Multilingualism, Cultural Identity, and Education in Morocco
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Author

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

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

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

- a: 'a
- u: 'u
- i: 'i

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I would also like to thank very warmly my graduate students (DESA programme in Linguistics and Gender Studies, 2000, 2002, 2003) for their ideas and questions. They have all been helpful, pro-active and positive.

Thanks must go to my children, Tariq, Rachid and Yassine for their patience and understanding during the preparation of this book.

Moha Ennaji
September 9th, 2004
Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University, Fès
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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

The Moroccan Cultural Context

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

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

Moroccan society is socially and linguistically diverse, and its cultural makeup is one of the richest in the Maghreb. Different speech communities in Morocco attempt, in different ways, to resist Westernisation by raising their
cultural, ethnic, and linguistic awareness. To achieve this, the use of language is paramount; it is well known that language loyalty and maintenance are possible when favourable conditions prevail, namely, ethnic consciousness, size of the community, intra-group communication, and a common religion. The fact that Arabic and Islam are closely related favours the revival of Muslim values and cultural identity.

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

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

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

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

Although Morocco is a multilingual society, it should be pointed out that not all Moroccans are multilingual. There are important differences among individuals as concerns their mastery of languages and their ability to speak or
write more than one language. In fact, there are individual differences in language proficiency: the range is from monolingual Moroccan Arabic or Berber speakers to those who can use written Arabic as well as one or two foreign languages for special purposes or for everyday conversation.

**Review of the Literature**

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

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

Sapir (1921) developed the notion of “language drift”, which is a well-known phenomenon in multilingual societies. (Lieberson 1980) was also a pioneer in discussing the concept of language maintenance in bilingual and multilingual countries. A strong case of language maintenance is French in Quebec, which is enhanced by the concentration of French-speaking Canadians in one area. Similarly, the research carried out on German language maintenance in the USA (Kloss 1966) and in Australia (Riggsby and Romaine 1988; Kouzmin 1988) has been a great contribution to the field. Catalan, a Romance language, is also quoted as an example of language maintenance (see McNair 1980, Siguan 1984 and Posner 1966). Another case of language maintenance is Swahili, which has been maintained and established by Tanzania as the official language (Scotton 1988). In Sweden, the government took several measures to maintain minority languages; the Home language Reform in 1977 granted Balochi, Turkish, Greek, and Yugoslavian immigrants the main rights of equality, cultural freedom, cooperation, and solidarity. However, the children of these immigrants tend to speak Swedish at home,
which means that in two generations language shift will be generalised in this case (see Hyltenstam and Amberg 1988, and Jahani 2000).

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

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

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

The Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles 1973) is another theory which is based on the socio-psychological dichotomy of “similarity-attraction”; it develops the concepts of adjustment and non-adjustment of speakers toward each other. The principle of accommodation itself is based on the factor of “convergence” (the speaker’s use of the language best liked by the addressee) and on the factor of “divergence” (the speaker’s deliberate use of a different language or register to distance the addressee).
The sociological approach, which relates language to culture, has been adopted by other researchers like Prujiner et al. (1984). These researchers argue that demography, economy, politics, and culture are determining factors of the ethnolinguistic dynamism of a speech community. Allard and Landry (1986) later developed this approach to include the beliefs, values, and feelings that a given speech community nurtures toward the mother tongue or the second language.

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

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

The Scope of this Book

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

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

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

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

I assume that the sociolinguistic situation in Morocco is different not only from the West, but also from the rest of the Arab world. It is clear throughout this book that there is linguistic and cultural variation between
Morocco and the other Arab countries, on the one hand, and within Morocco, on the other hand. I also hypothesise that tension exists not only between the Moroccan languages and cultures and the Western languages and lifestyle, but also within the sociolinguistic context of Morocco itself.

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

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

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

(1) The Maghreb includes Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya.
CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

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

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

In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, groups of Jewish settlers arrived in the south of Morocco, precisely between the Anti-Atlas and the Middle Atlas mountains. Laroui (1977:75) states that these groups came from Yemen, which had an important Jewish community. The Jewish population became so integrated that they acquired Berber and adopted the Berber traditions, while they retained Hebrew for prayers. The Berber and Jewish populations lived in peaceful harmony for centuries after the Arab conquest. In the early 1960s, most Jewish Moroccans, more than 550,000 people, left for Israel; consequently, only about 5,000 Jews are established in Morocco today. There are Jewish saints all over Morocco, namely David Ben Baroukh in Taroudant, Rabai Ben Bahrouch in Zagora, Daoud Imouchi in Ouarzazate, Sidi Daniel on the southern coast of Morocco, Ben Zmiro and Sidi Boudhab in Safi, Sidi Ali Bousarghine in Sefrou and Sidi Yahya in Oujda.
Overall, Islamic culture has impacted the Maghreb for more than fourteen centuries, in the sense that it has marked the social behaviour of the population. This culture has itself been influenced by the different traditions practiced in the region and elsewhere in the Islamic world, particularly in Asia, Africa, Europe and America. Thus, Islam has assimilated whole populations and their cultures. However, Islam alone cannot be the only marker of identity, as other variables, such as the local culture, nationalism, gender, and class, enter into play.\(^1\)

