

Bucknell University

## Bucknell Digital Commons

---

Honors Theses

Student Theses

---

Spring 2020

### The Power of Language: An Analysis of Language Use and Attitudes in Moroccan Universities

Mikaela K. Thomas

*Bucknell University*, [mikaet16@gmail.com](mailto:mikaet16@gmail.com)

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.bucknell.edu/honors\\_theses](https://digitalcommons.bucknell.edu/honors_theses)



Part of the [Anthropological Linguistics and Sociolinguistics Commons](#), [Arabic Language and Literature Commons](#), and the [Arabic Studies Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Thomas, Mikaela K., "The Power of Language: An Analysis of Language Use and Attitudes in Moroccan Universities" (2020). *Honors Theses*. 519.

[https://digitalcommons.bucknell.edu/honors\\_theses/519](https://digitalcommons.bucknell.edu/honors_theses/519)

This Honors Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Theses at Bucknell Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of Bucknell Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [dcadmin@bucknell.edu](mailto:dcadmin@bucknell.edu).



**THE POWER OF LANGUAGE:  
AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES  
IN MOROCCAN UNIVERSITIES**

by

**Mikaela K. Thomas**

A Thesis Submitted to the Honors Council  
For Honors in Arabic and Arab World Studies

May 1, 2020

Thesis Advisor: Professor Martin Isleem

Email Permission Received 2020-05-01

Major Representative: Professor Dena Isleem

Email Permission Received 2020-05-01

### **Acknowledgments**

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Professor Martin Isleem, for his deep expertise, enthusiasm about the topic, and genuine care and guidance, during this project and throughout my four years studying with the Arabic Department. Without him, this project would not have been possible. Also, the support of my second reader, Professor Amine Zidouh, stemming from his personal experiences, brought helpful insights and context to this study of Morocco. Without his cultural and social awareness of Morocco, I could not have completed such a project.

I also would like to thank the many professors in Morocco, who graciously took the time to share my survey, and for their students who volunteered to participate in my study. Without them, I would not have been able to complete any of this research, and their rapid mobilization to find me subjects, and interest in my project, even though I was a stranger, was deeply kind. Specifically, I would like to acknowledge the students and professors from Al Akhawayn University, the International University of Rabat, and Mohammed V University, for their overwhelming assistance.

I wish to acknowledge the Bucknell Honors Program and Humanities Department for making this project possible. Lastly, the never-ending support from my friends and family was invaluable during this time. They provided edits and sometimes much-needed motivation that kept me going until the very end. My sincere gratitude goes out to all of you.

**Table of Contents**

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Acknowledgments                        | iv  |
| Table of Contents                      | v   |
| List of Tables                         | vi  |
| Abstract                               | vii |
| Chapter I: Introduction and Background | 1   |
| Chapter II: Theoretical Framework      | 10  |
| Theory #1: Language and Globalization  | 10  |
| Theory #2: Linguistic Capital          | 15  |
| Theory #3: Language and Identity       | 18  |
| Chapter III: Methodology               | 23  |
| Chapter IV: Data and Analysis          | 27  |
| Background Question Variables          | 27  |
| Language Use Variables                 | 32  |
| Language Attitudes Variables           | 42  |
| Chapter V: Discussion and Conclusion   | 54  |
| Limitations                            | 61  |
| Opportunities for Future Research      | 63  |
| References                             | 65  |
| Appendix A                             | 72  |
| English Email                          | 72  |
| Arabic Email                           | 73  |
| Appendix B                             | 74  |
| English Survey                         | 74  |
| Arabic Survey                          | 78  |

**List of Tables**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Table 1: Gender.....  | 27 |
| Table 2: Ethnicity (first choice) .....   | 28 |
| Table 3: Ethnicity (first and second choice combined) .....   | 28 |
| Table 4: Type of High School.....   | 31 |
| Table 5: Language(s) used at school/work .....  | 33 |
| Table 6: Language(s) used at home .....   | 36 |
| Table 7: Language(s) used in public spaces .....  | 38 |
| Table 8: Language(s) used with friends.....   | 40 |
| Table 9: Language that is best for future career .....  | 43 |
| Table 10: Language that is best for academic settings .....   | 45 |
| Table 11: Language(s) that will provide the most job opportunities (This table was<br>compiled using the top percentages from ranked choices.) .....      | 46 |
| Table 12: Language(s) that will help the most with academic achievements (This table<br>was compiled using the top percentages from ranked choices.)..... | 47 |
| Table 13: Appreciation toward Amazigh people has increased because of university<br>education.....  | 49 |
| Table 14: Attitudes toward Standard Arabic providing a connection to the Arab World .   | 51 |
| Table 15: Attitudes toward Standard Arabic providing a connection to Muslim heritage  | 51 |

### Abstract

This study examines the connections between language use and attitudes in Moroccan universities. Morocco is a North African country that is historically multilingual, with communities speaking Moroccan Arabic (Darija), indigenous Amazigh, French, and English, in addition to the Standard Arabic used in government and by the Muslim community. The French Protectorate from 1912 to 1956 ushered in colonial language policies and imposed the French education system that enforced linguistic hierarchies. While the subsequent Arabization period attempted to reestablish the importance of Standard Arabic in Morocco, the policies failed to promote true multilingualism by ignoring the Amazigh and Darija languages. Today, each language has unique sociolinguistic, political, and economic implications that shape the attitudes and identities associated with them. This thesis draws upon this historical background and the theoretical work by Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Phillipson, Homi Bhabha, and others, to hypothesize that English use is on the rise in Morocco because of its economic benefits. Still, French will remain the dominant global language in the country because of its historical importance. Original data were collected using an electronic survey targeting Moroccan university students. Data analysis revealed that while French and English are both highly regarded for their global scales, English is used more often by students, who believe it will lead to more economic and academic opportunities than French.

*Keywords:* Morocco, Moroccan language varieties, Amazigh, University students, Language attitude, Language use

## Chapter I: Introduction and Background

In Morocco, many students find that when they enter universities, they are unable to speak the language in which their programs are taught. This disparity results in two out of three students failing out of public universities in Morocco because they do not speak French fluently (Eljehtimi, 2019). At the secondary level, private schools often focus on French education. In contrast, public schools are commonly taught in Arabic, so the idea of economic prosperity is directly related to the ability to speak French in Morocco. As students who cannot afford private schools come from an Arabic background, students lack preparation for the French or English-taught higher education. These contradictory education language policies reflect the shifting priorities and attitudes from local and regional languages to global languages with greater symbolic power. Universities turn to French and English to capitalize on the economic benefits that accompany these Western globalized languages, leaving Moroccans with mixed attitudes toward French, English, Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Amazigh present in the country, which in turn shape the settings in which people use these languages.

Language is the part of a culture that is both internally and externally defined, and, according to Ben-Rafael and Shohamy (2006), it creates a powerful yet “symbolic construction of the public space” (p. 7). They go on to explain that changing world pressures such as “modernity, globalization, and multiculturalism” determine the linguistic capital of language (Ben-Rafael & Shohamy, p. 9). Linguistic capital is the notion that some languages provide more economic opportunity for speakers and elevate



them within the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1977). International political, cultural, and economic trends, therefore, shape which languages are included in the public sphere, and what attitudes people hold toward them. These trends are especially prevalent in the Moroccan sociolinguistic landscape, where English, French, Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Amazigh all play essential historical, cultural, economic, and political roles in the public and private spheres.

Morocco has an extensive and diverse linguistic landscape, defined as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region,” but can also include the overall linguistic outlook of the country (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25). Within this linguistic space, one must also consider a language’s ethnolinguistic vitality, which is the tendency for a community to see their status as a group as vital or nonvital due to the representation of their language, or the lack thereof, in the linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). In this case, the wide variety of languages present in Morocco results from the country’s historical links to France and the United States, Arab and Islamic cultures, and indigenous peoples. Morocco today is ethnically 99% Arab-Berber<sup>1</sup>, illustrating how ethnically mixed the country’s Arab and Amazigh populations have become (CIA World factbook). Linguistically, a 2012 study found that 98% of Moroccans speak Moroccan Arabic (Darija), 63% speak French, 43% speak Tamazight (the official form of Amazigh), 14% speak English, and 10% speak

---

1. The word Berber refers to the Amazigh communities across Morocco and North Africa. It comes from the word *barbares*, which was introduced by the Europeans as early as the Greek and Roman civilizations. This root was eventually transferred into Arabic, and some Amazigh people have now internalized the name even though it initially connoted savages or barbarians.

Spanish, while another 2012 survey found that 63% of Moroccans understand Standard Arabic (Vitores & Benlabbah, 2014, p. 32). This diversity of language creates ethnolinguistic hybridity, meaning that people identify with languages as an expression of their varied ethnic identities. In Morocco, language attitudes and use of language are vital to the Moroccan identity.

Morocco's historical background is complicated, with multiple periods of imperial and colonial control that shape the linguistic landscape of the country today. The country itself is located on the northwest coast of Africa, with the northernmost point of the country just about eight nautical miles from Spain. The indigenous Amazigh people have lived in North Africa since ancient times, enduring Phoenician, Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic imperial control. They have a history of rebellion against the colonizers, living up to their name, which means "free people" in Amazigh. While there are three Amazigh languages in Morocco, Tamazight is the official, standardized form (Seward et al., 2016). These people, defined by their ability to speak Amazigh languages, have deep roots in what is now Morocco. However, because of their historical subordination to various colonial rulers, Amazigh people often face oppressive political policies necessitating their fight to preserve their cultural identities within the predominantly Arab society (Chtatou, 2019).

In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Arabs began to arrive in Morocco, bringing Islam and Arabic with them (Seward et al., 2016). After the course of multiple dynasties and hundreds of years, Europeans became interested in the country. The French Protectorate in Morocco lasted from 1912 until independence in 1956, shaping the language behavior, linguistic

landscape, and peoples' attitudes toward French (Simpson, 2008). During the decades of French control, they asserted colonial policies that split Moroccans between Arabs and Amazigh by separating most of the society from the indigenous culture and language (Simpson, 2008, p. 45). In particular, the French settler-colonialism model, in which French citizens moved into the colonized country, led to a development gap between the urban areas where the French were implementing European styles of living, and the rural regions that were still mostly Arab and Amazigh (Amin, 1970). As a result, the French language is now more concentrated in cities. This practice also generated the hierarchical social stereotypes that urban French speakers are more developed than Darija or Amazigh speakers. The French protectorate period also established the French education system within Morocco. This system "emphasize[d] the alien French language, culture, and history to the neglect of native language, culture, and history; it emphasize[d] intellectualism and memorization, and it fosters verbalism..." further alienating the colonized peoples who do not speak French (Gordon, 1962, p. 8). The European education system also created formal hierarchies that are solidified in educational institutions based on how well students speak French. These educational disparities persist today, along with the tendency for French to be the language of choice for higher education and in math and science fields. This dynamic shapes the attitudes people hold toward French, Darija, and Amazigh. Because of this colonial history, Moroccans' complicated attitudes toward French today are understandable, as the language carrying oppressive historical baggage from the colonial period, but also as the key to Morocco's connection with the West and economic and political development.

