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**LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND THEIR
IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION:
MOROCCO AS A CASE STUDY**

Thesis submitted to the University of GLASGOW

by

HASSAN BOUZIDI

**in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.**

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Glasgow University

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FOR MY MOTHER AND FATHER

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate Language Attitudes in three representative areas of Morocco. The impact of these attitudes on the individual's socio-psychological make up, especially within the system of education, is examined and emphasis is put upon the relationship between students' and parents' attitudes on the one hand and achievement in second-language learning on the other hand. The working hypothesis is that it helps learners of a second language, who wish to have a good command of the language, to hold a positive attitude towards the other speech community. By adopting a socio-psychological approach, I seek to examine my subjects' affective as well as behavioural dispositions and the impact of the latter on any language planning programme. By so doing I intend to contribute to the search for a most suitable approach to language-related problems in Morocco.

To achieve this purpose, a group of workers, students and teachers volunteered to fill out questionnaires on their evaluations of languages and language planning efforts in Morocco. Others volunteered to take part in the matched-guise experiments and interviews concerning their use of language and their desire to learn a second language. The attitude-behaviour relationship was also examined through observation, including participant observation. The subjects were stratified according to age, sex, mother tongue, social status and provenance.

The first three substantive sections of the dissertation aim at familiarising the reader with the sociolinguistic situation in Morocco, social psychology as applied to language studies, and the data-eliciting techniques used in the thesis. The subsequent three chapters are concerned with the analysis and discussion of the corpus of data.

The results showed significant differences between the attitudes of the groups

towards French, SA and the vernacular languages (i.e. MA and MB). The correlation analysis showed a negative relationship between grades and the attitude variables. Only a weak relationship was found between socio-psychological variables and second-language proficiency. Attitudinal and motivational characteristics obtained from the students' parents were included in the study, and a positive correlation between student language proficiency and parental language attitudes and motivation was obtained.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A number of abbreviations have been frequently used in the course of the present work. They are as follows:

BE	BILINGUAL EDUCATION
CA	Classical Arabic
Eng.	English
Fr.	French
IERA	Institut d'Etudes et de Recherches pour l'Arabisation
Lmaj	Language major
Lmin	Language minor
Lspec	Language of special status
LP	Language Planning
MA	Moroccan Arabic
MB	Moroccan Berber (Tashelhit, Tamazight and Tarifit).
MLAT	Modern Language Aptitude Test
SA	Standard Arabic
Ss	Subjects
STD	Standard Deviation
TM	Tamazight
TR	Tarifit
TS	Tashelhit

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TRANSCRIPTIONAL SYMBOLS USED IN THE THESIS

	Labio-dental		Alveolar, Dental, or post-alveolar		Palato-alveolar Palatal Velar Uvular				Labial-Palatal	Labial-velar	Pharyn-geal	Glottal.
Nasal	m		n									ŋ
Plosive	p	b	t	d								
(Median) Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ	ç j	ʁ ʕ			ħ ʕ	ʁ	
(Median) Approximant										w		
Lateral (approximant)			l									
Trill Tap or flap			r									

Based on the IPA chart (revised to 1989)

TRANSCRIPTIONAL SYMBOLS USED IN THE THESIS

	Front		Central	Back	
	Rounded	Unrounded	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded
Close		i		u	
Half-close		e		o	
Half-open	œ		ə	ɔ	
Open		a		ɑ	

Based on the IPA chart (Revised to 1989)

PHARYNGALISED CONSONANTS: t̠, d̠, s̠, z̠, r̠, l̠

LABIALISED CONSONANTS: kʷ, gʷ, xʷ, ɣʷ, qʷ

INTRODUCTION

"Language is not merely a carrier of content, whether latent or manifest. Language itself is a content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as of the social goals and large scale value-laden arenas of interaction that typify every speech community." (Fishman, 1970: 9)

Among the various social and technical problems which beset Morocco as a new and emerging country, a sizeable number turns out to be directly related to language in some way. Problems which are of a linguistic nature include (1) widespread illiteracy, (2) the lack of a standardised national language, (4) the need for pedagogical tools in language teaching, (5) the lack of a modern technical vocabulary in SA which must be used for conveying scientific and technological knowledge, and (6) the urgent need to change the prevailing language attitudes, especially in relation to education.

Language can be studied from different perspectives: linguistics, sociology, biology, philosophy, mathematics, information theory, anthropology, psychology, to mention but a few. For various reasons, I have chosen the field of social-psychology-oriented research on language variation (in particular the subjective reactions to this variation) as the target field for my analysis. A social-psychological approach to language variation is especially useful in many ways.

First and foremost, by focusing on peoples' attitudes, one can explain why certain languages and language varieties are perceived positively while others are perceived less positively, i.e, how some varieties are assigned a great deal of prestige where others are denigrated and dismissed as "useless" and "second-hand".

Second, a socio-psychological perspective aims not only at explaining how different speech styles are used in different social situations (contexts), but also at showing how an individual's personality characteristics are revealed in his/her speaking style.

Third, the implementation of language policies (e.g. second-language teaching

and language standardisation) can suffer set-backs if policy makers are insufficiently trained or if inadequate field work or sociolinguistic survey are carried out beforehand (A.G.H. Walker in P.Trudgill, 1984). Throughout the African countries, there is a pressing need to assess the success or failure of the language planning efforts using the best possible sociolinguistic and social psychological techniques.

Language attitude research has received a great deal of attention within the past few years, especially in Western countries, and the discipline has substantially contributed a great deal to the development of the wider field of sociolinguistics. During the 1970s linguists were attempting to explain the social phenomenon of language use without due concern for the context in which it was spoken and context was considered to be a static given (H.Giles, P.M. Smith and W. P. Robinson, 1980). One can safely state that sociolinguistics in its present form developed as a reaction to the asocial linguistics and psycholinguistics (e.g. N. Chomsky 1957; 1965; Chomsky and Halle 1968) which were prevalent at the time.

Furthermore, by receiving strong inputs from other disciplines such as sociology and social anthropology as well as from linguistics itself, sociolinguistics developed into a multidisciplinary endeavour. Its distinguishable sub-branches (for example, 'sociology of language', 'secular linguistics', 'ethnography of speaking') came as a result of this multidisciplinary endeavour.

Giles, H. and his associates (1980) stipulate three major factors that can be said to account for the dissatisfaction with the state of the art in the 1970s:

1. Sociolinguistics had been relatively taxonomic and descriptive rather than

explanatory in its emphasis.

2. Sociolinguistic accounts of language variation had been couched primarily in terms of associations between the use of specific linguistic features and membership of psychological social entities (large-scale, sociodemographic groupings, for instance).

3. Sociolinguistics had tended to separate language from definitions of society and social situations. Language behaviour is not just a reflection .

It has already been pointed out (R.Y. Bourhis, 1982) that, on a methodological level, research in this field must take two important points into account. On the one hand, social psychological research on language attitudes must distinguish empirically between formal and informal domains of language usage. On the other hand, it is important to keep in mind the fact that language attitudes do not emerge in a vacuum: sociohistorical, demographic and institutional support factors have been found to affect language attitudes in a wide range of speech communities throughout the world. Social psychological studies of language attitudes cannot ignore the sociocultural contexts which inevitably influence such attitudes.

The study of language attitudes belongs not only to the psychology of stereotyping, but also to the social psychology of social change and intergroup conflict. Desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups which use a particular variety, self-reports concerning language use, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, and opinions concerning shifting or maintaining language policies are matters of concern in the research at hand.

The bulk of works in the literature shows that an individual's sex, ethnic group or personality, age and physical attractiveness are some of the more salient personal characteristics which are available for immediate processing on the part of the listener. Despite the fact that objectively these various cues provide little information about particular individuals, these sources of minimal knowledge do nevertheless affect, if not determine, a variety of responses towards them. For example, these cues affect inferences about personality characteristics of the individuals, expectations about future life experiences, and judgments of likeability (Byrne, 1971). Interpersonal behaviours, such as helping and aggression, may also be affected by these minimal sources of information about others. Social perception, evaluation and behaviour are also significantly influenced by speech markers, which are easily perceived stimuli through which speakers provide important biological, social, and psychological information about themselves both voluntarily and unconsciously (Giles, Scherer, & Taylor, 1979).

It should perhaps be observed here that although there is already abundant research on language attitude problems in Western countries, there are very few studies investigating these questions in developing countries in general and in North Africa in particular.

This phenomenon is important to the understanding of language behaviour in many ways. Language attitudes can contribute to sound changes (for example, the study by Labov, 1972), define speech communities, reflect group affiliation and intergroup communication and help determine teachers' perceptions and assessment of students' intellectual abilities. Members of a speech community may be made to perceive (through mass media and education) that their own speech style has little intrinsic value or prestige and that accommodation to the speech of the majority (dominant) group is preferable.

Different language varieties are also given distinctive positions of perceived social status, and as a consequence the language varieties that are perceived as less prestigious and which are normally associated with the lower classes are almost inevitably denigrated and dismissed as "second-rate" languages. As a result, speakers of those low-prestige varieties may also be perceived as 'second-rate' people.

Two important factors can be said to heavily influence the degree of prestige associated with a particular variety: 'social structure' and 'cultural value systems'. In this connection Fishman (1971a) distinguishes between a "high" and a "low" variety. The former corresponds to status, high culture, and strong aspirations toward upward social mobility, and the latter is identified with solidarity, friendship and intimacy by its speakers. It is on this differential evaluation of language varieties that 'Language Attitude' research lays stress.

The present study was designed to investigate the social phenomenon of language in Morocco from a social psychological view-point. The preliminary work was carried out with groups of subjects drawn from three representative areas of Morocco and stratified according to language dominance, age, sex, and provenance. It documents attitudes toward the languages and varieties in use in Morocco, namely the official language, Standard Arabic; the two national languages, Moroccan Arabic and Moroccan Berber (Tashelhit, Tarifit, and Tamazight) and two foreign languages, French and English.

It also explores attitudes toward 'correctness' and sentiments of language loyalty, and highlights the influence of language loyalty on perceptions of code-switching in the languages under investigation. The following areas were chosen

for investigation:

- (1) The awareness in people of regional and social dialect variation,
- (2) The importance of language in general as a factor in social and academic success,
- (3) The attitudes of people towards their own speech style and that of speakers from other social classes and regions,
- (4) The willingness of people to accept Standard European (particularly Parisian) French as the prestige model,
- (5) The reactions of people toward the systematic attempts by the government to Arabise the system of education.
- (6) How and why do languages vary, and what effects do these variations have on the listener?
- (7) What are the problems of reading, writing, and oral language which stem from a person's dialect, and how can these be distinguished from those problems which do not stem from a dialect?
- (8) What, if anything, can or should be done about dialect-related problems?
- (9) What techniques and materials are currently available which are designed to deal with dialect-related difficulties and to what extent can these tools be utilised in Moroccan contexts?

(10) What role do attitudes and motivation play in second-language acquisition?

There are, however, other aims equally important in this study. First, it is intended to provide a general background for the understanding of ethnicity problems based on the assumption that different linguistic groups manifest various feelings of language loyalty, language shift and language maintenance determined by certain paralinguistic factors such as social status, sex and age.

Different from previous attempts is the view presented here that the techniques of data-eliciting in emerging countries should be applied with care, taking into account the different (if not contrasting) cultural, social and educational settings which obtain in the West and in the emerging countries. The findings of related work are either confirmed or refuted according to instances of similarity and disparity, respectively. The assumptions refuted are mainly those in which the Western context and Moroccan contexts differ or contrast.

The work at hand falls into six major sections. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 are mainly introductory in nature, while chapters 5, 6, and 7 are concerned with data-analysis and discussion of the results.

Chapter 1 considers the language situation in Morocco in terms of functional usage and language dominance. Attention is directed mainly at the existence inside the country of two major linguistic groups: one being MA-speaking¹ and the other MB-speaking (the two native languages). This leads to a consideration of the other languages in use, SA (the official language) and French (a foreign language) and the role played by each of them.

¹For this and subsequent abbreviations see the list of abbreviations.

In order to set the stage, it is first necessary to have some theoretical considerations in mind — to review the research literature concerned with the social psychology of language. This review is necessary because the application of social psychology to language is a fairly recent practice and there is, therefore, a need for the clarification of the theoretical as well as empirical methods and concepts involved, with a view to avoid any ambiguities which might arise from the fact that the discipline is new. Chapter 2 is devoted to this task.

Data-eliciting techniques are the other side of the coin in social psychological research on language. Chapter 3 is concerned with a presentation of the various data-gathering techniques utilised by social psychologists working on language attitudes. This review distinguishes between two kinds of techniques: direct methods (questionnaire and interviews) and indirect methods (matched-guise and observation). The difficulties inherent in applying social psychological research in a developing country are emphasised, and the importance of pretesting is stressed. The chapter concludes that the bulk of the research evidence supports the proposition that the combination of direct and indirect methods yields satisfying results because of the possibility of cross-validation.

The last three chapters centre on the analysis and presentation of the data elicited. Chapters 4 and 5 attempt to highlight some general attitudes towards the languages under investigation as well as evaluations of their speakers. The data were elicited through the use of four main techniques, namely the matched-guise (mg), questionnaires, interviews, and observation (including participant observation). The mg method yielded some interesting and sometimes unexpected results. On the whole French and SA guises were evaluated somewhat more positively than the MA and MB guises. These findings have been supported by the results of the other methods examining the interest in and the usefulness of the

varieties under study. By examining the body of data I will try to test the generalisation that the more (economic) opportunities a language provides the individual the more it is positively perceived.

Chapter 6 shifts emphasis and centres on more applied contexts. Rather than asking what attitudes individuals have towards certain languages and their respective speakers, attention is directed toward the influence of second-language acquisition, bilingual schooling, and language planning on attitudes and motivation and vice versa.

CHAPTER
1
PROFILE OF THE LANGUAGE
SITUATION IN MOROCCO

The availability of accurate and reliable information on the language situation of a given country can be useful in two ways:

- (i) It can be influential in making policy decisions and is of tremendous value in planning and carrying out the implementation of the policies, and
- (ii) A full scale description of the language situation constitutes a useful and important body of data for social scientists of various interests (Charles Ferguson 1966).

In Morocco as a whole, there is an urgent need for accurate and objective studies of language: the collection of works that are available offer very little to linguistics or sociolinguistics. In the absence of such reliable information I decided to reexamine the language situation in Morocco with a special reference to Charles Ferguson's (1959) typology.

1.1. A PROFILE OF GEOGRAPHY

Morocco, a country of North Africa, is situated on the north west extremity of the African continent, with an area of some 900,000 sq km (350,000 sq miles) including the new Saharan provinces and extensive coast line facing both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

The Atlas mountains, which rise to over 4,000 metres (14,000 feet) in the south, have kept Morocco relatively isolated from its neighbours. Plains run inland from the Atlantic coast where the commercial and administrative capitals, Casablanca and Rabat respectively, are to be found. The Atlas and Rif mountains together with several rivers which cross the country can be said to account for many differences in language between adjacent areas. Three localities in Morocco were

selected for investigation. These three localities represent major geographical areas of the country (see Chapter 4).

1.2. THE LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE VARIETIES IN USE

The language situation in Morocco, like most other African nations, exhibits a great deal of heterogeneity. A number of factors are to be found behind this condition. The co-existence of Arabic — first introduced by the Arab conquest in 700 A.D. — French and Spanish, brought in by the French and Spanish colonisations respectively has, in fact, played a considerable part in this condition of heterogeneity that obtains in Morocco. To these varieties should be added the already existing language, namely MB.

The two major groups in Morocco — MB-speakers and MA-speakers — are distinguished mainly by language. An estimated 9 million people or approximately 60% of the country's total population¹ speak MA, while the rest speak one of the several MB dialects². However, a steady flow of people from the MB-dominated mountainous regions into the Atlantic lowlands and the urban centers, where newcomers and descendants are progressively integrated into the MA-speaking community, blurs the division between the two groups. A similar demographic account is revealed in the following Table:

¹According to the 1971 census. The population then was 15.4 million, i.e., approximately 4.5 per cent of the total population in Africa.

²Only estimates are currently available on the number of people speaking any of the MB dialects. In Morocco, no language-related questions are included in population censuses, the likely reason being the high sensitivity of minority language problems. However, it is agreed among Tamazight scholars that the largest concentration of speakers is found in Morocco where an estimated 8.5 million native speakers of Tamazight are to be found (Hammoud 1982: 21).

Table 1.1. Percent speakers of MA and MB in Morocco

Country and source	Mother tongue of largest group	% of pop.	Mother tongue of 2nd largest group	% pop.
Morocco	MA	65	TM & TS	12 each

Source: Adam, A., 1973.

Three major languages can be distinguished: Arabic which is the official language and the language of education and wider communication throughout the country; French which is the language of education of over 50% of the secondary school graduates; and MB which is spoken natively by more than 25% of the population. In what ensues I shall consider each of these languages separately.

1.2.1 ARABIC

The Arabic language is related to Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic, and numerous other Semitic languages and dialects. The spread of Arabic over the next few centuries after the so-called Islamic Conquests gave rise to a number of discernible varieties; as is often the case in such circumstances, one of these dialects began to emerge which is more generally used in literary circles. However, the most important event, which won Arabic a lot of prestige, was its use by prophet Muhammad and in the scriptures, the Qur'an. The highly successful extension of the language (Asia, Europe and Africa) gradually gave way to different dialects spoken all over the Arab world. In fact, the natively spoken varieties became so different from each other that an Arabic-speaker from Iraq, for example, would hardly understand an Arabic-speaker from North Africa. Their only way of communicating with each other is through Standard Arabic, mainly a written variety.

(i) CLASSICAL ARABIC (CA)

Classical Arabic is usually considered to be the language of the Holy Book, the Qur'an, and the vehicle of the ancient literature, especially pre-Islamic and that of the first period of Islam. This variety is believed to be the language in which the Qur'an was revealed. This divine selection has attributed a special status and attitudes towards this variety (later discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6). It is the codified variety of Arabic introduced by the Islamic conquest in 700 A.D.

However, CA is not used natively anywhere in Morocco nor is it used natively in any other part of the globe. It is used mainly as a liturgical and generally religious language. In its written form it is used in legal documents and in particular types of literature, especially poetry and religious writings.

(ii) STANDARD ARABIC (SA)

It is also termed 'new Classical Arabic', 'modern Standard Arabic' or simply 'Standard Arabic'. This is the standardised variety of Arabic: It has a highly developed and codified grammar. Although it is not spoken natively, today SA is used in various spheres of the community's life such as administration, education, mass media and in some governmental offices. Many newspapers are also published in it, and the majority of the programmes on the national radio and television networks are broadcast in SA.

As its alternative name "modern Standard Arabic" indicates, SA is derived from CA. However, it differs from it in that SA exhibits a substantial amount of difference mainly on the lexical level where SA makes use of a number of lexical items (often literal translations) which are transferred from French to serve purposes of modern technology and science.

On a grammatical level, the most striking thing about SA to a non-SA-speaker approaching the language is the phenomenon known as roots and patterns. The vast majority of Arabic words are derived from a basic sequence of 3 consonant phonemes in a determined order; this three phoneme sequence is called the root. The root can then be modified by the addition to it of prefixes, infixes and suffixes, all of which impart some semantic variation to the root meaning. However, these additions are not random: they are highly systematised and are categorised by grammarians as patterns. The variations in meanings are not always predictable but in many cases there is a regularity. For example the root /salama/ produces /sallama/ (to greet), a causative verb, and /tasallama/ (to receive), a reflexive verb.

This system of root and pattern is most markedly observed in the verb system. Each basic root is capable of up to 14 variations, or forms as they are called. For instance, the root /salama/ can yield the following forms:

1. /salama/ (to become a Muslim)
2. /sallama/ (to greet)
3. /sa:lama/ (to make peace with)
4. /ʔaslama/ (to become a Muslim)
5. /tasallama/ (to receive)
6. /tasa:lama/ (to exchange greetings)
7. /insalama/ (to make peace with another)
8. /istalama/ (to receive or take possession of)
9. /istaslama/ (to surrender)

(iii) MOROCCAN ARABIC

Moroccan Arabic is the variety of Arabic spoken natively inside the country.³

It differs from SA and CA on many levels: morpho-phonological, grammatical and lexical. It is the common tongue of North Africa, and its speakers include a large number of MB-speakers.

Despite the existence of a number of varieties of MA, it can be said to enjoy a wider homogeneity than MB for example. The lexical and morphophonological differences between the various varieties of MA are very weak, and the latter are, by and large, mutually intelligible with little effort. One of the major differences among these varieties of Moroccan Arabic is the one concerning the social variables /q/ and /g/⁴. In the variety spoken in the north of the country the use of the variable /q/ is predominant, whereas the variety spoken in the south is marked by the use of /g/. Examples are as follow:

- a) North: qallu sir fhalak
 South: galkh^h sir fhalak
 (He told him to go away)
- b) North: tajatrafəq məʕa nas məzjanin
 (His friends are all nice people)
 South: tajatrafəg mʕa nas məzjanin
 (His friends are all nice people)

However, MA, as is the case with MB, is relegated to subordinate usages. It is

³Today it is not known exactly how many people speak what language in Morocco. The reason behind that is perhaps that the language factor is not included in the censuses carried out inside the country.

⁴The social stratification and subjective evaluations of these phonological variables are later considered in Chapter 5.

used in the street, at home and in the every day interactions of the individuals. It is not normally written despite the fact that it is sometimes represented graphically by the Arabic alphabet.

Moroccan Arabic is the de facto national language despite the existence of another language, namely MB — the indigenous language. However, as a lingua franca MA serves as a medium of communication between Moroccans (MB-speaking, Arabised and MA-speaking) mainly in the social spheres where one of the MB varieties is not in use.

1.2.2. MA/SA: A DIGLOSSIC SITUATION

Often the standard variety of a language is taught in schools and is used in formal situations such as administration, and mass media, to mention but a few. The non-standard variety is limited to very informal contexts (home and the street). This sociolinguistic phenomenon has been described by Ferguson (1959) as diglossia.

The Arabic-speaking world is often given as a good example of a diglossic situation. In each country there are local vernacular forms spoken alongside the international variety, namely SA. All over the Arab world the variety used at home and in the street is a local version of Arabic (Moroccan, Iraqi, Lebanese, Syrian, Egyptian, etc.). In Morocco, MA is usually used for informal in-group and out-group communication, and not infrequently also a western language (French most usually), while SA and French are used in more formal situations and for conveying scientific or technological knowledge. The following sentences from SA and MA illustrate some of the linguistic contrasts between the H (high) and the L (low) varieties in Morocco.

SA: saʔala ʔaħmadun ʂɑ di:qaħu ʔajna taʔa1lamta-
1-luyata 1ʔarabijjata ?

(Ahmed asked his friend: where did you learn the Arabic language?)

MA: səwəl hməd ʂɑħbu fin tʔəlləmti 1-1ʔərbijja ?

(Ahmed asked his friend: where did you learn the Arabic language?)

SA:	saʔala	ʔaħmadun	ʂɑdi:qa-ħu	ajna
	[asked	ahmed	friend	his
	where]			
	taʔa1lam-ta	1-luyata	1-ʔarabijjata	
	[learned	you	the language	the Arabic]

MA:	səwəl	ħməd	ʂɑħbu	fin
	[asked	Ahmed	friend his	where]
	tʔəlləmti	1-ʔərbijja		
	[learned you	to Arabic]		

A number of contrasts between the varieties can be seen as characteristic of diglossia. In SA, we notice the existence of case endings: /ʔaħmadun/, /ʔa1ʔarabijjataa/, and these are absent in MA: /ħməd/ and /1ʔərbijja/. It is also striking to observe the basic grammatical parallelism between the varieties, coupled with lexical and morphological disparities. Notice also the tendency in MA to replace vowels with a schwa (ə) and sometimes to reduce the number of syllables in a sentence by creating a sequence of consonants without any vowels. However, if someone is to give a lecture at a university, or a sermon in a mosque, they are expected to use SA, which is a variety different at all levels of analysis from the regional varieties. After the formal lecture, the opening of the floor to questions in

cases of diglossia such as this one is then signalled by a switch to the "lower" code, namely MA (Joshua A. Fishman, 1971). Indeed, SA is considered so different from the other varieties that it is taught at schools almost as a second language, i.e., the way German or Russian would be taught in an English-speaking community.

The major difference between a diglossic and an English-speaking society, for instance, is that in the former everyone, regardless of their social class or status, speaks the low variety at home and it is not possible to talk of 'advantaged' and 'disadvantaged' children. This is the case in the Arab world, for instance, because "no one has the advantage of learning the High variety ... as his first language" (Hudson, R.A.1980: 54). Therefore, the High variety can only be acquired at school.

As far as Morocco is concerned, SA and MA fulfill different functions, often in a complementary distribution. Standard Arabic boasts a rich tradition of grammatical commentaries and treatises, a huge amount of literary works, and a prestigious position as a liturgical and cultural language, whereas MA is relegated to minor usages (e.g., home, the street and shops). The situation is now changing in Morocco where it is becoming clear that there are H and L varieties within MA itself, and the distinction between SA and MA is becoming even wider.

