	1973	12	2.9	2.9	82.3
	1974	2	.5	.5	82.8
	1975	3	.7	.7	83.5
	1977	2	.5	.5	84.0
	1978	3	.7	.7	84.7
	1979	13	3.1	3.1	87.9
	1980	3	.7	.7	88.6
	1984	2	.5	.5	89.1
	1985	2	.5	.5	89.6
	1986	11	2.7	2.7	92.3
	1989	3	.7	.7	93.0
	1990	2	.5	.5	93.5
1991	3	.7	.7	94.2	
1992	9	2.2	2.2	96.4	
1994	6	1.5	1.5	97.8	
1998	6	1.5	1.5	99.3	

	1999	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Mother's Occupation (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Died	35	8.5	8.5	8.5
	Housewife	349	84.5	84.5	93.0
	Officer	6	1.5	1.5	94.4
	Labourer	6	1.5	1.5	95.9
	Teacher	5	1.2	1.2	97.1
	Secretary	3	.7	.7	97.8
	Tailor	6	1.5	1.5	99.3
	Nurse	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Mother's Education Level (02)					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	none	278	67.3	67.3	67.3
	2nd year primary	3	.7	.7	68.0
	4th year primary	3	.7	.7	68.8
	5th year primary	44	10.7	10.7	79.4
	Died	35	8.5	8.5	87.9
	1st year secondary	3	.7	.7	88.6
	3rd year secondary	6	1.5	1.5	90.1
	4th year secondary	23	5.6	5.6	95.6
	5th year secondary	11	2.7	2.7	98.3
	6th year secondary	4	1.0	1.0	99.3
	BA	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	401	97.1	97.1	97.1
	From time to time	6	1.5	1.5	98.5
	Never	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	320	77.5	77.5	77.5
	From time to time	9	2.2	2.2	79.7
	Never	3	.7	.7	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	407	98.5	98.5	98.5
	From time to time	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	401	97.1	97.1	97.1
	From time to time	9	2.2	2.2	99.3
	Never	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Moroccan Arabic Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	365	88.4	88.4	88.4
	Mostly	24	5.8	5.8	94.2
	From time to time	12	2.9	2.9	97.1
	Never	12	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	36	8.7	8.7	8.7
	From time to time	27	6.5	6.5	15.3
	Hardly	3	.7	.7	16.0
	Never	347	84.0	84.0	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	12	2.9	2.9	2.9
	From time to time	12	2.9	2.9	5.8
	Hardly	19	4.6	4.6	10.4
	Never	289	70.0	70.0	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	From time to time	27	6.5	6.5	8.7
	Hardly	17	4.1	4.1	12.8
	Never	360	87.2	87.2	100.0

	Total	413	100.0	100.0	
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Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	24	5.8	5.8	5.8
	From time to time	17	4.1	4.1	9.9
	Hardly	12	2.9	2.9	12.8
	Never	360	87.2	87.2	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Berber Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	368	89.1	89.1	89.1
	Mostly	3	.7	.7	89.8
	Hardly	3	.7	.7	90.6
	Never	39	9.4	9.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of English at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	3	.7	.7	.7
	From time to time	8	1.9	1.9	2.7
	Hardly	41	9.9	9.9	12.6
	Never	361	87.4	87.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of English at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	From time to time	22	5.3	5.3	7.5
	Hardly	31	7.5	7.5	15.0
	Never	270	65.4	65.4	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of English Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	21	5.1	5.1	5.1
	Hardly	60	14.5	14.5	19.6
	Never	332	80.4	80.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of English at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	From time to time	13	3.1	3.1	3.1
	Hardly	59	14.3	14.3	17.4
	Never	341	82.6	82.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of English Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	368	89.1	89.1	89.1
	Mostly	3	.7	.7	89.8
	From time to time	3	.7	.7	90.6
	Hardly	21	5.1	5.1	95.6
	Never	18	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	3	.7	.7	.7
	From time to time	65	15.7	15.7	16.5
	Hardly	100	24.2	24.2	40.7
	Never	245	59.3	59.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	84	20.3	20.3	20.3
	From time to time	43	10.4	10.4	30.8
	Hardly	51	12.3	12.3	43.1
	Never	154	37.3	37.3	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
	From time to time	83	20.1	20.1	21.5
	Hardly	88	21.3	21.3	42.9
	Never	236	57.1	57.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	From time to time	89	21.5	21.5	23.7
	Hardly	76	18.4	18.4	42.1



	Never	239	57.9	57.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Classical Arabic Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	365	88.4	88.4	88.4
	Mostly	3	.7	.7	89.1
	From time to time	15	3.6	3.6	92.7
	Hardly	3	.7	.7	93.5
	Never	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
Total		413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
	Hardly	38	9.2	9.2	10.7
	Never	369	89.3	89.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	3	.7	.7	.7
	Hardly	6	1.5	1.5	2.2
	Never	323	78.2	78.2	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	5	1.2	1.2	1.2
	Hardly	20	4.8	4.8	6.1
	Never	388	93.9	93.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	17	4.1	4.1	4.1
	Hardly	8	1.9	1.9	6.1
	Never	388	93.9	93.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Egyptian Arabic Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	374	90.6	90.6	90.6

	Hardly	3	.7	.7	91.3
	Never	36	8.7	8.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	22	5.3	5.3	5.3
	From time to time	139	33.7	33.7	39.0
	Hardly	98	23.7	23.7	62.7
	Never	154	37.3	37.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	95	23.0	23.0	23.0
	From time to time	122	29.5	29.5	52.5
	Hardly	47	11.4	11.4	63.9
	Never	68	16.5	16.5	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of French outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	39	9.4	9.4	9.4
	From time to time	186	45.0	45.0	54.5
	Hardly	65	15.7	15.7	70.2
	Never	123	29.8	29.8	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	44	10.7	10.7	10.7
	From time to time	158	38.3	38.3	48.9
	Hardly	78	18.9	18.9	67.8
	Never	133	32.2	32.2	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of French at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	362	87.7	87.7	87.7
	Mostly	30	7.3	7.3	94.9
	From time to time	6	1.5	1.5	96.4
	Hardly	3	.7	.7	97.1
	Never	12	2.9	2.9	100.0

	Total	413	100.0	100.0	
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Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	11	2.7	2.7	2.7
	From time to time	17	4.1	4.1	6.8
	Hardly	8	1.9	1.9	8.7
	Never	377	91.3	91.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish at Work/School					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	3	.7	.7	.7
	From time to time	14	3.4	3.4	4.1
	Hardly	23	5.6	5.6	9.7
	Never	292	70.7	70.7	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	11	2.7	2.7	2.7
	From time to time	19	4.6	4.6	7.3
	Hardly	12	2.9	2.9	10.2
	Never	371	89.8	89.8	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	8	1.9	1.9	1.9
	From time to time	23	5.6	5.6	7.5
	Never	382	92.5	92.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of Spanish Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	371	89.8	89.8	89.8
	Mostly	9	2.2	2.2	92.0
	Never	33	8.0	8.0	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of German at Home					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Hardly	3	.7	.7	.7

	Never	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of German at Work/school					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Mostly	3	.7	.7	.7
	Never	329	79.7	79.7	80.4
	Unemployed	81	19.6	19.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of German Outside					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	3	.7	.7	.7
	Hardly	6	1.5	1.5	2.2
	Never	404	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of German at Social Groups					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Hardly	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Never	404	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Use of German Abroad					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Have not been	374	90.6	90.6	90.6
	Mostly	3	.7	.7	91.3
	Never	36	8.7	8.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At Home; With Peers	407	98.5	98.5	98.5
	With Peers	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At Home; With Peers	41	9.9	9.9	9.9
	At Home	39	9.4	9.4	19.4
	At Work	15	3.6	3.6	23.0
	With Peers	3	.7	.7	23.7
	Self-Taught	3	.7	.7	24.5
	No Knowledge	312	75.5	75.5	100.0