After the fall of the French Protectorate in 1956, the Moroccan government established Arabization policies in the formal education system that promoted universal literacy in Standard Arabic. These policies attempted to reassert the country's Arab and Islamic identity and counteract the cultural and linguistic legacies of the French colonial period (Marley, 2004). These policies, while meant to promote national unity in the face of decolonization, largely ignored Amazigh speakers and promoted Standard Arabic at the expense of Amazigh languages, leaving the indigenous group marginalized even after independence (Marley, 2004). The year 2000 marked a shift away from the Arabized education policies that were in place for over 40 years, with the passage of the Charter for Educational Reform. While this document did not specifically mention European languages like French and English, it implied that to reform the educational policies, these languages, instead of Arabic, should be used when teaching science and math. These subjects are associated with greater economic success, while local languages would be used at the primary school levels (Marley, 2004). This concept is consistent with the idea that in the wake of globalization, in "many postcolonial African states a number of local languages could be used in primary education, a smaller number in (parts of) secondary education, and one language – invariably the ex-colonial one – in higher education" (Bloomaert, 2012, p. 7). These language policies shaped the current linguistic landscape of Morocco as well as the attitudes held toward Standard Arabic, French, Amazigh, and Darija by leaning into the linguistic hierarchy between these languages and producing in and out groups of speakers.

Morocco also has a historically strong bilateral political relationship with the United States, rather than one of colonial control. The US and Morocco have had an amicable relationship since Morocco was the first country in the world to recognize the US as a legitimate state in 1777 (Elalamy, 2013). This recognition and subsequent treaty allowed American ships to dock freely at Moroccan ports, fulfilling the Sultan Sidi Muhammad Ben Abdullah's goals to have deeper relations with Christian nations, and to shift state revenue to maritime trade (U.S. Embassy & Consulate in Morocco). Today, the two countries have a Free Trade Agreement, Morocco is an important US non-NATO ally, and is seen as a vital stable partner in a region that is often politically turbulent (Elalamy, 2013). After 9/11, the United States and Morocco became closer as they broadened their joint counterterrorism efforts (Willis, 2014). Positive historical relations between the two countries support how English is regarded as a positive force in Morocco that is not associated with colonialism or forced linguistic policies.

Today most Moroccans are multilingual, and there are trends surrounding where languages are most often used, reflective of the attitudes people hold toward these languages. Because of its association with Islam, Standard Arabic is the official language, and Amazigh became the second official language after the 2011 Arab Spring movement in the country led to reforms and a new constitution (CIA World Factbook). This policy shift resulted from the significant presence of Amazigh activists that pushed for cultural revival during the mass demonstrations for democracy and political reforms in the Arab Spring in Morocco (Willis, 2014). Before 2011, the French protectorate policies largely ignored Amazigh language and culture, and the period of Arabization forced them to

assimilate (Marley, 2004). With the 2011 Constitution that recognized Amazigh as the second official language, Morocco reinforced the historical multiculturalism of the region (Ennaji, 2014). In addition to the languages mentioned above, most people speak Darija, the Moroccan form of Arabic, in informal settings. This dialect itself is complicated because it is unique to the region, has geographical dialects, and is mostly a spoken and informal language. The public linguistic landscape often contains French, on signs along with the two official languages, and people speak French “in vital sectors like government, education, private businesses, and the media” (Simpson, 2008, p. 48). Lastly, English is preferred for international trade, education, and diplomacy because it provides similar economic capital as French but does not hold the same negative colonial baggage. These languages are especially crucial in Morocco as tourism accounted for 8.1% of the nation’s GDP and 7.1% of employment in 2018, solidifying the idea that speaking French and English opens economic opportunities and promotes the image that Moroccans are modern and Western-leaning (Oxford Business Group, 2018).

This thesis will explore how the five most common languages in Morocco, English, French, Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic (Darija), and Amazigh are portrayed in the linguistic landscape of the country. Analysis of Moroccan students’ attitudes towards these languages and the contexts in which they are used will shed light on the interactions between them. Furthermore, data collected for this project will help reveal the priorities held within the country by a sample of the population, for example, to determine whether Morocco will continue to have close ties to France for commercial purposes or if citizens are turning toward English. Some further research questions

include: Is English or French used more often than varieties of Arabic in the same contexts? Are attitudes more favorable toward French and English over Arabic when it comes to educational and career achievement? Do attitudes of students toward a language depend on the use of the language? What kind of attitudes surround Amazigh speakers?

This research is vital because it will provide an in-depth exploration of the trends and attitudes of Moroccan students toward the many languages present in the country, beyond the observation that most people are multilingual. It also attempts to marry the sociolinguistics and international relations fields in this context, underscoring how foreign relations and history play important roles in the modern sociolinguistic landscape of a country. Most of the authors who have written previously on language attitudes and usage in Morocco focused on the trends of English rising in importance around the world, how stereotypes impact language attitudes, how migration patterns perpetuate language shifts, and how educational institutions are an essential means for the government to promote official attitudes toward languages. By using sociolinguistic theories of language and globalization, linguistic capital, and language and social identity, this paper will analyze how the original survey data on students' use and attitudes toward these languages inform each other. Overall, this paper hypothesizes that French and English are becoming more relevant to young people over Arabic because of their high levels of linguistic capital and prospects for economic benefits, but French will remain the linguistic hegemon for the time being.

Language and globalization, linguistic capital, and language and identity are three theories that will be used throughout this research to explain how French and English are

becoming more important than Arabic and Amazigh. As global languages, French and English have a greater presence in the formal Moroccan linguistic landscape and higher values of linguistic and symbolic capital. On the other hand, Arabic and Amazigh will likely remain because of their association with social and ethnic identities. The next four chapters will explore the Moroccan case more closely, drawing on the background put forth in this introduction. Chapter two will outline the theoretical framework and other studies that supported the research and analysis of this thesis. Chapter three will introduce the methodology and research questions that informed the survey. Chapter four will feature the primary source data collected from the electronic survey as well as analysis of the attitudes and patterns of use and what those reveal about trends, linguistic priorities, or possible language shifts in Morocco. The final chapter will provide conclusions and a discussion of findings and will expand on limitations and possible areas of further research that can inspire future projects.



## Chapter II: Theoretical Framework

### *Theory #1: Language and Globalization*

Linguistic imperialism and how languages react to forces of globalization provide theoretical background into how the languages of Morocco interact within society. Linguistic imperialism can be defined as the theoretical approach that “focuses on how and why certain languages dominate internationally,” using exploitation, injustice, inequality, and hierarchy to “privilege those able to use the dominant language” within an empire (Phillipson, 2013, p. 1). The French during the protectorate period in the first half of the 20th century used these tactics to promote the French language through formal education, and in the process, created social and cultural hierarchies that inform today’s attitudes toward languages within the country. Formal education policy run by the colonizer uses “the combined power of the canon, curriculum, and pedagogy constitut[ing] the ideological strategies resulting in rationalizing, naturalizing, and legitimizing myths about colonial relationships and realities” (Phillipson, 2013, p. 2). In this manner, formal education is a tool of linguistic imperialism, as the official language policy and hierarchy are solidified through education, cultural norms are shifted as the imperial language becomes dominant, and there is a stigmatization of the previously dominant dialects and vernaculars (Phillipson, 2013; Coupland, 2010). In Morocco, the shift to the French education system focusing on verbal instruction reinforced social behaviors accepted by the colonial power, leading to the dominance of French today

(Gordon, 1962). Furthermore, even after independence, Morocco was still controlled by elites who had been educated in France, continuing the privilege and hegemony of the French language.

Globalization, as a universally promoted set of capitalist and democratic values, has resulted in the flow of culture and language and is the product of past imperial systems. This phenomenon creates cultures characterized by polyglossia, or “the coexistence of several languages in one society, often in distinct social domains” (Coupland, 2010, p. 86). The imperial core first spreads its political, economic, and cultural norms and practices to the periphery, which are followed by the spread of language to the colonized countries. This flow explains how some traditional languages can change or be lost due to the forced shift in cultural and social values under colonial power (Coupland, 2010). Furthermore, as people want to assimilate into the collective, whether under colonial control or within the broader international English-speaking community, they are striving for a place within the socially constructed community that is embodied by that language (Coupland, 2010). Globalization has provided language with more mobility, creating a “sociolinguistic world as a system of relatively autonomous local systems, each with their own historicity and patterns of experience and normative conduct” (Bloomaert, 2010, p. 197). It is these varied historical experiences and political goals that lead different countries to adopt varied linguistic policies that have long term and far-reaching consequences for determining how and what languages are spoken in the country in the long run (Ricento, 1998). Therefore, in the Moroccan case, based on this theory of language and globalization, the country’s colonial history was a highly pivotal

moment in its linguistic history, leaving French both forced upon the people at the expense of local traditional languages, while also creating a new set of social norms that have perpetuated French's linguistic hegemony well past Moroccan independence.

Languages can change or even disappear due to shifting social and cultural norms that change the attitudes speakers hold toward a language, often as a result of globalizing forces. Linguists Willem Fase, Koen Jaspaert, and Sjaak Kroon authored the book *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages* in 1992 that argues that language shifts occur when there are physical changes to the ethnic group that speaks the language or when there are changing social norms. Since language death can only happen when communication within the ethnic group disappears, it is not likely in the Moroccan context. Language shifts, meaning a change in language use, is more prevalent and occurs after migration and integration (Fase et al., 1992). Assimilation results in changing cultural and social norms because once migration occurs, "both sides choose for integration rather than segregation, members of the minority group almost unavoidably shift towards the use of the dominant language in most of their contacts with the dominant group" (Fase et al., 1992, p. 5). Linguist Maarten Mous also wrote on a similar topic in 2003 in the anthology *Language Death and Language Maintenance: theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches*, arguing that there has been a loss of language diversity in Africa because of shifts in use toward the dominant language from changes to the underlying culture of a group. These analyses apply to the Moroccan context in the case of Amazigh, shifting first to Arabic as the dominant language of the Islamic empires. Then Moroccan and Standard Arabic use shifted to French during and after the

protectorate period. In these cases, though, the dominant languages also were the colonizing languages, providing double the pressure on the minority language to shift and for the cultural norms to change by force.

Other authors argue that educational institutions shape language attitudes, so they can be used to preserve languages or socialize speakers in a dominant language, which often shift due to influence from globalization. Bernard Spolsky's "Overcoming Language Barriers to Education in a Multilingual World" (1986) asserts that schools teach the standard or correct form of a language rather than dialects, leading to potential language barriers in schools. Furthermore, Spolsky argues that the lack of dialect in schools separates languages and creates social judgments and class distinctions that can exacerbate attitudes toward a language or can solidify the distinctions between the contexts where a language is spoken (1986). Nancy H. Hornberger and Francis M. Hult also similarly argue in "Ecological Language Education Policy" (2008) that social settings like schools shape the ecology of language or the study of language interaction as a medium of communication within multilingual societies. Education is a means for the government to promote a certain language policy because "Languages, like living species, evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and also in relation to their sociohistorical, sociopolitical, and sociocultural environment" (Hornberger & Hult, 2008, p. 282). To solidify this idea that schools are used to define language policy, Bernard Spolsky and Elana Shohamy wrote an article titled "Language in Israeli society and education," which underscored their thesis that powerful institutions influence the language behavior of other people (1999). Smadar Donitsa-Schmidt, Ofra

Inbar, and Elana Shohamy also used Israel as a case study in their article “The Effects of Teaching Spoken Arabic on Students’ Attitudes and Motivations in Israel” (2004), in which they argue that learning a language, in this case, Arabic, contributes to students’ favorable view of the language and corresponding culture (p. 217). It also “confirm[ed] the important role that parents have over their children’s behavior because parents’ attitudes constituted one of the predictors of students’ motivation to study Arabic” (Donitsa-Schmidt et al., 2004, p. 217). Each of these articles implies that educational institutions act as a means for the government to shape the linguistic attitudes of students, which can, therefore, lead to different patterns of language use based on these deeply held attitudes and stereotypes. The Moroccan case adheres to the arguments of these authors as French is used in schools to teach science and math, and is used, along with English, in higher educational institutions, but Arabic is used to teach humanities and social sciences (Smail, 2017). While the government of Morocco has cited modernization and preparing students for international education and business, schools are promoting the positive attitudes toward French and English by associating them with economic prosperity, while inversely arguing that Arabic would not provide the same economic or global benefits. While subtle, schools promote a certain linguistic landscape in Morocco that will likely enforce the linguistic hegemony of French and English in the future.