1.2.3. MOROCCAN BERBER (MB)

Generally speaking, the Berber language is spoken from the Atlantic to Egypt. Some consider it to be one language and others consider to be many different languages, the number of which can amount to 24. Others still consider Berber as a group of varieties derived from one parent language. The most prominent varieties of Berber, in terms of number of speakers and geographical area, are the 7

listed here:

1. Zenatia (Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria)
2. Tamazight (Morocco)
3. Kabyle (Algeria)
4. Tashelhit (Morocco)
5. Zenaga (Mauritania, Senegal)
6. Tuareg (Algeria , Mali, Niger, Nigeria)
7. Guanch (Canary Islands)

Phonological, morphological, and lexical disparities set these various varieties of Berber off one another and , as a consequence make mutual comprehension difficult and sometimes impossible.

Three varieties of Berber can be distinguished in Morocco, namely Tashelhit,⁵ which is used predominantly in The Souss⁶ and the south west of the country; Tamazight, which is spoken in the central parts; and Tarifit spoken in the North.

Several facts stand out about the MB varieties: (a) They are confined to specific

⁵Tashelhit — the language of the people of The Souss, 'Soussiya' in Arabic, 'Tassoussit' in MB — is the most widespread of the MB dialects. The indigenous people consider it to be the most 'pure'. In fact, it is the least interference-marked variety. It is in Tassoussit that the great TS-speaking poet Sidi Hammou, composed his poems. It is also in this variety that the rare Berber manuscripts were written which were mainly translations of theological books by some 'Tolba' (religious scholars) motivated by religious proselytism. When the 'Tolba' of The Souss write in Berber, they make use of the Arabic graphic system to which they add some supplementary symbols to represent the sounds which are purely Berber.

⁶This area comprises all the Anti and High Atlas mountains from the Atlantic coast eastward to Demnat and Skoura, as well as part of the Sahara.

geographical areas inside the country, mainly in the mountains; (b) They seem to be gradually losing ground but at an extremely slow pace; (c) There is some mutual intelligibility (Imazighen and Riffians claim to be able to understand each other; and (d) Most adult male MB-speakers need to learn another language — Arabic or French — if they are to deal with out-groups, so that about half of all MB-speakers are at least bilingual.

Several hypotheses have been put forward concerning the origin of MB. Some Berberists associate the language with Egyptian Coptic on the grounds that there are a few similarities between the two languages. There were also attempts to consider Berber one of the Indo-European languages. Others considered Berber to be related to Basque on the basis of geographical proximity between Morocco and Spain. Another claim is the one made by Marcel Cohen who considered Berber one of the Chamito-Semitic languages (Arabic, Hebrew, Berber). This latter is the most accepted theory as it is based on a number of similarities between these languages. As for the origin of MB-speakers, a plausible claim is that they belong to a Mediterranean stock originating in the West Asia, who penetrated into North Africa at a neolithic era (Hammoud 1982: 21).

Today one can safely state that TS is the oldest recorded variety of Berber in North Africa. The three varieties spoken in Morocco are in a situation of geographical continuum and they are linked by a chain of mutual intelligibility. Yet, mutual comprehension between speakers of these three varieties is gradually reduced as the geographical separation widens. Functionally speaking, the varieties of MB⁷ are restricted to in-group activities. Their use is predominantly oral,

⁷The term Imazighen (the singular form of which is 'Amazigh') is sometimes used for individuals speaking any of the three varieties of Berber as it is free from any perjorative connotations that the term Berber might suggest. The great majority of our MB-speaking

despite the existence of a Berber alphabet known as "Tifinagh"⁸. This alphabet is not used anywhere in North Africa although it is highly operational in Mali and Niger for example. This lack of a graphic representation is considered to be one of the most important factors behind the relegation of the MB varieties to a subordinate position within the hierarchy of the languages in use in Morocco.

Attempts were made during the French protectorate (1912-1956) to transcribe MB in the Roman alphabet for the convenience of French colonial administration officials who chose to learn the language. Other attempts are presently being made at reviving the use of the Lybic, "Tifinagh" script. A new magazine journal, Amazigh, published in Rabat, used its first few issues to initiate its readers in this script, in a determined effort to promote a renaissance of the Mazighi culture and civilisation.

1.2.4. FRENCH (Lmaj)

Morocco has been in contact with the West since the Roman era. But, the important link, and the one which has had a major influence on the language situation in Morocco, was through the French protectorate, established in 1912 and which remained superimposed on the sultanate until the country regained its independence in 1956.

French colonisation in Morocco denigrated the Arab language and culture and imposed French as the only language of civilisation and advancement. Much of the

subjects claimed they did not have the term Berber in their linguistic repertoire. Instead they used the term 'Imazighen', 'Ishlhaine' and 'Irifine' for speakers of Tamazight, Tashelhit and Tarifit respectively.

⁸The script is in the form of geometrical signs derived from the ancient Lybic characters. They have been engraved on stones, weapons and jewellery. To transcribe the MB graphic system, Latin characters have generally been used.

resistance to colonialism in North Africa centred around the desire to restore Arabic as the sacred language of the Muslim population. Once independence was achieved, Morocco, like the other North African nations (Algeria and Tunisia), was confronted with the task of introducing language reforms fostering an Arab identity through Arabisation while also aiming for industrialisation and modernisation.

French is now still considered to be the language of the colonial legacy and, paradoxically, the language of 'modernity', technology and social advancement as well as a means of international communication for North African states. Its widespread use in Morocco stands as an obstacle in the face of the current policy of Arabisation followed by the Moroccan government to attain the cultural independence of the country. Many Moroccans are now eager to replace French with English as the foreign language.

The varieties of French used in Morocco range from standard Parisian French and Moroccan accented French to a few stereotyped expressions. In between there are a number of other varieties: Pidgin French which is associated with trade and also used by those Moroccans working with non-Moroccans; and Lingua Franca (originally 'Langue Franche'), i.e. that type of French used by Moroccans who cannot understand each other's variety. A few expressions are also used in barracks.

French in Morocco can be said to stand in a position of a semi-official language, given its use in the most important spheres of the speech community. It is used in education both as a channel and as a subject of study, and it continues to be the language in most general use among educated people and between Moroccans of all levels. Only 15 to 20 percent of the population are literate in French although it is

still the language of government and commerce.

Decades of colonial French unilingualism had created an Arab French elite proud of its French education and culture and interested in keeping its prestigious position within society. Journalists at press conferences held by officials in Morocco must be able to follow the latter's impeccable French, but they do not need to know a word of Arabic.

As far as external communication is concerned, the scholar, visitor and tourist will realise that French is spoken everywhere throughout the administrations in Morocco, and used as a *de facto* working language, not only at state functions and receptions, but to the extent that the post office has refused to accept telegrams written in SA and most government offices insist that bilingual forms be filled out in French by preference. French is the overwhelmingly used language of entertainment in cinemas, theatres, and cabarets, and is widely, but far from exclusively, employed as the vehicle for information communication. For instance, the most widely read newspapers in Morocco are French-language journals, and radio newscast bulletins in French are considered to be more up-to-date and reliable.

1.2.5. SPANISH & ENGLISH

Not many Moroccans would consider Spanish or English as being part of their linguistic repertoire because these languages did not have enough currency inside the country. However, some Spanish is still used in the North⁹ and in parts of the Sahara. English is now gaining ground as more and more people are willing to learn the language as a foreign language: some English is even spoken by some higher class families at home in the two cities of Rabat and Casablanca, for

⁹Especially in the two cities of Ceuta and Mellilia on the Mediterranean.

example.

Although Spanish is still widely spoken in the regions formerly governed by Spain, its teaching is given a low priority in the schools and it is rapidly losing ground in favour of French and English. Table 1.3 gives a summarised account of the domains in which the languages and varieties under study are used.

Table 1.3. Situations in which the languages and varieties under investigation are used

	MA	MB	Fr.	SA
HOME				
Husband (MA)/wife (MB)	+	-	-	-
Husband (MB)/wife (MA)	+	-	-	-
Parent/child	+	+	-	-
Friend (adult)	+	+	-	-
Friend (child)	+	+	-	-
SHOPPING				
Moroccan store (MB)	+	+	-	-
Moroccan store (MA)	+	-	-	-
EDUCATION				
Public school	-	-	+	+
Qur'anic school	-	-	-	+
Public worship	+	+	-	+
Work	-	-	+	+
Official institutions	-	-	+	+

1.2.6. THE USE OF THE LANGUAGES UNDER STUDY ON THE NATIONAL RADIO NETWORKS

The time allotted to each of the languages under study is not only a clear indication of how a language is treated by the policy makers but also an index as to how the language would be evaluated by the public. A look at Table 1.4 shows that

not all the languages are equally represented as far as the time allotted to them is concerned. Notice the hierarchy: SA & MA (18 hours) French (6 hours each), Spanish and English (3 hours) and Tashelhit, Tarifit, and Tamazight (an average of 2hrs each). It is interesting here to notice how the programmes in SA and MA are broadcast through one channel, French through a second channel, and all the rest of the languages through a third channel. This third channel is normally very poorly equipped and the programmes on them are mediocre. This differential treatment of the languages can only reinforce the popular belief in Morocco (often stereotyped) that certain languages are only 'lahajat' dismissed as just useless dialects (see Table 1.4).

Table 1.4. The use of the languages under study on Radio broadcasts.¹⁰

Language	Channel	Duration
SA/MA	1	6 a.m.-12 midnight (18 hrs)
French	2	6 a.m. -12 noon (6hrs)
Spanish	3	6 a.m. - 9p.m. (3 hrs)
English	3	9 a.m. -12 noon (3 hrs)
TR	3	4p.m. - 6p.m. (2 hrs)
TM	3	6p.m. - 8p.m. (2 hrs)
TS	3	8p.m. - midnight. (4 hrs)

1.3. LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

Since independence in 1956, Morocco has had to tackle a number of educational problems. The most serious of these problems is perhaps the overwhelming diversity of competing teaching-methods:

1) French schools (Unilingual)

¹⁰Channel 3 is normally known as "mawzat l-lahaza:t" (channel reserved for 'l-lahaza:t' or the varieties dismissed as 'regional dialects').

- 2) Spanish schools (Unilingual)
- 3) Muslim school (Unilingual)
- 4) Moroccan government schools (Bilingual)

Broadly speaking, the present system of education in Morocco is a continuity of two essentially different aspects of education. On the one hand there is the traditional and original system which was established before the protectorate; and the colonial type of education introduced by the French, on the other hand. Despite the policy of Arabisation and the attempt at the unification of the system of education different systems of education still exist side by side (see Table 1.5).

For purposes of the present paper some aspects of education, such as shortage of staff and problems of orientation, will not be considered here. The emphasis will be mainly on those aspects of language in education that can be viewed as indices of attitudes.

Table 1.5. The use of SA and French in primary,
secondary and high school (hours)

Subjects Level	Islamic studies	Arabic language	Arabised subjects	Use of Arabic	French language	French-taught subjects	Use of French
Primary							
1st	18.5	44	37.5	100	-	-	-
2nd	21.5	40	38.5	100	-	-	-
3rd	12.5	21	22.5	56	31	13	44
4th	12.5	21	22.5	56	31	13	44
5th	12.5	21	22.5	56	31	13	44
Total	15.5	29.4	28.7	73.6	18.6	7.8	26.4
Junior Secondary							
1st	1.6	23.3	11.6	36.6	26.6	36.8	63.4
2nd	1.7	24.1	12	37.8	20.6	41.4	62
3rd	1.7	24.1	12	37.8	20.6	41.4	62
Total	1.7	24.3	11.2	37.5	25.5	73.3	62.5

Table 1.5. Continued

	Islamic studies	Arabic language	Arabised subjects	Use of Arabic	French language	French-taught subjects	Use of French
Senior secondary (letters)							
4th form	1.6	25.8	1.6	28	19.3	35.4	54.8
5th form	1.7	27.5	1.7	30.9	17.2	34.4	51.6
6th form	1.5	18.1	25.7	45.3	12.1	27.2	39.3
Total	1.5	18.1	25.7	45.3	12.1	27.2	39.3
Senior secondary (Sciences)							
4th form	1.6	10	1.6	13.2	13.3	60	73.3
5th form	1.6	10	1.6	13.2	10	63.3	73.3
6th form	0	6.6	10	16.6	6.6	66.6	73.2
total	1.06	8.8	4.4	14.3	9.9	63.3	73.2
Percentage orientation toward letters							
	6.2	25.8	16.5	48.5	20	25.6	45.6
Percentage orientation toward sciences							
	6	20.8	14.7	41.5	17.9	36.1	54
Letters and sciences							
	6.1	23.3	15.6	45	18.9	30.8	49.7

Source: Mohamad A'abid Aljabiri (1985: 83)

Translated by the present author.

Children normally receive their first education in the traditional Qur'anic schools where they learn extracts from the Qur'an and an introduction to reading, writing and arithmetic. There also exist parallel to Qur'anic schools playgrounds and kindergartens. Throughout this stage SA is the predominant medium of instruction, although children may be introduced to French at an early age in some kindergartens.

During the first two years of public primary, instruction is in SA throughout. The first and second years are of an average of 30 hours per week, the object of which is to teach the pupils what is termed SA, written and spoken. The three other years of primary schooling are bilingual in that 20 hours of teaching per week are given in SA and 10 hours in French.

Thus children beginning French in their third year are of an average age of 9 to 10. The twenty hours of instruction in SA include arithmetic, history, geography and science. The ten hours of French are devoted entirely to the language and aim at giving pupils a good theoretical and practical knowledge of modern French.

Along with the 'public modern' system of primary education there are three private primary systems, all approved by the Moroccan ministry of education:

- i) Traditional Islamic primary education (in SA throughout).
- ii) French primary education, as provided by the schools of the "Mission Culturelle et Universitaire Française".
- iii) American schools in Tangier, Rabat, Casablanca, and Marrakesh.

Public secondary schools in Morocco are either Collèges or Lycées, based on the French pattern. Colleges offer junior secondary teaching in 4 years and Lycées

are comprehensive and prepare for the 'Baccalauriat' degree at the end of 3 years of secondary programme. All throughout the 7 years of secondary schooling French is used to teach Sciences, whereas SA is used in teaching geography, history, literature and Islamic teachings.

French is also taught as a subject in the various stages of the secondary school course, i.e., during seven years. The other modern languages, Spanish, English, German, Russian and Italian, are taught in the final year of the junior stage and during the three years of the senior stage, i.e., during 4 years in all sections at public secondary establishments. However, students rarely choose to take up the last three of these languages.

At university level, the faculties of Arts and Humanities have been almost completely arabised. However, in the remaining faculties, the faculties of Law and Sciences, French remains the predominant means of instruction. France largely financed French studies in Moroccan universities and supported numerous student exchanges. Standard French is taught in Moroccan universities both as a subject as well as a means of instruction (sciences, literature, etc.) by providing a large body of 'coopérants' sent as aid from France.

A summarised account of the functional range of the varieties under investigation is reported in Table 1.6.

Table 1.6. Functional range of the languages and varieties under study

	MA	MB	SA	CA	Fr. ¹¹
	Vcw	Vpg	Slsoie	Clr	Ssie
1.	-	-	+	+	+
2.	-	+	+	+	+
3.	-	+	-	+	+
4.	+	+	-	-	-

1. Standardisation¹², 2. Autonomy, 3. Historicity, 4. Vitality

Functions :

p = provincial, o = official (constitutionally specified),

w = wider communication

i = international, c= capital (used in the capital city),

g = group, s = school subject

l = literacy, r = religious (liturgical), e = education.

V= vernacular, S = standard, C= classical.

In discussing varieties of Arabic, French and MB a number of questions need to be asked. First, which particular varieties of these languages are actually preferred by Moroccans? Second, what role does language as an indicator of ethnic identity play in determining this preference? And third, what is the nature of the relation between social and psychological factors on the one hand and learning a second-language on the other hand? This will be the object of chapters 4, 5, and 6 on data-analysis.

¹¹French, though a foreign language, is usually considered to be a semi-official language in Morocco due to its wide use in various spheres (education, government offices, mass media), except in Law Courts.

¹²Joshua A. Fishman points that " standardisation is not a property of any language per se, but a characteristic societal treatment of language given sufficient societal diversity and need for symbolic elaboration (Fishman (ed.) 1971: 229)

CHAPTER

2

SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGY-ORIENTED

RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE

"A speaker who is made ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being; to make any one, especially a child feel so ashamed is as indefensible as to make him feel ashamed of the colour of his skin." (Halliday 1968: 165)

In order to carry out research on the social psychology of language, it will be helpful to have some theoretical considerations in mind. Central to social psychology is the concept of "attitude". The widespread use of the concept, represented in practically all social sciences, accounts for its different definitions and characterisations by different authors of different disciplines. In what ensues I shall attempt to consider the nature of this term and its relevance to social psychology in general and to social psychology of language in particular.

"Language attitudes", especially the relevance of attitude studies to sociolinguistic topics such as 'language selection' in multilingual societies, differential allocation of codes, and dialect differences, will be considered against theories of language choice, second-language learning and speech accommodation. Issues like the validity and acceptance of dialects, the position of the standard variety and 'correct' usage, as well as the relationship between language and group membership, can all elucidate social psychological aspects of language behaviour. The relevance of social psychological research to developing countries, which is a question of paramount importance to the present work, is also given due consideration.

2.1. A NOTE ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

At the very outset it is important to note with Harold Proshansky (1965: 4) that "social psychology cannot be defined in theoretical terms". However, the author emphasises the point that social psychologists neither neglected nor eschewed the development of concepts and theories and that rather they have not been able to "agree upon or establish empirically a common conceptual scheme for the analysis of social behaviour" (ibid:4).

Thus, it should not be surprising that the level of development of this scientific discipline is still relatively inchoate, given the fact that Social Psychology was only born at the turn of the century. There exists, however, a considerable agreement among the various definitions of the field concerning its substance as well as form. Most of these statements stress two major points: (i) the behaving individual and his experiences, and (ii) the social setting or the context in which this behaviour takes place with other individuals and groups. It follows from this that social psychological research can be carried out from two different standpoints:¹

The first is psychologically oriented. In this context "the behaviour of the individuals or the interactions between them is sought in 'intra-individual' processes or psychological events rather than in the properties of the social situations which provide the setting for the behaviours" (Issa M. Omari 1983: 34). Individuals are not considered 'functionaries' in a group structure but rather as 'psychological organisms' (ibid.). The level of analysis here is said to be psychological mainly because it is expressed in terms of 'human perceptions', 'emotions', 'attitudes', 'values', and the like (these various social psychological terms will be further considered in 2.3.3).

The second is sociologically oriented. In this context greater emphasis is upon the properties of the social system in which the individual operates (F. Blackler 1983). They normally conclude that the behaviour of individuals as well as of groups is determined by their positions, roles, and functions in the social system (Issa M. Omari 1983: 34).

¹This emergence of two social psychologies (sociological & psychological) has been identified as 'potentially damaging' to the discipline as these differ in their emphasis and , therefore, lack a coherent theoretical and conceptual framework, (Newcombe 1954).

2.2. CURRENT THEORIES

Most currently prominent theories in social psychology are concerned with how individuals try to understand the behaviour of others and the situations in which they find themselves and how this understanding helps to guide behaviours. These psychological theories depict us as being active in our attempts to understand and adapt to our social environments:

Cognitive Understanding Theory proposes that when we meet others initially, we strategically attempt to make them predictable in such a way as to guide our own behaviour appropriately (West Stephen and Wicklund, 1980).

Causal Attribution Theory is concerned with our assessments of other people and suggests that when we observe their behaviour we attribute motives and intentions to it (Harvey, J.H., Ickes, W., and Kidd, R.F., 1978).

Similarity Attraction Theory (or Affective Reinforcement Theory) proposes that our attraction towards others is dependent on the extent to which we share important attitudes most towards those whose admiration and respect we are gaining (Tajfel, 1978).

Intergroup Identity Theory (or Social Identity Theory) suggests that we are not only concerned with attaining inter-individual rewards and a positive self-esteem, but that we also desire a favourable group identity (West, S. and Wicklund, R. 1980; Giles, 1979). In other words, we desire to belong to social categories which can afford us a positive social mobility; the theory tries to explain the conditions under which group members look for, or even create dimensions along which they are positively differentiated from relevant outgroups (Tajfel, 1978).

For instance, this theory would also help us understand why certain groups maintain their language, dialects and styles, while others lose them to assimilate towards the speech patterns of the majority group (Giles 1979). Allport (1968) maintains that social psychology is an "attempt to understand how the thoughts, feelings and behaviours of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others".

The details of these social psychological theories and their relevance to the data elicited will be given as I proceed in the discussion of the social psychological aspects of speech behaviour. Let us first consider the concept of 'attitude' (its definitions and characterisations) and its relevance to social psychological research.

Knowing about an individual's social attitudes can be important in two ways. First, it gives us a brief account of what the individual has experienced before that might influence his behaviour. Second, we become aware of his aspirations, motivations, and the reasons behind his behaviour vis-à-vis a great variety of social objects and values (J.D. Halloran 1970).

2.3. 'ATTITUDES' AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychologists refer to "attitudes" as "the flywheel of social psychology" and it is certainly the concept which has been the subject of so much experimentation in the field. For Allport (1954: 43) attitude "is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology."

2.3.1. THE CONCEPT OF ATTITUDE

As Kirklinger, Fred, N. (1984) pointed out, this new definition of the human

being was the result of the development of the scientific approach to attitudes. This new approach stresses the point that 'attitude' is a concept which embodies a new 'conception', a change in people's views of themselves and others. The concept is said to be one of the most ubiquitous of all terms used in social science. Many consider it to be the central problem in social psychology, which explains its widespread use.

2.3.2. THE NATURE OF ATTITUDES

However, it is quite difficult to give a precise definition of attitude because it has been defined from different angles and by almost every theorist or researcher who has concerned himself with attitude studies (and there are as many definitions as there are individual authors), and also because it overlaps with many other social psychological concepts such as 'opinion', 'value', 'belief' and 'disposition'. The following are some of the many definitions of 'attitude':

- (a) "An attitude is a mental and neutral state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related." (Allport 1935).
- (b) "Attitude is ... an implicit, drive-producing response considered socially significant in the individual's society." (Doob 1947)
- (c) "Attitudes are predispositions to respond, but are distinguished from other such states of readiness in that they predispose toward an evaluative response." (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum 1957)
- (d) "Attitudes are enduring and organised structures of social beliefs that predispose individuals to think , feel, perceive, and behave selectively toward

referents or 'cognitive objects' of attitudes". (Fred . N. Kerlinger 1984)

A closer look at the above-mentioned definitions of 'attitude' will reveal that they overlap in the sense that they all consider 'predisposition' or 'readiness' to respond to be the basic feature of 'attitude'. Another consensus in the definitions is that attitudes are learned from previous experience and that they are relatively enduring. These various definitions are often a reflection of the differing theoretical or research interests of the studies which have suggested them (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). Perhaps the most comprehensive and the most quoted definition of 'attitude' is the one suggested by Allport as early as 1935 (see definition (a) above), the broad lines of which are still relevant.

First, an attitude is "a state of readiness". This state leads an individual to perceive things and people (attitudinal objects) around him/her more readily. In other words, an individual holding a particular attitude becomes more ready to act according to certain categories and interpretations than to others. People, in their everyday interactions, are often 'ready' to face objects and people when they come in contact with them. They usually do so automatically — without thinking about the nature of their actions.

Second, an attitude is "not innate". It is suggested here that attitudes are learned. They are developed and organised through experience, and they are, therefore, part of our communicative competence — we learn the appropriate usage of those attitudes in the way we learn the appropriate usage of speech acts, for example.

Third, an attitude is "dynamic". An attitude is not just a mere 'latent-state' of readiness. It is an agent that motivates the individual and lead him to seek or avoid

the attitudinal objects about which it is organised. An attitude is the product of experience, and it plays an influential role in subsequent experience, i.e., it defines the direction of the individual's behaviour.

2.3.3. OTHER RELATED SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

Many social psychologists (Campbell 1947) would argue that definitions like the one suggested by Allport (1935), despite their being useful, do have a drawback: they can be equally appropriate to other social science concepts including 'attitude', 'opinion', 'disposition', 'habit', 'value', and 'belief'. A look at the dictionary definitions (Collins English Dictionary (1987 ed.) of these various concepts would confirm Campbell's statement:

ATTITUDE: The way a person views something or tends to behave towards it, often in an evaluative way.

BELIEF:
 1. A principle, proposition, idea, etc., accepted as true, especially without positive proof.
 2. Opinion ; conviction.

OPINION:
 1. Judgment or belief not founded on certainty or proof.
 2. The prevailing or popular feeling or view: public opinion.

DISPOSITION: A natural or acquired tendency, inclination, or habit in a person or thing.

HABIT: A tendency or disposition to act in a particular way.

VALUE: The moral principles and beliefs or accepted standards of a person or social group.

Despite dictionary definitions, practically all the above-mentioned concepts refer to some kind of acquired behavioural disposition. Campbell (1947) also argues

that despite their quite dissimilar terminologies these concepts may be referring to the same essential facts; they are said to overlap.