	Total	413	100.0	100.0	
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Respondent's Place of Learning English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At School & Center	12	2.9	2.9	2.9
	At School	235	56.9	56.9	59.8
	At Work	6	1.5	1.5	61.3
	Self-Taught	6	1.5	1.5	62.7
	No Knowledge	154	37.3	37.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At School & Qur'anic School	144	34.9	34.9	34.9
	At School	239	57.9	57.9	92.7
	At Qur'anic School	3	.7	.7	93.5
	No Knowledge	21	5.1	5.1	98.5
	At home & school	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	With Peers	3	.7	.7	.7
	Media	392	94.9	94.9	95.6
	No Knowledge	18	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At home & School	20	4.8	4.8	4.8
	At School	354	85.7	85.7	90.6
	No Knowledge	27	6.5	6.5	97.1
	At School & a Centre	12	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At home & school	14	3.4	3.4	3.4
	At home	11	2.7	2.7	6.1
	At School	20	4.8	4.8	10.9
	At Work	3	.7	.7	11.6
	With Peers	3	.7	.7	12.3

	Self-Taught	3	.7	.7	13.1
	TV	6	1.5	1.5	14.5
	No Knowledge	350	84.7	84.7	99.3
	At School & a center	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning German					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	At School	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	At a Center	6	1.5	1.5	3.6
	No Knowledge	398	96.4	96.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Place of Learning Italian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Self-Taught	3	.7	.7	.7
	No Knowledge	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Native Language					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Moroccan Arabic	318	77.0	77.0	77.0
	Berber	35	8.5	8.5	85.5
	Classical Arabic	31	7.5	7.5	93.0
	Moroccan Arabic & Berber	14	3.4	3.4	96.4
	Moroccan Arabic & Classical Arabic	15	3.6	3.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	413	100.0	100.0	100.0

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	413	100.0	100.0	100.0

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	413	100.0	100.0	100.0

Respondent's Degree of Writing in Moroccan Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Excellent	375	90.8	90.8	90.8
	Fair	3	.7	.7	91.5
	Poor	9	2.2	2.2	93.7
	Non	26	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	46	11.1	11.1	11.1
	Good	24	5.8	5.8	16.9
	Fair	14	3.4	3.4	20.3
	Poor	29	7.0	7.0	27.4
	None	300	72.6	72.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	72	17.4	17.4	17.4
	Good	15	3.6	3.6	21.1
	Fair	17	4.1	4.1	25.2
	Poor	15	3.6	3.6	28.8
	None	294	71.2	71.2	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	49	11.9	11.9	11.9
	Good	18	4.4	4.4	16.2
	Fair	23	5.6	5.6	21.8
	Poor	17	4.1	4.1	25.9
	None	306	74.1	74.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	40	9.7	9.7	9.7
	Good	3	.7	.7	10.4
	Fair	6	1.5	1.5	11.9
	Poor	15	3.6	3.6	15.5
	None	349	84.5	84.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Excellent	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Good	108	26.2	26.2	28.3
	Fair	103	24.9	24.9	53.3
	Poor	30	7.3	7.3	60.5
	None	163	39.5	39.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	18	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Good	90	21.8	21.8	26.2
	Fair	124	30.0	30.0	56.2
	Poor	18	4.4	4.4	60.5
	None	163	39.5	39.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Good	47	11.4	11.4	13.6
	Fair	154	37.3	37.3	50.8
	Poor	34	8.2	8.2	59.1
	None	169	40.9	40.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	18	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Good	81	19.6	19.6	24.0
	Fair	119	28.8	28.8	52.8
	Poor	11	2.7	2.7	55.4
	None	184	44.6	44.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	336	81.4	81.4	81.4
	Good	33	8.0	8.0	89.3
	Fair	20	4.8	4.8	94.2
	Poor	6	1.5	1.5	95.6
	None	18	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Classical Arabic					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	357	86.4	86.4	86.4
	Good	24	5.8	5.8	92.3
	Fair	11	2.7	2.7	94.9
	Poor	3	.7	.7	95.6
	None	18	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	342	82.8	82.8	82.8
	Good	24	5.8	5.8	88.6
	Fair	15	3.6	3.6	92.3
	Poor	6	1.5	1.5	93.7
	None	26	6.3	6.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	359	86.9	86.9	86.9
	Good	16	3.9	3.9	90.8
	Fair	15	3.6	3.6	94.4
	None	23	5.6	5.6	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	111	26.9	26.9	26.9
	Good	190	46.0	46.0	72.9
	Fair	43	10.4	10.4	83.3
	Poor	39	9.4	9.4	92.7
	None	30	7.3	7.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	302	73.1	73.1	73.1
	Good	40	9.7	9.7	82.8
	Fair	26	6.3	6.3	89.1
	Poor	18	4.4	4.4	93.5
	None	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Egyptian Arabic					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	136	32.9	32.9	32.9
	Good	109	26.4	26.4	59.3
	Fair	74	17.9	17.9	77.2
	Poor	34	8.2	8.2	85.5
	None	60	14.5	14.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in Egyptian Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	126	30.5	30.5	30.5
	Good	84	20.3	20.3	50.8
	Fair	50	12.1	12.1	63.0
	Poor	30	7.3	7.3	70.2
	None	123	29.8	29.8	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	221	53.5	53.5	53.5
	Good	129	31.2	31.2	84.7
	Fair	33	8.0	8.0	92.7
	Poor	3	.7	.7	93.5
	None	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	270	65.4	65.4	65.4
	Good	86	20.8	20.8	86.2
	Fair	30	7.3	7.3	93.5
	None	27	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	225	54.5	54.5	54.5
	Good	104	25.2	25.2	79.7
	Fair	46	11.1	11.1	90.8
	Poor	6	1.5	1.5	92.3
	None	32	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in French					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	261	63.2	63.2	63.2
	Good	80	19.4	19.4	82.6
	Fair	34	8.2	8.2	90.8
	Poor	6	1.5	1.5	92.3
	None	32	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	27	6.5	6.5	6.5
	Good	21	5.1	5.1	11.6
	Fair	12	2.9	2.9	14.5
	Poor	22	5.3	5.3	19.9
	None	331	80.1	80.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	42	10.2	10.2	10.2
	Good	9	2.2	2.2	12.3
	Fair	17	4.1	4.1	16.5
	Poor	14	3.4	3.4	19.9
	None	331	80.1	80.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	33	8.0	8.0	8.0
	Good	12	2.9	2.9	10.9
	Fair	20	4.8	4.8	15.7
	Poor	17	4.1	4.1	19.9
	None	331	80.1	80.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	30	7.3	7.3	7.3
	Good	15	3.6	3.6	10.9
	Fair	6	1.5	1.5	12.3
	Poor	17	4.1	4.1	16.5
	None	345	83.5	83.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in German					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	3	.7	.7	.7
	Good	9	2.2	2.2	2.9
	Fair	6	1.5	1.5	4.4
	Poor	3	.7	.7	5.1
	None	392	94.9	94.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in German					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	Good	3	.7	.7	2.9
	Fair	6	1.5	1.5	4.4
	Poor	3	.7	.7	5.1
	None	392	94.9	94.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in German					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	3	.7	.7	.7
	Good	9	2.2	2.2	2.9
	Fair	6	1.5	1.5	4.4
	Poor	3	.7	.7	5.1
	None	392	94.9	94.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in German					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Excellent	3	.7	.7	.7
	Good	9	2.2	2.2	2.9
	Fair	6	1.5	1.5	4.4
	Poor	3	.7	.7	5.1
	None	392	94.9	94.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in Italian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Good	3	.7	.7	.7
	Fair	3	.7	.7	1.5
	None	407	98.5	98.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Italian					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Good	3	.7	.7	.7
	Fair	3	.7	.7	1.5
	None	407	98.5	98.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Italian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Good	3	.7	.7	.7
	Fair	3	.7	.7	1.5
	None	407	98.5	98.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in Italian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Good	3	.7	.7	.7
	Fair	3	.7	.7	1.5
	None	407	98.5	98.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Fluency in Russian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Fair	3	.7	.7	.7
	None	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Understanding in Russian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Fair	3	.7	.7	.7
	None	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Speaking in Russian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Fair	3	.7	.7	.7
	None	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Degree of Writing in Russian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Fair	3	.7	.7	.7
	None	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	357	86.4	86.4	86.4
	Rarely at home/ with family	9	2.2	2.2	88.6
	Rarely at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	90.1
	Rarely with friends	6	1.5	1.5	91.5
	Sometimes at home/ with family	12	2.9	2.9	94.4
	Sometimes with friends	8	1.9	1.9	96.4
	Sometimes in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	97.1
	Often with friends	3	.7	.7	97.8
	Often in all situations	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Always at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Always in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0		