On the other hand, it is important to consider the benefits of education in maintaining traditional values if it is not controlled by the government. Pierre Bourdieu in *The Algerians* (1962), drawing from his study of the Mozabite peoples in Algeria, an Amazigh ethnic group from the northern Sahara region of the country, argues that the

society resisted French cultural influence because they were a group that was strongly united in their values and used education to promote economic and cultural autonomy. The cultural revival of Amazigh in Morocco can both be threatened by government-sanctioned educational practices and globalization, but also strengthened as local traditional educational practices still flourish in rural areas where globalizing forces have not significantly reached.

*Theory #2: Linguistic Capital*

The second theory useful to understanding this research is the theory of linguistic capital, the notion that some languages provide more opportunity for profit based on the “value and power of speech” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 646). Included within linguistic capital is a languages’ symbolic capital, the value given to a language based on the speaker’s position in the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1977). For example, economic and political elites speak French in Morocco, so it has a higher symbolic capital than Moroccan Arabic, which is spoken by laypeople on the streets. Bourdieu also uses the term linguistic competence to determine a language’s capital value corresponding to a market and its devaluation in that market (1977). The market determines the social value of language, so there may be a “total struggle” between French and English to control the market and linguistic landscape and prevent their devaluation.

In practice, linguistic capital’s importance to the Moroccan context can be interpreted through Pierre Bourdieu’s study based on his field experience in Algeria. He argues that during the French colonial period in the country, the degree of French and

Arabic bilingualism positively correlated with the degree of economic integration (Bourdieu, 1979). He states that the French restructuring of the education system and the constant contact with French economic practices prompted Algerians to learn their language to become more economically successful (Bourdieu, 1979). This idea is significant because, within Morocco, international factors such as business and political relationships play a role in devaluing French. At the same time, English is becoming more valuable, leaving Moroccans with the choice to possibly promote English as the language of economic value over French. This thesis explores the dynamic between English and French, based on students' attitudes toward the languages, so Linguistic Capital Theory provides a useful background for such analysis.

Some authors consider English to be a rising language around the world because of its linguistic capital and cultural neutrality. Joseph Sung-Yul Park and Lionel Wee explore the rising linguistic capital of English over other languages using Bourdieu's theory in their 2012 book *Markets of English: Linguistic Capital and Language Policy in a Globalizing World*. They cite English as a socially constructed commodity that is of rising importance as an international language because it is linked to economic value in the current neoliberal world system (Sung-Yul Park & Wee, 2012). The United States-led economic globalization of neoliberal ideals prioritizes English, so, it has risen above other Western capitalist languages like French. English's importance on the world stage also reflects Language Commodification under which languages become an "economic resource to be cultivated for material profit or acquired as a skill to be offered on the market," rather than valuing a language for its identity and cultural association (Sung-Yul

Park & Wee, 2012, p. 125). Also, Sung-Yul Park and Wee argue that English is a global language that can be used in any market because it is a “good linguistic ‘hedge’ against social and economic uncertainties” (Sung-Yul Park & Wee, 2012, pp. 142-165). This analysis of English’s rising position as an international language can be applied to the Moroccan context to explain the possibility of positive attitudes toward English because of its economic value and lack of colonial history. However, these authors do not consider the country-specific contexts of history and embedded institutions, or the linguistic landscape that already exists within the country, that can slow the rise of English over the current hegemonic languages.

Israeli sociolinguists Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Elana Shohamy similarly argue in their 2006 article “Linguistic Landscape as Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel,” that people conduct rational considerations to determine what language will be most beneficial for them. This argument also falls into the camp that English is gaining status because the study found that public signs across all of Israel, Jerusalem, and Israel-Palestine had words written in English (Ben-Rafael & Elana Shohamy, 2006). They concluded that these results reflect the use of English as a status symbol and as a symbol of globalization because of its high levels of linguistic (Ben-Rafael & Elana Shohamy, 2006). Additionally, Francis M. Hult uses a Swedish case study to argue in his article “A Case of Prestige and Status Planning: Swedish and English in Sweden,” (2005) that English is threatening Swedish because of its perceived prestige as a global language. These case studies provide interesting points of comparison that this research will explore in Morocco. All three of these works argue that English is



on the rise, but the hypothesis of this research contrasts with that argument, instead demonstrating that powerful historical precedent supports the hegemony and prestige of French in Morocco, even while English may be used in some limited situations.

### *Theory #3: Language and Identity*

Language attitudes in relation to Social Identity Theory also hold relevance to understanding this research. This theory is defined as the importance of taking intersectionality and the history of a language into account because “different group memberships may be made salient for different social behaviors” (Kraemer & Birenbaum, 1993, p. 483). This applies to language attitudes because ethnic groups’ boundaries reflect language boundaries, so a group’s history and culture that define its ethnic identity also define a group member’s attitude toward a language and, therefore, its use (Kraemer & Birenbaum, 1993). More positive attitudes toward a language correspond to more use of a language and vice versa, so for example, some Moroccans may welcome a devaluation of French because they associate it with colonialism. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) expand on their theory, defining identity as a product rather than a source of linguistic practices. It is important, then, to consider how attitudes inform language use because they help define people’s identities. Linguist John Edwards (2009) explains that:

Speaking a particular language means belonging to a particular speech community; speaking more than one may (or may not) suggest variations in

identity and allegiances. Much of interest here rests upon arguments about the degree to which bilinguals possess either two (theoretically) separately identifiable systems of language, from each of which they can draw as circumstances warrant, or some more intertwined cognitive-linguistic duality. (p. 248)

As described above, bilingual speakers must balance the identities of two languages, stemming from their history, culture, and social norms, so in the Moroccan case, it is necessary to note that the multilingual society often forces the speakers to balance their intersectional identities. The existence of multiple identities and backgrounds that are associated with the many languages in the country, therefore, implies the existence of a hierarchy, differentiated by stereotypes, in which speakers of these languages are placed.

The stereotypes surrounding languages and language speakers shift attitudes and change based on context. Robert Cooper and Joshua Fishman argue in their 1977 article “A Study of Language Attitudes” that in their case study in Israel, participants held a positive view of English and French as shown in their “stereotyped notions about different language characteristics, expressed by adjectives or expressions such as rich, musical, precise, pleasing to the ear” (Cooper & Fishman, 1977, p. 20). They also found that Arabic and Yiddish, in the Israeli context, had low ratings attributed to them by participants because of stereotypes (Cooper & Fishman, 1977). Furthermore, Cooper and Fishman (1977) determined that changing contexts where a language is used changes which language is perceived as most important for the participants in their study. For example, they found that participants held English in high regard in the context of

“contributing to important personal goals” (Cooper & Fishman, 1977, p. 31). These findings can be applied to the Moroccan context because the high visibility of French in the linguistic landscape, even though it is not an official language, stems from the positive stereotypes associated with French elite culture and Westernization. On the other hand, local languages like Amazigh or Darija are associated with oppressive policies toward “backward” traditions, so the attitudes toward these languages are less positive and, therefore, they are used less. Clare Creber and Howard Giles’s article “Social Context and Language Attitudes: the role of formality-informality of the setting” (1983) also cite stereotypes of speakers and the context of language use as important factors in determining attitudes toward languages and the practice and importance of language in a country. The researchers determined that accents or dialects are often associated with “powerful stereotyped reactions concerning a speaker’s personality” (Creber & Giles, 1983, p. 155). Furthermore, they expand on their findings, arguing that informal versus formal settings provide different sources of stereotypes, especially for children who are just developing their language attitudes. For example, Creber and Giles describe that informal settings often lead people to have less defined stereotypes toward other speakers, but in formal settings such as schools or other social contexts, people seek solidarity with others, leading to more pronounced stereotyping of speakers based on accent and dialect (Creber & Giles, 1983). These two articles underscore the importance of stereotypes in defining attitudes toward language users, which explains why Western languages like English and French have become more prevalent than the dialects in Morocco that are associated with negative stereotypes.

Another important aspect of language and identity creation is the presence of hybridity and liminality, or the state of being between identities, for multilingual speakers in postcolonial societies. Scholar Homi Bhabha introduces the theoretical idea of a Third Space that occurs when members of different cultures or speakers of different languages interact with each other. Bhabha describes this idea:

It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew. (p. 37)

This invisible space represents the area between the proposed meanings of the different languages and cultures that are interpreted differently for each person involved. These differing interpretations of meaning and history are vital in creating identity because it counters the idea that historical events and cultural identities can be homogenizing forces (Bhabha, 1994). People in Morocco are constantly interacting in this Third Space because they interact with many different language speakers daily, which means that each person interprets the historical backgrounds of the languages they speak differently. So, the colonial history behind the French language, for example, can be a positive force for one person, while it may be discouraging for others. At the same time, the hybrid nature of Moroccan multilingualism means that people's identities are constantly in transition and can be shaped by outside forces such as linguistic capital and globalization (Bhabha, 1994). These ideas that language and identity shift based on social interactions and

personal reinterpretations of sociolinguistic meaning are central to understanding the personal identities behind language use and attitudes in the Moroccan context.

### Chapter III: Methodology

A 24-question online survey written in Standard Arabic provided the primary source of data for this research project (see Appendix B). The survey was administered electronically because of the inability to travel personally to the country. Before sending the survey, the IRB reviewed and approved the questions through their exempt review process, and participants were fully informed and responded voluntarily. This data collection method was a principal component of this project because it reduced the speculation on what Moroccan attitudes are toward the languages that they speak and incorporated real opinions that could then be analyzed through an academic lens. Each question was chosen carefully to provide the best means for answering the research questions while maintaining the most succinct survey possible. The following research questions, split into language use and language attitudes categories, informed the survey:

- Are English and French used more often in the public sphere? Is Darija used more often in the private sphere? Where is Amazigh mostly used?
- Is English use becoming more prominent than French in the public sphere/business/politics/higher education? Is English and/or French used more often than Arabic in the same areas?
- English is of rising importance, but do positive attitudes toward French among students overpower the lack of a public linguistic landscape?
- Are attitudes more favorable toward French and English over Arabic when it comes to educational and career achievement?
- Is English becoming more important than French for careers and educational opportunities?
- Do attitudes of students toward a language depend on the use of the language?
- What kind of attitudes are held toward Amazigh speakers?
- Will Standard Arabic be safe from language death because of its importance to Islam?