Many social psychologists have, however, made a distinction between 'belief' and 'attitude'. Cognitive aspects have often been attributed to 'belief', while to 'attitude' have been attributed affective or motivational aspects. In what ensues emphasis will be on the two major theoretical and methodological approaches, namely mentalist and behaviourist, that obtain in this connection.

2.3.4. THE TWO MAJOR APPROACHES

According to the mentalist approach, an attitude is a 'state of readiness'. It is implied here that attitudes are not directly observable but have to be 'inferred from the subjects' introspection'. The investigator depends on the persons' reports of what their attitudes are. However, it is often argued that self-reported data are of questionable validity (see Chapter 3).

Another typical mentalist definition of attitude is that it is considered to be 'an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response' (Williams 1974: 21), or 'an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response' (Fasold 1984:147).

Behaviourists argue that attitudes are to be inferred from the responses people make to social situations, people and things i.e. their responses to the attitudinal objects in the outside world: "It is only necessary to observe, tabulate and analyze overt behaviour" (Fasold 1984: 147ff). Research from this point of view is made easier in the sense that no self-reports are required, and such an approach faces few or no problems at the level of analysis because attitudes have been studied entirely

in terms of the observations made by the researcher (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970).

However the behaviourist approach is often criticised for its theoretical implications which consider attitude to be a dependent variable, i.e., they view attitude as the only determinant of behaviour. In this respect, Allen, L. Edwards (1983: 7) argues that '...there is no necessary one-to-one correspondence between overt behaviour and attitudes'. Attitudes may be a factor influencing or determining behaviour, but it is not the only one. There are other factors (e.g. age, sex and group membership) determining behaviour, and attitude is not necessarily the most important. To predict behaviour from feelings or attitudes one should take the other factors into consideration. Those factors should also be taken into account if attitudes or feelings are to be inferred from observation of overt behaviour.

In a similar way Alexander Jr. (1967) levels a strong criticism against the behavioural approach which views attitude as an independent variable: "attitude has no independence of the specific stimulus situations in which the responses are observed" and so "it cannot be used to explain other behaviours by the same organism". The direct questioning of behaviour is also dismissed as "crude" in its classification of attitudes and as unable to assess the degree of affect individuals may associate with a psychological object.

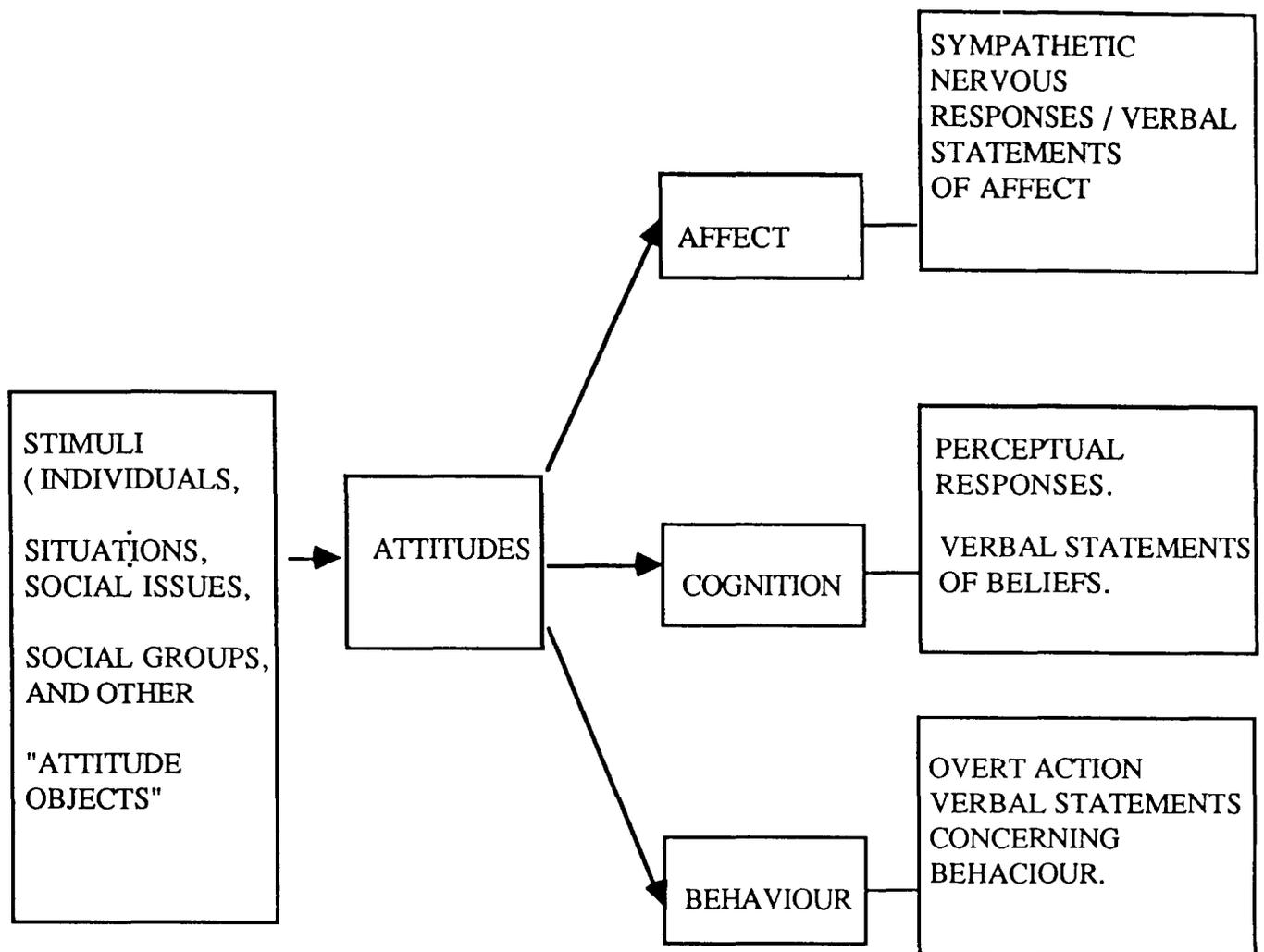


FIGURE 2.1. SCHEMATIC CONCEPTION OF ATTITUDES
SOURCE: ROSENBERG AND HOVLAND (1960)

2.3.5. THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES

Another issue that arises concerning the definition of attitude is whether attitudes have identifiable subcomponents, i.e., whether they have a unitary or multiple structure. Generally speaking, those who held a mentalist view of attitudes tend to consider them to have a multicomponential structure (Rokeach 1968; Lambert and Lambert 1964). A unicomponential view is usually held by those who identify attitudes with responses — they view attitudes as single units (for instance, Osgood 1975; Fishbein 1966) (cf Figure 2.1).

Like many other mentalists who define attitudes as 'a state of readiness' Krech, Cruchfield and Ballachey (1962), whose account of attitude components is perhaps one of the clearest, stipulate three major components of attitudes: the cognitive component, the affective component, and the conative component.

The cognitive component (knowledge) refers to the way in which the attitude object is perceived and conceptualised, and thus represents the individual's picture of the attitude object, and his beliefs about it, often including evaluative beliefs (e.g. "good" vs "bad").

The affective component (evaluation) of an attitude is concerned with the emotional underpinning of those beliefs and represents the amount of positive or negative feeling an individual has towards the attitude object (i.e. likes and dislikes).

The conative component (action) can be conceived of as a consequence of the other two components (cognitive and affective) and it refers to the individual's intention to behave in a particular way, or to his actual behaviour, vis-à-vis the attitudinal object (Nigel Lemon,1973).

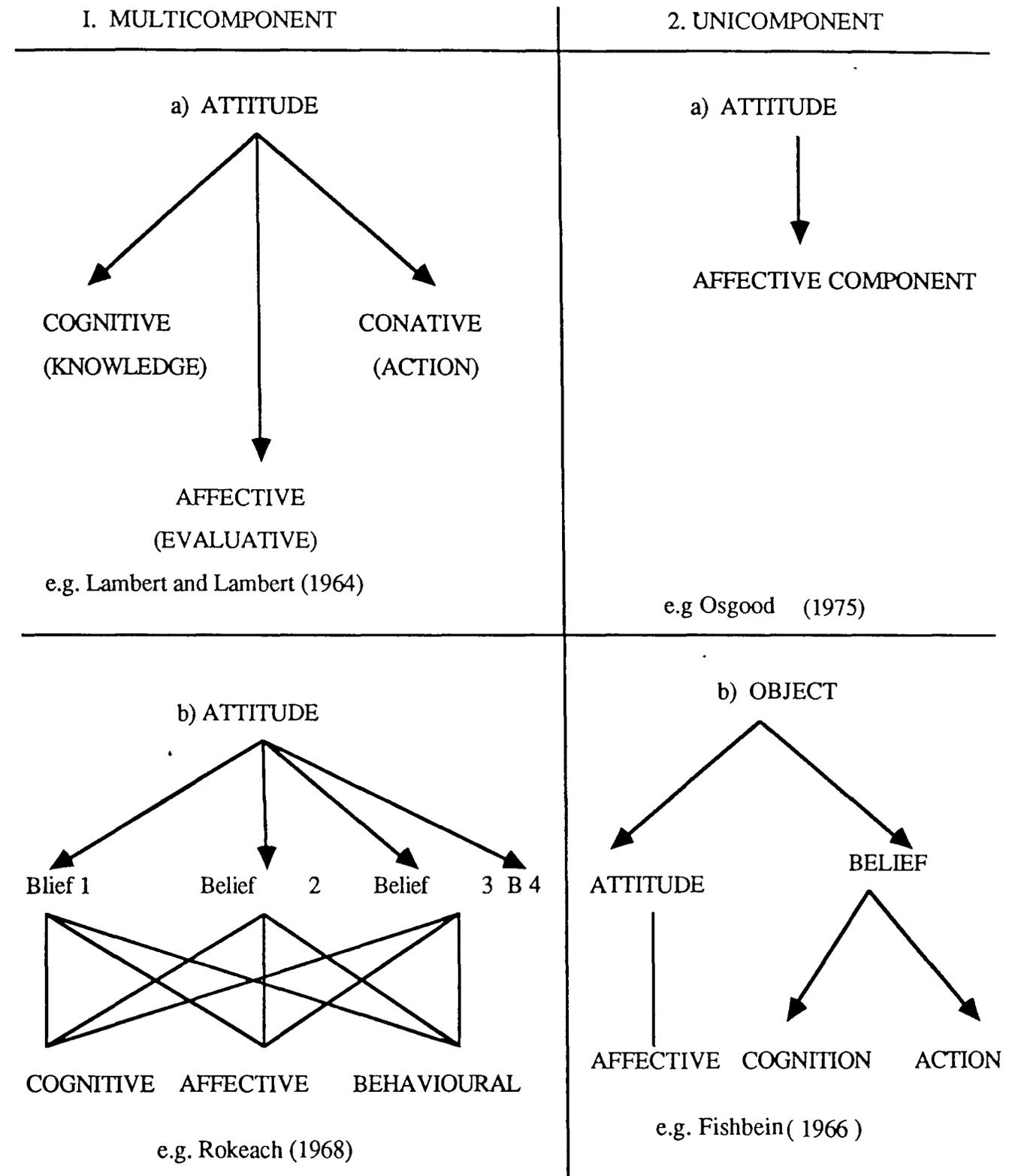


FIGURE 2.2 ATTITUDE STRUCTURE (Four views)

Source: Agheyisil and Fishman (1970: 40)

A unicomponential approach to attitude structure would be represented by Fishbein (1967) who, like many other behaviourists, stipulates only one component in attitudes, namely 'affective' (see Fig.2.2). He rejected a tricomponential view and redefined 'attitude' as 'the amount of affect for or against a psychological object

(Fishbein 1967: 478). His approach to the attitude-behaviour relationship has been that "behaviour toward a given object is a function of many variables, of which attitude toward the object is only one" (ibid.).

2.3.6. THE FORMATION OF ATTITUDES

An understanding of how "attitudes" are developed and acquired is very important if we are to be in a better position to study them. If attitudes are learned we might expect their development to follow the standard principles of learning, and their formation and development will in fact be examined in this connection.

A survey of the work in this field would appear to reveal three main sources of attitudes and these are: a) directive experience with the objects and situations , b) explicit and implicit learning from others, and c) personality development. This on the whole, represents a social psychological orientation (West, S. and Wicklund, R. 1980).

In studying the development and formation of attitudes, we have to refer to studies in child and developmental psychology, in fact to much of the work that normally falls under the heading of socialisation, which covers the acquisition of morality and the development of conscience (D.T.Campbell, 1963).

Socialisation is a process that deals with transformation: the transformation of the child into the adult, a process which includes the learning of attitudes and values. Other people, parents, brothers, sisters, friends, are said to be the principal agent in socialisation (J.D.Halloran, 1970).

Lambert and Lambert (1968) feel that the principle of transfer also helps to explain how we learn attitudes, particularly with reference to the thought, belief, or

cognitive components of attitudes. We learn attitudes by transfer, by a process similar to the one used when we learn the meaning of concepts through instruction .

Another theory (George H. Mead,1934) stipulates three stages from which the 'self' develops; a PREPARATORY stage in which learning is determined by 'gratification' (reward) by others, and in which the child begins to put himself in the place of others; an INTERMEDIARY stage where the child actually takes on the role behaviour of others and experiences how this really feels; a FINAL stage when the child has to respond to the expectations of several people at the same time and abstracts a 'composite' role for himself from those people.

It has also been argued that children take on prevailing attitudes towards elements in the environment without actually coming into contact with those elements (people and things). This kind of implicit learning is facilitated by situations and statements on the mass media, among other things (J.D.Halloran 1970).

Attitudinal and behavioural changes occur through learning at all stages. For a better understanding of the process of socialisation, one has to know something about the role of the school, the peer group, the community, the family:

"In the process of his learning, a child develops a configuration of perceptual and motor skills which helps him to maximise the reduction of the tension of his motives within the scope of the constraints of his environment. Freud has called this configuration the ego" (P.O.Q., vol. 24,1960: 225).

Referring to the formation of language attitudes, Lambert and Lambert (1964), who regard attitudes as 'learned modes of adjustment', suggest three interrelated

principles, namely association, transfer and need satisfaction, and in relation to these principles they stipulate the components of attitudes (see Figure 2.2).

An individual fears and avoids people and things associated with unpleasant situations and he/she learns to like and be attracted to people normally associated with pleasant situations. According to Lambert and Lambert (ibid.), most basic attitudes are learned in infancy, through interactions of approach-avoidance nature with our parents. The commonsense approach to attitude formation usually stresses the importance of knowledge, information, and facts.

2.3.7. THE FUNCTION OF ATTITUDE

In their comprehensive book The Authoritarian Personality, Adorno et al. (1950) have tackled many important questions concerning the function of attitudes. For example, in what way are attitudes integrated into the personality? In what way do personality factors make for diversity? and what particular needs and functions do attitudes serve for the individual? A consideration of the functions of attitude is in order.

The major functions which attitudes perform for the personality can be grouped under 4 headings. The first of these is called the "instrumental", adjustive or utilitarian function: attitudinal formation in this context depends on present or past perceptions of the utility of the attitudinal object for the individual (Katz 1960).

The second function which attitudes perform for the personality is what Katz (Ibid) terms the "ego-defensive" function. This function implies that the individual protects himself from acknowledging both the acceptable basic truths about himself, and also the harsh realities in the outside world (i.e. the individual protects his self-image).

"Value expression" is the third function which enables the individual to give positive expression to his own values, and which also enables him to portray the type of person he thinks (or conceives) he is.

The fourth function, according to Katz is the "knowledge" function: attitudes supply the individual with standards and frames of reference he needs for understanding his world (see Table 1.1). So far I have considered the different definitions of the concept of 'attitude', its components, and its functions. I have already mentioned that an 'attitude' is learned through experience and that it is *enduring*, but this statement does not exclude the possibility of attitude change.

2.3.8. ATTITUDE CHANGE

It is a well known fact that in the course of social development we are always adopting new attitudes, modifying and relinquishing old ones, no matter how slow the process is. Attitude change depends not just on knowledge, but on many other factors, including the person who is presenting the knowledge, how this person is perceived, the form in which the knowledge is given, the circumstances of delivery, the conditions and affiliations of those receiving the knowledge and the function that knowledge might perform in serving the needs of the recipients. The procedures of delivery include: (a) different appeals, (b) group influences, and (c) the importance of the motivational base: if we wish to change an attitude it is necessary to know what particular motive is behind it (J.D.Halloran 1970).

A summary of the determinants of attitude formation, arousal, and change in relation to type of function is reported in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Determinants of attitude formation, arousal, and change in relation to type of function (Daniel Katz,1960).

<u>FUNCTION</u>	<u>ORIGIN AND DYNAMICS</u>	<u>AROUSAL CONDITIONS</u>	<u>CHANGE CONDITIONS</u>
<u>ADJUSTMENT</u>	Utility of attitudinal object in need satisfaction Maximising external rewards and minimising punishments.	1. Activation of needs 2.Salience of cues associated with need satisfaction.	1.Need deprivation. 2. Creation of new needs and new levels of aspiration. 3. Shifting rewards and punishments. 4.Emphasis on new and better paths for need satisfaction.
<u>EGO-DEFENSE</u>	Protecting against internal conflicts and external dangers	1. Posing of threats 2.Appeals to hatred and repressed impulses. 3.Rise in frustrations. 4. Use of authoritarian suggestion.	1.Removal of threats 2.Catharsis 3.Development of self-insight
<u>VALUE EXPRESSION</u>	Maintaining self-identity; enhancing favourable self-image; self-expression and self-determination.	1.Salience cues associated with values. 2.Appeals to individual to reassert self-image. 3.Ambiguities which threaten self-concept.	1.Some degree of dissatisfaction with self. 2.Greater appropriateness of new attitude for the self. 3. Control of all environmental supports to undermine old values.
<u>KNOWLEDGE</u>	Need for understanding, for meaningful cognitive organisation, for consistency and clarity.	1.Reinstatement of cues associated with old problem or of old problem itself.	1.Ambiguity created by new information or change in environment. 2. More meaningful information about problems.

So far I have been discussing 'attitude' in general terms. I have tried to show that the use of the term is not restricted to any particular field of inquiry and that

rather it has been utilised by many social sciences (anthropology, psychology, political science, to mention but a few). The very fact that it has been used by different disciplines accounts for its different definitions and characterisations. It was, however, pointed out here that there has been agreement among different authors about the form and substance of the term "attitude". It is now my intention to turn to a consideration of the use of the term in the social psychology of language.

2.4. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

The social psychological approach to language has only emerged since the 1970s as a distinctive and wide field of research in sociolinguistics. But during this period it has developed into a coherent entity with its own conceptual, theoretical and methodological conventions (Lambert 1967; Giles et al 1980).

From a social psychological and communicative perspective, emphasis is upon the individual and his/her display of attitudes toward language and language varieties by ingroup and outgroup members (Ellen B.Ryan & H.Giles 1982). Most studies carried out within this context followed the lead of Lambert (1967) and they have involved the elicitation of evaluative reactions toward speakers with contrasting language varieties and speech styles.

The social psychologist studying language is interested in questions as to how and why speech and nonverbal behaviours are dependent on cognitive organisation in adults. How and why has this organisation developed? The social psychologist interested in language also investigates the way the behaviour of others stimulates inferences about their group affiliations and attitudes, their motivations, inferences. In other words, "language is also an independent source of input for cognitive organisation" (H.Giles, P.M.Smith and W.P.Robinson, 1980). Social

psychologists are more interested in people's psychological processes than in large societal categories, and they search for individual motivations rather than social structures (cf. Fasold, R. 1985).

2.4.1. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

The term 'language attitudes' refers to a broad collection of empirical studies concerned with the distinctive social meanings of contrasting languages and language varieties (Lambert, 1965; Giles et al. 1975). The attitudes of a speech community's members toward different speech styles which characterise their society can be examined from three disciplinary perspectives:

Within the sociological framework the symbolic values of language are viewed within societal and situational contexts, and attitudes here are elicited through questionnaires and interviews. It is also important from this standpoint to conduct content analysis of historical developments within society, especially of particular aspects of the social treatment undergone by the target language varieties.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, following the lead of William Labov (1966, 1972), the aim is to probe into two major problems; first, understanding the relationship between specific linguistic features (e.g. phonological variants, lexical patterns, and grammatical contrasts) and some aspects of society, social groups and the particular situations in which they occur; second, understanding any inferences that listeners make about these associations.

Within the socio-psychological tradition, emphasis is upon the individual and his/her display of attitudes toward ingroup and outgroup members. Attitudes here are elicited by language and are reflected in its use. Social psychologists are more

concerned with people's psychological processes than with societal categories as a whole, and they aim at individual motivations rather than social structures. That is to say that social psychological research on language choice is more "person-centered than society-centered" (Lambert, 1965; Giles et al. 1975).

The different languages are assigned different roles and functions inside a speech community. As a consequence, each language is perceived in a particular way by the members of the particular speech community. The standard language, which is used in formal spheres such as education, administration, and mass media, is often perceived as the "correct" model as opposed to other varieties (or "dialects") of the same language which are relegated to minor usages. Thus the standard is said to enjoy more prestige than a dialect. However, it is worthwhile to bear in mind Weinreich's (1953) recommendation that "as a technical term ..."prestige" had better be restricted to a language's [an accent's] value in social advancement, or disposed of altogether as too imprecise." A broad definition of 'Language Attitudes' would include the following points:

(1) General attitudes towards language and language skills (e.g. which languages or varieties are "rich" vs "poor" , "beautiful" vs "ugly" , "musical" vs "harsh").

(2) Attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect (attitudes towards language are often interpreted as a reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups).

(3) Attitudes towards language maintenance and planning efforts (here the focus is on applied concerns).

The numerous applications of 'language attitudes' would also include the role of

attitudes in various spheres, for example the practice of law and medicine, and the study of attitudes toward foreign accents (R.Fasold 1984).

Before elaborating further on the possible kinds of language choice resulting from language attitudes, it may well be useful to consider some important links between language and group affiliations.

2.4.2. GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Recent sociolinguistic studies (for example, W. Labov 1972 and R. Fasold 1984) suggest that among the most important tasks performed by the sociolinguist is the identification of the social implications of the 'different' speech styles of social classes and minority groups.

Speakers often use speech cues to make inferences regarding an individual's personal characteristics (e.g. age, sex, intelligence), psychological states (e.g. need for social approval, interest in continuing an interaction, anxiety, depression), and also social group memberships (Lambert 1965). The question which arises here is whether there is a relationship, between language attitudes and group membership or whether these attitudes originate from a void?

Many social psychologists (D.M.Taylor et al. 1977) observe that ethnicity is a persistent and pressing social issue. This issue is even more prominent in the developing countries where problems of loyalty and nationhood are being reconsidered, especially after independence where emerging nations seek to implement a national language in order to gain their cultural independence (Fishman,1968).

In most instances where there is contact between groups speaking different

mother tongues, these groups also "constitute at the same time, distinct ethnic or cultural , communities" (Weinreich 1953). This makes clear the intimate relationship between language and ethnicity, especially when the latter is solely defined through language as in the case of French Canadians (Taylor, Bassili and Aboud, 1973) and Welshmen (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis 1977).