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

**Islam and Arabic in Morocco: a Historical Background**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were marked by colonisation and the struggle for independence and by a social revolution against decline. After independence, a
new Nahda was launched as the ruling elite endeavoured to upgrade arts, sciences, and education and to develop the economy and modernise society.

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

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

European Invasions and Moroccan Nationalism

In the fourteenth century, El Jadida, Essaouira, Ceuta, Melilla and other coastal towns were occupied by Portugal. In 1860, the Spanish invaded Morocco, notably the northern cities of Ceuta, Melila, Tetouan, Nador, Elhoceima and the Sahara. Apart from Ceuta and Melilla, which are still occupied by Spain, Morocco recovered all the northern cities and the Sahara between 1962 and 1975.4

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

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

Their Arab-Islamic cultural identity drove the nationalists to oppose the disintegrative influence of particularly French culture. The nationalists had recourse to traditional Islamic principles like the Jihad (martyrdom or struggle in the name of Allah for the land). Islam has been strongly used by the Moroccan nationalist leaders in their struggle against the French occupation;
for instance, mosques were revitalised and politically exploited. Similarly, many free schools were created where Arabic and Islamic thought were taught. The nationalist leader Allal Al Fassi used the difference between the Islamic culture and Western culture, in an attempt to affirm the important place of Moroccan cultural identity as a first move in the fight against colonialism.

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

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

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

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

The French colonists taught Moroccan pupils that they were French, although they were denied French citizenship, and did not have the same rights as French citizens (see Murphy 1977). The colonial authorities opened up Franco-Arab and Franco-Berber schools to prepare selected pupils for minor jobs in the colonial service. Not many parents welcomed the French style of
education, and as a result only a few of them sent their children to French schools. In 1930, the French colonists introduced the “Dahir Berbère” (Berber Dahir or Decree), whereby the Berbers would be submitted to tribal law (“droit coutumier”), and shariaa (Islamic law) would be kept in Arabophone cities. This divide-and-rule policy had, nonetheless, the opposite effect since it led to the strengthening of the solidarity between Arabs and Berbers and to the consolidation of the fight for independence (see Laroui 1980).

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

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

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

With the proclamation of independence in 1956, Morocco chose Arabic as the official national language, and Islam as the religion of the State. Morocco implemented a French-Arabic bilingual system of education in which French
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had the lion's share in the high school and university curricula. However, in the 1970s the government decided to Arabise the sciences in primary and secondary levels of education due to pressure from the purists and the opposition parties (see Chapter three).

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

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

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

Social Structure and Language in Moroccan Society

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

_On peut dire, sans doute, qu’il y a autant d’expressions islamiques qu’il y a de peuples, de pays ou d’Etats, voire de strates sociales_
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ou d'espaces géographiques ou culturels, si ce n'est d'individus musulmans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

Culture

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

\[
\text{a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members.}
\]
Brown (1980: 122) also states:

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

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

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

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

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

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

People generally confuse "culture" and "civilisation"; a person who is "cultured" is considered "civilised" as that person's behaviour and knowledge are sophisticated as a result of education and training. In the Oxford Dictionary, culture is defined as "the training and refinement of mind, tastes, and manners; the condition of being thus trained and refined; the intellectual side of civilisation".
The two terms "culture" and "civilisation" are closely linked. An individual is said to be cultured when s/he is "civilised"; culture also presupposes a kind of learned and refined behaviour. This enables the individual to acquire any form of culture through education, exposure and training. By contrast, civilisation may be defined as "a system or stage of social development" (Oxford Dictionary); Webster’s Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary defines it as "the culture characteristic of a particular time or place" or as "a relatively high level of cultural and technological development".

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

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

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

Linton (idem) states that there is a distinction between social and biological heritage. The culture in which the individual is brought up is his or her social heritage, which is distinct from biological heritage. Culture involves
the shared mentality of a given society. There exist strictly regional, national and even tribal cultures, as well as universal cultures.

Identity

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

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

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

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

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

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