I translated the survey questions into Standard Arabic because I wanted the survey in the most accessible language for the participants, and me as a student of Arabic. Using the Qualtrics platform to create the survey, I sent the online form via email to professors in Morocco who were in the English or Humanities departments or who were from institutions that had an exchange relationship with American programs to draw on and build rapport. In both the English and Arabic versions of the email (see Appendix A), I described the research and asked the professors to distribute the survey to their students who could respond anonymously and only with full consent.

I chose to specifically target university students because of the wealth of theory asserting that education promotes certain stereotypes, attitudes, and identities, especially if it is conducted in French or English. Besides, this population was the most accessible because they were contained, and I could use my position as a student researcher to build academic rapport. I found the contact information for professors, and the most accessible information came from Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Mohammed V University in Rabat, the International University of Rabat, Moulay Ismail University in Meknes, and Mohamed First University in Oujda. Al Akhawayn was the most reachable because the university teaches in English, so all the professors who responded to my email did so in English, and most survey responses came from this university. My academic connections from my year studying abroad in Morocco also provided me with the second most responses from Mohammed V University.

The survey was open for six days and of the 295 total responses, 113 were fully completed. Respondents were first asked a series of background questions to understand

their foundational identities and educational experiences, which were then used as independent variables during the data analysis process. The independent variables included data on place of birth, gender, their two primary ethnic identities, and educational background such as whether the respondent went to a public or private high school. Because the target group was college students, the assumptions that they had gone to high school and could speak Standard Arabic factored into these demographic questions and the overall survey format. Two groups of questions evaluated the dependent variables, with one group on the language use of the respondents, and one on the language attitudes held by the respondents. The use set of dependent variables evaluated what languages are used at home, with friends, in public spaces, or at school or work; what languages are used to talk about politics or emotion; and what languages are used to consume media. The attitude set of dependent variables looked at what languages mean the most for a participant's career achievements, what language is most suitable for educational settings, what attitudes respondents held toward Amazigh speakers, what languages the subjects feel proud to receive compliments on, and whether they believe Standard Arabic provides a connection to the Arab and Muslim communities. The questions within the body of the survey were randomized in the final version so the order of the questions did not influence the subjects' responses. Most of the body questions were answered by choosing between *Arabic*, *Darija*, *French*, *English*, *Amazigh*, or there was a write-in option under *Other*. Some attitude questions requested the respondent to rank the languages from most to least useful, and others provided a matrix with *Agree*



*Strongly, Agree, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree, Disagree Strongly, and Not Applicable* with a write-in as choices.

The final step before analysis was cleaning the data. From the Qualtrics system, I pulled the 113 fully completed responses into an Excel file. I went through each variable, changing the responses from Arabic text to Latin text, and addressing any written responses in the *Other* category. Also, under the two ranking questions, I rearranged the variables to remove the raw numbers that Qualtrics had used to organize the data. Finally, the file could be entered into the SPSS data analysis software, which generated clean frequency and percentage tables. The tables found in the next chapter are a result of further cleaning and combining categories from the raw SPSS tables, so they could be the most accessible and efficient means of disseminating the target information.

**Chapter IV: Data and Analysis***Background Question Variables*

The following descriptive statistics were extracted from the sample of 113 fully or almost fully completed responses based on the distribution of place of birth, gender, self-identification of two primary ethnicities, current education level and major, and type of high school. Useful data from this set includes the frequency of gender, ethnicity choices, and type of high school.

Table 1: Gender

|        | Frequency | Percent |
|--------|-----------|---------|
| Female | 76        | 69.1    |
| Male   | 34        | 30.9    |
| Total  | 110       | 100.0   |

The table above shows the basic frequency data of respondents' gender. The majority of subjects were female (69.1%) while a little more than a quarter of respondents were male (30.9%). These numbers provide background, but there was no discernable relationship between gender and the rest of the subjects' responses.

Table 2: Ethnicity (first choice)

|          | Frequency | Percent |
|----------|-----------|---------|
| Amazigh  | 10        | 8.8     |
| Arab     | 25        | 22.1    |
| Moroccan | 64        | 56.6    |
| Muslim   | 11        | 9.7     |
| French   | 0         | 0       |
| African  | 0         | 0       |
| Other    | 3         | 2.7     |
| Total    | 113       | 100.0   |

Table 3: Ethnicity (first and second choice combined)

|                | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------|-----------|---------|
| Amazigh        | 3         | 2.7     |
| Amazigh/Muslim | 7         | 6.2     |
| Arab           | 3         | 2.7     |

|                   |     |       |
|-------------------|-----|-------|
| Arab/Amazigh      | 1   | 0.9   |
| Arab/Moroccan     | 14  | 12.4  |
| Arab/Muslim       | 7   | 6.2   |
| Moroccan          | 12  | 10.6  |
| Moroccan/African  | 6   | 5.3   |
| Moroccan/Amazigh  | 11  | 9.7   |
| Moroccan/Muslim   | 36  | 31.9  |
| Muslim            | 5   | 4.4   |
| Muslim/African    | 3   | 2.7   |
| Muslim/Andalusian | 1   | .9    |
| Muslim/Sahrawi    | 1   | .9    |
| French            | 0   | 0     |
| Other             | 3   | 2.7   |
| Total             | 113 | 100.0 |

The participants were asked to identify their two most important identities, allowing them to choose from the above ethnicities or to write in their own choice. Table 2 shows what ethnicities the participants marked first when asked to provide their two primary ethnicities. Table 3 includes the first choice and the second choice, to explore in more detail the combinations that people identified with. Unsurprisingly, *Moroccan* was the most common first response with 56.6% of the total, and *Arab* was the second most common first choice with 22.1% of the total. Six of the 113 responses fell under the *Other* category, with two of those including written in responses. These consisted of one male identifying as *Andalusian* and one female as *Sahrawi*.

Looking at the first and second ethnicity choices, it is notable that 0% of the subjects identified as *French*. This can be explained through the historical French colonial legacy in Morocco. The country was a protectorate so instead of promoting French settlement, the relationship was mostly economic and political, leaving Moroccans who spoke French rather than ethnically French people in the country after independence.

The top combined category is *Moroccan/Muslim* with 31.9%, the second-largest category is *Arab/Moroccan* with 12.4%, and the third is just *Moroccan* with 10.6%. The strength of the *Muslim* identification, even if it is combined with *Moroccan*, bodes well for the ethnolinguistic vitality of Standard Arabic because of its use in Islam.

Another noteworthy piece of data sheds some light on the attitudes toward Amazigh people. The comparison between those identifying as *Amazigh* first and those

who combine the ethnic identification with another choice both underscores the ethnic blending that was discussed in the introductory chapter, and the political and social landscape surrounding historical and current trends of discrimination against Amazigh people. When considering just people's first ethnic choices, 8.8% of students marked *Amazigh*. Table 3 provides more detail, showing that 2.7% (or only three respondents) identified as only *Amazigh*, while 6.2% said they were *Amazigh/Muslim*, 0.9% chose *Arab/Amazigh*, and 9.7% identified as *Moroccan/Amazigh*. These categories reveal people's religious identification and their unwillingness to identify fully with the Amazigh ethnicity. Overall, obtaining this background data was useful for understanding how people personally identify and can be used later to analyze whether their language use and attitudes reflect their ethnic identity.

Table 4: Type of High School

|         | Frequency | Percent |
|---------|-----------|---------|
| Private | 45        | 39.8    |
| Public  | 63        | 55.8    |
| Other   | 5         | 4.4     |
| Total   | 113       | 100.0   |

The set of background data outlined in the table above found that *Public* was the most common type of high school (55.8%) in this sample of students. In Morocco, public high schools are mostly associated with Arabic learning while private schools are often French or English based international schools. Therefore, considering this data alone, one could assume that most of the students in this sample would be more comfortable with Arabic in academic settings. Also, the possible connection between the type of high school and language attitudes are important to analyze how the language used in secondary schools impacts students' identification with ethnicities. It is notable again that no response included *French* as a primary ethnicity, even out of the 45 students who attended a private high school. These variables will be useful in analyzing how the educational theories of language use and attitudes play out in the Moroccan context. For example, determining whether the French and English focus on math and science subjects in private schools leads to differing attitudes toward the languages in Morocco, or if they change the patterns of people's use of these languages.

#### *Language Use Variables*

The following data describes what languages the respondents in the 113-person subject pool most often use at school or work, at home, in public spaces, and with friends. While the survey questions asked what language is mostly used in these settings, the respondents could choose multiple options, with some providing as many as four. The categories found in the tables below were combined based on the responses to limit the

number of groupings used for analysis. In the following cases concerning language use, some students responded that they use Standard Arabic combined with the others, even though it is not traditionally a spoken language in informal settings. For Tables 5 through 8, Standard Arabic acts as “another language” and has been combined with the other categories, unless otherwise discussed. These data sets answered the following research questions: Are English and French used more often in the public sphere? Is Darija used more often in the private sphere? Where is Amazigh mostly used? Is English use becoming more prominent French for use in the public sphere/ business/politics/higher education? Is English and/or French used more often than Arabic in the same areas?

Table 5: Language(s) used at school/work

|                          | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|
| English only             | 30        | 26.5    |
| English/another language | 33        | 29.2    |
| French only              | 1         | 0.9     |
| French/another language  | 13        | 11.5    |
| French/English only      | 6         | 5.3     |



|                                     |     |       |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| French/English and another language | 19  | 16.8  |
| Darija only                         | 6   | 5.3   |
| Amazigh only                        | 0   | 0     |
| Darija/Amazigh only                 | 0   | 0     |
| Standard Arabic only                | 0   | 0     |
| Other                               | 5   | 4.4   |
| Total                               | 113 | 100.0 |

The participants were asked to provide what languages they used most of the time at school or work. Since the survey targeted students, work for them is equivalent to being at school, so this data is most representative of the academic setting rather than the professional context. Overall, it is clear that English alone, and as a combination with other languages, dominates the academic spheres for this subject pool. There were 26.5% of responses providing that English is the only language used in school or work, and another 29.2% provided that English and another language is used. Together, this makes up a clear majority with 55.7% using English as their dominant globalized language. French, on the other hand, was only identified as the main means of communication by one respondent, and 11.5% use French combined with another language. French combined with English is used more often than French alone. Just over five percent

provided that they use French combined with English only, and 16.8% use French with English and at least one other language. English use controls the educational and work spheres based on this data, as a primary language and combined with others. It is preferred by a majority of the respondents and has a 43.3% lead over those who use French alone or with another language. It is also clear that out of those who did mark that they use French at school or work, most of them preferred to use French combined with English (22.1%), over French alone (12.4%). This data shows that English is clearly used more often than French in this set of Moroccan universities.

Another noteworthy piece of data from this set is how little representation local languages and dialects receive in the school and work sphere. Zero respondents in the poll said that they use Amazigh languages at school, and only six answered that they use Darija. Because schools are so important to solidifying language practices, this data reflects a waning ethnolinguistic vitality of Amazigh languages in Morocco. Also, it underscores the divide between local languages and globalized ones, with Darija and Amazigh not deemed useful enough to be used as the dominant languages at school or work.