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	320	77.5	77.5	77.5
	Rarely at work/ studies	18	4.4	4.4	81.8
	Rarely with friends	19	4.6	4.6	86.4
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	87.2
	Rarely in all situations	8	1.9	1.9	89.1
	Rarely in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	89.8
	Rarely as a habit	3	.7	.7	90.6
	Sometimes at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	91.3
	Sometimes with friends	24	5.8	5.8	97.1
	Sometimes in social gatherings	12	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	105	25.4	25.4	25.4
	Rarely at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	26.2
	Rarely with friends	9	2.2	2.2	28.3
	Rarely in discussions	6	1.5	1.5	29.8
	Rarely in all situations	3	.7	.7	30.5

Rarely as a habit	3	.7	.7	31.2
Sometimes with friends	27	6.5	6.5	37.8
Sometimes in discussions	30	7.3	7.3	45.0
Sometimes in all situations	42	10.2	10.2	55.2
Sometimes in social gatherings	27	6.5	6.5	61.7
Sometimes as a habit	5	1.2	1.2	63.0
Often at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	63.7
Often with friends	2	.5	.5	64.2
Often in discussions	9	2.2	2.2	66.3
Often in all situations	12	2.9	2.9	69.2
Often in social gatherings	6	1.5	1.5	70.7
Very often at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	72.2
Very often with friends	3	.7	.7	72.9
Very often in discussions	6	1.5	1.5	74.3
Very often in all situations	12	2.9	2.9	77.2
Very often in social gatherings	6	1.5	1.5	78.7
Very often as a habit	3	.7	.7	79.4
Always at work/ studies	12	2.9	2.9	82.3
Always with friends	3	.7	.7	83.1
Always in discussions	3	.7	.7	83.8
Always in all situations	44	10.7	10.7	94.4
Always in social gatherings	12	2.9	2.9	97.3
Always as a habit	11	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	374	90.6	90.6	90.6
	Rarely with friends	9	2.2	2.2	92.7
	Sometimes with friends	6	1.5	1.5	94.2
	Sometimes in all situations	3	.7	.7	94.9
	Very often in all situations	3	.7	.7	95.6
	Very often in social gatherings	2	.5	.5	96.1
	Always with friends	3	.7	.7	96.9
	Always in all situations	11	2.7	2.7	99.5
	Always in social gatherings	2	.5	.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Moroccan Arabic-Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Never	188	45.5	45.5	45.5
	Rarely at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	46.2
	Rarely at work/ studies	8	1.9	1.9	48.2
	Rarely with friends	12	2.9	2.9	51.1
	Rarely in discussions	9	2.2	2.2	53.3
	Rarely in social gatherings	6	1.5	1.5	54.7
	Sometimes at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	55.4
	Sometimes at work/ studies	13	3.1	3.1	58.6
	Sometimes with friends	12	2.9	2.9	61.5
	Sometimes in discussions	25	6.1	6.1	67.6
	Sometimes in all situations	21	5.1	5.1	72.6
	Sometimes in social gatherings	18	4.4	4.4	77.0
	Sometimes as a habit	3	.7	.7	77.7
	Often in discussions	9	2.2	2.2	79.9
	Often in all situations	6	1.5	1.5	81.4
	Often in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	82.1
	Very often in discussions	11	2.7	2.7	84.7
	Very often in all situations	15	3.6	3.6	88.4
	Very often in social gatherings	6	1.5	1.5	89.8
	Always at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	90.6
Always with friends	6	1.5	1.5	92.0	
Always in discussions	3	.7	.7	92.7	
Always in all situations	29	7.0	7.0	99.8	
Always in social gatherings	1	.2	.2	100.0	
Total	413	100.0	100.0		

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-Classical Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	404	97.8	97.8	97.8
	Rarely with friends	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Sometimes with friends	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Often in discussions	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	410	99.3	99.3	99.3
	Rarely in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	



Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	399	96.6	96.6	96.6
	Rarely with friends	5	1.2	1.2	97.8
	Sometimes with friends	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Sometimes in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Always in discussions	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Berber-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	407	98.5	98.5	98.5
	Rarely at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Sometimes in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Classical Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	380	92.0	92.0	92.0
	Rarely with friends	6	1.5	1.5	93.5
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	94.2
	Rarely in social gatherings	8	1.9	1.9	96.1
	Sometimes at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	96.9
	Sometimes with friends	4	1.0	1.0	97.8
	Sometimes in all situations	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Sometimes in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Very often in discussions	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Classical Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	270	65.4	65.4	65.4
	Rarely at work/ studies	15	3.6	3.6	69.0
	Rarely with friends	15	3.6	3.6	72.6
	Rarely in discussions	12	2.9	2.9	75.5
	Rarely in all situations	3	.7	.7	76.3
	Rarely in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	77.0
	Sometimes at work/ studies	16	3.9	3.9	80.9

	Sometimes with friends	20	4.8	4.8	85.7
	Sometimes in discussions	10	2.4	2.4	88.1
	Sometimes in all situations	17	4.1	4.1	92.3
	Sometimes in social gatherings	11	2.7	2.7	94.9
	Often with friends	3	.7	.7	95.6
	Often in discussions	3	.7	.7	96.4
	Often in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	97.1
	Very often at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	98.5
	Very often in discussions	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ Classical Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	395	95.6	95.6	95.6
	Rarely at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	96.4
	Sometimes with friends	6	1.5	1.5	97.8
	Sometimes in discussions	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Often in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Always with friends	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ English-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	317	76.8	76.8	76.8
	Rarely at work/ studies	17	4.1	4.1	80.9
	Rarely with friends	9	2.2	2.2	83.1
	Rarely in discussions	10	2.4	2.4	85.5
	Rarely in all situations	2	.5	.5	86.0
	Sometimes at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	86.7
	Sometimes at work/ studies	11	2.7	2.7	89.3
	Sometimes with friends	19	4.6	4.6	93.9
	Sometimes in discussions	9	2.2	2.2	96.1
	Sometimes in all situations	1	.2	.2	96.4
	Sometimes in social gatherings	6	1.5	1.5	97.8
	Often with friends	6	1.5	1.5	99.3
	Always in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ English-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	410	99.3	99.3	99.3

	Rarely with friends	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's Language Mixing/ French-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	386	93.5	93.5	93.5
	Rarely at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	94.2
	Rarely with friends	6	1.5	1.5	95.6
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	96.4
	Sometimes at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	97.8
	Sometimes in all situations	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Very often at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Always in discussions	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total		413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	No	413	100.0	100.0	100.0

Respondent's choice to learn Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	82	19.9	19.9	19.9
	No	331	80.1	80.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	302	73.1	73.1	73.1
	No	111	26.9	26.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	57	13.8	13.8	13.8
	No	356	86.2	86.2	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	6	1.5	1.5	1.5
	No	407	98.5	98.5	100.0