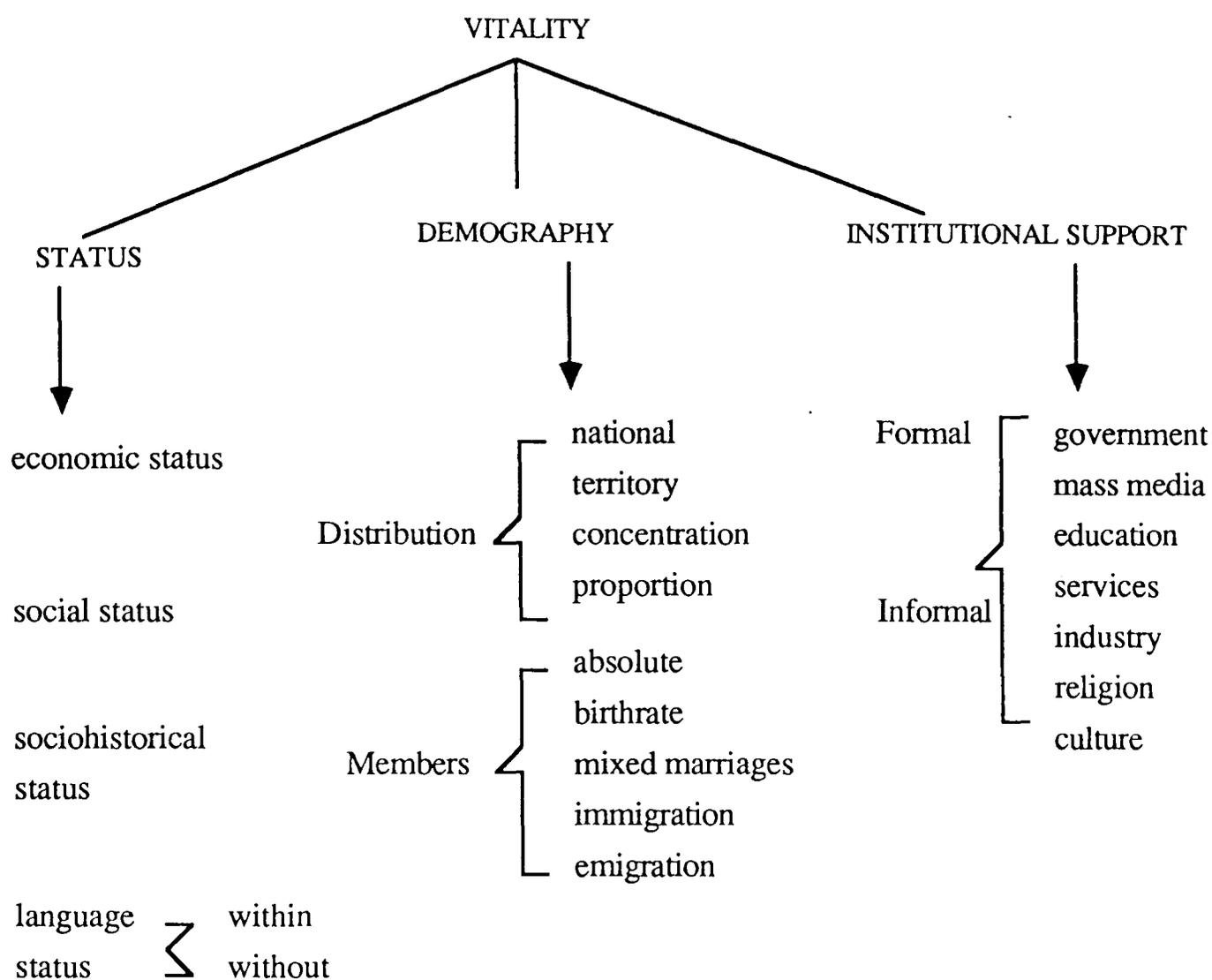


FIGURE 2.3. A TAXONOMY OF STRUCTURAL VARIABLES AFFECTING ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY

Source: P.S.Smith, G.R.Tucker and D.M. Taylor, 1977.

Ethnic groups within a particular speech community have to develop some sort of mutual intelligibility if they are to communicate and share economic, political and social matters (see Figure 2.3). Bilingualism, therefore, seems to be a necessity where there is contact between different languages. In his article "Ethnography of Communication" Troike (1982) draws attention to the interest of ethnography in the interaction between language attitudes and social groups and its consequences:

"Of particular relevance for ethnographers are questions of how culture-specific criteria for "speaking well" function in the definition

or marking of social roles, how attitudes toward different languages and varieties of language reflect perceptions of people in different social categories, and how such perceptions interact within and across the boundaries of a speech community." (Saville-Troike, Muriel 1982: 168).

One of the reasons behind the the present state of ethnolinguistics is the existence side by side of ethnography and linguistics, each of which possesses firmly established theoretical and methodological conventions, which makes it even more difficult to distinguish between works that are purely ethnolinguistic in nature.

It is not suggested here that the study of 'language attitudes be thoroughly carried out from an ethnolinguistic point view. The point here is that the relationship between language and ethnic relations, though important , has always been a neglected issue in mainstream social psychology.

It can safely be stated that the formation of attitudes does not take place in a vacuum; it is determined by group affiliations of the individual:

"We live in groups, we get our first education in the primary group of our family. We learn most of our value and standards from groups." (Wibur Schramm,1961: 15)

Schramm (1961) clearly suggests that group membership plays an important role in the acquisition of values and standards such as language attitudes which include many social stereotypes. Dialects and accents are possessions we share with those individuals who are similar to us and with whom we identify (H. Giles 1984).

But, although a wide number of characteristics have been taken to reflect the

'paternity' aspect of ethnicity (e.g. physical traits and temperamental qualities, including intelligence), language remains the prime symbol and the prime ethnic value (J.A.Fishman 1977), although it is observed that some languages do not enjoy the status of a symbol that is crucial to group identity. (H.Giles & Powesland 1975)

If language is the prime symbol in any ethnic community one would expect to see language attitudes as an integral part of that community: each group has certain attitudes towards the 'other' and towards the 'self'. Those attitudes usually set one group apart from the others and are evaluative, e.g., "my group A is 'better' or 'more intelligent' than group B". However, group membership is not always welcomed by an individual. Some individuals in society ascribe their failure to membership of the 'wrong' group (Tajfel 1978).

What happens when an individual experiences this kind of negative ethnic or class identity? This negative feeling gives rise to three processes: (1) 'individual mobility'; (2) 'social creativity', and (3) 'social competition' (John Edwards and H. Giles 1984). 'Individual mobility' is the process whereby the individual, not satisfied with his subgroup, tries to pass into the more privileged social category by acquiring its characteristics, especially its linguistic patterns. The individual will also try to quit his group's linguistic habits by dismissing them as 'incorrect' or even as bad. This is often done through what Labov (1966) terms 'hypercorrection'.² The second process, 'social creativity', is applicable where 'individual mobility' is hindered by intergroup boundaries. The individual tries to redefine ingroup-outgroup relations in various ways. He tries to do so mainly by inventing 'favourable dimensions of intergroup comparison' (e.g. 'Black is beautiful' in U.S.A.).

²Hypercorrection will shortly be considered in more detail under the heading 'Language Choice'.

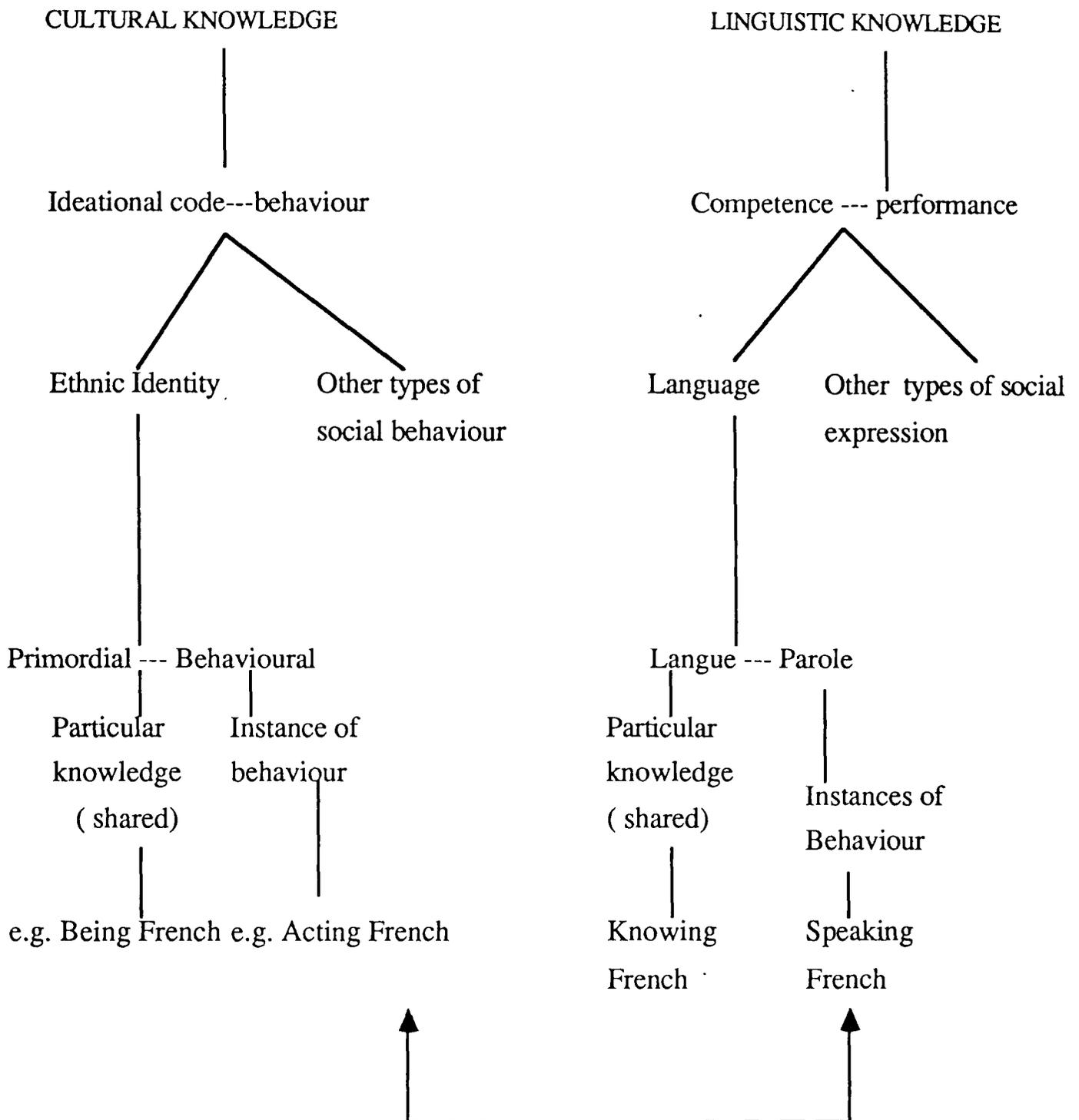


FIGURE 2.4. THE RELATIONSHIP OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL BEHAVIOUR. Source: Carol M. Eastman, 1984: 286

2)

Of special importance to the present study is the process of 'social mobility'. In this case, members still identify with their subordinate ingroup, and create 'unfavourable intergroup comparisons'. This usually leads to an exchange of unfavourable attitudes between different groups, which includes 'verbal derogation' and 'abusive humour'. Thus, the evaluation which a listener is likely to give an

individual's speech will depend heavily upon his previously formed attitudes toward the dialect, social class, and ethnic group membership (H. Giles and associates 1980). Research findings in both Western and non-Western contexts suggest that this kind of language behaviour often reveals the attempt of the individual to protect his/her identity against any plan, improvement or change that his language might undergo (see Figure 3.2 above).

Census data and empirical studies from a number of ethnically plural societies also suggest that this group identity and linguistic awareness have the most drastic impact on children at school (for example, French Canadians and English Canadians (Lambert and Anisfeld 1964). A school teacher who is a member of a minority group and who has been trained through the school system of the country or its university or college, is not very likely to get rid of his 'attachment' to his ethnic group. The teacher will therefore tend to use speech behaviour as cues to the children's group and will rely on those cues to evaluate them according to the social stereotypes which he himself, as a member of a particular group, has acquired previously. J.D.Halloran (1970) points out that an individual not only models himself on those who are near (centres), but also on those who are far away (subcentres) (e.g. Moroccans vs the French).

It has been observed by many researchers (e.g. Labov 1966) that certain language features are often associated with particular social classes. It is therefore possible that such features are used as cues to guess and estimate the social status of the speaker. People have a shared set of stereotyped attitudes towards social dialects³ and their speakers and these attitudes play a role in how a person

³The term variety is frequently utilized in sociology of language (instead of 'dialect') as a non-judgmental designation. The very fact that an objective, unemotional, technical term is needed in order to refer to 'a kind of language' is, in itself, an indication that the expression 'a language' is

language choice problem, then language choice is a possibility for monolingual speakers as well as bilinguals." (Fasold 1984: 181). However, from a sociolinguistic point of view, the two linguistic phenomena (code-switching and code-mixing) are often considered to be points on a continuum. In what ensues I shall consider the socio-psychological aspects of language choice in the light of (1) language choice (psychological situations), (2) accommodation theory, and (3) Hypercorrection and hypersensitivity.⁴

2.5.1. SOME SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

It should perhaps be pointed out here that although the subject of language has been given increasing attention in the wider field of social psychology, there is still more to be explored. One of the problems which has received little systematic study is the choice by a speaker of one language rather than another in situations where he can achieve his communication needs by using either language (Simon Herman, 1968).

In a multilingual society, instances of language choice are often observed with a great deal of concern about its determinants. The two most important factors are as follows: first, the requirements of the particular conversation i.e. the face-to-face situation; second, reference to groups in the wider social milieu.

The importance of the socio-psychological aspects of language behaviour is increasingly turning into a major concern not only of sociolinguists but also of linguists in their investigation of the phenomenon of 'interference' (Weinreich 1953). Instances of language choice have often been used as cues (or behavioural

⁴Important works on the social psychology of language choice have been carried out by Simon Herman 1968; Howard Giles et al. 1973; Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977.

index) to group preferences and to the individual's striving towards the achievement of social adjustment (e.g. Moroccan immigrants in France). A knowledge of the factors behind the choice of language can also shed light on the problems of motivation in the acquisition of a second language.

2.5.2. LANGUAGE CHOICE AS AN OVERLAPPING SITUATION

A bilingual speaker sometimes finds himself in more than one psychological situation simultaneously. In a given situation an individual " may feel herself pulled in different directions by her personal desire to speak the language she knows best and the language expected of her by the social group" (Fasold 1984: 187). The speaker is said to be in an overlapping situation.

Simon Herman (1968) stipulates three kinds of psychological situations where the speaker is in a position of having to choose between two (or more) languages. These are as follows: personal needs; immediate situation; and background situation.

In the 'personal needs' situation the individual finds himself in a position where he wants to speak a particular language, say, the language in which he is most proficient. The 'immediate situation' dictates that the individual uses the linguistic norms of his own group, which might involve the use of another language, the national language for example, in which he might not speak very well. It follows from this that there may be conflict between the two psychological situations of personal needs and group norms.

However, personal needs and immediate situation are not the only factors behind the choice of language. Forces determining language choice might also stem from the situation at large i.e. from the background situation, which is made up of

groups in the wider social milieu that are not directly involved in the immediate situation but still have an influence on the individual's language behaviour. These sub-centres are said to act as "hidden committees" (Herman *ibid.*).

2.5.3. THE RELATIVE POTENCY OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATIONS

Herman's hypothesis (1968) in this connection is that a background situation, meaning 'background group', becomes more salient (prominence as far as perception is concerned) under the following three conditions.

First, when the activity (the language behaviour) takes place in a public rather than a private setting. The more the immediate situation is public, the more it is subject to the impingement of the background situation: the less language tolerance, the less freedom of language choice.

Second, when the language behaviour in the situation may be interpreted as providing cues to group identifications, including social status, or conformity to group norms: a) where there is a difference in the relative 'prestige' associated with different languages; b) when there is public derogation of certain languages or language varieties; and c) where there is low language tolerance.

Third, when the person speaking a particular language desires to identify (or to be identified) with a certain group or to be dissociated from it, or wishes (or feels obliged) to conform to the norms of a reference group: a) where the speaker has a low-prestige status: where the speaker has a weaker position in society the question of language as indicator of group affiliation becomes more prominent for him and it becomes unlikely that he acts according to the demands of the immediate situation only; and b) where there is strong language loyalty: a speaker is less restricted by

the requirements of the immediate situation and tends to use the particular language in a wider range of situations.

Another hypothesis by Herman (*ibid.*) is that personal needs or desires are likely to be dominant under any of the following conditions:

(1) Where the setting is private rather than public, for example where husband and wife are immigrants; by emphasising the personal character of the interaction, the prominence of the background situation has a weak influence, if any.

(2) Where the situation provokes insecurity, high tension or frustration: a) Where the situation is new or threatening: speaking an unfamiliar language would mean to enter a new psychological situation; b) where the speaker is deprived of the aid of gestures and facial expressions and other clues to the meaning of being conveyed (e.g. a telephone conversation); and c) where the state of the person is one of extreme fatigue or excessive frustration; and when the level of aspiration in regard of the 'correct' usage of language is very high : people who are not proficient in a language or who have a high sensitivity to criticism are unlikely to use it.

(3) Where it touches the central rather than the peripheral layers of the personality: when the self-expression is the sole purpose in using a language, personal needs will be dominant.

Unlike background situation and personal needs, the immediate situation can only gain salience under the following conditions: 1) When the person is not concerned about group identifications; he can act more freely according to the demands of the immediate situation; 2) When the behaviour is task-oriented; and 3) When well-established patterns of behaviour characterise a relationship.

2.5.4. THE ACCOMMODATION THEORY

An equally important work on the social psychology of language choice has been carried out by Howard Giles (1979) and his colleagues who put forward the model called Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory (cf. Giles, 1973; Giles et al. 1973) to account for language variation and the choice of language.

Accommodation theory (Giles and Smith 1979) holds that language choice cannot be explained adequately by referring to situational factors only. The main idea behind Giles' theory is derived from social psychological research on similarity-attraction which maintains that an individual can induce someone else (an interlocutor) into evaluating him/her more favourably by reducing the number of dissimilarities between her or himself and the other. Speakers tend to adjust to each other both in gestures and the positioning of the body as well as in the type of speech they are using (René Appel et al. 1987). This process of adjustment is exactly what is meant by 'accommodation'. The theory attempts to explain the way speech adjustment works (i.e. its dynamics) in the process of interaction. Individuals subtly and indirectly communicate approval or disapproval of one another by altering their speech so as to be more similar to or different from the listener's (or listeners').

The individual's linguistic behaviour may either converge or diverge from the speech of the addressee. It is also suggested that the choice of language is partly determined by the social norms, depending on the characteristics of the participants (e.g. sex and status) and that speakers often adapt or accommodate their speech towards that of their interlocutors where there is a very weak influence of the social norms (Giles et al.,1975).

In this connection Giles and Powesland (ibid.) draw attention to the cultural consequences the process of accommodation often involves and the existing desire to gain social approval by accommodating one's speech to the other's.

"... it seems likely that the accommodation act may involve certain costs for the speaker, in terms of identity-change and expended effort and so such behaviour may be initiated only if potential rewards are available. If one can accept the notion that people find social approval from others rewarding, it would not seem unreasonable to suppose that there may be a general set to accommodate to others in most social situations." (Giles and Powesland 1975).

A typical example of convergence would be the use by the speaker of the other person's language and making every effort to pronounce it the way a native speaker does. Translating portions of one's discourse in one's own language or slowing down the rate of speech would also be a sign of convergence. But the use of the other person's language with a heavy accent would be less convergent. The most divergent accommodation would be the use of one's own language at a normal rate of speed; and not helping the listener understand your speech .

Convergence is often translated as an attempt on the part of the speaker to gain or convey social approval or an attempt to better his self-image and to make it more acceptable to the other. It is also an attempt on the part of the speaker to accommodate his speech in a way as to resemble the speech of the other group with whom he desires to identify.

When the subordinate group cannot find a way to improve their social position, they try to do so through linguistic convergence which wins them the acceptance of the dominant group. However, Ralph Fasold (1984) points out that this strategy of convergence is only used by those members of the subordinate group who see a

possibility in making social profits in society at large. When it is not possible or desirable to gain social mobility the members of the subordinate group choose to withdraw into their own group and show little sign of convergence towards the dominant group.

According to the new version of the accommodation model (see Figure 2.5) the perception of the accommodation is effective in terms of speaker evaluation and reciprocal accommodation. Giles and Powesland (1975) make a qualification in this respect. They suggest that if accommodation is attributed to external pressures (for example, school context) rather than voluntary effort, then it is likely to be less effective. Non-accommodation, the elaborated model suggests, results in a relatively unfavourable evaluation of the speaker and induces the listener into maintaining his usual speech style. The authors (*ibid.*) also make a qualification in that when non-accommodation is attributed to a lack of effort on the part of the speaker, then the act may not be perceived negatively.

In this connection, the authors (*ibid.*) also suggest that the factor of effort be subcategorised in the following way. Should a listener attribute accommodation to a voluntary effort, are we to consider the effort as integrative (i.e. because the speaker likes the listener), or instrumental (i.e. because the speaker needs the listener)? Does the effectiveness of accommodation depend on such a distinction? In the same way, lack of effort indicated by non-accommodation could be explained by an attempt on the part of the speaker to increase social distance or to the speaker's need to emphasise his language loyalty.

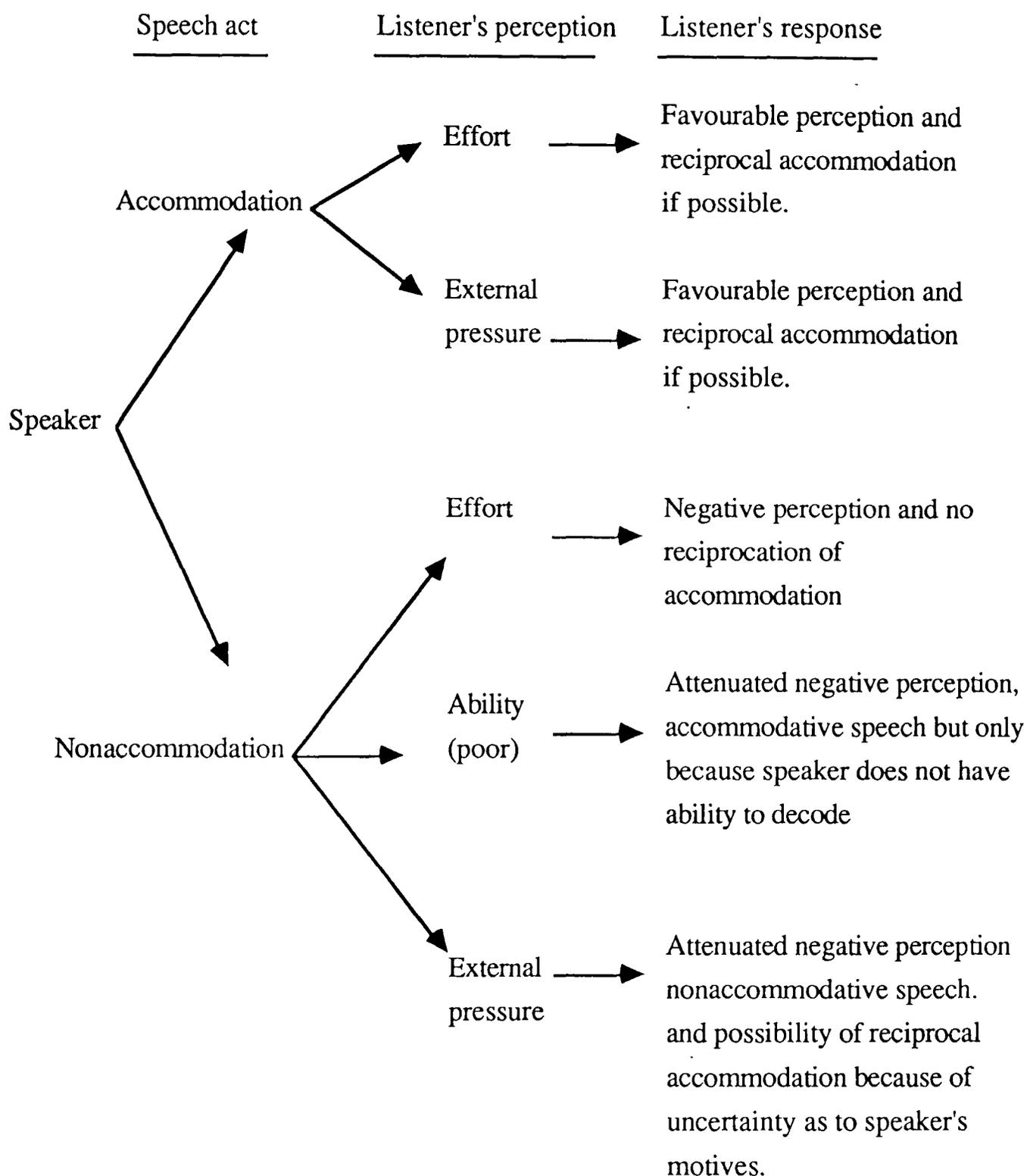


FIGURE 2.5. A REVISED VERSION OF THE ACCOMMODATION MODEL
(After H. Giles and P.F. Powesland, 1975: 164)

Let us consider some examples. In her study "Sociolinguistic Variation in an African Urban Setting", Joan Russel (1982) investigated this phenomenon of accommodation among the dwellers of Mombassa (Kenya). She observed a considerable shift in both men and women in the direction of 'standard' Swahili

when talking to an 'outsider'. She also observed the greater shift towards 'standard' Swahili of the younger generation when talking to the interviewer. The 'outsider' norm seemed to correspond to Le Page's (1968) hypothesis which suggests that 'outsiders' normally do not choose to identify with the 'insiders'. Such non-accommodation could also be explained in relation to the accommodation model (Giles and Powesland 1975): the reluctance of the speaker to pay the cost of identity-switch.

In the same vein, Jenny Cheshire (1982) examined the linguistic behaviour of three school children in a classroom setting. The study revealed that the three children Noddy, Kitty and Barney all had particular patterns of behaviour with their teacher and with their peer-group. Kitty who knows the teacher and who attends school regularly used fewer non-standard linguistic forms than she does normally, thus converging towards the teacher's speech. Noddy who hates school and dislikes the teacher, asserts his allegiance to the peer-group culture rather than to the school by frequently using the non-standard form. Barney, who has only returned to school, tries to assert his total independence and hostility to the school by using even more non-standard forms than he does usually. Barney's case is a typical example of divergence, since outside the school he is not closely involved in the vernacular culture.