Table 6: Language(s) used at home

|                                     | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| English only                        | 0         | 0       |
| English/another language            | 11        | 9.7     |
| French only                         | 2         | 1.8     |
| French/another language             | 20        | 17.7    |
| French/English only                 | 0         | 0       |
| French/English and another language | 10        | 8.8     |
| Darija only                         | 44        | 38.9    |
| Amazigh only                        | 4         | 3.5     |
| Darija/Amazigh only                 | 11        | 9.7     |
| Standard Arabic only                | 2         | 1.8     |
| Other                               | 9         | 8.0     |
| Total                               | 113       | 100.0   |

Table 6 provides the subjects' answers to the question of what languages are used most at home. This set of data reveals that more people prefer to use local languages than globalized Western languages at home. Zero people chose English as their only language used at home, and only 9.7% use English with another language or dialect in this private sphere. French fared a little better, with 1.8% using only French at home, but most French speakers preferred to use it with another language (17.7%). Even when considering the French and English category, 8.8% used these two languages with another, while zero use French and English alone. This is a dramatic shift from the findings from schools and the workplace, where over half mostly used English, then French, and these two languages were more prevalent than Darija and Amazigh. At home, however, a plurality (38.9%) only speak Darija, 3.5% speak only Amazigh languages, and 9.7% speak a combination of the two. Darija is the most commonly used language in the home, which reflects how it will likely persist as a language with high ethnolinguistic vitality.

Table 7: Language(s) used in public spaces

|                                     | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| English only                        | 2         | 1.8     |
| English/another language            | 21        | 18.6    |
| French only                         | 0         | 0       |
| French/another language             | 26        | 23.0    |
| French/English only                 | 0         | 0       |
| French/English and another language | 7         | 6.2     |
| Darija only                         | 44        | 38.9    |
| Amazigh only                        | 2         | 1.8     |
| Darija/Amazigh only                 | 4         | 3.5     |
| Standard Arabic only                | 2         | 1.8     |
| Other                               | 5         | 4.4     |
| Total                               | 113       | 100.0   |

The table above shows the languages that respondents marked as most used in public spaces. For this question, public spaces are locations outside the home but not at school or work. For example, in markets, on the streets, in parks, in shops, etc. This data underscored the mix of languages used in public in Morocco. Darija leads with 38.9% supplying that they only use this dialect in public spaces. Comparatively, only 1.8% responded that they only use English, and 0% conveying that they only use French. Combinations of these two languages with others were much more popular. English plus another language or dialect is used by 18.6% of the students surveyed, and French with another language is used by 23%. In this public context, Darija is most important, so English and French are likely used as second and third languages to Darija. These trends show that Darija will remain important for interacting with people in public, but that English and French are also vital to public life because of their globalized nature and high levels of linguistic capital.

Table 8: Language(s) used with friends

|                                     | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| English only                        | 18        | 15.9    |
| English/another language            | 0         | 0       |
| French only                         | 5         | 4.4     |
| French/another language             | 0         | 0       |
| French/English only                 | 0         | 0       |
| French/English and another language | 2         | 1.8     |
| Darija only                         | 77        | 68.1    |
| Amazigh only                        | 4         | 3.5     |
| Darija/Amazigh only                 | 0         | 0       |
| Standard Arabic only                | 1         | 0.9     |
| Other                               | 6         | 5.3     |
| Total                               | 113       | 100.0   |

Table 8 outlines the answers to what languages are used the most when conversing with friends. This question was meant to provide insight into the informal private sphere. The majority of responses (68.1%) provided that they only speak Darija when talking with friends. This reflects the informality of this local language and solidifies how it is preferred in casual situations. The second most used language with friends is English only, with 15.9%. French only trails behind with 4.4% of respondents marking that option. Amazigh again is only used in limited numbers, by only 3.5% of this subject pool. It is also notable in this set of data that English and French are not combined with other languages and dialects when speaking with friends. From this data, mostly one language is used to speak with friends, with 91.9% reporting that they use either English, French, Darija, or Amazigh.

Overall, considering data from each of the above tables, each language has its sphere where it is used most often. English is most prevalent at school and work, with French also used in these areas, but at a much lower level. French is also used with other languages in the public sphere. Darija is still most important when speaking with friends, at home, and in public spaces, while Amazigh is used by less than 5% of the population in each of these spheres. Also, because these cases of language use involve spoken languages, Standard Arabic is not prevalent alone, and only is used as a language combined with others. These trends clearly illustrate that English is gaining significance in Moroccan universities because of its economic value, while French is losing its prestige. On the other hand, Darija will remain important in informal settings, but



Amazigh seems to be losing speakers because of its niche cultural background and historical discrimination, and Standard Arabic will remain mostly a written language.

### *Language Attitudes Variables*

The following questions targeted language attitudes. To answer these questions, students taking the survey were asked to choose how much they agreed or disagreed with statements, which languages they believe would help them the most with future plans, and to rank languages based on personal beliefs. The resulting data sets are analyzed below and answer the following research questions: English is of rising importance, but do positive attitudes toward French among students overpower the lack of a public linguistic landscape? Are attitudes more favorable toward French and English over Arabic when it comes to educational and career achievement? Is English becoming more important than French for careers and educational opportunities? Do attitudes of students toward a language depend on the use of the language? What kind of attitudes are held toward Amazigh speakers? Will Standard Arabic be safe from language death because of its importance to Islam?

Table 9: Language that is best for future career

|                 | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| English         | 83        | 73.5    |
| French          | 19        | 16.8    |
| Standard Arabic | 4         | 3.5     |
| Darija          | 0         | 0       |
| Amazigh         | 0         | 0       |
| Other           | 7         | 6.2     |
| Total           | 113       | 100.0   |

The table above shows which languages are believed to be the best for future careers. Based on percentage, English has a clear advantage, with 73.5% of subjects putting this language as their first choice. French follows with 16.8%, Standard Arabic is next with 3.5%, and local languages like Darija and Amazigh both had zero people reply that these languages would benefit their future careers. According to data from the previous section, English and French had the highest frequencies of use in schools and work, and Darija and Amazigh had the least use. These trends are reflected in this ranking of language attitudes, with English holding a place of high importance for

Moroccan students. It is therefore clear, that in the Moroccan university context, patterns of language use do impact language attitudes.

These data points also underscore the divide between the linguistic capital of Moroccan languages. English, according to this table, is believed to have the highest levels of linguistic capital because it is clearly the top choice for students who want to succeed in their future careers. French is a distant second choice, illustrating changing trends in Moroccan sociolinguistics, as this language is losing importance for students' career prospects. Standard Arabic comes third, mirroring its cultural vitality, but low economic benefits in Morocco's globalizing process. Similarly, the fact that Darija and Amazigh ranked the lowest with zero respondents believing that these languages would benefit their future careers, and were used the least in school and work settings, means that they have low levels of linguistic capital, and could continue to decrease in numbers of speakers. These results imply that cultural and social norms are shifting to elevate globalized languages such as English for career advancement, rather than Darija and Amazigh.

Table 10: Language that is best for academic settings

|                 | Frequency | Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| English         | 82        | 72.6    |
| French          | 10        | 8.8     |
| Standard Arabic | 13        | 11.5    |
| Darija          | 2         | 1.8     |
| Amazigh         | 1         | 0.9     |
| Other           | 5         | 4.4     |
| Total           | 113       | 100.0   |

The table above outlines which languages students considered the best for academic settings. While this variable is distinct from what languages will further people's careers, it yielded similar results. Respondents determined that English is most suitable for academic settings, with 72.6%. In this case, Standard Arabic was the second highest, albeit a distant second, with 11.5% arguing that this language is the best for academic use. The third was French with 8.8%, followed by Darija then Amazigh with 1.8% and 0.9%, respectively. These findings are vital to the changing paradigm

surrounding education in Morocco. French was considered the language for higher education, especially in subjects such as science, math, and engineering, where the most economic benefits resided. However, based on these survey results, English is increasing in status for educational activities. Also, since Standard Arabic is deemed more suitable than French for academics, this could signal shifting attitudes in the negative direction toward French's value of linguistic capital.

Table 11: Language(s) that will provide the most job opportunities (This table was compiled using the top percentages from ranked choices.)

|               |                 | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| First choice  | English         | 76        | 67.3    |
| Second choice | French          | 59        | 52.2    |
| Third choice  | Standard Arabic | 67        | 59.3    |
| Fourth choice | Darija          | 63        | 55.8    |
| Fifth choice  | Amazigh         | 69        | 61.1    |

Table 11 was compiled based on rankings provided on which languages will deliver the most job opportunities. Based on the responses collected, the following overall ranking emerged, listed from most helpful in opening job opportunities, to the

least: English, French, Standard Arabic, Darija, Amazigh. In each of their respective ranks, each language received at least half of the votes. This data is a visualization of the value of linguistic capital the participants assigned to each of these languages. English, which was deemed the first choice for the most job opportunities by 67.3% of responses, is believed to have the most economic value for these students' future employment. French was listed second by 52.2% of responses, providing another data point that the French language falling behind English in terms of economic value. Standard Arabic came in third for 59.3% of rankings, which indicates its consistent importance for academics and government. Darija remains in fourth position and Amazigh in fifth, which reflects these languages' low levels of linguistic capital and exclusively informal and local uses. Overall, this ranking underscores the positive attitudes toward English in Morocco, and the beliefs that it is growing as a critical language for academic and economic prospects.

Table 12: Language(s) that will help the most with academic achievements (This table was compiled using the top percentages from ranked choices.)

|               |                 | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| First choice  | English         | 87        | 77.0    |
| Second choice | French          | 58        | 51.3    |
| Third choice  | Standard Arabic | 65        | 57.5    |

|               |         |    |      |
|---------------|---------|----|------|
| Fourth choice | Darija  | 59 | 52.2 |
| Fifth choice  | Amazigh | 68 | 60.2 |

The table above was compiled similarly to Table 11, but the participants were asked to rank the five target languages based on prospects for academic achievements. Even though academics are more a short-term issue than the longer-term goals of job opportunities that were explored in the previous table of data, the rankings were the same. English was placed as the most beneficial for academic achievements by 77% of the survey pool. This percentage is so high that it clearly emphasizes the educational, and therefore economic, benefits of English, as well as the extremely positive attitude these students hold toward the language. Notably, French was regarded as the second-best language for academic achievement but was ranked second by only 51.3%. This percentage is barely over half, meaning that even French's second-ranked position is faltering. Standard Arabic fell solidly in third place with 57.5%, and Darija and Amazigh came fourth and fifth. This table again reflects the strong belief that English is the most beneficial language for academic purposes, revealing its high value of linguistic capital and linguistic vitality in Morocco. These attitudes reflect the language use patterns in school and work that were analyzed in the previous section. English is used most in these settings, and that is connected to the strongly positive attitudes that English will prove most useful for maximizing these students' academic achievements. This is important as these data points show that English is becoming a stronger choice for educational settings

over French and that students are losing their positive associations with French in favor of English.