	Total	413	100.0	100.0	
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Respondent's choice to learn French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	124	30.0	30.0	30.0
	No	289	70.0	70.0	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	206	49.9	49.9	49.9
	No	207	50.1	50.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn German					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	116	28.1	28.1	28.1
	No	297	71.9	71.9	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn Japanese					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	9	2.2	2.2	2.2
	No	404	97.8	97.8	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn Russian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	3	.7	.7	.7
	No	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn Italian					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	15	3.6	3.6	3.6
	No	398	96.4	96.4	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn Hebrew					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	3	.7	.7	.7
	No	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Respondent's choice to learn Latin					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Yes	3	.7	.7	.7
	No	410	99.3	99.3	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	309	74.8	74.8	74.8
	Rarely at home/ with family	6	1.5	1.5	76.3
	Rarely at work/ studies	5	1.2	1.2	77.5
	Rarely with friends	15	3.6	3.6	81.1
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	81.8
	Rarely in social gatherings	2	.5	.5	82.3
	Rarely as a habit	8	1.9	1.9	84.3
	Sometimes at home/ with family	6	1.5	1.5	85.7
	Sometimes with friends	22	5.3	5.3	91.0
	Sometimes in discussions	3	.7	.7	91.8
	Sometimes in all situations	3	.7	.7	92.5
	Sometimes in social gatherings	6	1.5	1.5	93.9
	Sometimes as a habit	1	.2	.2	94.2
	Often at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	95.6
	Often in discussions	3	.7	.7	96.4
	Often in all situations	3	.7	.7	97.1
	Always at home/ with family	9	2.2	2.2	99.3
Always in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	100.0	
Total		413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	356	86.2	86.2	86.2
	Rarely at home/ with family	6	1.5	1.5	87.7
	Rarely at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	89.1
	Rarely with friends	12	2.9	2.9	92.0
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	92.7
	Rarely in social gatherings	4	1.0	1.0	93.7
	Sometimes at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	94.4
	Sometimes with friends	18	4.4	4.4	98.8

	Sometimes in discussions	2	.5	.5	99.3
	Sometimes in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	170	41.2	41.2	41.2
	Rarely at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	41.9
	Rarely with friends	6	1.5	1.5	43.3
	Rarely in all situations	5	1.2	1.2	44.6
	Rarely in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	45.3
	Sometimes at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	46.0
	Sometimes at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	47.5
	Sometimes with friends	15	3.6	3.6	51.1
	Sometimes in discussions	9	2.2	2.2	53.3
	Sometimes in all situations	20	4.8	4.8	58.1
	Sometimes in social gatherings	14	3.4	3.4	61.5
	Often at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	63.0
	Often with friends	6	1.5	1.5	64.4
	Often in discussions	9	2.2	2.2	66.6
	Often in all situations	6	1.5	1.5	68.0
	Often in social gatherings	6	1.5	1.5	69.5
	Very often at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	70.9
	Very often with friends	6	1.5	1.5	72.4
	Very often in discussions	3	.7	.7	73.1
	Very often in all situations	16	3.9	3.9	77.0
	Very often in social gatherings	5	1.2	1.2	78.2
Always with friends	7	1.7	1.7	79.9	
Always in discussions	9	2.2	2.2	82.1	
Always in all situations	67	16.2	16.2	98.3	
Always in social gatherings	5	1.2	1.2	99.5	
Always as a habit	2	.5	.5	100.0	
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	372	90.1	90.1	90.1
	Rarely at work/ studies	2	.5	.5	90.6
	Rarely with friends	6	1.5	1.5	92.0
	Sometimes with friends	9	2.2	2.2	94.2

	Sometimes in discussions	3	.7	.7	94.9
	Sometimes in all situations	3	.7	.7	95.6
	Very often as a habit	2	.5	.5	96.1
	Always with friends	3	.7	.7	96.9
	Always in all situations	13	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-German					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	413	100.0	100.0	100.0

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ M. Arabic-C. Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	276	66.8	66.8	66.8
	Rarely at work/ studies	5	1.2	1.2	68.0
	Rarely with friends	15	3.6	3.6	71.7
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	72.4
	Sometimes at home/ with family	5	1.2	1.2	73.6
	Sometimes at work/ studies	9	2.2	2.2	75.8
	Sometimes with friends	12	2.9	2.9	78.7
	Sometimes in discussions	5	1.2	1.2	79.9
	Sometimes in all situations	15	3.6	3.6	83.5
	Sometimes in social gatherings	12	2.9	2.9	86.4
	Often at work/ studies	5	1.2	1.2	87.7
	Often in discussions	3	.7	.7	88.4
	Often in all situations	9	2.2	2.2	90.6
	Often in social gatherings	9	2.2	2.2	92.7
	Very often at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	93.5
	Very often in all situations	14	3.4	3.4	96.9
	Always at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	97.6
	Always with friends	3	.7	.7	98.3
	Always in all situations	4	1.0	1.0	99.3
Always in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	100.0	
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-C. Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	392	94.9	94.9	94.9
	Rarely at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	95.6
	Rarely with friends	3	.7	.7	96.4

	Sometimes with friends	9	2.2	2.2	98.5
	Sometimes in discussions	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Often with friends	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	410	99.3	99.3	99.3
	Rarely with friends	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	385	93.2	93.2	93.2
	Rarely with friends	5	1.2	1.2	94.4
	Sometimes at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	95.2
	Sometimes with friends	11	2.7	2.7	97.8
	Sometimes in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Always with friends	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ Berber-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	409	99.0	99.0	99.0
	Sometimes in social gatherings	4	1.0	1.0	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ C. Arabic-English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	382	92.5	92.5	92.5
	Rarely at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	93.2
	Rarely with friends	9	2.2	2.2	95.4
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	96.1
	Sometimes with friends	1	.2	.2	96.4
	Sometimes in discussions	6	1.5	1.5	97.8
	Sometimes in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Often with friends	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Very often as a habit	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	



Interlocutor's Language Mixing/C. Arabic-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	311	75.3	75.3	75.3
	Rarely with friends	9	2.2	2.2	77.5
	Rarely in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	78.2
	Sometimes at home/ with family	3	.7	.7	78.9
	Sometimes at work/ studies	12	2.9	2.9	81.8
	Sometimes with friends	19	4.6	4.6	86.4
	Sometimes in discussions	21	5.1	5.1	91.5
	Sometimes in all situations	2	.5	.5	92.0
	Sometimes in social gatherings	15	3.6	3.6	95.6
	Sometimes as a habit	3	.7	.7	96.4
	Often with friends	3	.7	.7	97.1
	Often in discussions	3	.7	.7	97.8
	Often in social gatherings	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Very often at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Very often in all situations	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total		413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ C. Arabic-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	401	97.1	97.1	97.1
	Sometimes at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	97.8
	Sometimes with friends	3	.7	.7	98.5
	Sometimes in discussions	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Always in all situations	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total		413	100.0	100.0

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ English-French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	367	88.9	88.9	88.9
	Rarely at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	89.6
	Rarely with friends	1	.2	.2	89.8
	Rarely in discussions	3	.7	.7	90.6
	Sometimes at work/ studies	11	2.7	2.7	93.2
	Sometimes with friends	18	4.4	4.4	97.6
	Sometimes in discussions	6	1.5	1.5	99.0
	Sometimes in social	1	.2	.2	99.3

	gatherings				
	Often with friends	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ English-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	407	98.5	98.5	98.5
	Rarely with friends	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Sometimes at work/ studies	3	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	413	100.0	100.0	