2.5.5. SOME LIMITATIONS OF THE ACCOMMODATION MODEL

There is some empirical evidence that the accommodation model can account for certain kinds of diversity and speech changes which occur in interpersonal encounters and which are believed to be determined by the speaker's willingness to gain the listener's approval. However, Giles and Powesland (1975) explain why there is still more to be explored:

a) A full account of the speech diversity must indicate the place of the accommodation in a more comprehensive schema of the choices, constraints and decisions which determine the characteristics of an individual's speech.

b) Even in the case of approval-seeking the model presents some difficulties in its application to real-life situations.

c) There may be a conflict between accommodative tendencies and constraints to behave according to sexual norms and stereotypes (between a boy and a girl, for example).

d) The speaker does not automatically gain approval by adopting or approximating to the speech style of his interlocutor, for instance, the English-speaking European who started talking to the East African official in Swahili trying to gain the official's approval. This accommodation act had an adverse effect because the official understood it as condescension and therefore as insult.

e) There may also be a conflict between normative and accommodative tendencies (e.g. a lawyer and his client: the lawyer might be constrained by his professional code and at the same time have a feeling towards the client as a person).

2.5.6. HYPERCORRECTION AND HYPERSENSITIVITY

So far I have considered language choice in terms of the "psychological situations" in which the speaker finds himself, and in terms of the process of accommodation. In both instances the choice of language seems to be determined by some extralinguistic factors such as age, sex, social status, group-affiliation and also by the attitudes of the individual towards languages and language varieties and

their speakers. Let us now consider another equally important process of language choice which is believed to result in a long-term language change, that is, 'hypercorrection'(Labov 1972).

Hypercorrection involves the spread of a speech feature from a higher prestige group to another, with overgeneralisations of the feature based on a categorical stereotype. Labov (1972) found out that the upper middle class in New York city used (r) less frequently in self-conscious speech than did the lower middle class who believe that this linguistic feature is a characteristic of "the best speech". Another example is the one concerning Standard English "He and I came" vs. nonstandard "Him and me came" which would generate sentences like "She wrote to him and I" or "She wrote to he and I", through hypercorrection. Labov (1966) observes that the higher the score on the 'Linguistic Insecurity' Index the higher the degree of hypercorrection. The linguistic insecurity is measured by comparing what the speakers report they say and what they judge as 'correct' speech.

In his study of the social stratification of language (both in the form of differentiation as well as social evaluation) in New York city, Labov (1972) examined the hypersensitivity of the lower middle class in subjective reactions. The unconscious subjective reaction tests to the individual values of certain phonological variables yielded some interesting results. For example, in the test for subjective reactions to (r), it was observed that the lower middle class shows a degree of sensitivity to this variable higher than the one shown by the upper middle class, although the middle class were closer to the norm in their everyday speech behaviour. Indeed, this can be explained by the fact that "r-pronunciation is the chief manifestation of the new prestige pattern which prevails in New York city"(Labov 1972: 144). These different theories of language choice can give us

more insight into the second-language learning process considered in what follows.

2.6. THE ROLE OF ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION IN SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING

Lambert (1963a) proposed a social psychological theory of second language acquisition which was to be developed later by other sociolinguists (e.g. R. C. Gardner 1979). This theory proposes that as we acquire a second language we gradually adopt modes of behaviour from the linguistic-cultural group speaking that particular language. The attitudes of the learner towards himself (own group) and towards the others (outgroup) are said to influence, if not determine, his achievement in the second language.

R.C. Gardner and W.E.Lambert (1972) started off their research with a simple question which gave rise to a whole methodological and practical theory concerning second-language learning: "How is it that some people can learn a foreign language quickly and expertly while others, given the same opportunity to learn, are failures?"

To answer a simple question like that it has taken Gardner et al. (ibid.) no less than twelve years of research as one question led to another. Answers like 'It all depends on how the second language is taught' or the more common 'Some people have a knack (or 'have an ear') for languages, others do not' were dismissed as being too simplistic and far from being sufficient because some students of languages develop high-level skills in a relatively easy way when compared to other students who make little progress even though they have followed the same pedagogic procedures.

So, to account for the process of second-language acquisition more adequately,

Gardner et al. adopted Mowrer's (1950) theory of 'Identification'. Originally the term was used by Mowrer to explain the process of first-language learning. He suggested that the parents' activities or just their presence help reinforce or reward the use of their language by the child.

The parents' activities, which are normally accompanied by verbalisation, are associated with basic biological and social needs in the child's mind. The utterance by the infant of a simple sound in the parents' language will be rewarded by a certain response from the parents and this act will constitute an instance of reinforcement. This tendency in the child to imitate is what Mowrer calls 'identification'.

The 'relative' dependence of the learner on the model is believed to be one of the principal conditions for the occurrence of identification. This explains why the most important identifications occur during childhood. At an early age the child acquires not only certain aspects of speech similarity but also a sense of self and conscience (Susan M. Ervin Tripp 1973).

To explain the process of second-language learning, Gardner et al. reasoned that some process of identification, on a larger scale, which characterises the ethnolinguistic community as a whole along with some interest in the other group is what accounts for the long-term motivation which an individual needs to acquire a new language. Other motivations like 'need for achievement' or 'a fear of failure' are appropriate only for short-term goals and are insufficient to explain the process of mastering a new language, which is a 'laborious and 'time-consuming' task.

However, the authors argue that "the notion of identification as used in second-

language learning situation differs in degree and substance from Mowrer's use of the term in his explanation of first language learning." So, Gardner et al. introduced a new term, an integrative motive. While identification for Mowrer derives from the reduction or satisfaction of basic biological needs, for Gardner and Lambert more interpersonal and social motives are associated with second-language acquisition. In both cases, the individual becomes a member of a group by learning language. It follows from this that language is a means to an end rather than an end in itself.

This integrative-like process has been observed in many speech communities. Lambert (1955) gives the extreme example of the English-speaking American graduate student who was observed to master French more than English. During some interviews, including psychological tests, it was discovered that the student had a peculiar set of attitudes. Because he was disappointed by the American way of life he wanted to live the French way by reading only French magazines and books and wished to go and settle in France.⁵

The acquisition of a new language is viewed not just as mere acquisition of a new set of linguistic conventions. For, setting aside the question of an individual's aptitude to learn, it is assumed that a person with a really unprejudiced orientation toward the learning process "might very likely find himself becoming an acculturated member of a new linguistic and cultural community as he develops a mastery of that other group's language." (R.C. Gardner & W.E. Lambert 1972: 2).

The successful mastery of the second-language will be determined by the attitudes and views of the learner of foreign cultures and groups and his orientation

⁵Instances of this integrative-like motive to second-language learning in Morocco will be discussed as we come to the analysis and interpretation of the data elicited (see Chapter 4).

towards the learning process itself (see Figure 2.6). Everything in the new language (words, grammatical patterns, the sounds, intonation) will have a significance in the mind of the learner, beyond the meanings given in a dictionary or a grammar book. Those linguistic elements will be considered as distinctive modes of behaviour which characterise the other group (Lambert et al. 1972).

The other orientation toward the learning of a second-language Gardner et al. call instrumental. Unlike the integrative orientation, the instrumental motive is utilitarian in nature; the purpose of learning a foreign language is to achieve economic well-being and to gain social recognition. The main interest of the learner who is instrumentally oriented toward second-language acquisition is "using the cultural group and their language as an instrument of personal satisfaction, with few signs of interest in the other people per se"(Gardner and Lambert 1972: 14). So motivation towards second language learning was interpreted as having two components — an integrative and an instrumental orientation.

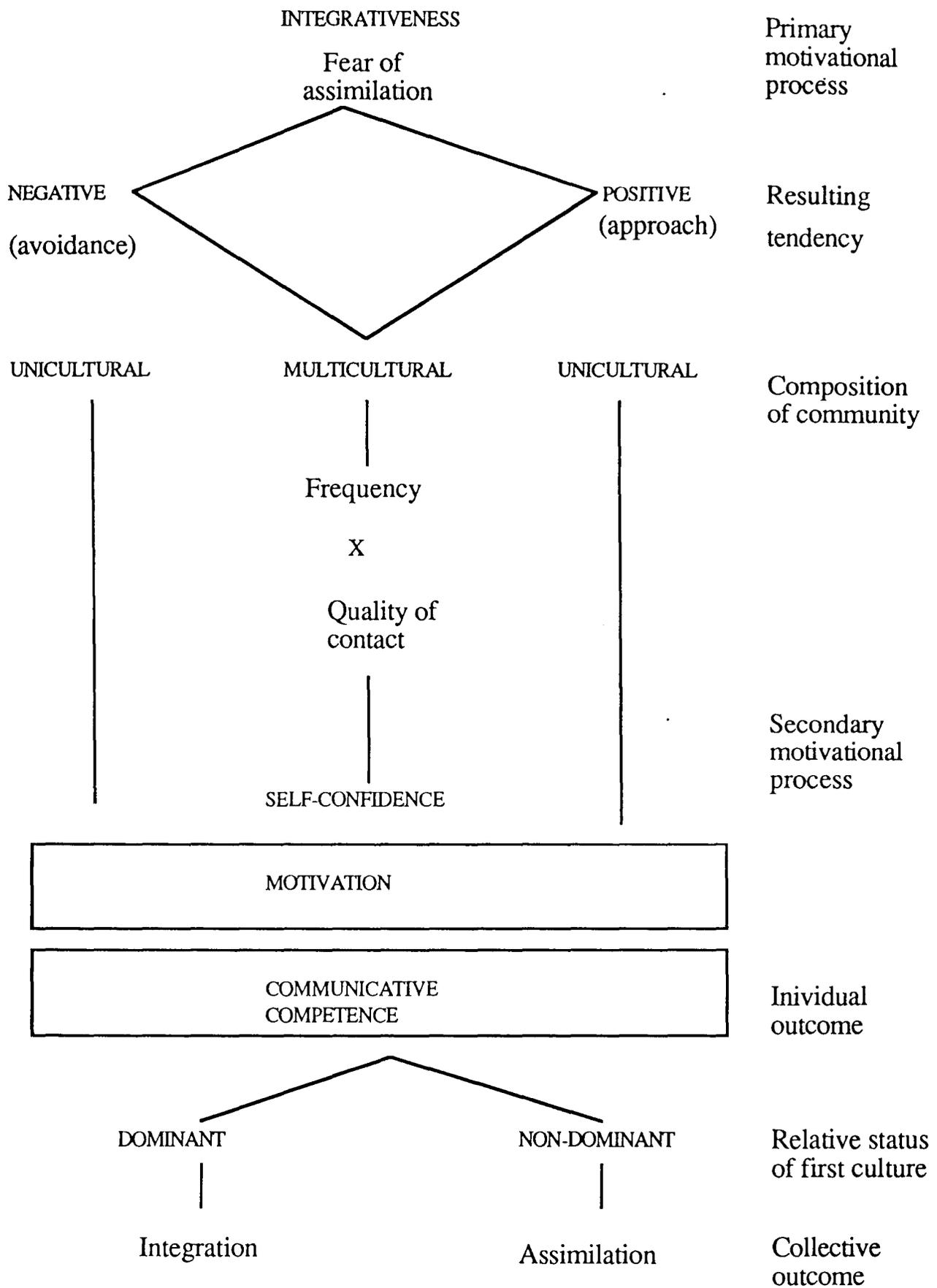


FIGURE 2.6. SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL MEDIATIONAL PROCESS

Source : R.C. Gardner 1985: 138.

The notion of integrative motive implies that success in mastering a second language depends on a particular orientation on the part of the learner, reflecting a willingness or desire to be like representative members of the "other" language community, and to become associated, at least vicariously, with that community.

The contrasting form of orientation is referred to as an instrumental orientation toward the language learning task, one characterised by the desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language (Gardner and Lambert 1972: 14).

Attention is also drawn to a third form of orientation toward second-language learning. It has to do with the way the members of a speech community, usually the minority group, resent the fact that, as a result of social and economic pressure, they have to learn the language of another group.

2.6.1. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING

A closer examination of the process of second-language learning reveals that there is some kind of attitudinal basis which determines if orientation is going to be integrative or instrumental. Gardner and his associates (1972) argue that those learners who have a tendency to act with a strong ethnocentric or authoritarian feeling toward other groups are not likely to have an integrative orientation toward the learning of a new language.

Thus other variables such as a feeling of societal satisfaction or social uncertainty have to be taken into account when studying the process of second-language learning. It is possible that a student who has an integrative orientation

toward another cultural group would have developed a dissatisfaction with his own group and is trying to identify with another group which might potentially provide him with a better way of life.

But what happens to a student who masters another group's language out of dissatisfaction with his own society and then finds out that he does not fit in the new group either? He becomes disillusioned with both ingroup and outgroup and experiences a feeling of "lost between the two cultures -- anomie.⁶ In this connection, Lambert, Gardner, Baric, and Tunstall (1963) investigate this feeling of anomie experienced by students during an intensive summer French course:

"As one becomes proficient in a second language he may find that his place in his own membership group changes at the same time as the other linguistic-cultural group becomes more than a reference group for him. His new position may become a marginal one, accompanied by feelings of chagrin or regret as he loses ties in one group coupled with the fearful anticipation of entering another. The term 'anomie' refers to the feelings of social uncertainty or dissatisfaction which characterise not only the socially unattached person but also, it appears, the bilingual or even the serious student of a second language and culture." (Lambert et al., 1963: 358f)

Thus, a student of a second language might find himself lost in an "anonymous community". This not only affects the marginal man in society but also the immigrant and the bilingual who strives to maintain a position in both groups (Gardner et al. 1972).

Second-language learners might also experience a feeling of shame, in addition to anomie. From a psychoanalytic point view one has to study speech in terms of

⁶The concept first proposed by Durkheim (1897) refers to feelings of social uncertainty which sometimes characterise not only the bilingual but also the serious student of a foreign language (Gardner et al. 1972).

the emotional influences undergone by the ego, speech being a realisation of the ego. Furthermore, hardly anyone is free from a sense of shame when he or she starts a new language. Acquiring a new language in adult life is said to be an anachronism, and many people cannot tolerate the infantile situation (Gardner et al. 1963).

While learning a new language the individual's ability is taken away from him and he/she experiences a feeling of shame as a result of this temporary state of inadequacy. He might also experience frustration and embarrassment when he fails to engage in a normal conversation in the new language.

However, attention is here drawn to the point that this feeling of shame may also be experienced by a speaker who actually manages to utter a correct sentence in the new language and that there is a certain anxious expectation of what may be the impression and effect of this new accomplishment (ibid.).

To these psychological pressures affecting the process of learning a new language should be added exhibitionism which is the psychological state underlying the act of performance. Exhibitionistic impulses can act both as a powerful motive or as a hindrance in the new language acquisition. A person might feel as if he is wearing "a fancy dress" when he first engages in speaking the foreign language (ibid.).

Although the above-mentioned studies emphasise the point that a feeling of anomie and shame may discourage the learner of a new language, Carol S. Trosset (1986) believes that a feeling of 'inferiority' can also act as a powerful motive behind the mastery of a new language.

Given the importance of those psychological states in influencing the process of second-language learning, it is suggested that the ideal program for learning a new language should take into account all the factors involved. It is also suggested that methods of language training could be modified by giving consideration to the socio-psychological implications of language learning. (Lambert, Gardner, and Barik, 1961).

2.7. RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE TO EMERGING COUNTRIES

In his examination of the ways in which social psychology can make a contribution to the problems of the populations in developing countries Sinha (1976) makes the following observation:

"...psychologists have made themselves look ridiculous by subjecting them [their informants] to instruments forged in the West and inadequately and uncritically adapted, or conveniently developed on student populations only." (Sinha, D. 1976: 14)

The language problems of developing countries differ from those of the more developed countries. It is, therefore, extremely important to be careful when working on different social contexts and when analysing social processes with a view to generalising from individuals to groups. Africa is considered to be the most linguistically heterogeneous area in the world if population is measured against languages. This linguistic diversity is partly the result of contact between an 'infrastructure' of indigenous languages and a 'superstructure' of colonial European languages (John Spencer 1963).

As a result of this colonial legacy of languages, many developing countries are obliged to introduce a world language as a medium of instruction. This means that the vernacular languages indigenous to the country of Africa are relegated to minor

usages.

It is also important to note here that socioeconomic development in most developing countries involves transfer of technology from the industrialised countries. The transfer of technology is often coupled with a transfer of educational systems alien to the sociocultural reality of the people in third world countries (Jack Naymark, 1983). Children are often the first victims of alienation as education is not geared to their social context. Naymark rightly points out that these imported Western systems have created a double set of values relating to different cultural settings, thus creating a 'schizophrenic' situation:

- a) A traditional world based upon community life and upon the overall conception of work in a rural context where the individual is provided with an informal education by the family and the social group.
- b) A modern world which is developing in urban surroundings (often causing a rural exodus) which depends on intensive schooling.

In the same vein, Durganand Sinha (1983) suggests that researchers working on this kind of problems in developing countries work with various populations rather than on a very limited (select) number of students. The author also recommends that work be carried out in the field rather than in a laboratory and warns against the use of research tools and techniques which have not been modified to suit the particular cultural context, i.e., to make the tools more "culturally appropriate".

Thus, the rapidity and the amount of social change and class differentiation in

developing countries necessitate socio-psychological considerations before any educational or social programs can be implemented or changed. Such a study would include social psychological phenomena such as attitude changes, beliefs, values and prejudices, attitudes toward rural life, work, modernity and family organisation (Issa M. Omari 1983).

In some emerging countries the observation has been made that there has been a shift since independence in the direction of the Europeanization of the media of instruction with a concomitant neglect of the teaching of African languages. However, many other countries are struggling to gain their cultural independence by the implementation of policies enhancing the position of indigenous languages, at least in primary education (e.g. Swahili in Kenya and Arabisation in North Africa).

The very fact that Third World countries are at an early stage of development makes the problems and processes of nationhood as well as their transformations more prominent among their populations. As a result, the emerging countries "have come to be of great interest to those sociolinguists who are interested in the transformations of group identity in general as well as to those interested in societal (governmental and other) impact on language-related behaviour and on language itself." (Fishman, 1968: 6).

Today in North African nations, language serves not only as a symbol of group membership and identification but also as a means of reorganising their renewed roots (Charles F. Gallagher, 1968). The formulation of attitudinal and psychological measures as well as some practical problems of assessment in emerging countries will be considered in the course of Chapter 3.

In sum, the present chapter is an attempt to examine the ways in which social psychological perspectives can broaden the wider field of sociolinguistics. These contributions can be summarised in three points:

- i) methodological and theoretical contributions,
- ii) the focus put upon the interaction of social and linguistic parameters not only as independent variables but also as dependent,
- iii) and relating this more specifically to the way individuals construe their interactions over the course of an encounter through processes of cognitive organisation (H.Giles and associates 1980).

I have also attempted to show that the topic of "language attitudes" is an integral subject in social psychology, given its importance and the amount of investigation carried out on the subject. Finally, this chapter has examined the ways in which social psychology can actually make a contribution to the language problems of emerging countries, providing the researcher takes enough care in the use of data-eliciting techniques in the special socio-cultural contexts which obtain in most developing countries.

The foregoing analysis should have made clear the potential explanatory value of socio-psychological theory and the potential fruitfulness of adopting a social psychological perspective in the study of language and the ways of applying the theory when working on populations from emerging countries. Chapter 3 leads us to a consideration of the data-eliciting techniques used in the thesis and focuses attention on the applicability of these techniques in Third World contexts.

CHAPTER
3
DATA-ELICITING TECHNIQUES

Before proceeding to the presentation and analysis of the data elicited, it is worth looking at the various techniques used. A body of data was elicited through four main methods: two indirect ones, namely the "matched-guise" technique and "observation"; and two direct ones, namely the "interview" and the "questionnaire". Each of these techniques has some advantages as well as shortcomings. However, there is enough evidence that these methods can yield good results when they are jointly used by the researcher for the sake of cross-validation. Equally, it is important to take great care when these techniques are applied in a non-Western setting.

3.1. LANGUAGE ATTITUDE MEASUREMENT

Broadly speaking, the assessment of language attitudes involves two major approaches:

i) DIRECT MEASUREMENT

This approach consists of questionnaires with items concerning the value of language X versus language variety Y for particular purposes or in particular contexts (cf. Fishman, Cooper and Conrad (1977), Gardner and Lambert (1972)).

ii) INDIRECT MEASUREMENT

Through this method the observer aims at eliciting the social evaluation of speakers with contrasting speech styles. It has been used because it is more relevant to interpersonal situations in which the social psychologist is mostly interested, and because of the greater possibility of reaching the subjects' more private reactions (Lambert 1967).

Following Gene Summers' (1970) typology, the measurement of attitudes falls into five types each of which also falls into either direct or indirect categories of

measurement:

- a) Measurements in which inferences are drawn from self-reports of beliefs, feelings and behaviours.
- b) Measures in which inferences are drawn from observation of overt behaviour i. e. the behaviour is taken as an indicator of attitude.
- c) Measures in which inferences are drawn from the individual's reaction to or interpretation of certain stimuli. The respondent may be presented with a photograph of a member of the object-class (usually a person of a given social group) and asked to describe his characteristics.
- d) Measures in which inferences are drawn from performance of "objective" tasks.
The subject may be asked to memorise material, some of which is favourable to the attitudinal object, some unfavourable, perhaps some irrelevant or neutral. The point here is that the material with which the subject agrees will be remembered quickly and longer.
- e) Measures in which inferences are drawn from physical reactions to the attitudinal object or representations of it (Gen Summers 1970).

Among the above-mentioned measures, four are of particular interest to the present study: the 'matched-guise', the questionnaire, the interview and observation. In what follows each of these techniques will be considered with special reference to Appendix A and B.

3.2. THE MATCHED-GUISE TECHNIQUE

This method was first developed by social psychologists, notably Wallace Lambert of McGill University, Montreal, and applied by other social psychologists including a British group led by Howard Giles, of Bristol University. The method was also adopted by William Labov for the investigation of linguistic variability in New York city.

The 'matched-guise' technique (mg) is now the basic tool used in the study of subjective reactions towards languages and language varieties despite the fact that it poses serious research problems because internal mental states cannot be directly observed, but have to be inferred from overt behaviour. The method involves selected judging groups assessing the characteristics of speakers' personalities whose tape-recorded voices are played back to them.

The taped voices are those of a number of bilingual speakers 'fluent' in the languages under investigation. The speakers are tape-recorded reading exactly the same passage, once in one language and once in the other. The judge is kept unaware of the fact that he is judging the same speaker in different guises by recording the different voices alternately and making sure that no two voices of the same speaker are recorded successively.

In the 'matched-guise' studies care is taken that all the other variables (e.g. voice quality, social identity, group membership) are not perceived through the text being read. It is also extremely important for the researchers to make sure that the content of the passage was neutral (noncontroversial) and that listeners do not rely on it to assess the speakers' personality characteristics (H. Giles and P. F. Powesland 1975). The aim here is to isolate the language factor as the basis of any

judgment given by the 'jury'.

The subjects were asked to make a series of rapid, subjective value judgments about each speaker: How intelligent does he sound? How likeable? How educated? Is his speech style an asset to him or a liability? What type of job would he probably hold? The technique as such is best described in the T.L. (G.Richard Tucker and Wallace Lambert 1969) experiment:

" Described briefly, a sample of judges is asked to listen to a series of taped recordings of different speakers reading a standard passage, and to evaluate relevant personality characteristics of each speaker, using only voice characteristics and speech style as cues. The technique appears to expose listeners' more private feelings and stereotyped attitudes towards a contrasting group or groups whose language, accent, or dialect is distinctive, and it appears reliable in that the same profile of reactions emerges on repeated sampling from a particular social group" (Tucker and Lambert experiment : 463f).

By using such a disguised or 'unobtrusive' measure the investigator puts the respondent into the role of the deceived and hapless victim whose innocent remarks are translated by the investigator and used for his own purposes (R.C.Gardner 1972).

The reading of the same brief text is then the general practice. However, some researchers, Williams et al.(1976) in particular, argue that casual spontaneous speech on a constant topic is to be preferred to readings because readers do not have the same reading ability.

The 'matched-guise' not only assesses personality features but other variables as well such as prejudices, personal attitudes, group membership preferences and degree of bilingualism (Dittmar 1976). An essential principle implied in the

technique is that listeners' judgments of voice indicate how the members of the community share a set of attitudes towards language.

As William Labov (1972: 146) points out, 'these attitudes do not emerge in a systematic form if the subject is questioned directly about dialects; but if he makes two sets of personality judgments about the a speaker using two different forms of language, and does not realise that it is the same speaker, his subjective evaluations of language will emerge as the differences in the two ratings.'

Labov here emphasises the point that the 'matched-guise' is an indirect method of data gathering. This is true in the sense that the respondent is kept unaware of the real aim of the task he is performing. However, the technique can also be said to be direct in the sense that the respondent is openly asked about characteristics of the personality of the speaker. In other words, the respondent is aware that his behaviour is under scrutiny although he remains unaware of the true purpose of the whole work.