Table 13: Appreciation toward Amazigh people has increased because of university education

|                            | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly agree             | 31        | 27.4    |
| Agree                      | 17        | 15.0    |
| Neither agree nor disagree | 51        | 45.1    |
| Disagree                   | 4         | 3.5     |
| Strongly disagree          | 5         | 4.4     |
| Other                      | 5         | 4.4     |
| Total                      | 113       | 100.0   |

The question associated with Table 13 asked whether positive attitudes toward people of Amazigh descent increased because of the students' university education. Subjects were asked their level of agreement or disagreement with the question to understand how and if the educational system imposes dominant stereotypes upon students. The resulting data was interesting because there is no way to tell whether these



responses are honest, or if subjects were merely trying to be politically correct when faced with a controversial question. To contextualize this data, results can be compared to the ethnicity background question. When looking at the combined first and second choices for ethnicity, a total of 22 respondents self-identified as Amazigh, with three of those identifying as solely Amazigh. Considering this, 44.5% of responses were either *Agree* or *Strongly agree*, with only 7.9% answering with some sort of disagreement. Some responses in the neutral range, which made up 45.1% of responses, included a write-in portion that stated that the students' appreciation for Amazigh speakers was not connected to their university education, but was instead a result of other factors. In light of this, those who identified as fully or partly ethnically Amazigh, probably fell into the neutral category and were those who added the written portion. This set of data underscores both how the education system only partly determines attitudes toward language and language speakers, and that attitudes toward Amazigh speakers are mostly becoming more positive or staying the same. These findings, however, are inconsistent with the language attitude and language use data presented in previous sections, as Amazigh consistently is not used at schools or workplaces, is limited in use at home, public places, or with friends, and ranks as least helpful for career and academic advancement. Overall, because of this language's low level of linguistic capital, and almost purely traditional use, the ethnolinguistic vitality of Amazigh will continue to fall unless these positively shifting attitudes result in increased use of the language by the dominant culture. This, however, is unlikely because of historical discrimination and the clear rising dominance of English for these purposes.

Table 14: Attitudes toward Standard Arabic providing a connection to the Arab World

|                            | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly agree             | 46        | 40.7    |
| Agree                      | 51        | 45.1    |
| Neither agree nor disagree | 7         | 6.2     |
| Disagree                   | 4         | 3.5     |
| Strongly disagree          | 1         | 0.9     |
| Other                      | 4         | 3.5     |
| Total                      | 113       | 100.0   |

Table 15: Attitudes toward Standard Arabic providing a connection to Muslim heritage

|                            | Frequency | Percent |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Strongly agree             | 54        | 47.8    |
| Agree                      | 26        | 23.0    |
| Neither agree nor disagree | 16        | 14.2    |
| Disagree                   | 8         | 7.1     |

|                   |     |       |
|-------------------|-----|-------|
| Strongly disagree | 4   | 3.5   |
| Other             | 5   | 4.4   |
| Total             | 113 | 100.0 |

Tables 14 and 15 present the findings to the questions of whether the subjects believed that Standard Arabic is important because of its cultural status. The first question asked whether Standard Arabic was the language of choice for communication across the Arab World, while the second question focused on attitudes toward Standard Arabic as a connection to Islam. In both cases, the consensus was agreement that this language is culturally important, so preserving its ethnolinguistic vitality. In the case of providing a means of communicating with the broader Arab World, 40.7% *strongly agree*, and 45.1% *agree*. This overwhelming majority of positive attitudes toward using Standard Arabic in this way means that the language has enough cultural importance that it will persist in Morocco. In addition, 47.8% *strongly agree*, and 23% *agree* that Standard Arabic connects Moroccans to their Muslim heritage, also emphasizing the cultural value of this language. These findings are unsurprising considering that 22.1% of subjects self-identified as fully or partly Arab, and separately, 53.1% of respondents self-identified as fully or partly Muslim in the background section of the survey. These questions solidified the continued importance of Standard Arabic in Morocco. Even as English is on the rise and French is still used in many academic and informal settings, Standard Arabic has high cultural value rather than economic value. But because of these

positive attitudes toward the language, it will likely continue as a strong cultural component in Moroccan society, even if it is not widely spoken.

These data sets found that attitudes toward the existing languages in Morocco are shifting their current hierarchy. French is losing strength as the catalyst for academic and career achievements, and students are increasingly turning toward English for those purposes. Respondents also revealed that their positive attitudes toward Amazigh speakers have partly increased because of the university education system, but also are influenced by other factors such as ethnic identity and social pressures. Standard Arabic is crucial to connecting Moroccans to the rest of the Maghreb and the Arab World, as well as to Islam, even if it is not a generally spoken language within the country. The following sections will analyze these overall findings considering the theories discussed in the previous chapters of this thesis.

## Chapter V: Discussion and Conclusion

In Morocco, language shapes identity by holding nuanced aspects of culture, society, and history. It is important, then, to understand these aspects of language before being able to understand how languages interact and what spheres they are concentrated in. Traditionally, Morocco houses many Darija and Amazigh speakers, and Standard Arabic, while mostly spoken in government by political elites, is widely understood because of its use in Islam. In addition to these languages, French is widely spoken because of the history of French Protectorate control from 1912 to 1956. Because of French education policies, colonial modernization of urban centers, and use by privileged elites, the language is associated with European economic prosperity, higher education, and math and science. Under this colonial rule, Moroccans understood that they could learn the French language but never become ethnically French or be equal to the French elites. This idea has carried through today, as young Moroccans are increasingly turning toward English. Additionally, Morocco has had strong political and economic ties to the United States since 1777, and because of the international nature of English, the language is gaining popularity for its linguistic capital. Based on this background, this research hypothesized that French and English are becoming more economically relevant to young people over Arabic, but that French would remain the linguistic hegemon for the time being.

This thesis explored the connections between the use of a language and the attitude one holds toward that language. It did so by first outlining the historical contexts

of Darija, Amazigh, Standard Arabic, French, and English in Morocco, then unpacking three theories and the related literature to understand how these languages have interacted in other contexts. These theories included language with regards to globalization, linguistic capital, and language as it shapes identity.

The third section of this thesis analyzed data collected in an online survey that was sent to Moroccan professors who disseminated it to their students. Data were grouped into background variables, including gender, type of high school attended, and top two personal ethnic identities. Next was language use variables that included the languages the subjects' used most often in different contexts such as at school and work, at home, in public spaces, and with friends. Third, subjects were asked to identify their language attitudes, through questions concerning which language is best for future career plans and academic settings, ranking languages based on their importance to academic achievements, understanding attitudes toward Amazigh speakers, and beliefs surrounding Standard Arabic's importance for connecting Moroccans to the Arab World and Islam. Overall, many of these variables pointed to English's rising significance over French in academic contexts and for professional achievements. Considering the data, the hypothesis of this thesis was not supported, as attitudes revealing English's high level of linguistic capital seemed to have overpowered those who believe French is important for its economic value. Amazigh, on the other hand, is neither widely used nor is seen as crucial for student's success, so while participants identified their positive attitudes toward speakers of the language, the community has a low level of ethnolinguistic vitality and will likely lose speakers because it is not a dominant language. The survey also

underscored how appreciation for a language is not the same as using the language and building positive attitudes toward it. According to the student participants, Darija will remain dominant in informal settings. For Standard Arabic, however, it is the cultural appreciation for its value in Islam and for communication with the Arab World that will likely prevent the death of the language, even if it is not widely spoken.

The survey results can be discussed first through the lens of language and globalization theory. Considering linguistic imperialism, one can understand how the French language rose in power in Morocco, and how it is now losing power to the strong positive attitudes students have toward English. Through its protectorate policies, French was introduced into Morocco by force in the early 20th century. The imperial power created new forms of education policies that logically connected French to economic and social hierarchies (Phillipson, 2013). As seen in the survey's findings, those hierarchies between the usefulness of languages for economic, educational, and social purposes persist, except they reveal that English is rising above French as a potential linguistic hegemon. As described by Coupland (2010) and Bloomaert (2010), globalization has provided English with global mobility but has also distinguished all languages within their local systems of historical background and experience. Therefore, through the powers of globalization, English has gained access to Morocco and received positive attitudes of speakers in the country because it has the historical association with global capitalism and power, which became more appealing than the history of colonialism associated with French.

Globalization also brings changing social and cultural norms and therefore changes the attitudes of speakers toward the languages they use. Fase, Jaspaert, and Kroon explored the phenomenon of language death, which they explained occurs when the ethnic group that speaks the language is subject to changing norms in society (1992). Mous also wrote that languages die when speakers instead choose to speak the dominant language (2003). Considering the data, the issue of language death is only relevant to Amazigh. This is the only language that is never spoken at school or work, is rarely spoken at home, in public places, or with friends, and is consistently on the bottom of rankings determining which languages will provide the most economic and academic success for the students. According to the data, Amazigh is not a dominant language and could, therefore, lose speakers and eventually become lost as young people shift to speaking the dominant languages for economic purposes. This loss is catalyzed by the education system, which as Spolsky argued, is where students' attitudes toward languages are solidified, and where speakers are socialized into speaking the dominant language (1986). However, to try to stop the loss of Amazigh, the Moroccan government implemented Amazigh classes into some elementary schools in 2003 (Zouhir, 2014). This idea can explain the connection between the use of languages and attitudes toward languages. The focus of the survey was on those within the educational system, and it was clear that because most of the students came from an English-speaking university, they used the language more than others, and were more willing to argue for the positive impact English has on success. Had the participants been concentrated in a French-



focused school, they would likely have argued for French's dominance, underscoring the importance of education in promoting language values.

The second theory to explain the survey's results that English is of rising importance for young people in Moroccan universities is Bourdieu's theory of linguistic capital. This theory includes the value of a language, economically and for placing the speakers within the social hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1977). In a field survey that Bourdieu conducted in postcolonial Algeria, he found that greater use of French positively correlated with greater economic integration, creating a hierarchy of language (Bourdieu, 1979). In the Morocco case, French originally did provide high levels of economic integration, but the data coincides with greater use of English to move Moroccans into higher levels of economic prosperity associated with the United States rather than France. These results are also in line with Sung-Yul Park and Wee's assessment that English is used as a commodity and is popular because it is not associated with specific cultural issues (2012). These authors, along with the others who were analyzed in previous chapters, argue that English is becoming more important around the world, and the survey data confirms that hypothesis in the Moroccan context.

The final theory to analyze with this data is Social Identity Theory, and how languages reflect identity creation in general. Kraemer and Birenbaum explained that ethnic group boundaries coincide with language boundaries (1993). Therefore, identifying with a certain ethnicity can lead to using a language associated with that identity more often, prompting more positive attitudes toward that language. For example, 56.6% of subjects identified as Moroccan, which reflects the high use of Darija

in informal settings (38.9% at home, 38.9% in public places, and 68.1% with friends). These results then coincide with the positive attitudes toward the language, but the overall beliefs that Darija is more useful in informal settings than for academic or career success. On the other hand, the data concerning language use and attitudes toward Standard Arabic refuted Kraemer and Birenbaum's claims that the more a language is used, the more positive attitudes surround it. Standard Arabic was not used often in schools, at home, in public places, or with friends, and yet a majority of subjects agreed that the language is important to connecting them to their Muslim and Arab heritage. This data underscores the importance of cultural appreciation and value that support positive attitudes toward symbolic languages even if they are not often used.

The divisions between using English and French for formal economic settings, versus using Standard Arabic, Darija, and Amazigh for cultural and informal purposes, leads to a divide in Moroccans' identities. Edwards (2009) provided that speaking multiple languages forces people to balance the identities and ethnic backgrounds that are a part of those languages. Also, Bhabha argued that because of this interplay between multilingual and multiethnic societies, hybrid identities form. This position can place people in a state of liminality, or Third Space as he explains it, where people of different identities reinterpret meaning and culture every time they interact with someone speaking another language (Bhabha, 1994). In Morocco, as people speak different languages in different spheres of their lives, they will be forced to reinterpret their identities and what those languages mean within their personal circumstances.