Interlocutor's Language Mixing/ French-Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Never	383	92.7	92.7	92.7
	Rarely with friends	6	1.5	1.5	94.2
	Sometimes at work/ studies	6	1.5	1.5	95.6
	Sometimes with friends	6	1.5	1.5	97.1
	Sometimes in discussions	3	.7	.7	97.8
	Sometimes in social gatherings	1	.2	.2	98.1
	Sometimes as a habit	2	.5	.5	98.5
	Very often with friends	3	.7	.7	99.3
	Always in all situations	3	.7	.7	100.0
Total	413	100.0	100.0		

10 Respondent's Language of Reading Books					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English; C Arabic	1	.2	14.3	14.3
	English; C Arabic; French	2	.5	28.6	42.9
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	1	.2	14.3	57.1
	M Arabic; C Arabic; French	1	.2	14.3	71.4
	C Arabic; French	1	.2	14.3	85.7
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	14.3	100.0
	Total	7	1.7	100.0	
Missing	System	406	98.3		
Total		413	100.0		

10 Respondent's Language of Reading Newspapers					
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		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	1	.2	16.7	33.3
	M Arabic; C Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	50.0
	C Arabic; French	2	.5	33.3	83.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

10 Respondent's Language of Reading Magazines					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	1	.2	16.7	33.3
	M Arabic; C Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	50.0
	C Arabic; French	2	.5	33.3	83.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

10 Respondent's Language of Listening to Radio					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic	1	.2	16.7	33.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	1	.2	16.7	50.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	66.7
	C Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	83.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

10 Respondent's Language of Viewing TV/Satellite					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic; Berber; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; Spanish	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	C Arabic; French	2	.5	33.3	50.0
	English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	66.7
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	16.7	83.3
	French	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

10 Respondent's Language of Viewing Documents					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	C Arabic	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	M Arabic; English	1	.2	16.7	33.3
	M Arabic; C Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	50.0
	English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	66.7
	C Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	83.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

10 Respondent's Language of Viewing Films/Plays					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	C Arabic	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	M Arabic; English	1	.2	16.7	33.3
	M Arabic; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	50.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	66.7
	C Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	83.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		

Total	413	100.0		
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10 Respondent's Language of Listening to Music					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	C Arabic	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	M Arabic; English	1	.2	16.7	33.3
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French; Spanish	1	.2	16.7	50.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	16.7	66.7
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	16.7	83.3
	M Arabic; Berber; English; C Arabic	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Moroccan TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	From time to time	3	.7	60.0	80.0
	Hardly	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing 2M TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	2	.5	33.3	33.3
	From time to time	3	.7	50.0	83.3
	Hardly	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing ANN					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	2	.5	33.3	33.3
	Hardly	2	.5	33.3	66.7
	Never	2	.5	33.3	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing MBC					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	5	1.2	83.3	83.3
	Hardly	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Dubai TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	Hardly	3	.7	50.0	66.7
	Never	2	.5	33.3	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Aljazeera TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Exclusively	1	.2	16.7	16.7
	From time to time	3	.7	50.0	66.7
	Hardly	1	.2	16.7	83.3
	Never	1	.2	16.7	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Nile Egypt TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	2	.5	40.0	40.0
	Hardly	1	.2	20.0	60.0
	Never	2	.5	40.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing ESC TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	3	.7	60.0	60.0
	Never	2	.5	40.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Tunisian TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	2	.5	33.3	33.3
	Hardly	2	.5	33.3	66.7
	Never	2	.5	33.3	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Algerian TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	3	.7	50.0	50.0
	Hardly	1	.2	16.7	66.7
	Never	2	.5	33.3	100.0
	Total	6	1.5	100.0	
Missing	System	407	98.5		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing Syrian TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	Hardly	1	.2	20.0	40.0
	Never	3	.7	60.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing BBC1 TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing BB2 TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing ITV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing CH4 TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

11 Respondent's Degree of Viewing CH5 TV					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	From time to time	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Preference for Reading Books					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Preference for Reading Newspapers					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Preference for Reading Magazines					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	English; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Preference For Listening to Radio					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic; English; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Preference for Viewing TV/Satellite					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Total		413	100.0		



Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Preference for Viewing Documents					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Preference for Viewing Films/Plays					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

12 Respondent's Language of Listening to Music					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic; Berber; English; E Arabic; Spanish	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

13 Respondent's Language of Address of Old Ladies					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	3	.7	60.0	60.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic	1	.2	20.0	80.0
	M Arabic; English; CArabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

13 Respondent's Language of Address of Old Men					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	3	.7	60.0	60.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic	1	.2	20.0	80.0
	M Arabic; English; CArabic; French	1	.2	20.0	100.0

	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
	Total	413	100.0		

13 Respondent's Language of Address of Young Ladies					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	40.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French	3	.7	60.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
	Total	413	100.0		

13 Respondent's Language of Address of young Men					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	40.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; French	3	.7	60.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
	Total	413	100.0		

13 Respondent's Language of Address of girls					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	M Arabic	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	40.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic	1	.2	20.0	60.0
	M Arabic; English; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	80.0
	M Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
	Total	413	100.0		

13 Respondent's Language of Address of boys					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	M Arabic	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic; E Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	40.0
	M Arabic; C Arabic	1	.2	20.0	60.0
	M Arabic; English; CArabic; EArabic; French	1	.2	20.0	80.0
	M Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's Aesthetic View of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Beautiful	2	.5	40.0	40.0
	Neutral	1	.2	20.0	60.0
	Poetic; Beautiful	2	.5	40.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's Aesthetic View of Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Neutral	1	.2	50.0	50.0
	Harsh	1	.2	50.0	100.0
	Total	2	.5	100.0	
Missing	System	411	99.5		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's Aesthetic View of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Beautiful	2	.5	50.0	50.0
	Neutral	1	.2	25.0	75.0
	Poetic; Beautiful	1	.2	25.0	100.0
	Total	4	1.0	100.0	
Missing	System	409	99.0		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's Aesthetic View of C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	2	.5	50.0	50.0
	Beautiful	2	.5	50.0	100.0
	Total	4	1.0	100.0	
Missing	System	409	99.0		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's Aesthetic View of E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	1	.2	33.3	33.3
	Beautiful	1	.2	33.3	66.7
	Neutral	1	.2	33.3	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	410	99.3		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's Aesthetic View of French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Poetic	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	Beautiful	3	.7	60.0	80.0
	Neutral	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's Aesthetic View of Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Harsh	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	1	.2	33.3	33.3
	Dominant	2	.5	66.7	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	410	99.3		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of Berber			
		Frequency	%
Missing	System	413	100.0

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	4	1.0	80.0	80.0
	Dominant	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Dominant	1	.2	25.0	25.0
	Dominant	3	.7	75.0	100.0
	Total	4	1.0	100.0	
Missing	System	409	99.0		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Dominant	2	.5	66.7	66.7
	Less Dominant	1	.2	33.3	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	410	99.3		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Dominant	3	.7	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	410	99.3		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Domination of Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Less Dominant	2	.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	411	99.5		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Prestigious	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of Berber			
		Frequency	%
Missing	System	413	100.0

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	1	.2	33.3	33.3
	Prestigious	1	.2	33.3	66.7
	Less Prestigious	1	.2	33.3	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	

Missing	System	410	99.3		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of C Arabic					
		Frequency		%	
Missing	System	413		100.0	

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Prestigious	1	.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	412	99.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Prestigious	1	.2	50.0	50.0
	Less Prestigious	1	.2	50.0	100.0
	Total	2	.5	100.0	
Missing	System	411	99.5		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Prestige of Spanish					
		Frequency		%	
Missing	System	413		100.0	

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Difficult	1	.2	33.3	33.3
	Less Difficult	2	.5	66.7	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	410	99.3		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Difficult	3	.7	60.0	60.0
	Difficult	2	.5	40.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Difficult	1	.2	33.3	33.3