3.2.1. THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES

Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) developed what is known as the semantic differential scales: the format for the listener responses often used with the matched-guise technique. The advantages of such a technique are that it helps the tester to direct his subject to express 'nuanced opinions'; and it combines the features of ease of analysis, statistical relevance and applicability of large groups of informants (H. B. Beardsmore 1982).

In the semantic differential task a subject judges a series of concepts (e. g. Chinese, Arabic, French, etc.) against a series of bipolar seven-step scales¹

¹At the first stages in the development of such scales, some fifty to sixty scales are usually

defined by verbal opposites (e.g. 'Good-Bad', 'Strong-Weak', Fast-Slow, 'Intelligent-Unintelligent', etc.) (see Appendix A).

The method was devised as a way of studying people's feelings, attitudes and emotions towards certain concepts. It involves three stages: identifying the values to be investigated and expressing these as binarily-opposed concepts on a five or seven point scale; asking a sample (or selected group) to record their reactions on each scale; and averaging the results.

However, the researcher needs to be careful not to interfere or introduce his own bias. As far as linguistic investigation is concerned, the first stage would consist of recording conversations and then analysing them to find the most commonly used adjectives or expressions of value. These would form the basis of the value scales to be used. In the second stage the investigator would play back the tape-recorded voices to a different but similar audience and would ask them to record their responses on the scales. The last stage would then consist of working out the mean ratings and presenting them in the form of tables or graphs.

Different studies have used the 'matched-guise' technique and have involved various languages (French, English, Hebrew, Arabic), dialects (Canadian and continental French, different American dialects) and speech varieties (accented and unaccented English) as well as racial (e.g. Black Vernacular English vs White) and

prepared. Then by a program of pilot testing and various statistical methods used in scale development, it is possible to reduce the number of scales to those clusters of scales which seem to account for the most amount of differentiation among stimuli. Or, to put it more practically, scale development has allowed the identification of those clusters of scales that teachers seem to use the most in differentiating among different samples of children's speech. (Frederick, Williams 1973)

religious populations (Canadian Jewish, Protestant, and Roman Catholic), to mention but a few.

However, R. Agheyisi and Joshua A. Fishman (1970), in their survey of the methodological approaches to 'language attitudes', believe that "questions of speech repertoire and the functional allocation of codes become very important and must be reckoned with rather than ruled out, as does the 'matched-guise technique'." (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970: 146). When the judges make their evaluations of the speakers, the congruity or the lack of it between the topic, speaker, and the language variety under investigation, may be one of the things the jury are reacting to (ibid.) .

Still, Lambert (1967), in his theoretical review of the studies using this method, states that listeners' personality judgments from voice, even though they may be objectively inaccurate, are 'particularly valuable as a measure of group biases in evaluative reactions' (H. Giles and P. F. Powesland 1975: 55).

3.2.2. SCORING THE SEMANTIC-DIFFERENTIAL SCALE

The procedure used in scoring the semantic-differential scales is as follows. After the responses have been collected, numbers are assigned to each of the spaces in a seven-point scale. For example, in the following scale, a 7 is assigned to the space nearest to the word "self-confident", a 6 to the next space, and so on. As the responses are tabulated, a tick mark (/) is made on the blank at each space on the scale for each listener who placed his evaluation of that speaker at that space. Thus, the ratings for the guise number one on the "self-confidence" scale were as follows:

1. "What language would you like your children to learn?"
2. "What would be your reaction if the vernacular was used as a means of instruction at school?"
3. "Describe your reaction to this speaker?" (after the respondent has heard a taped sample).

In addition to open questionnaires, where the respondent is given maximum freedom to present his/her views, we have closed questionnaires, where the respondent is given a particular format to use in recording responses. For example:

- (a) Semantic Differential Scales
- (b) 'Yes-No' answers
- (c) Multiple choice
- (d) Ranking schemes

This kind of questionnaire containing closed question items is often said to be easier for respondents to deal with and it is also easy for the investigator to score. But the questions do not give the informant enough freedom as they force him/her to answer in the researcher's terms instead of his/her own. In this respect, R. Fasold (1984:152) argues that "the ideal compromise is to conduct pilot research with open questions and use the results to construct a closed question questionnaires." The achievement of this compromise is very important, especially where these tools are applied in a non-Western setting. Thus, new concepts are to be formulated rather than the ones utilised in Western countries, given the differences in culture, standard of living and way of life in general.

However, open question questionnaires have some disadvantages. First, they

are less successful in questionnaires than in interviews: a respondent can talk at length in an interview without having to worry about recording his views in writing. Second, respondents may fail to focus on the actual dimension of a question. Finally, they pose serious problems to the researchers who often relegate the use of the open question items to initial survey or pilot study.

This can only imply that closed questions are the preferred alternative for collecting final data. These generally comprise three dimensions:

- i) The focal object
- ii) The dimension of appraisal
- iii) A set of rating terms among which the respondent chooses.

Therefore the problem of respondents failing to focus on the expected dimension is eliminated and responses are made easier to score.

3.3.2. INTERVIEWS

Interviews are open-question questionnaires without the questionnaire, i.e, a field worker personally asks attitude questions and records the responses in written (or tape-recorded) form. They are perhaps the oldest method of data-gathering and they are not less sophisticated than the questionnaire. Their disadvantage lies in that the researcher has to process and record the bulky and relatively diffuse data they yield, but the major disadvantage in interviewing is that it is extremely time-consuming and expensive.

However, the interview has several potential advantages: i) personal contact: the interviewer can focus the attention of the respondent on the desired dimension which results in an honest and serious response; and ii) by reducing boredom, the mood of the respondent is better assessed and influenced as the interviewer guides

the conversation .

The major disadvantage of direct questioning, i.e. questionnaires and interviews, is that they do not assess the degree of affect individuals may associate with a psychological object and that there results a 'crude' classification of attitudes (Edwards Allen 1983).

To give an interview or questionnaire a degree of structure, the researcher has to choose the order in which he is going to ask the questions very carefully. Yet the estimate of a respondent's attitude is best made from his answers to a series of questions, rather than to a single question. A number of rules are to be respected here. Among these is that questions should follow in natural sequence and that transitions from one question to another should be made as easily as possible with a beginning, a middle, and an end (Nigel Lemon 1973). A motivational model of the interview as a social process is presented in Figure 3.2.

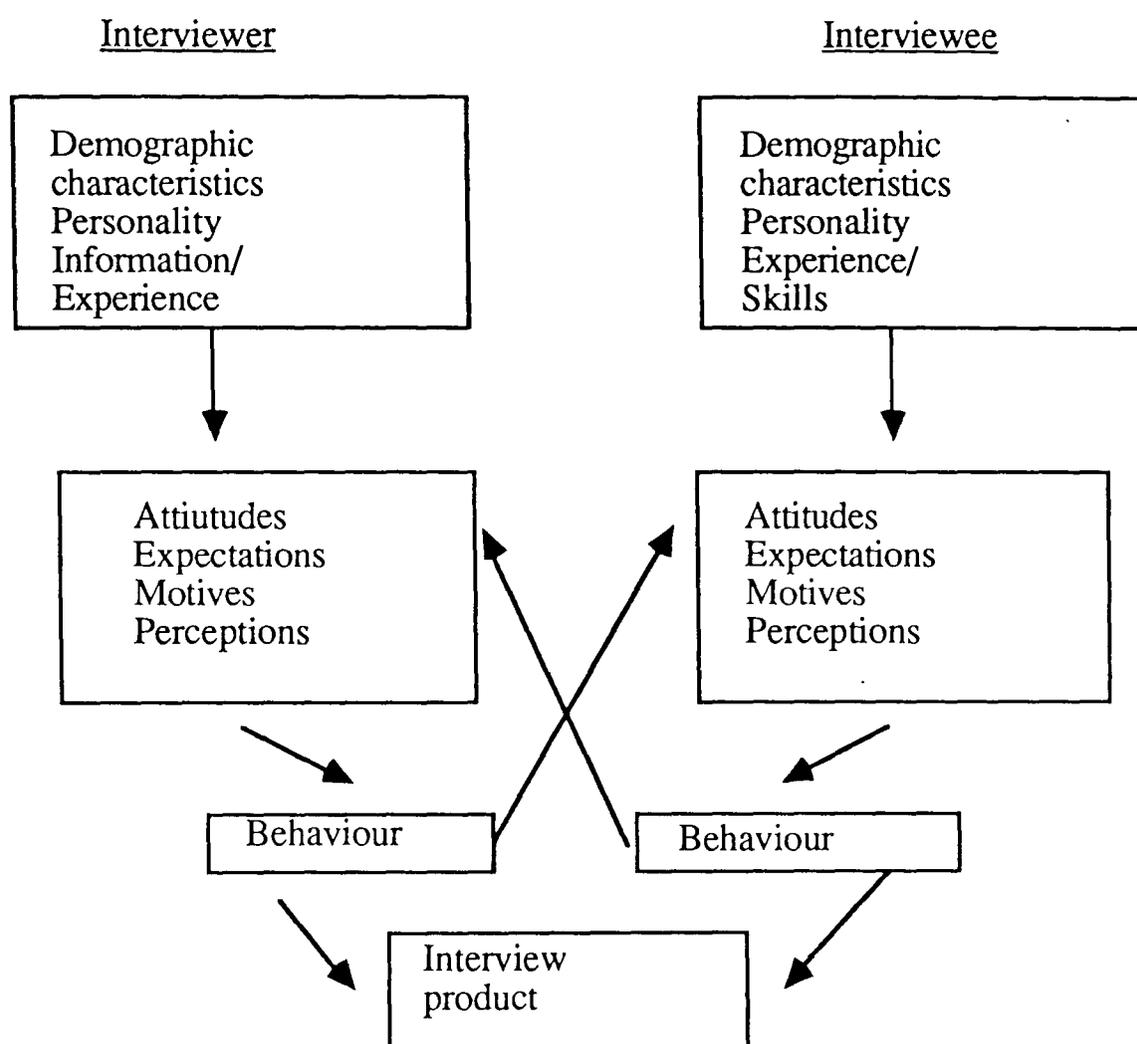


FIGURE 3.2. A MOTIVATIONAL MODEL OF THE INTERVIEW AS A SOCIAL PROCESS.

Source: Charles F. Cannel and Robert L. Kahn, 1968: 538

Following Nigel Lemon's (1973:70-5) typology we can distinguish between four forms of questions:

- (1) Free response question: the form or content of a respondent's reply is not constrained, and he can, therefore, answer in any way he feels appropriate.
- (2) Multiple choice measure: a respondent may be asked for example whether he 'strongly agrees', or 'strongly disagrees'.
- (3) Single item question: 'yes' or 'no', 'agree' or 'disagree', 'for' or 'against'.
- (4) Method of forced choice between pairs : respondents are presented with opposing views on an issue and they are asked to say which one they agree with most. For example, respondents may be asked whether they would

prefer to spend an afternoon at an art gallery or attending a French course.

However, Carles F. Cannell and Robert L. Kahn (1968) maintain that as far as social research is concerned, the actual conduct of an interview is only a part of the measurement process, and that the total process would include at least the following five 'discrete' steps: (a) creating or selecting an interview schedule (set of questions, statements, pictures, or other stimuli to evoke responses) and a set of rules or procedures for using the schedule; (b) conducting the interview (that is, evoking the responses or events that are to be classified); (c) recording these responses (by means of paper-and-pencil notes, electronic equipment, or other devices); (d) creating a numerical code (that is, a scale or other system of numbers into which the recorded responses are to be translated, and a set of rules for making the translation; and (e) coding the interview responses.

3.4. RANKING THE Ss' DEGREE OF BILINGUALISM

For purposes of assigning numerical value to how much bilingualism my Ss possess and also for ease of correlating the degree of bilingualism and motivation in second language learning, the following three traditional techniques (Hatch and Farhady, 1982) were combined for the sake of crossvalidation:

The first of these methods is 'by judgment': we simply ask someone who should serve as a judge. For instance, if you want to know how bilingual a group of Ss are, ask a native speaker to listen to taped samples and judge each subject as excellent/good/fair/poor/terrible or as nativelike, intelligible, nonintelligible, or some other set of terms you select for the scale. The problem with this procedure is that it is hard to get reliable judgments, especially when differences are small. It is also hard to make relative judgments over a long listening period. We may not find

a good judge; so it is safer to find several and test to make sure they concur in their ratings.

The second technique involves counting unequal elements: we simply ask the subjects many questions and record their answers. There may be five questions on article usage and one on plurals. We assume that by asking enough questions, we will get a relative notion of the Ss' language proficiency. We presume that the subject who knows the most is the most bilingual, and the others can be rank ordered beneath this subject. We may be wrong, of course, but the convention does allow us to assign students to an ordinal scale of bilingualism and code them accordingly to their ranks.

An individual's degree of bilingualism can also be measured through a third method which consists in arranging a series of questions in an order of difficulty: The more extreme the question, the less likely the S will be able to answer it. Suppose we want to rank people not on how bilingual they are but rather how multilingual they are. Say that we took a carefully chosen sample of the population of Rabat and asked them these questions:

1. Do you know some words in another language?
2. Can you say "good morning" in three languages?
3. Can you understand three languages?
4. In the languages you understand, can you say "My father's car is parked outside the house"?
5. Can you translate these six questions into three languages?
6. Can you translate and answer these six questions in three languages?

Most Ss will respond "yes" to question 1, but the further along we go in the

questions, the lower the number of "yes" answers will become. So it is possible to decide on some sort of degree of multilingualism in our sample on this basis.

3.5. SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF ASSESSMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Fishman (1968: 6) points out that "the problems of developing nations differ largely in degree rather than in kind from those of most other nations". Given this inequitable status quo between Western and non-Western nations in terms of technologies and economic well being, one should not be surprised that investigators in developing countries, the social sciences not being financed enough, tend to 'westernise' their approaches by using Western culture and tools created for the study of Western populations.

A question has arisen in relation to the relevance and applicability of these tools for the description and analysis of a rapidly changing, unstable sociolinguistic setting like the one that obtains in Morocco. How does one proceed to measure ongoing change? In other words, what measure of observation can be used to collect empirically valid data in these particular settings?

As a result of these differences in context there arises the need to minimise the influence of Western culture upon the interpretation of data, which is a goal extremely difficult to attain in practice; and to make sure that the process of measurement does not influence the object of measurement.

In an attempt to find a solution to the practical problems of assessment in developing countries Durganand Sinha (1983) came out with some interesting points worth considering by any researcher who wishes to work on populations of emerging nations²:

"The present need in Third World contexts is to discover the current universe of subjective concepts surrounding a particular development issue — to distinguish the variable operative — to get the feel of the whole spectrum of values and preoccupations in a society rather than to attempt precise measurement of particular dimensions with sophisticated instruments." (Durganand Sinha,1983: 14)

Given these problems of assessment in developing countries John Ligget (1983) proposes an alternative which he terms the "intensive clinical" approach by local specialists fully conversant with the idiosyncrasies of the cultural context in question. However, this method is said to be 'unrealistically time-consuming'. A middle way between these two extremes (i.e. sophisticated instruments and the clinical approach) is therefore needed. It is called 'the pictorial projective'.

This technique which is considered a middle way between the two extremes is useful in many ways. Through the use of vague pictorial rather than verbal stimulus material:

- (i) it becomes interesting to the respondent,
- (2) it claims and holds his attention,
- (3) it is designed within his competence and is non-threatening, and
- (4) it facilitates the free expression of ideas, speculations, doubts and difficulties in terms which are familiar and significant to the respondent.

A major criterion in choice of method in developing countries must be ease of

²Durganand Sinha (1983:14) makes use of what has been termed 'courtesy effect' displayed by the people in emerging countries. In other words, the people in these countries have a tendency to provide the interviewer with the kind of information they think he is asking for rather than telling him what they actually believe which is what the interviewer seeks.

administration; any method finally adopted for widespread use must be easy to administer and to collect.

3.6. CIRCUMVENTING THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

The communities involved in the present study spoke different languages and language varieties. They include both bilinguals and monolinguals³. This situation did not come about arbitrarily; it was the aim of the present writer to include both categories of speakers in the study for purposes of comparison.

Previous studies have tried to avoid problems of translation by choosing to use only bilinguals with respect to the researcher's native language as informants. But while avoiding the problem of translation, another problem remains unsolved: the responses of monolingual subjects are extremely important for the sake of comparison (i.e., bilinguals vs monolinguals). I endeavoured to avoid this problem in two ways. First, care was taken to address each informant in his/her own language or 'dialect'. Second, both bilingual and monolingual subjects were included in the study.

3.7. OTHER METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Finally, it is extremely important for any researcher who wishes to do field work to take into account Labov's (1972d, 208f) "methodological axioms" concerning data-eliciting. The author has formulated 5 methodological principles (or axioms), although these lead to a methodological paradox. To obtain good data, the researcher should bear these axioms in mind and work towards avoiding the paradox as best he/she can. These axioms are as follows.

³It should be pointed out here that the notion of 'monolingual' is a very controversial one, for, even the so-called monolingual individuals are observed to make use, if not of more than two languages, at least of more than one variety of the same language.

1. STYLE SHIFTING: as the social context and topic change, speakers shift between styles, each of which is characterised by particular linguistic features.

2. ATTENTION: "attention" is the criterion by which different styles can be defined ". . . styles can be ranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech"(Labov, *ibid.*). This hypothesis is partly based on the observation that speakers use the same linguistic variables in informal as well as highly emotional speech . The common factor for both styles is that minimum attention is paid to one's own speech.

3. VERNACULAR: as the vernacular is the natural means of communication between the speakers and is hardly subject to their monitoring, it provides a good basis for data of natural speech behaviour.

4. FORMALITY: This axiom reflects the interview situation as a formal speech situation: "Any systematic observation of a speaker defines a formal context in which more than the minimum attention is paid to speech." Even if the interview situation appears natural and relaxed, it must nevertheless be assumed that speakers have a command of a style other than that which is manifest in the interview situation.

5.GOOD DATA: in spite of objections and granting the merits of other methods (group sessions, anonymous observation), the individual tape-recorded interview must be said to offer the most reliable method for systematically obtaining speech data.

The researcher seeks to obtain data on how people speak when they are not systematically observed. However, this kind of data can only be obtained through

systematic observation. This is what constitutes the "observer's paradox" (Labov, *ibid.*). I shall be referring to these data-eliciting techniques where relevant as I analyse the body of data in the course of the following sections.

CHAPTER

4

DATA-ANALYSIS: PART 1

**RATING SPEAKERS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR
LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE**

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will be concerned with the analysis and discussion of the data gathered through various data-eliciting techniques¹ outlined in Chapter 3 and enlightened by theoretical considerations in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and guided by similar empirical studies which will be considered shortly. At the very outset I formulated a number of hypotheses (presented in the present chapter) to be tested. These hypotheses are either confirmed or refuted by the results in this study as I proceed in the analysis of the corpus of data. The present chapter is devoted to the first aspect of language attitudes in Morocco, namely speaker evaluations.

4.1. SPEECH EVALUATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS AMONG ENGLISH SPEAKERS

Before presenting and discussing the findings of the present study, I would like to consider a few similar investigations carried out in other settings, which will serve our purposes of comparison and illustration.

Most of the research on language conducted within the social psychological tradition has followed the lead of Lambert (1960) and has involved the elicitation of evaluative reactions toward speakers using contrasting language varieties. From this perspective, emphasis is normally upon the individual and his/her display of attitudes toward ingroup and outgroup members as elicited by language and as reflected in its use.

The study at hand was partly inspired by the findings in other countries of similar studies. For instance, it has been consistently observed that speakers of a 'standard' British English accent, or 'Received Pronunciation', are rated differently from local and regional accented speakers in matched-guise experiments.

¹Our aim here was triangulation, the process by which a social phenomenon is observed and measured by various techniques (see Fishman et al. 1971)

RP speakers were regularly upgraded on competence and status-related traits to non-RP-speakers, who are normally perceived as more socially attractive and trustworthy (See Giles and Powesland 1975).

The study carried out by Lambert et al. (1960) considered reactions towards French and English guises in Montreal, Canada. Two groups of adults, one English Canadian and the other French Canadian, were asked to rate various personality characteristics of five bilingual speakers reading the same passage once in English and once in French. The subjects were led to believe that they were rating 10 different personalities. The English-speaking raters in the study generally reacted more favourably to English than to French guises. An interesting result was that French-speaking raters also judged English guises more positively.

Lambert and his colleagues concluded that the findings not only demonstrated favourable reactions from the members of the high-status group towards their own speech, but also that these reactions had been accepted and adopted by members of the lower status group. This is a good example of the fact that 'minority group reactions' are a revealing comment on the power of social stereotypes in general (John R. Edwards in H. Giles et al. 1982.). In this particular case it was revealed that the French Canadians seemed to have accepted the inferior position assigned to them by others — the mainstream around them.

A study by Howard Giles (1970) investigated reactions of British secondary school children to a variety of accents, including the non-regional RP, Irish, German, and West Indian. In terms of the status, aesthetic quality and communicative content (a measure of the perceived ease of interaction with the speaker) RP was rated most favourably, regional accents (e.g. South Welsh and Somerset) were in the middle ranks, and urban accents (e.g. Cockney,

Birmingham) were at or near the bottom scale.

Cheyne (1970) carried out a similar study in which he included Scottish and English listeners' reactions to Scottish and English accented speakers (two female and two male). English accented-speakers (RP-accented), irrespective of sex, were perceived to be more socially competent (e.g. prestigious, intelligent and ambitious), and Scottish speakers to be slightly more sociable. However, this differential was much clearer for the male stimulus voices; perceived differences between female speakers were less pervasive and less accentuated (Smith Philip M, 1985).

Edwards (1977a) provided further evidence that accent² evaluations are not uni-dimensional. In his study of Irish secondary school children's reactions to five regional accents — representing Galway, Cork, Cavan, Dublin and Donegal — he presented them with a number of personality traits on which to judge the speakers. The Donegal speaker was perceived most positively on dimensions reflecting competence, but not on the underlying social attractiveness or personal integrity. The Dublin guise, which came off worst in terms of competence, was rated highest in attractiveness.

In another Irish study Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) had fifteen Belfast undergraduates listen to four stimulus speakers possessing Scottish, Southern Irish, RP and Ulster accents. The RP speaker was evaluated most favourably on

² Giles (1970) draws an important distinction between the perception of accent as opposed to dialect. 'Dialect' implies variation from the standard code at most levels of linguistic analysis (lexical, morpho-phonological and syntactic), whereas 'accent' merely implies a manner of pronunciation with grammatical, syntactical, morphological and lexical levels being regarded as more or less commensurate with the standard.

the 'competence', 'personal integrity' and 'attractiveness' dimensions. Nevertheless, the Scot and the Ulsterman were, overall, rated somewhat more positively than the RP speaker (*ibid.*).

Elyan et al. (1978) carried out a research based on female speakers and asked 76 listeners to judge female RP and Lancashire accentuated speakers on traits related to competence and social attractiveness, stereotypical masculinity and femininity, and the speakers' attitudes towards male/female reactions. The results confirmed the general finding that RP speakers are perceived as 'more competent' and 'less attractive' than regional speakers. However, additional and unexpected findings emerged. Female RP speakers were rated significantly higher on masculine stereotypical items (adventurous, independent, aggressive and egotistic) and at the same time higher on the feminine item and on items related to egalitarian sex role beliefs. These surprising results were tentatively interpreted as showing that female RP speakers are perceived to personify elements of both femininity and masculinity; that is, they were seen to represent "psychological androgyny" (Smith, Philip M., 1985).

In the same vein, Bentahila (1983) investigated language attitudes among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. Only three languages were involved, namely CA, MA and French. From the results Bentahila concluded that CA was perceived as the 'richest' and 'most beautiful' of the three varieties, with French being perceived as the most 'modern' and useful for studies.

The author further conducted an *mg* experiment and three speakers participated: two of them spoke 'High Moroccan French' and one spoke French with a strong Moroccan accent in addition to Arabic. The first two were rated much higher than the third in their French guises (in comparison with Moroccan Arabic

guises) on traits related to status and education. French pronounced with a heavy Moroccan accent did not rate significantly differently from Moroccan Arabic, i.e. Moroccan-accented French was not strongly associated with prestige and status.

The study at hand adopts a different approach:

- (1) it attempts a study of language attitudes from a socio-psychological stand point.
- (2) it includes both male and female voices
- (3) involves Subjects from all groups and ages and is not based on student samples only; parents and teachers have been included.
- (4) both bilinguals and monolinguals speakers were included in the study.
- (5) eight speech styles were represented.
- (6) the present study also attempts to relate language attitudes to more applied contexts such as second language learning programmes and language planning efforts in Morocco.

4.2. HYPOTHESES AND ASSUMPTIONS

Broadly speaking, a scientific investigation starts with a question. In many experiments the basic question is stated as a hypothesis, or prediction about the outcome of an experiment. Guided by both theoretical assumptions and empirical universal discoveries³ in the fields of sociolinguistics in general and the social psychology of language, including 'language attitudes', in particular, I assumed that:

Hypothesis 1

(UTILITY) Parents in Morocco would encourage their children to learn French and

³ The majority of these discoveries were made in western settings, and the sociolinguistic problems of emerging countries being somewhat different from those of industrialised nations, our task was to look out for disparities between the two contexts and test the hypotheses accordingly.