Overall, while the hypothesis of this thesis cannot be confirmed in this study, the overall argument remains valid. French is established and widespread within the country, so it will remain an important language in Morocco because of its history and cultural importance. However, English is becoming a vital economic tool that is emerging in Moroccan universities more quickly than this research originally anticipated. The students and handful of professors surveyed, communicated that they use English more often than French in situations where economics are important and that there are generally strong beliefs that English is a language that will provide more opportunities for students in the future. The survey, however, also emphasized the importance of culture in the sociolinguistic landscape of Morocco, as Darija and Standard Arabic are both highly important within their own spheres, informal settings and for communication with the Arab World and for Islam, respectively. Also, Amazigh, while generally polling with positive attitudes, is used only by a small number of people, so it risks further dilution or total loss if it is not preserved for its cultural value. In a multiethnic, multilingual social context like Moroccan universities, the use of certain languages in specific contexts, and the attitudes one holds toward them are not random, instead, they are the result of a myriad of social, cultural, and international pressures.

*Limitations*

The electronic survey system of data collection has its limitations. Targeting university-aged students automatically limits the sample of Moroccans studied to urban young adults. Furthermore, the students targeted came from higher educational institutions that had the contact information of their professors on their websites and those that had language and linguistics programs that were accessible to an outside researcher. In the end, the survey was sent mostly to professors from Al Akhawayn University, an English-speaking university in Ifrane, the International University of Rabat, Moulay Ismail University in Meknes, and Mohamed First University in Oujda. As researchers, the need to make the survey simple and accessible so that it could be completed by the most people possible led to this limited subject pool. These practices not only lost the attitudes and language use data of other age groups, but they also excluded rural people or those not educated at the university level. Also, these subjects were self-selecting, so the results cannot be extrapolated too far from the current university settings and should consider possible self-selection bias. To remedy this in the future, being in Morocco and conducting a randomized survey of a broader population would eliminate the need for self-selection.

After sending out the survey, limitations surrounding the translation and subject pool became clear. I received emails from professors asking if they should take the survey, and some of the final responses came from professors. This made me realize that I should have either broadened my subject pool to include professors or made it clearer in

the email that I was asking for responses only from students. Because the bulk of professors worked at the English-speaking Al Akhawayn University, they all responded to me in English. A few of those professors emailed saying that they could not read Standard Arabic, so the survey was actually less accessible to the subjects than I thought. In the future, multiple translated versions of the survey would optimize the accessibility and increase the participant pool. For example, in this Moroccan context, French, English, Standard Arabic, and Moroccan Arabic translations would allow more students to participate in the survey, in addition to emails in each of these languages. With more time, a greater knowledge of these languages, and in-country access would improve participation and build greater rapport for future research.

The data analysis process also included some limitations. Once the findings were laid out, it was clear that some of the high majorities held by English could have been skewed because of the university the respondents came from. Al Akhawayn University focuses on English and teaches its courses in the language, and 69% (78 of 113) of the completed survey responses came from this university. This could have caused English to be more widely represented in the data sets and findings over French. However, I believe that based on the data and theories explored in earlier sections of this thesis, the conclusions from this subject pool remain valid. Again, to remedy this issue in future research, it would be beneficial to have in-country access to universities and multiple subject pools to broaden the data through a more representative group.

*Opportunities for Future Research*

There are multiple paths future researchers could take that would fill in the gaps in this research and allow the academic community to gain broader insight into the patterns of language use and attitudes in Morocco. The scope of this research was limited in time and resources, so others must continue to research these and similar questions. To begin with, analyzing the existing data with more than just frequencies could reveal interesting correlations and relationships between variables. Also, this thesis only analyzed data from the most important questions, so there are more within the original data set to be interpreted.

The decision in this thesis to not include or explore the use and attitudes toward the Spanish language in Morocco was intentional because of its similarities to French. Both are European colonial languages that provide economic opportunities by opening Moroccan businesses to European tourists and international trade. However, French is more widely used and is also more commonly used in the Moroccan government and with the business elite. Researchers in the future could benefit from the exploration of Spanish attitudes in the north of Morocco through a similar process. Likewise, exploring the other languages that came up in the survey responses, including German, Chinese, Italian, Hindi, Russian, and others, could answer questions about how Morocco is truly situated linguistically. Research into the multiple varieties of Darija and Amazigh could also prove useful to sociolinguists who wish to understand the long-term vitality of these local languages.

Future research could also focus on differences in language use and attitudes between generations or places of birth. While this thesis had to focus on accessible subjects, and ultimately settled on students from a few universities, traveling to Morocco and finding ways to survey or interview people outside of the university setting would broaden the research pool, eliminate many of the limitations of this thesis, and provide more holistic insight into the language use and attitudes of Moroccans.

### References

- Amin, S. (1970). *The Maghreb in the modern world*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.  
Retrieved from <http://www.econis.eu/PPNSET?PPN=221188398>.
- Ben-Rafael, E., & Shohamy, E. (2006). Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: The case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism*.  
Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710608668383>.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of culture* (First ed.). Routledge Ltd.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge University Press.  
[http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=324096&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp\\_Cover](http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=324096&site=ehost-live&ebv=EB&ppid=pp_Cover).
- Blommaert, J. (2012). Dangerous multilingualism: Northern perspectives on order, purity and normality. Retrieved from  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=1058354>.
- Bourdieu, P. (1962). *The Algerians* (Revised English ed.). Beacon Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Inform.* 645-668. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847701600601>.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *Algeria 1960*. Cambridge Univ. Press.



- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. 585-614. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605054407>.
- Chtatou, M. (2019). The state of Amazigh culture in Algeria and Morocco. Retrieved from <https://intpolicydigest.org/2019/01/31/the-state-of-amazigh-culture-in-algeria-and-morocco/>.
- CIA World Factbook. (n.d.). *Morocco*. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html>
- Cooper, R. L., & Fishman, J. A. (1974). The study of language attitudes. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 3, 5–19. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1974.3.5>.
- Coupland, N. (Ed.). (2010). *The handbook of language and globalization*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=4041769>.
- Creber, C., & Giles, H. (1983). Social context and language attitudes: The role of formality-informality of the setting. *Journal of Language Science*. University of Bristol. Retrieved from [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0388-0001\(83\)80020-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0388-0001(83)80020-5).
- Donitsa-Schmidt, S., Inbar, O., & Shohamy, E. (2004). The effects of teaching Spoken Arabic on students' attitudes and motivations in Israel. *The Modern Language Journal*. 217-228. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227782691\\_The\\_Effects\\_of\\_Teaching\\_Spoken\\_Arabic\\_on\\_Students'Attitudes\\_and\\_Motivation\\_in\\_Israel](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/227782691_The_Effects_of_Teaching_Spoken_Arabic_on_Students'Attitudes_and_Motivation_in_Israel).

- Duranti, A. (2004). *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9780470996522>.
- Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity: An introduction*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=461128>.
- Eljechtimi, A. (2019). Morocco looks to French as a language of economic success. *Reuters* Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-morocco-education-idUSKCN1Q70YF>.
- Ennaji, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Multiculturalism and democracy in North Africa: Aftermath of the Arab Spring*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=1675970>.
- Fase, W., Jaspaert, K., & Kroon, S. (Eds.). (1992). Introductory remarks. *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages*. John Benjamins Publishing Company. 3-13. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=740283>
- Gordon, D. C. (1962). *North Africa's French legacy, 1954-1962*. Cambridge: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press. Retrieved from <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001608689/Home>.

- Hult, F. M. (2005). A case of prestige and status planning: Swedish and English in Sweden. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 6, 73-79. Retrieved from DOI 10.1080/14664200508668274.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Hult, F. M. (2008). Ecological language education policy. *The Handbook of Educational Linguistics* (eds B. Spolsky and F.M. Hult). Retrieved from DOI:10.1002/9780470694138.ch20.
- Kraemer, R., & Birenbaum, M. (1993). Language attitudes and social group memberships. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 473-449. Retrieved from [https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767\(93\)90003-Q](https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(93)90003-Q).
- Landry, R., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1997). Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 23-49. Retrieved from <https://journals-sagepub-com.ezproxy.bucknell.edu/doi/pdf/10.1177/0261927X970161002>.
- Marley, D. (2004). Language attitudes in Morocco following recent changes in language policy. *Language Policy*, 3(1), 25-46. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:LPOL.0000017724.16833.66>.
- Mous, M. (2003). Loss of linguistic diversity in Africa. *Language Death and Language Maintenance: theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches*, 157-170. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.218.5996&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

- Oxford Business Group. (2018). Strong performance of Moroccan tourism industry expected to continue in 2018. Retrieved from <https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/turning-tide-sector-expected-continue-its-recovery-back-strong-performance-2017>.
- Phillipson, R. (2013). Linguistic imperialism. *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Edited by Chapelle, C. A. Retrieved from doi: 10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0718.
- Ricento, T., & Burnaby, B. (1998). *Language and politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and realities*. Routledge. Retrieved from <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=19409&site=ehost-live>.
- Seward, P., Hargraves, O., & Bjorklund, R. (2016). *Morocco*. New York, NY: Cavendish Square Publishing LLC. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=5733846>.
- Simpson, A. (2008). In Simpson A. (Ed.). *Language and national identity in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=415477>.
- Smail, G. (2017). *An Eye to Modernizing: Morocco Replaces Arabic with French in High School Courses*. Pulitzer Center. Retrieved from

<https://pulitzercenter.org/reporting/eye-modernizing-morocco-replaces-arabic-french-high-school-courses>.

Spolsky, B. (1985). *Overcoming Language Barriers to Education in a Multilingual World*. Retrieved from <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED260150>.

Spolsky, B., & Shohamy E. (1999). Language in Israeli society and education. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Retrieved from <https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ijsl.1999.1999.issue-137/ijsl.1999.137.93/ijsl.1999.137.93.xml>.

Sung-Yul Park, J., & Wee, L. (2012). *Markets of English: Linguistic Capital and Language Policy in a Globalizing World*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=1186450>.

Vitores, D. F., & Benlabbah, F. (2014). *La lengua española en marruecos*. Retrieved from <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Embajadas/RABAT/es/Noticias/Documents/LENG ESPMARR.pdf>

Willis, M. (2014). *Politics and power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from independence to the Arab Spring*. New York: Columbia University Press. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bucknell/detail.action?docID=1912513>.

Zouhir, A. (2014). Language policy and state in Morocco: The status of Berber. *DOMES: Digest of Middle East Studies*, 23(1), 37–53. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12039>

**Appendix A***English Email*

Dear Professor \_\_\_\_\_,

My name is Mikaela Thomas and I am a student at Bucknell University in the United States. I study in the department of Arabic and the department of International Relations. I am currently working on sociolinguistic research concerned with linguistic use and attitudes towards languages and dialects used in Morocco, and this counts toward my honors thesis for undergraduate students at Bucknell. My interest in this topic stems from my personal experience within Moroccan society during my studies of the Arabic language in Morocco for a full year.

For the purpose of the thesis, I have prepared a short survey containing questions about linguistic use and attitudes towards languages and dialects in Morocco. I found your contact information on the \_\_\_\_\_ University website, and I hope you can help me by distributing the link to the attached questionnaire to your students and fellow professors. I would be very grateful for your help in this important research.

Note: If you want additional information about the research, you can contact me via my email: [mkt004@bucknell.edu](mailto:mkt004@bucknell.edu). Also, you can contact my advisor for this research, Dr. Martin Isleem, Head of the Department of Arabic Language Studies at Bucknell University at his email: [mi006@bucknell.edu](mailto:mi006@bucknell.edu).