	Less Difficult	2	.5	66.7	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	410	99.3		
	Total	413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Less Difficult	3	.7	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	410	99.3		
	Total	413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Difficult	2	.5	66.7	66.7
	Less Difficult	1	.2	33.3	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	410	99.3		
	Total	413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Less Difficult	2	.5	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	411	99.5		
	Total	413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Difficulty to Learn Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Difficult	1	.2	25.0	25.0
	Difficult	1	.2	25.0	50.0
	Less Difficult	2	.5	50.0	100.0
	Total	4	1.0	100.0	
Missing	System	409	99.0		
	Total	413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards M Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	4	1.0	80.0	80.0
	Comfortable	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
	Total	413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards Berber					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %

Valid	Less Comfortable	5	1.2	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards English					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Comfortable	4	1.0	80.0	80.0
	Less Comfortable	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards C Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	4	1.0	80.0	80.0
	Comfortable	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards E Arabic					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Comfortable	2	.5	40.0	40.0
	Less Comfortable	3	.7	60.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards French					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Very Comfortable	2	.5	40.0	40.0
	Comfortable	3	.7	60.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

14 Respondent's View on Degree of Comfort Towards Spanish					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	Comfortable	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	Less Comfortable	4	1.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		



15 Respondent's Preferred Language of the Questionnaire					
		Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Valid	C Arabic	1	.2	20.0	20.0
	French	2	.5	40.0	60.0
	C Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	80.0
	English; C Arabic; French	1	.2	20.0	100.0
	Total	5	1.2	100.0	
Missing	System	408	98.8		
Total		413	100.0		

### Appendix C: Arabic in the Qur'an

No	Sura	Verse	الآية	السورة	رقم
12	Yusuf	(2) We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an, in order that ye may learn wisdom	إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ (2)	يوسف	12
13	Al-Ra'd	(37) Thus have we revealed it to be a judgement of authority in Arabic. Wert thou to follow their (vain) desires after the knowledge which hath reached thee, then wouldst thou find neither protector nor defender against Allah.	وَكَذَلِكَ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ حَكَمًا عَرَبِيًّا وَلَنْ تُطِيعُوا أَهْوَاءَهُمْ بَعْدَ مَا جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ مَا لَكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مِنَ وَلِيٍّ وَلَا وَاقٍ (37)	الرعد	13
14	Ibrahim	(4) We sent not a messenger except (to teach) in the language of his (own) people, in order to make (things) clear to them. So Allah leads astray those whom he pleases and guides whom he pleases and he is exalted in power, full of wisdom	وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَسُولٍ إِلَّا بِلِسَانِ قَوْمِهِ لِيُبَيِّنَ لَهُمْ فَيُضِلَّ اللَّهُ مَن يَشَاءُ وَيَهْدِي مَن يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ (4)	إبراهيم	14
16	Al-nahl	(103) We know indeed that they say, "it is a man that teaches him." The tongue of him they wickedly point to is notably foreign, while this is Arabic, pure and clear.	وَلَقَدْ نَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّمَا يُعَلِّمُهُ بَشَرٌ لِّسَانِ الَّذِي يُلْحَدُونَ إِلَيْهِ أَعْجَمِيٌّ وَهَذَا لِسَانٌ عَرَبِيٌّ مَبِينٌ (103)	النحل	16
19	Maryam	(97) So we have made the (Qur'an) easy in thine own tongue, that with it thou mayest give glad tidings to the righteous, and warnings to people given to contention.	فَإِنَّمَا يَسِرَّنَا بِلِسَانِكَ لِنُبَيِّنَ بِهِ الْمُتَّقِينَ وَتَنْذِرُ بِهِ قَوْمًا لَدَا (97)	مريم	19
20	Ta-ha	(113) Thus we have sent this down – an Arabic Qur'an – and explained therein in detail some of the warnings, in order that they may fear Allah, or that it may cause their remembrance (of him).	وَكَذَلِكَ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا وَصَرَّفْنَا فِيهِ مِنَ الْوَعِيدِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَّقُونَ أَوْ يَحْدُثُ لَهُمْ ذِكْرًا (113)	طه	20
26	Ash-shu'araa	(195) In the perspicuous Arabic tongue.	بِلِسَانٍ عَرَبِيٍّ مُبِينٍ (195)	الشعراء	26

39	Az-zumar	(28) (it is) a Qur'an in Arabic, without any crookedness (therein): in order that they may guard against Evil.	قرأنا عربيا غير ذي عوج لعلهم يتقون (28)	الزمر	39
41	Fussilat	(3) A book, whereof the verses are explained in detail;- a Qur'an in Arabic, for people who understand;-	كتب فصلت آياته قرأنا عربيا لقوم يعلمون (3)	فصلت	41
41	Fussilat	(44) Had we sent this Qur'an (in a language) other than Arabic, they would have said: "why are not its verses explained in detail? What! A foreign (tongue) and (a messenger) an Arab?" Say: "It is a guide and a healing to those who believe; and for those who believe not, there is a deafness in their ears, and it is blindness in their (eyes): they are (as it were) being called from a place far distant!"	ولو جعلناه قرأنا أعجميا لقالوا لولا فصلت آياته أعجمي وعربي قل هو للذين ءامنوا هدى وشفاء والدين لا يؤمنون في ءاذانهم وقر وهو عليهم عمى اولئك ينادون من مكان بعيد (44)	فصلت	41
42	Ash-shura	(7) Thus we have sent by inspiration to thee an Arabic Qur'an that thou mayest warn the mother of cities and all around her,- and warn (them) of the day of assembly, of which there is no doubt: (when) some will be in the garden, and some in the blazing fire.	وكذلك اوحينا اليك قرأنا عربيا لنتذر أم القرى ومن حولها وتذر يوم الجمع لاريب فيه فريق في الجنة وفريق في السعير (7)	الشورى	42
43	Az-zukhruf	(3) We have made it a Qur'an in Arabic, that ye may be able to understand.	إنا جعلناه قرأنا عربيا لعلكم تعقلون (3)	الزخرف	43
44	Ad-dukhan	(58) Verily, we have made this (Qur'an) easy, in thy tongue, in order that they may give heed.	فإنما يسرناه بلسانك لعلهم يتذكرون (58)	الدخان	44
46	Al-Ahqaf	(12) And before this was the book of Moses as a guide and a mercy: and this book confirms (it) in the Arabic tongue; to admonish the unjust, and as glad tidings to those who do right.	ومن قبله كتب موسى إماما ورحمة وهذا كتب مصدق لسانا عربيا لينذر الذين ظلموا ويبشرى للمحسنين (12)	الأحقاف	46

**Appendix D: Map of Morocco**



## Appendix E: Questionnaires

### Questionnaire: MA



European Studies Research Institute  
معهد الدراسات والأبحاث الأوروبية

Language Use and Maintenance Among  
the Moroccan Community in Britain  
الإستعمال والمحافظة اللغويين ضمن  
الجالية المغربية ببريطانيا

A Ph.D. Project by: A. Jamaï  
مشروع دكتوراه من قبل: ع. جامعي

Questionnaire on:  
إستمارة حول:

Sociolinguistics of Morocco  
سوسيو لسانيات المغرب

Field Study  
دراسة ميدانية

المغرب 21 – 03 \ 24 – 04  
1999

**YOUR IDENTITY AND ANSWERS REMAIN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**

يتم التعامل مع الهوية و كافة البيانات المقدمة طيه بسرية تامة



Language Use and Maintenance Among the Moroccan Community in Britain  
المحافظة والتحول اللغويين ضمن الجالية المغربية ببريطانيا  
A Ph.D. Project by A. Jamaï مشروع دكتوراه - ع. جامعي

QUESTIONNAIRE إستمارة

YOUR IDENTITY AND ANSWERS REMAIN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

يتم التعامل مع الهوية و كافة البيانات المقدمة أدناه بسرية تامة

Code: MA

1. Please fill the grill below as required about yourself: الرجاء ملء الجدول أدناه عن نفسك كما هو مطلوب:

Your age	Place of Birth	Sex		Year of Settlement in	Occupation	Education			
		F	M			None	Primary	Secondary	Higher

2. Please fill the grill below as required about your parents. الرجاء ملء الجدول أدناه عن أبويك كما هو مطلوب:

Parents	Age	Place of Birth	Year of Settlement in	Occupation	Education			
					None	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Father								
Mother								

3. الرجاء ملء الجدول أدناه عن الإخوة كما هو مطلوب:

3. Please fill the grill below as required about your brothers and sisters referred to by the term member.

Brothers/ Sisters	Age	Place of Birth	Sex		Year of Settlement in	Occupation	Education			
			F	M			None	Primary	Secondary	Higher
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										

4. الرجاء الإشارة إلى درجة إستعمال اللغات التالية في الحالات المبينة أدناه، مستعملا الأحرف التالية: (a) فقط. (b) من وقت لآخر. (c) نادرا. (d) أبداً

4. Please indicate the degree of using any of the languages below by the following letters: (a) exclusively. (b) from time to time. (c) hardly. (d) never.