English as these languages, according to the parents, would secure better social mobility (Instrumental motivation).

Hypothesis 2

(EXPOSURE AND ATTITUDES) Formal instruction in and informal exposure to French will have an effect on attitudes toward French and toward the other languages in use in Morocco.

Hypothesis 3

(LANGUAGE LOYALTY) Because of the new feeling of group identity, people in Morocco will claim a strong loyalty to MA and MB, the mother tongues, expressing with this attitude their desire to identify with the Moroccan mainstream. Weinreich (1968) has linked the sentiments about the mother tongue to a profound need to preserve one's language.

Hypothesis 4

(SOCIAL MOBILITY) Moroccans would dismiss MA and MB as being "useless" in favour of French and English as these latter would secure them better social mobility.

Hypothesis 5

(PERCEPTION) A MB-speaker would not speak his mother tongue in public lest he is perceived in a negative way (assuming that he views his language as a low-prestige variety).

Hypothesis 6

(ARABISATION) The fact that a great majority of educated people have received their

education in French (alongside Arabic) leads us to expect that those people would tend to stand against Arabisation as this process would lose them their prestigious status.

Hypothesis 7

(BILINGUAL EDUCATION) The more the parents perceive the economic importance of acquiring more than one standard language, the more likely they will encourage their children to do so.

Hypothesis 8

(GROUP STEREOTYPING AND SELF-IMAGE) A speaker's concept of himself/herself is a function of (a) the earliest evaluations he receives on a particular attribute and (b) the most immediate evaluations.

Hypothesis 9

(LANGUAGE CHOICE) An individual's choice of language or speech style will depend on the kind of 'psychological situation' (personal needs, immediate situation and background situation) in which he might find himself.

Hypothesis 10

(CHOICE OF OF PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES) Certain phonological variables such as /q/, which is mainly associated with the educated and the urban will be positively perceived, where others like /g/ which is congruous with peasantry and rural life, in general, would be stigmatised.

Hypothesis 11

(SELF-RANKING) Self-ranking depends on the degree of 'linguistic insecurity'⁴

⁴ Linguistic insecurity' is normally manifest in speakers with hypersensitivity to stigmatised

and 'hypersensitivity' in the individual. Minority language- speakers, who normally manifest a high degree of linguistic insecurity, tend to accept the mainstream idea that their language is 'inferior'.

Hypothesis 12

(PRESTIGE) In so far as "correctness" is concerned, MA spoken in the Souss (South) would be rated less favourably than that spoken in the capital city. The unquestionable prestige variety is that spoken in the capital city (North).

Hypothesis 13

(CODE-MIXING) Following the assumption that MA and MB tend to be perceived as possessing inferior attributes, it was expected that Moroccans would appreciate code-switching (MA-French and MB-French) reasoning that this would win them a more positive perception by the listener (SA and French being positively perceived).

Hypothesis 14

(ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOUR RELATIONSHIP) Once we know an individual's attitude toward some 'attitude object' (a speaker or a group of speakers) we have a better chance of understanding and predicting his/her behaviour toward that object .

4.3. SUBJECTS & DELIMITATION OF FIELD⁵

linguistic features which they themselves use. These individuals also show an inaccurate perception of their own speech style (Labov 1972).

⁵ The field work was conducted by a research team made up of University students, including myself, in the summer of 1985-86. In the course of this investigation, we encountered a number of problems (e.g. difficulty of administration and collection of questionnaires), but we faced no difficulty in getting hold of the right subjects.

To obtain a relatively representative distribution of subjects (Ss) for this investigation and to be able to look at the possible effects of regional variation on language attitudes, Ss were selected from three geographical locations in Morocco. These are as follows:

Area A: Rabat and Casablanca,⁶ the administrative and economic capitals, respectively. These two cities have a large population and are a good target for people seeking work (rural exodus). In addition, these two important cities also attract businessmen from all over the country. In this area we have a MA-dominant group.

Area B: Marrakesh, the capital of the south. This is a touristic city with very light industry. It is also said to be the third biggest in terms of population after Casablanca and Rabat. MA and MB are more or less equally represented in this area.

Area C: The Souss⁷ (mainly Agadir⁸, a small touristic city which attracts thousands of tourists every year from all over the world). The people working in the touristic sector were found to make use of at least three foreign languages in addition to their mother tongue; and this area is marked by a MB-dominant group. The two cities of Agadir and Inezgane are considered to be the most populated area in the Souss. As a result of their prosperous economic activity the two cities have accepted huge numbers of migrant labour from the neighbouring areas and from

⁶ Rabat: Population, with Salé, 530 ,366 (1971 est.).

Casablanca: A port in North West Morocco, on the Atlantic; largest city; industrial centre; population 2 ,220, 600 (1979 est.).

⁷i.e. Plain of Souss, High Atlas, Anti-Atlas and Pre-Saharan region.

⁸A port in South West Morocco; pop. 61,192 (1971 est.)

some of the northern cities of Morocco. I therefore believe that these cities offer an ideal field for the study of language contact and "language attitudes".

Since this study is concerned with dialect variation and not only with reactions to accent, a sample of free speech seemed the most appropriate stimulus. This speech, which was later evaluated by a number of Ss, was recorded in a public setting (post office, café and hotel). For the purposes of "good data" (natural speech), the speakers did not know that they were recorded. Care was also taken to select reasonably comparable groups:⁹

The Ss' ages ranged from 5 to 60+. The main groups are teachers, students and workers, both male and female. The difference between the number of male and female subjects is not very significant, and it was possible to compare the attitudes of the two sexes. The distribution of the sample is reported in Table 4.1.

⁹ We are very much aware of the fact that the notion of "social class" in developing countries is not always clear cut as it is in the West.

Table 4.1. Distribution of sample¹⁰

Location	Occupation	Male	Female	total
Casablanca/Rabat	Teachers	51	49	100
	Students	84	67	151
	Workers	34	30	64
Marrakesh	Teachers	44	36	80
	Students	52	49	102
	Workers	22	13	35
The Souss	Teachers	30	28	58
	Students	40	37	77
	Workers	09	07	16
Total sample		366	316	682

Income, father's occupation, and the neighbourhood of residence in each of the three areas were considered to be the three variables determining socioeconomic status¹¹ (SES). Residential areas were classified as working, middle and upper class based on infrastructural factors. Father's occupation was based on a hierarchical social prestige scale ranging from unskilled and semi-skilled workers to professionals and entrepreneurs. The education of the Ss revealed a range of years of schooling from three years of elementary school to post-baccalaureate study.

Several questionnaires (see Appendix A) were administered to very randomly

¹⁰ Only those Ss who filled out the questionnaires and returned them were included in this table; a number of subjects (5 per cent) did not return the questionnaires. It should also be observed here that the majority (65%) of the students and teachers chose to fill out the questionnaires in French. Here is, yet, another indication of attitude.

¹¹ In this respect Howard Giles (1975: 142) pointed out that "it is clear that by a person's 'status' is meant his social position or rank in relation to others, the importance he has in the eyes of others and the degree of respect he commands."

chosen groups of MA- and MB-speaking students and teachers drawn from primary and secondary schools; from various Universities, banks, restaurants, administration offices, hotels; and from the general public. The sample population was drawn from the three above-mentioned representative areas.

The questionnaire and interview data were subsequently processed, coded, and subjected to statistical analysis for frequency distributions and cross-tabulations via the computerised statistical package for the social sciences available in the computer facilities of the University of Glasgow.

It is important here to distinguish between formal and informal language exposure (or language training)¹², since both types obtain in Morocco. Our informants have ample opportunity for informal language experience through contact with tourists speaking different languages, especially in Marrakesh and Agadir which are two important touristic cities in the country. Our Ss are also formally exposed to French and SA through written and spoken media. Formal training in French and SA is compulsory in Moroccan secondary and preparatory schools. Students also have to take a second foreign language (mainly English) as soon as they start their high schooling.

All those interested in participating in the project filled out a two-page questionnaire (see Appendix A) which included questions about travel and

¹² Gardner (1979: 198) points out that "Formal language training refers to that instruction which takes place in the classroom or any other teacher/student context. Informal language exposure, on the other hand, refers to those situations which permit the student to acquire competence in second language skills without direct instruction. Instances of such experience would be speaking with members of the other language community, watching movies or television, listening to the radio, or reading material in the other language".

residence abroad, and years of study and degree of proficiency in foreign languages.

4.4. THE MATCHED-GUISE EXPERIMENT: STIMULUS VOICES

We are very much aware of the fact that in spite of the successful use of the matched-guise technique in many language-attitude studies it still has some limitations. For instance, the content of the language samples is monitored by the use of the same passage read by each speaker in each language in its translated form. Fasold (1985: 153) argues that while this procedure helps control one variable, it inevitably introduces another because "the speakers may be judged as performers of readings, and not on the basis of the language variety they are using". Some researchers, e.g. El Dash and Tucker 1975, have introduced some modifications which consisted of having speakers discussing the same general topic without saying exactly the same thing.

Again there arises another problem: by monitoring content, the relationship between language variety and topic (especially in Morocco where there obtains a diglossic situation) may be incongruous, for while the topic is appropriate in the high variety (standard: SA) it may be inappropriate in the low variety (colloquial: MA). Raters might, therefore, base their judgments on the appropriateness of the variety used by the speaker to discuss the topic, and not on the basis of the language variety itself (see Fasold 1984). Thus, the aim of the matched-guise technique, which is to ensure that the judges react to differences in language only and not to personal variation in voice quality, can only be approximated.

Experimental studies of judgments of the speakers' personalities also suggest that evaluations which are solely based on vocal characteristics alone tend to be consistent but inaccurate. It appears that when evaluating speakers with minimal

cues, judges tend to base their judgments on stereotypes. Lambert et al. (1960) observed that bilingual Canadian speakers were rated differently depending on whether they spoke French or English, and these differences depended on the languages spoken by the judges. Since the different voices were the same speakers, the differences in judgments cannot be related to real characteristics of the speakers, but must be due to differences in stereotypes of French- and English-speaking Canadians.

4.4.1. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION¹³

In the study at hand, 4 bilingual subjects volunteered to take part in the mg experiment. The group was made up of 2 MA-speakers and 2 MB-speakers (1 male and 1 female in each group) and was drawn from area 3 (Marrakesh) where MA- and MB-speakers are, more or less, equally represented. All four Ss have resided in Morocco for long periods, mainly lifetime residents; they all had the same proportion of family members who use the languages under investigation to some extent in the home; they all had more or less the same fluency in French and SA; and more or less the same level of competence in English (University students).

The subjects were presented with a short standard passage¹⁴ about a non-controversial topic : nutrition. Each bilingual speaker was tape-recorded while they read the passage with their normal voices in each of the languages under study¹⁵. The guises were arranged¹⁶ on the tape in such a way as not to let the listener

¹³ Material: Audiotaped recordings of 4 subjects (2 male and 2 female)

Raters: 32 bilingual speakers.

Format: Semantic Differential Scales (SD) (see chapter 4)

¹⁴ The passage is entitled "Daily nutrition", originally written in SA, which I translated into MA, MB, French and English (see Appendix A for translations).

¹⁵ The passage was read in each language in its translated form.

¹⁶ The order of the recorded fragments is randomised, i.e., first speaker A in English, then speaker B in Arabic, then speaker C in French, speaker A in Arabic, speaker D in Arabic, etc.

know that the same speaker featured more than once. The tape was then played back and, as each voice spoke, subjects rated it on a sixteen 7-point semantic differential scales. (see Chapter 4 for more details about this technique). Speaker A (male) and speaker B (female) were central to this investigation, given the fact they were the two subjects with the highest degree of bilingualism, and therefore ideal guises. The results are reported in Tables 5.2 and 5.3, below.

Table 4.2. Mean ratings of speaker A (male) according to guise

Trait ¹⁷	Fr. guise	MA guise	MB guise	SA guise
Intelligent	4.62	5.37	4.12	3.62
Religious	3.5	4.25	3.5	4.62
Leader	3.5	4.62	3.75	5.12
Self-confident	4.62	3.37	4.25	4.62
Kind	5.37	4.25	4.62	4.5
Trustworthy	4.37	3.87	3.62	3.62
Ambitious	6.0	4.25	3.5	4.0
Sociable	4.62	4.75	3.5	4.0
Sympathetic	5.12	6.0	3.62	3.25
Honest	3.75	5.12	4.25	4.37
Generous	4.37	5.0	3.75	3.75
Wealthy	3.75	4.25	3.75	3.75
Prestigious	3.87	3.75	3.5	5.12
Friendly	4.75	5.62	4.75	4.0
Humorous	4.75	4.75	3.87	4.25
Good-tempered	3.87	5.25	3.87	4
Consolidated Mean:	3.62	4.59	3.87	4.06
Maximum	6.0	6.0	4.75	5.12
Minimum	3.5	3.25	3.5	3.25
Median	4.62	4.75	3.75	4.0

As reported on Table 4.2 the results indicate the following basic observations about the ranking of speaker A (male) in five guises. In the French guise this speaker ranked highest on 'ambitiousness' ($\bar{x}=6.00$) and lowest on 'religiousness and 'leadership' traits. Overall the French guise rated 4th (total $\bar{x}=3.62$). In the MA

¹⁷We should distinguish here between two kinds of traits:

1. STATUS TRAITS: educated/uneducated; intelligent/ignorant; successful/unsuccessful; wealthy/poor
2. SOLIDARITY TRAITS: friendly/unfriendly; good/bad; kind/cruel; trustworthy/untrustworthy.

guise speaker A came off highest on 'friendliness' ($\bar{x}=5.62$) and lowest on 'self-confidence' trait. This guise rated 1st overall (total $\bar{x}= 4.59$). In the MB guise speaker A rated highest on friendliness ($x= 4.79$) but lowest on 'sociability, 'ambitiousness' and 'religiousness' traits. He rated 3rd overall (total $\bar{x}= 3.87$). The SA guise was highly evaluated on the 'leadership' and 'prestige' traits ($\bar{x}= 3.25$), but came off worst on 'sympathy' ($\bar{x}= 5.12$) . This guise rated 2nd on the overall ranking. An elaboration on these and other results will be presented in chapter 5 as I come to a consideration of the contents and implications of attitudes.

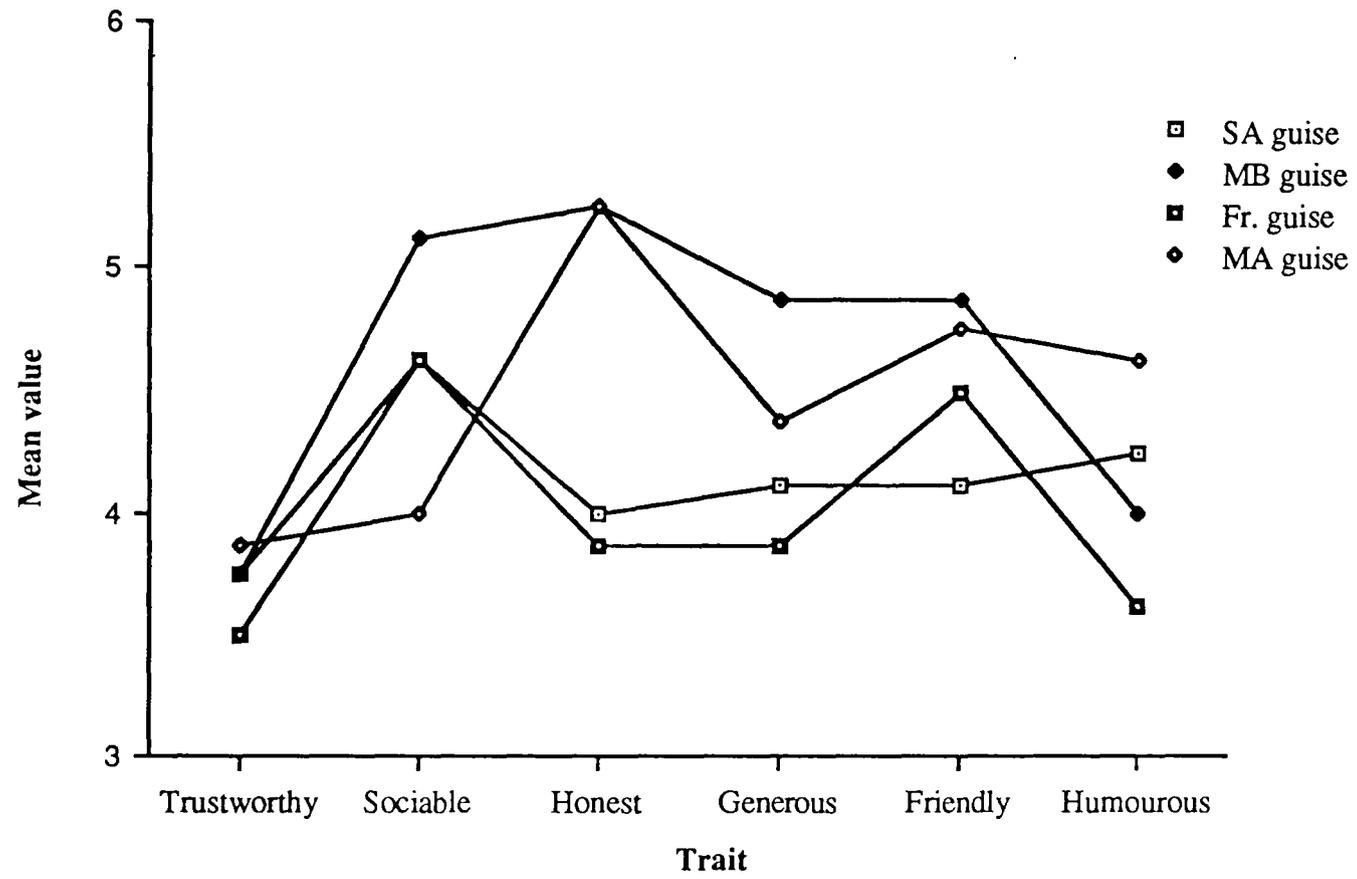


Figure 4.1. Rating male speaker on solidarity traits

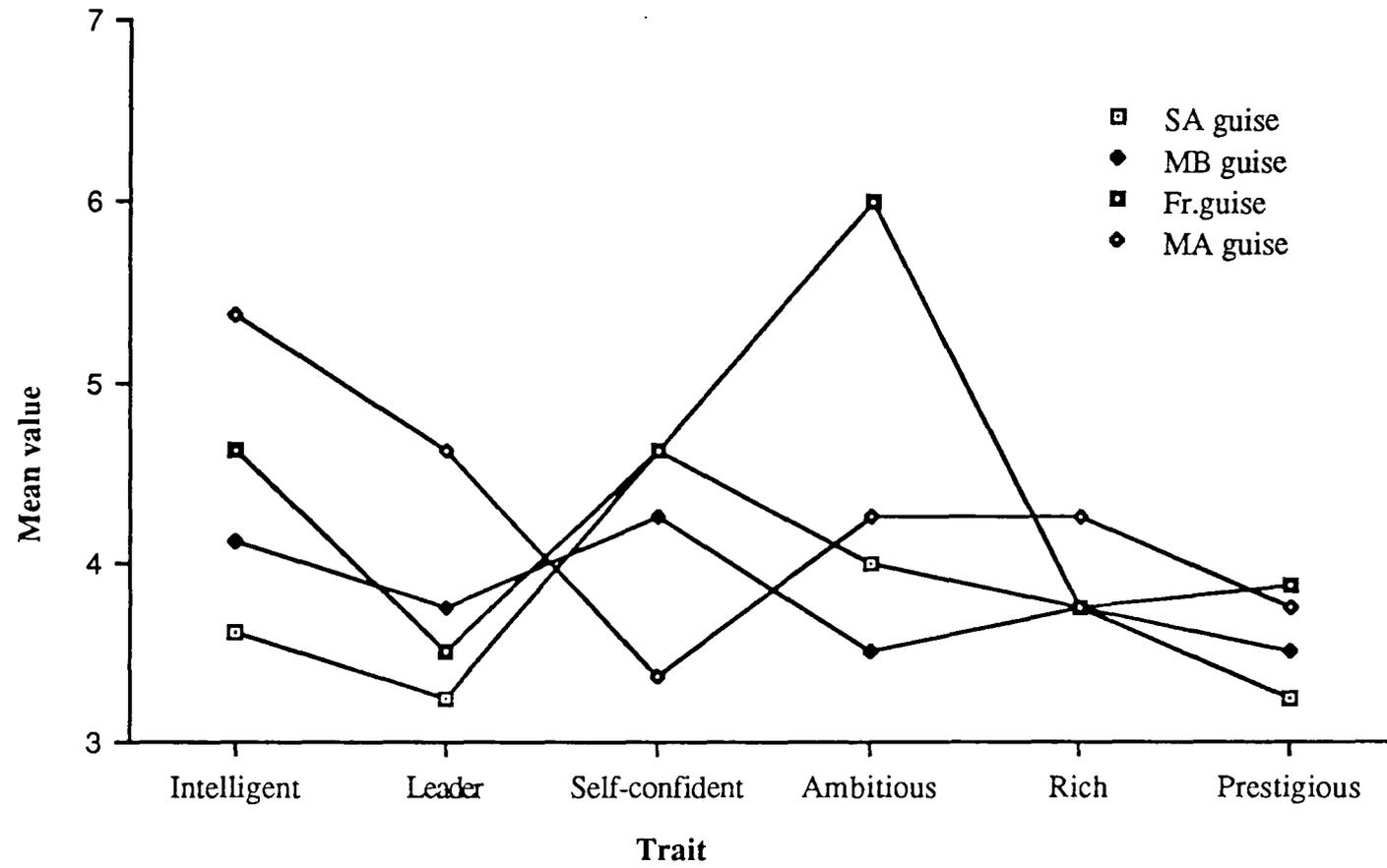


Figure 4.2. Rating male speaker on status traits.