Thank you very much,

Mikaela Thomas

### Arabic Email

حضرة الأستاذة/ة (.....) المحترم/ة،  
تحية وبعد،

اسمي مكيلا توماس وأنا طالبة في جامعة بكنل في أمريكا. أدرس في قسم دراسات اللغة العربية وقسم العلاقات الدولية. حاليا أعمل على بحث لغوي-اجتماعي يهتم بالاستخدام اللغوي والمواقف تجاه اللغات واللهجات المستعملة في المغرب، وهذا ضمن الأطروحات الفخرية للطلاب المتفوقين في جامعة بكنل. اهتمامي بهذا الموضوع نابع من معاشتي الشخصية للمجتمع المغربي أثناء دراستي للغة العربية في المغرب لمدار سنة كاملة.

لأجل عرض الأطروحة لقد قمت بإعداد استبيان قصير يحتوي على أسئلة عن الاستخدام اللغوي والمواقف تجاه اللغات واللهجات في المغرب. ولقد وجدت معلومات التواصل الخاصة بك على موقع جامعة ،\_\_\_\_\_وكلي أمل أن تتمكن/ي من مساعدتي في نشر وتوزيع رابط الاستبيان المرفق لطلابك وزملائك الأساتذة . سأكون ممتنة للغاية لمساعدتك في هذا البحث الهام.

ملاحظة: إذا ما رغبت في معلومات إضافية عن البحث، بإمكانك التواصل معي على بريدي الإلكتروني [mkt004@bucknell.edu](mailto:mkt004@bucknell.edu) وكذلك باستطاعتك التواصل مع مرشد هذا البحث الدكتور مارتن أسليم، رئيس قسم دراسات اللغة العربية في جامعة بكنل في بريده الإلكتروني: [mi006@bucknell.edu](mailto:mi006@bucknell.edu).

جزيل الشكر والامتنان ،  
مكيلا توماس



**Appendix B***English Survey***Background**

1. Place of birth \_\_\_\_\_.
2. I am currently studying at \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Gender
  - a. Male
  - b. Female
4. Which of the following ethnicities express your identity? (Choose at most two)
  - a. Arab
  - b. Moroccan
  - c. Amazigh
  - d. French
  - e. Muslim
  - f. African
  - g. Other
5. I am currently enrolled in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. Bachelors
  - b. Masters
  - c. PhD
  - d. Other
6. My major is/are \_\_\_\_\_.
7. I studied at a \_\_\_\_\_ high school.
  - a. Public
  - b. Private
  - c. Other

**Questions**

8. I mostly speak in \_\_\_\_\_ at school/work. (Choose all that apply)
  - a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh

- f. Other
9. I mostly speak in\_\_\_\_\_ at home. (Choose all that apply)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
10. I mostly speak in\_\_\_\_\_ in public places. (Choose all that apply)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
11. I mostly speak \_\_\_\_\_ with my friends. (Choose all that apply)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
12. When I discuss political issues I use\_\_\_\_\_. (Choose all that apply)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
13. The language(s) in which I express my feelings and emotions is/are\_\_\_\_\_. (Choose all that apply)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
14. I prefer to watch/listen to media in which of the following languages? (Choose all that apply)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija

- c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
15. I believe that speaking fluently in language \_\_\_\_ will help me professionally greatly in the future.
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
16. I think \_\_\_\_ is the most suitable language for use in an academic context.
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
17. I feel embarrassed when I receive criticism about my \_\_\_\_ language. (\*In matrix format on the final survey)
- a. Strongly agree
  - b. Agree
  - c. Neither agree nor disagree
  - d. Disagree
  - e. Strongly disagree
18. Which of the following languages do you believe will open more job opportunities for you? (Rank the following from most important to least)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
19. I believe that speaking fluently in language \_\_\_\_ will improve my academic achievements in the future. (Rank the following from most important to least)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh

- f. Other
20. My appreciation for Amazigh speakers has increased due to my university education.
- a. Strongly agree
  - b. Agree
  - c. Neither agree nor disagree
  - d. Disagree
  - e. Strongly disagree
21. When I hear an Amazigh person speaking Amazigh in public, it makes me feel proud.
- a. Strongly agree
  - b. Agree
  - c. Neither agree nor disagree
  - d. Disagree
  - e. Strongly disagree
22. I feel most proud when I receive a compliment about my proficiency in \_\_\_\_?  
(\*In matrix format on the final survey)
- a. Standard Arabic
  - b. Darija
  - c. French
  - d. English
  - e. Amazigh
  - f. Other
23. Standard Arabic is important in communicating with the Arab World.
- a. Strongly agree
  - b. Agree
  - c. Neither agree nor disagree
  - d. Disagree
  - e. Strongly disagree
24. Standard Arabic is important to maintain ties to my Islamic heritage.
- a. Strongly agree
  - b. Agree
  - c. Neither agree nor disagree
  - d. Disagree
  - e. Strongly disagree

## Arabic Survey

حضرة المشترك/ة المحترم/ة،  
اسمي مكبلا توماس، طالبة اللغة العربية والعلاقات الدولية في جامعة بكنل في الولايات المتحدة. اتوجه لحضرتك طالبا مشاركتك في هذه الاستمارة البحثية الهادفة لبحث الاستخدام اللغات والمواقف تجاه اللغات في المغرب والتي سوف تستغرق ما بين 10 - 5 دقيقة. إذا ما كان لديك أي سؤال يتعلق بهذا البحث أو الاستمارة الحالية الرجاء التواصل معي على البريد الإلكتروني  
**mkt004@bucknell.edu**

ملاحظة: لغة الخطابة في هذه الاستمارة تتوجه للذكر لكنها موجهة للجنسين بشكل متساو

ولك جزيل الشكر

## الخلفية

1. مكان الولادة:
2. أنا حالياً أدرس في \_\_\_\_ .
3. الجنس:
  - a. ذكر
  - b. أنثى
4. أي الانتماءات التالية تعبر عن هويتك؟ (أختر على الأكثر اثنين من هذه الانتماءات)
  - a. عربي
  - b. مغربي
  - c. أمازيغي
  - d. فرنسي
  - e. مسلم
  - f. أفريقي
  - g. آخر \_\_\_\_\_
5. أنا حالياً أدرس لشهادة \_\_\_\_ .
  - a. البكالوريوس
  - b. الماجستير
  - c. الدكتوراة
  - d. آخر \_\_\_\_\_
6. تخصصي هو / هم \_\_\_\_ .
7. درست في مدرسة ثانوية \_\_\_\_ .
  - a. عامة
  - b. خاصة
  - c. آخر \_\_\_\_\_

## الأسئلة

8. معظم الوقت في جامعتي/ عملي أتكلم في اللغة \_\_\_\_ . (بإمكانك اختيار أكثر من امكانية واحدة)

- a. العربية
- b. الدارجة
- c. الفرنسية
- d. الإنجليزية
- e. الأمازيغية
- f. آخر

9. معظم الوقت في بيتي أتكلم في اللغة \_\_\_\_ . (بإمكانك اختيار أكثر من امكانية واحدة)

- a. العربية
- b. الدارجة
- c. الفرنسية
- d. الإنجليزية
- e. الأمازيغية
- f. آخر

10. في الأماكن العامة الغير رسمية، معظم الوقت أتكلم في اللغة \_\_\_\_ . (بإمكانك اختيار أكثر من امكانية واحدة)

- a. العربية
- b. الدارجة
- c. الفرنسية
- d. الإنجليزية
- e. الأمازيغية
- f. آخر

11. مع اصحابي معظم الوقت أتكلم في اللغة \_\_\_\_ . (بإمكانك اختيار أكثر من امكانية واحدة)

- a. العربية
- b. الدارجة
- c. الفرنسية
- d. الإنجليزية
- e. الأمازيغية
- f. آخر

12. عندما أناقش أمور سياسية أتكلم في اللغة \_\_\_\_ . (بإمكانك اختيار أكثر من امكانية واحدة)

- a. العربية
- b. الدارجة
- c. الفرنسية
- d. الإنجليزية
- e. الأمازيغية
- f. آخر

13. اللغة التي أعتبر بها عن مشاعري وأحاسيسي هي \_\_\_\_ . (بإمكانك اختيار أكثر من امكانية واحدة)

- a. العربية
- b. الدارجة
- c. الفرنسية
- d. الإنجليزية

- e. الأمازيغية  
f. آخر
14. أفضل أن أشاهد / استمع إلى وسائل إعلام في اللغة \_\_\_\_\_ (بإمكانك اختيار أكثر من امكانية واحدة)  
a. العربية  
b. الدارجة  
c. الفرنسية  
d. الإنجليزية  
e. الأمازيغية  
f. آخر
15. أعتقد أن التكلم بطلاقة في اللغة \_\_\_\_\_ سوف يساعدني مهنيًا إلى حد كبير في المستقبل.  
a. العربية  
b. الدارجة  
c. الفرنسية  
d. الإنجليزية  
e. الأمازيغية  
f. آخر
16. أعتقد أن اللغة \_\_\_\_\_ أكثر لغة مناسبة لغة للاستعمال في السياق الأكاديمي.  
a. العربية  
b. الدارجة  
c. الفرنسية  
d. الإنجليزية  
e. الأمازيغية  
f. آخر
17. أشعر بالحرج عندما أتلقى انتقادات عن لغتي \_\_\_\_ .  
a. أوافق بقوة  
b. أوافق  
c. لا أوافق ولا أعارض  
d. أعارض  
e. أعارض بقوة  
f. آخر
18. أي لغة ستفتح لك إمكانيات فرص عمل أكثر؟ (رتب القائمة من الأكثر إلى الأقل أهمية)  
a. العربية  
b. الدارجة  
c. الفرنسية  
d. الإنجليزية  
e. الأمازيغية  
f. آخر
19. أعتقد أن التكلم بطلاقة في اللغة \_\_\_\_\_ سيحسن من إنجازاتي العلمية في المستقبل. (رتب القائمة من الأكثر إلى الأقل أهمية)  
a. العربية  
b. الدارجة

- c. الفرنسية  
d. الإنجليزية  
e. الأمازيغية  
f. آخر
20. تقديري للمتحدثين باللغة الأمازيغية قد ازداد بسبب تعليمي الجامعي.  
a. أوافق بقوة  
b. أوافق  
c. لا أوافق ولا أعارض  
d. أعارض  
e. أعارض بقوة  
f. آخر
21. عندما أستمع لأشخاص يتكلمون باللغة الأمازيغية في الأماكن العامة، هذا يجعلني أشعر بالفخر.  
a. أوافق بقوة  
b. أوافق  
c. لا أوافق ولا أعارض  
d. أعارض  
e. أعارض بقوة  
f. آخر
22. أشعر بالفخر عندما أتلقى أطراء لطلاقتي في اللغة \_\_\_\_ .  
a. العربية  
b. الدارجة  
c. الفرنسية  
d. الإنجليزية  
e. الأمازيغية  
f. آخر
23. اللغة العربية مهمة للتواصل مع العالم العربي.  
a. أوافق بقوة  
b. أوافق  
c. لا أوافق ولا أعارض  
d. أعارض  
e. أعارض بقوة  
f. آخر
24. اللغة العربية مهمة للحفاظ على علاقتي مع التراث الإسلامي.  
a. أوافق بقوة  
b. أوافق  
c. لا أوافق ولا أعارض  
d. أعارض  
e. أعارض بقوة  
f. آخر