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
At home								
At work/School								
Outside								
Social groups								
Abroad								
Understanding								
Speaking								
writing								
Other								

5. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى مكان تلقيك اللغات التالية: 5. Please indicate by (✓) where do/ did you acquire the following languages.

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
At home								
At school								
With peers								
In the mosque								
At a center								
Self taught								
Other								

Language Use and Maintenance Among the Moroccan Community in Britain. A Ph.D. Project by A. Jamaï. Questionnaire. Code: MA

6. الرجاء الإشارة إلى درجة قدراتك اللغوية بالأحرف التالية: (a) ممتازة. (b) حسنة. (c) متوسطة. (d) ضعيفة. (e) منعدمة.  
 6. Please indicate your degree of ability in the languages below by the following letters: (a) excellent. (b) good. (c) fair. (d) poor. (e) none.

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Degree of Fluency								
Understanding								
Speaking								
Writing								
Your Native Language?								

7. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تمزج في نفس المحادثة: 7. Indicate by (✓) the languages you mix in the same conversation:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Always
Moroccan Arabic/ Berber						
Moroccan Arabic/ English						
Moroccan Arabic/ French						
Moroccan Arabic/ Spanish						
Moroccan/Classical Arabic						
Berber/ Classical Arabic						
Berber/ English						
Berber/ French						
Berber/ Spanish						
Classical Arabic/ English						
Classical Arabic / French						
Classical Arabic/ Spanish						
English /French						
English/ Spanish						
French/ Spanish						
Others						

8. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تمزج في نفس محادثتك مع: 8. Indicate by (✓) the languages you mix in a conversation with your:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Always
Moroccan Arabic/ Berber						
Moroccan Arabic/ English						
Moroccan Arabic/ French						
Moroccan Arabic/ Spanish						
Moroccan/Classical Arabic						
Berber/ Classical Arabic						
Berber/ English						
Berber/ French						
Berber/ Spanish						
Classical Arabic/ English						
Classical Arabic / French						
Classical Arabic/ Spanish						
English /French						
English/ Spanish						
French/ Spanish						
Others						

9. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تود تعلمها لو أتاحت لك الظروف:

9. Please indicate by (✓) what languages would you like to learn if you had a choice?

Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other

Language Use and Maintenance Among the Moroccan Community in Britain. A Ph.D. Project by A. Jamaï. Questionnaire. Code: MA

10. Indicate by (✓) the languages your conversation partner mixes إلى اللغات التي يمزجها مخاطبوك خلال محادثتك الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Always
Moroccan Arabic/ Berber						
Moroccan Arabic/ English						
Moroccan Arabic/ French						
Moroccan Arabic/ Spanish						
Moroccan/Classical Arabic						
Berber/ Classical Arabic						
Berber/ English						
Berber/ French						
Berber/ Spanish						
Classical Arabic/ English						
Classical Arabic / French						
Classical Arabic/ Spanish						
English /French						
English/ Spanish						
French/ Spanish						
Others						

11. Please indicate by (✓) what languages do your members of family know? الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي يعرفها أفراد عائلتك

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Father								
Mother								
Member 1								
Member 2								
Member 3								
Member 4								
Member 5								
Member 6								
Other								

12. Please indicate by (✓) in what languages do you make use of the following? الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تستعملها للأغراض التالية:

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Books								
News Papers								
Magazines								
Radio								
TV/ Cable								
TV/ Satellite								
Films/ Plays								
Music								
Other								

13. الرجاء الإشارة إلى محطات التلفزيون (الفضائية) العربية مبنياً درجة المشاهدة بالأحرف التالية: (a) فقط. (b) من وقت لآخر. (c) نادراً. (d) أبداً  
13a. Please indicate which of the following Arab (satellite) TV stations do you view and at what degree: (a) exclusively. (b) from time to time. (c) hardly. (d) never.

	Moroccan TV	2M	ART	Al Jazira	MBC	Dubai	Tunisian TV	Algerian TV	ANN

13b. Non Arab (satellite) TV stations ن 13ب. محطات التلفزيون (الفضائية) غير العربية

	Nile Egypt	Egyptian TV	Syrian TV					

Language Use and Maintenance Among the Moroccan Community in Britain. A Ph.D. Project by A. Jamaï. Questionnaire. Code: MA



14. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تفضل إستعمالها للأغراض التالية:

14. Please indicate by (✓) in what languages would you prefer to have access to the following?

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Books								
News Papers								
Magazines								
Radio								
TV/ Cable								
TV/ Satellite								
Films/ Plays								
Music								
Other								

15. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تستعملها لمخاطبة الفئات التالية:

15. Please indicate by (✓) in what languages do you address the following groups.

	Sex	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Old people	F								
	M								
Young people	F								
	M								
Children	F								
	M								

16. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى موقفك من اللغات التالية:

16. Please indicate by (✓) what you think of the following languages:

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Poetic								
Beautiful								
Average								
Harsh								
Most dominant								
Dominant								
Less dominant								
Most prestigious								
Prestigious								
Less prestigious								
Most comfortable								
Comfortable								
Less comfortable								
Most difficult to learn								
difficult to learn								
Easy to learn								

17. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغة التي تفضل أن تقدم إليك بها هذه الإستمارة:

17. Please indicate by (✓) in what language would you prefer this questionnaire to be.

Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other

**Notes:**

## Questionnaire: GB



Salford University  
European Studies Research Institute

جامعة سالفرد  
معهد الدراسات و الأبحاث الأوروبية

Language Use and Maintenance Among the Moroccan Community in Britain  
الإستعمال المحافظة اللغويين ضمن الجالية المغربية ببريطانيا

The aim of this questionnaire is to help the study of language change and linguistic situation of the Moroccan community in Europe in general and Britain in particular, in a purely Sociolinguistic framework.  
إن الغرض من هذه الاستمارة هو المساعدة على القيام بدراسة حول التحول اللغوي و الوضعية اللغوية التي تعيشها الجالية المغربية في أوروبا عموما وبريطانيا خصوصا، في إطار سوسiolسني صرف.

Many thanks for your help.

شكرا جزيلا على مساعدتكم و السلام.

Salford University

جامعة سالفرد



Language Use and Maintenance Among the Moroccan Community in Britain  
الإستعمال و المحافظة اللغويين ضمن الجالية المغربية ببريطانيا  
QUESTIONNAIRE إستمارة

YOUR IDENTITY AND ANSWERS REMAIN STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL  
يتم التعامل مع الهوية و كافة البيانات المقدمة أدناه بسرية تامة

Code: GB

1. Please fill in about yourself: الرجاء ملء الجدول ادناه عن نفسك

Age	Sex		Place of Birth	Year of Settlement in UK	Occupation	Native language	Education			
	F	M					None	Primary	Secondary	Higher

2. About your parents: الرجاء عن أبويك:

Parents	Age	Place of Birth	Year of Settlement in UK	Occupation	Native language	Education			
						None	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Father									
Mother									

3. Please indicate by (✓) what languages your members of family know: الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي يعرفها أفراد عائلتك :

	Native language	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Father									
Mother									
Member 1									
Member 2									
Member 3									
Member 4									
Member 5									
Member 6									
Other									

4. Please indicate the degree of language use by the following letters: (a) exclusively. (b) from time to time. (c) hardly. (d) never. الرجاء الإشارة إلى درجة إستعمال اللغات التالية في الحالات المبينة أدناه، مستعملا الأحرف التالية: (a) فقط. (b) من وقت لآخر. (c) نادرا. (d) أبداً.

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
At home								
At work/School								
Outside								
Social groups								
Abroad								
Other								

5. Please indicate by (✓) where do/ did you acquire the following languages: الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى مكان تلقيك اللغات التالية:

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
At home								
At school								
At work								
With peers								
In the mosque								
At a center								
Self taught								
Other								

6. الرجاء الإشارة إلى درجة قدراتك اللغوية بالأحرف التالية: (a) ممتازة. (b) حسنة. (c) متوسطة. (d) ضعيفة. (e) منعدمة.

6. Please indicate your degree of ability in the languages below by the following letters: (a) excellent. (b) good. (c) fair. (d) poor. (e) none.

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Understanding								
Speaking								
Reading								
Writing								

7. الرجاء الإشارة إلى درجة المزج اللغوي ومع من في نفس المحادثة:

7. Indicate the degree of language mixing in the same conversation and with whom:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Always
Moroccan Arabic/ Berber						
Moroccan Arabic/ English						
Moroccan Arabic/ French						
Moroccan Arabic/ Spanish						
Moroccan/Classical Arabic						
Berber/ Classical Arabic						
Berber/ English						
Berber/ French						
Berber/ Spanish						
Classical Arabic/ English						
Classical Arabic / French						
Classical Arabic/ Spanish						
English /French						
English/ Spanish						
French/ Spanish						
Others						

8. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تود تعلمها لو أتاحت لك الظروف:

8. Please indicate by (✓) what languages would you like to learn if you had a choice?

Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other

9. الرجاء الإشارة إلى مخاطبك ودرجة المزج اللغوي معك في نفس المحادثة:

9. Indicate your conversation partner and the degree of language mixing in the same conversation with you:

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Always
Moroccan Arabic/ Berber						
Moroccan Arabic/ English						
Moroccan Arabic/ French						
Moroccan Arabic/ Spanish						
Moroccan/Classical Arabic						
Berber/ Classical Arabic						
Berber/ English						
Berber/ French						
Berber/ Spanish						
Classical Arabic/ English						
Classical Arabic / French						
Classical Arabic/ Spanish						
English /French						
English/ Spanish						
French/ Spanish						
Others						

10. Please indicate by (✓) in what languages you make use of the following  
 الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تستعملها للوسائل التالية

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Books								
Newspapers								
Magazines								
Radio								
TV/ Satellite								
Documentaries								
Films/ Plays								
Music								
Other								

11. الرجاء الإشارة إلى محطات التلفزيون (الفضائية) العربية مبينا درجة المشاهدة بالأحرف التالية: (a) فقط (b) من وقت لآخر. (c) نادرا. (d) أبداً

11a. Please indicate which of the following Arab (satellite) TV stations you watch and how often: (a) exclusively. (b) from time to time. (c) hardly. (d) never.

Moroccan	2M	ANN	MBC	Dubai	Al Jazira	Nile Egypt	Egyptian	Tunisian	Algerian	Syrian

11b. Non Arab (satellite) TV stations  
 ن 11ب. محطات التلفزيون (الفضائية) غير العربية

BBC1	BBC2	ITV	CH4	CH5														

12. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تفضل أن تكون بها الوسائل التالية:

12. Please indicate by (✓) what language you prefer for the following?

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Books								
Newspapers								
Magazines								
Radio								
TV/ Satellite								
Documentaries								
Films/ Plays								
Music								
Other								

13. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغات التي تستعملها لمخاطبة الفئات التالية:

13. Please indicate by (✓) in what languages you address the following groups.

	Sex	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
Old people	F								
	M								
Young people	F								
	M								
Children	F								
	M								

14. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓)  
 الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓)

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
14a. What you think of the following languages:								
: 14أ. إلى موقفك من اللغات التالية								
Poetic								
Beautiful								
Neutral								
Harsh								
Other								

14. Please indicate by (✓) 1.4 الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓)

	Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other
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14b. What you think of the following languages: 14ب. إلى موقفك من اللغات التالية :

Very dominant								
Dominant								
Less dominant								

Very prestigious								
Prestigious								
Less prestigious								

Very difficult to learn								
difficult to learn								
Easy to learn								

14c. How comfortable do you feel with the following languages? 14ج. كم أنت مرتاح (ة) نحو اللغات التالية:

Very comfortable								
Comfortable								
Less comfortable								


15. Please indicate by (✓) in what language you would have preferred this questionnaire to be. 15. الرجاء الإشارة بعلامة (✓) إلى اللغة التي تفضل أن تقدم إليك بها هذه الإستمارة:

Moroccan Arabic	Berber	English	Classical Arabic	Egyptian Arabic	French	Spanish	Other

Notes:

## Appendix F: Equality Form

# Equal Opportunities Monitoring Form



**SOAS**  
University of London

SOAS is committed to a policy of Equal Opportunities in employment to ensure that all candidates for employment are treated fairly. In order to carry out this policy we are collecting information from all staff on the key characteristics which relate to Equal Opportunities in employment. Applications are welcome from all sections of the community.

We need this information to monitor our progress towards widening diversity among our workforce. The information you provide will be used for statistical monitoring purposes released only as anonymous statistics to the University and HESA (Higher Education Statistical Agency), and will not be seen by members of the Interview Selection Panel.

Post \_\_\_\_\_ Vacancy Reference \_\_\_\_\_

*Please tick the appropriate boxes*

Are you      **MALE**      **FEMALE**      **Date of birth**

--	--	--	--	--	--

**Which category best describes the ethnic group to which you belong:**

**WHITE**       <sup>1.1</sup> **British**       <sup>1.2</sup> **Irish**

<sup>1.3</sup> **Other White background** (individual to specify details) \_\_\_\_\_

**BLACK OR BLACK BRITISH**       <sup>2.1</sup> **Caribbean**       <sup>2.2</sup> **African**

<sup>2.3</sup> **Other Black background** (individual to specify details) \_\_\_\_\_

**ASIAN OR ASIAN BRITISH**       <sup>3.1</sup> **Indian**       <sup>3.2</sup> **Pakistani**       <sup>3.3</sup> **Bangladeshi**

**CHINESE**       <sup>3.4</sup> **Chinese**

<sup>3.5</sup> **Other Asian background** (individual to specify details) \_\_\_\_\_

**MIXED**       <sup>4.1</sup> **White and Black Caribbean**       <sup>4.2</sup> **White and Black African**       <sup>4.3</sup> **White and Asian**

<sup>4.4</sup> **Other Mixed background** (individual to specify details) \_\_\_\_\_

**OTHER**       <sup>5.0</sup> **Other Ethnic background** \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>5.1</sup> **Not known**       <sup>5.2</sup> **Information refused**

**Do you have a disability?**      **YES**      **NO**

If yes please specify \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Job applicants with a disability are invited to contact the Human Resources Department in confidence at any point during the recruitment process to discuss steps that could be taken to overcome operational difficulties presented by the job, or if any adjustments or support are required for interview.

**PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM WITH YOUR APPLICATION. THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.**

438

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