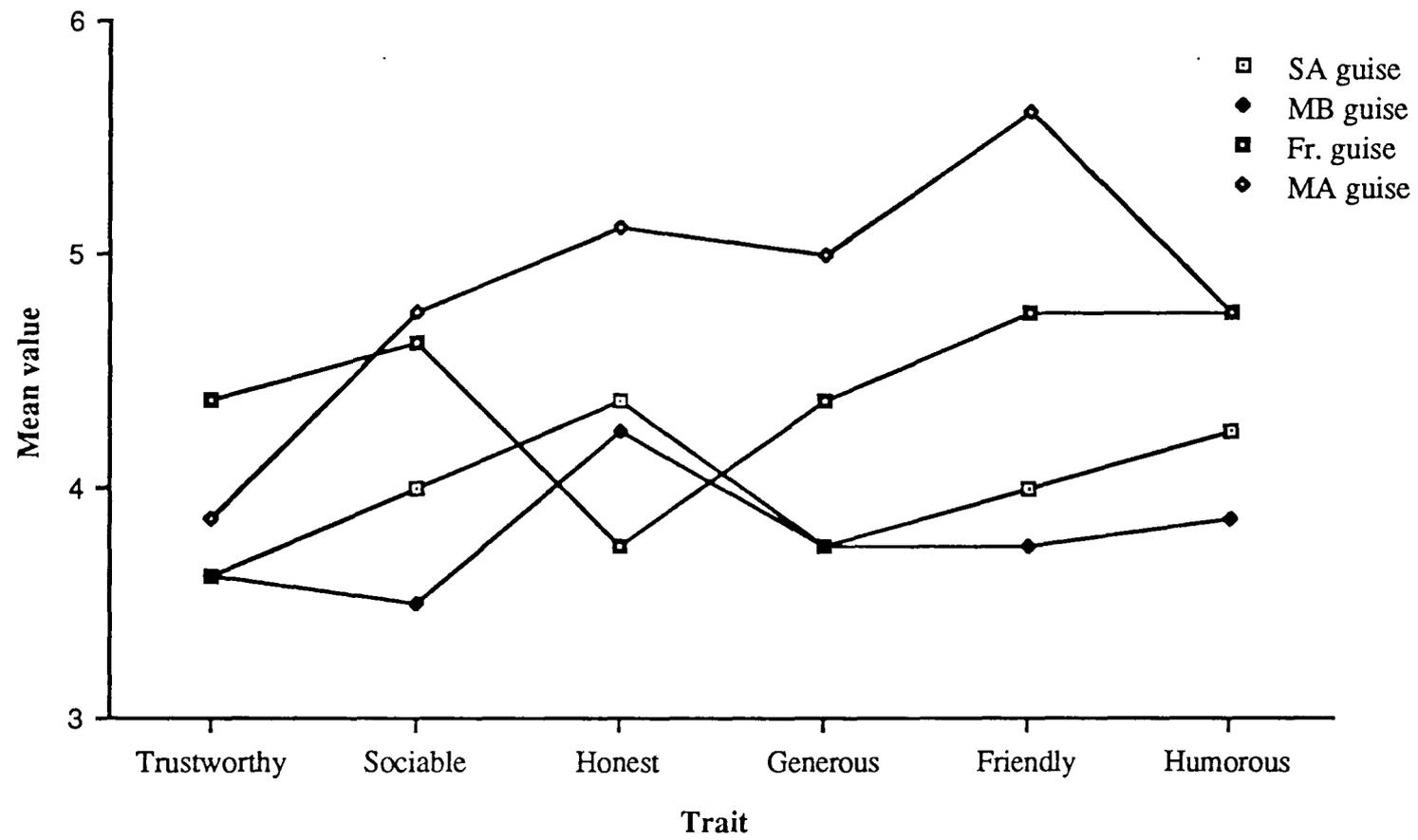


Figure 4.3. Rating female speaker on solidarity traits

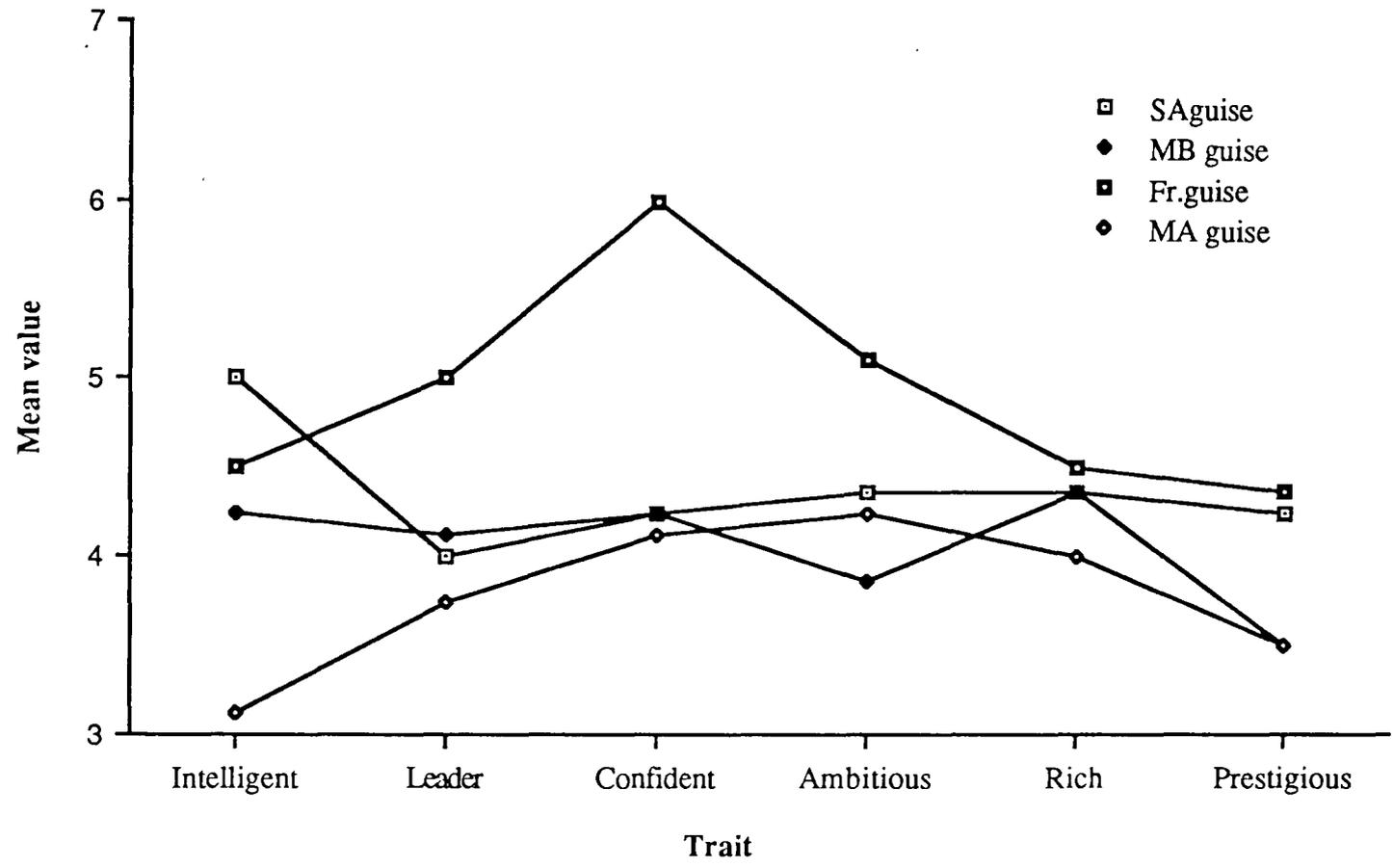


Figure 4.4. Rating female speaker on status traits according to guise.

With male speakers, both MA and MB subjects rated MB-accented voices lower than their MA counterparts on several scales which appear to be mainly concerned with status. MB-speakers also rated MB voices higher on several scales suggesting a warmer personality, but with MA subjects the only one of these scales showing significant differences was 'friendliness'. Speaker A rated highest on 'ambitiousness' ($\bar{x} = 6.00$), but lowest on 'religiousness' and 'leadership' traits. Overall, speaker A rated 4th in the French guise (total $\bar{x} = 3.62$). These figures may be interpreted as meaning that speakers of French are considered to be most ambitious because they speak a potentially "useful" language which would help them get a good job in the future. It is not surprising, however, that the French guise was rated lowest on 'religiousness' because French-speakers in Morocco are normally thought of as non-Muslims and, therefore, as non-religious.

Table 4.3. Mean ratings of speaker B according to guise
(For additional selected data see Appendix B.)

Trait	SA guise	MB guise	Fr. guise	MA guise
Intelligent	5.0	4.25	4.5	3.12
Religious	4.5	3.62	3.5	4.87
Leader	4.0	4.12	5	3.75
Self-confident	4.25	3	6	4.12
Kind	4.75	4.25	4.2	4.62
Trustworthy	3.37	3.75	3.5	3.87
Ambitious	4.37	3.87	5.12	4.25
Sociable	4.62	5.12	4.62	4.0
Sympathetic	4.12	5.12	4.62	4.12
Honest	4.0	5.25	3.87	5.25
Generous	4.12	4.87	3.87	4.37
Wealthy	4.0	4.37	4.5	4.0
Prestigious	4.12	3.5	4.37	3.5
Friendly	4.37	4.87	4.5	4.75
Humorous	4.25	4.0	3.62	3.5
Good-tempered	4.0	4.62	4.87	4.0
Consolidated Mean:	4.24	4.28	4.41	4.13
Maximum	5.00	5.25	6	5.25
Minimum	3.37	3.00	3.5	3.12
Median	4.25	4.25	4.5	4.12

With regard to the ratings of speaker B (female) the following major distributions have been obtained. In the French guise this speaker rated highest on 'self-confidence' (\bar{x} = 6.0) and lowest on 'trustworthiness' (\bar{x} = 3.5). Under this guise she also rated 1st overall (total \bar{x} = 4.41). This result gives a clear idea about how an individual with a knowledge of French, although not considered to be 'trustworthy', is perceived as being confident and therefore as powerful through a 'powerful' language. Under the MA guise speaker B was evaluated highest on 'Honesty' (\bar{x} = 5.25) and lowest on 'intelligence' traits (\bar{x} = 3.12). The speaker was

ranked 4th overall (total \bar{x} = 4.13). This finding confirms the hypothesis that vernacular speakers are stereotyped as possessing inferior intellectual faculties (status trait) and as being fairly positively rated on solidarity traits (honesty and kindness).

As was the case with the MA-guise, the MB-speaker was rated highest on 'honesty' (\bar{x} = 5.25) and lowest on 'self-confidence'. She rated 2nd overall (total \bar{x} = 4.28). On the 'intelligence' trait speaker B rated highest (\bar{x} = 5.0) in the SA-guise. She also rated lowest on 'trustworthiness' (\bar{x} = 3.37) and was ranked 3rd overall (total \bar{x} = 4.24). SA-guise was rated slightly lower on intelligence trait and higher on trustworthiness relative to the French guise, but as less trustworthy and more intelligent than the MA and MB guises.

With female speakers, differences generally tended to be smaller and occurred for fewer scales, particularly for MA subjects. Again French-speaking and SA-speaking voices were rated higher than MA- or/and MB-speaking voices on some 'status' scales, but there were no scales where MB female voices were rated significantly higher for all voices.

The MA-speaking group, however, rated the French guises more favourably on ten traits, with the MB guises superior on only two -- 'kindness' and 'religiousness'.

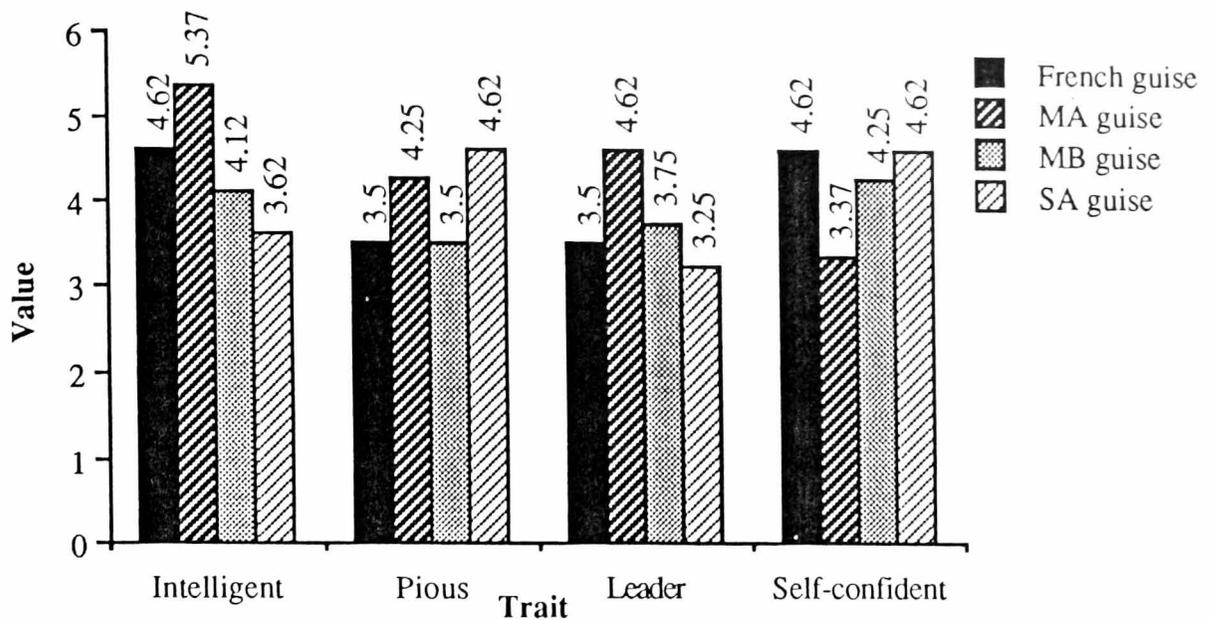


Figure 4.5. Rating male speaker on mixed traits according to guise.

The results for the same-speaker voices show that there were different stereotyped reactions to speakers with different regional accents. Since differences favouring the MB voices occurred mainly with MB subjects, the stereotypes varied with the relationships between the origin of the judge and the perceived origin of the speaker.¹⁸

¹⁸ The same was found by Lambert et al. (1960) with English- and French-speaking Canadians.

Table 4.4. Scales for which consistent significant differences occurred between ratings of MA/MB and French/SA voices.

Male speakers		Female speakers	
Fr. guise	SA guise	Fr. guise	SA guise
WEALTH	WEALTH	WEALTH	WEALTH
PRESTIGE	PRESTIGE	PRESTIGE	PRESTIGE
INTELLIGENCE	INTELLIGENCE	INTELLIGENCE	INTELLIGENCE
OCC.STATUS	OCC.STATUS	OCC.STATUS	
AMBITION	AMBITION	AMBITION	
LEADERSHIP	LEADERSHIP	LEADERSHIP	
CLEANLINESS	CLEANLINESS	CLEANLINESS	
GOOD LOOKS	GOOD LOOKS	GOOD LOOKS	
SELF-CONFIDENCE		SELF-CONFIDENCE	
MB guise	MA guise	MB guise	MA guise
FRIENDLINESS	PRESTIGE	FRIENDLINESS	ENTERTAININGNESS
HUMOUR	LEADERSHIP		SENSE OF HUMOUR
GENEROUS			
GOODHEARTEDNESS			
RELIGIOUSNESS			

Given that there is little previous work on MA and MB stereotypes,¹⁹ the results are not entirely consistent with expectations. For instance, it was expected that the MB stereotype would be marred by a trait of meanness, whereas generosity is one of the scales where MB voices were judged more favourably.

In general, the French guises are rated significantly more favourably on all traits except religiousness, where the MA-guises are rated as more religious. This

¹⁹ The present work included a small scale investigation of the stereotypical attitudes to different groups. An open-ended questions questionnaire was used here. (see Appendix A)

finding emerges from the total sample and different patterns are apparent when we examine the evaluations made by the bilinguals and monolinguals separately.

Although speakers of non-prestige languages (MA and MB) generally received lower ratings than speakers of prestige languages, a distinction must be made between the ratings on different personality traits, especially when the rating is done by members of the non-prestige social groups themselves.

Table 4. 5. Comparison of the mean evaluations of four traits for speakers in four guises.

	MA	SA	MB	French
Intelligence	5.37	3.62	4.12	4.62
Leadership	4.62	3.25	3.75	3.50
Religiousness	4.25	4.62	3.50	3.50
Friendliness	5.62	4.00	4.75	4.75

4.4.2. CORRELATION BETWEEN SPEECH STYLE AND PERCEIVED OCCUPATION

The first noteworthy finding is the fact that Ss differentially assigned occupations to the speakers on the basis of their speech style. All raters tended to rate French speakers higher on the occupational scale than they rated SA-speakers or the MA/MB speakers. In addition there was a significant group effect with the workers, in general, tending to rate all speakers lower on the occupational scale than did the students or the teachers.

When making judgments after listening to the reading samples, the subjects again reacted differentially and appropriately. A significant main effect for speech style was obtained when the subjects were asked whether the speaker was likely to

be a mailman, bus driver, or janitor. The French speakers were perceived as least likely to hold this type of occupation with the SA speakers next, and the MA/MB as most likely. Furthermore, there was a significant interaction between occupation and speech style.

A complementary set of findings emerged when the Ss were asked whether these same speakers were likely to be lawyers, professors, or dentists. Again there was a significant main effect for speech style, with the French speakers being perceived as most likely to have these occupations, followed by the SA speakers, and MA/MB speakers. There was also a significant interaction between occupation and speech style.

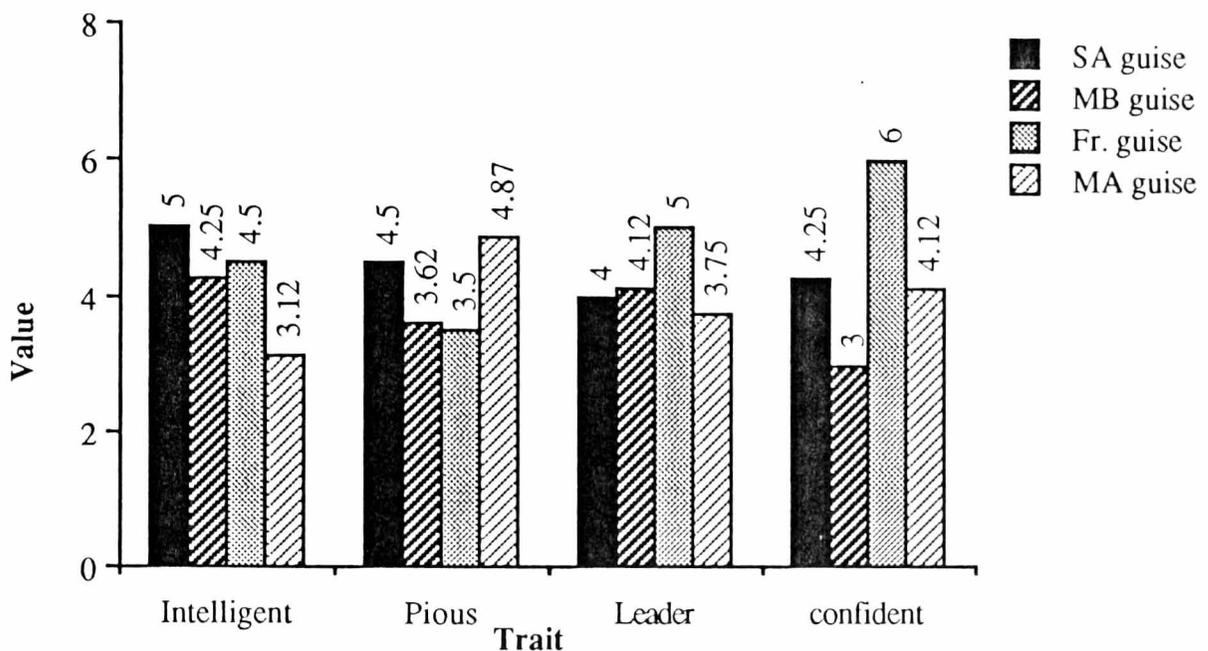


Figure 4.6. Rating female speaker on mixed traits according to guise.

The students from all 4 experiments view the speakers of SA as less 'honest', less 'dependable', and less 'reliable' than speakers of French. There is also a tendency to perceive them as less 'ambitious', less 'intelligent', and less 'sociable' than when they speak in French. This result was not very surprising because it could be expected that MA-speakers would downgrade speakers of Morocco's non-prestige

language. But the real surprises were the evaluations by the MB-speaking students. They also rated the MA-speakers favourably on a whole series of traits, except for kindness and religiousness, for which they gave more positive ratings to the MB-guises. A very striking result was that MB-students rated the MB-guises much more negatively on many traits than the MA-students.

The judges turned out to rate the representatives of their own group more favourably than the representatives of the other group. For instance, both MB- and MA-listeners judged their own language group as more 'reliable', 'better looking', 'friendlier' and the like. For instance, the MA-speakers were strongly biased against the MB-speakers and in favour of MA-guises in their judgments. The same speakers were rated as being more 'apt for leadership', 'taller', 'more prestigious', 'more ambitious', and as having more character in their MA-guises than in their MB-guises. In this respect, the MA-judges who spoke MB did not differ from monolingual judges.

Highly significant differences were found between the MA- and MB-guises. The MB-guises were expected to be much better looking, to be more 'likeable', more 'sociable' and 'kinder'. The MB stereotype is of a 'kind' person, whereas there were some indications that MA stereotype is of a 'sophisticated' person. Members of non-prestige groups or linguistic minorities seemed acutely aware of the fact that certain languages, namely MA and MB, do not have a function in gaining upward social mobility. The speakers of these varieties, therefore, were not associated with academic schooling and economic success.

That speakers of MA and MB exhibited a negative attitude towards their own language in many respects does not imply that they do not attach any importance to it. They often highly appreciate their own language for social, subjective and

affective reasons, especially speakers from the younger generation who feel a certain pride in minority culture and stay loyal to it. The assumption that people from a socioeconomically deprived group will tend to downgrade members of that group only or mainly on traits related to socioeconomic success has been supported by the results of the present study.

4.5. INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES AND STEREOTYPES

A group of 87 volunteered to participate in this experiment and they were administered a questionnaire made up of nine open-ended statements and a number of multiple choice questions (see Appendix A). The subjects were asked to complete the questions as they wished. The results of this questionnaire were important in that they supported the findings of the mg experiment, i.e., the data gathered revealed a wide range of stereotypical attitudes to various groups. To achieve this purpose I made sure that there was no restriction on the way the statements in the questionnaire should be completed by the Subjects. The questionnaire was aimed at eliciting attitudes as subjective as possible.

As far as the MA-speaking group are concerned, it was expected that this group would receive medium evaluations on the basis of their low-prestige language. The results very much supported this hypothesis. The majority of our informants (90%) completed item 1 (MA-speakers think ...) as follows: "of speaking French or SA instead". Other responses (60%) seemed to go in this same direction: "and SA-speakers think better"; "of understanding SA-speakers" and "getting rid of their useless dialects to improve the status of SA, especially in administration and literary circles".

The same group of subjects completed item 2 concerning MB-speaking children and some results were unexpected. MB-speaking children have been stereotyped

(by our subjects) as a group who "are not very good at Arabic (70%), "speak an extra language", and "have to learn Arabic"(55%). This group is also said to be "facing difficulties in the primary school", (apparently because of the assumption that they face problems when learning Arabic) "speak MB, mainly to each other", "communicate better with their own families". Others, however, perceived this group as being able to -"speak any language" and to "learn Arabic like all Moroccans".

With regard to culture and legacy MB-speakers are said to "cling to their language although the majority can speak MA"(52%) and to be "proud of their language among themselves" but to "despise it when they meet people from other regions". Other subjects stated that "the majority of MB-speakers can speak MA" and some even advanced the idea that the members of this group "think in Arabic". A very limited number of our informants (mainly MB-speaking) stated that they "prefer an education in MB" and "demand the revival of their language which is part of their identity" in order to "put an end to the 'linguistic crisis' they are going through".

On a communicational level, 85% of our informants stated that increasing contact with the French people would help them "master the French language and communicate better". Others, however, experience a feeling of shame for not being able to speak French every time they meet French people and the more they do so the more they "feel ashamed for not having a knowledge of the French language"(42%). On a cultural level, a great number of our subjects felt that a wider interaction with the French people is fruitful in that it would enable them to "learn more about French culture and way of life" (69%). However, others claimed that this would only exacerbate their feelings towards the French people because "I hate their feelings of superiority" (35%). Still others felt that, on a

linguistic level, the more they get to know the French people the more they get to know them and "the better I speak their language" and they added that this "does not mean that I will ignore my language completely". Furthermore, a number of our Ss believe that contact with the French makes them feel sometimes "schizophrenic" and lost between two cultures — anomie.

Responses to item 4 (when I speak to another Moroccan in French ...) indicated that when a Moroccan speaks to another in French, this makes him/her "feel like an actor, sad, small, ashamed, angry, alienated, ill-at-ease, stranger, weaker personality, bored, self-hatred, embarrassment" (56%). Others, feel that it is a useful thing to do because as one of my subjects argued "I am not intimidated, unlike when I speak to a Frenchman". The most interesting reaction came from a young man who totally rejected the practice by stating that when he is talking to a Moroccan in French (which rarely happens, according to the subject) "I feel that I am wearing a fancy dress or a mask".

The question of language and identity was also a major argument against the use of French among Moroccans. They often feel guilty when speaking in French to each other and "deny my own language". However, others felt that by using the French language "conversation becomes more interesting" and even "get the impression that French is the mother tongue as it is spoken fluently".

An examination of the responses to Item 5 seem to indicate that meeting an English-speaker (although a very small minority ever meet native English speakers) puts the speaker in a difficult position where he will have to choose between English (when he can speak the language) and MA or MB. The first reason is that they "find it difficult to communicate with them because "I am not that good at English, which is a great pity" and "talk to them in order to improve my English".

Others, who sounded proud of their knowledge of English (no matter how little) and simply wrote that when they meet an English-speaker they "speak English with them straightaway". Conversely, a small number of people, most of whom could not speak English, stated that whenever they meet an English speaker they "try to teach them Arabic" and that they wished the English-speaker "would also make an effort to speak in Arabic".

Where a Moroccan speaks a foreign language with a certain degree of fluency he is perceived both positively and negatively (see item 6, Appendix A2.4). He is perceived positively because, as our Ss argued, he or she "has an easy access to other cultures" and also gains status and prestige. He is also perceived negatively because, as our Ss claimed, he "is alienated" and "ignores his own language once he masters a foreign one".

Linguistically, my subjects feel as if they have to cope with the "influence of the Spanish language" in MA as spoken by northerners and notice the difference in their speech style "on the phonetic as well as the lexical levels" (see item 7, Appendix A2.4). However, subjects claim that "there is mutual comprehension between us because we all speak MA." Others found it difficult to communicate when they are in the North "given the difference in language and way of life".

4.6. EVALUATIONS OF INTERFERENCE-MARKED SPEECH

In the previous section I was concerned with attitudes to and evaluations of languages per se, i.e, languages were taken as whole entities (French, MA and MB) and considered against each other. It is now my intention to investigate the following:

- a) evaluations of within-language variations (phonological variables for example)

- b) listeners' reactions towards marked bilingual speech and how interference-marked bilingual speech can lead to positive or negative personality evaluations (code mixing).

One might expect that on a prestige (high-low status) and evaluative (good-bad) continuum of speech styles in Morocco, Parisian French (as opposed to Moroccan-accented French) and SA (as opposed to MA for example) would be rated very favourably by both standard and non-standard speakers. Conversely, one could expect regional accents and dialects to be rated below the French and SA styles, while urban non-standard and ethnic speech styles (Jewish, Arab and Mazighi, for example) would be rated even lower on this prestige and evaluative continuum. One would also expect that, so far as the French language is concerned, the Moroccan-accented French would come off worst in terms of the ratings received by each style on this continuum.

4.6.1. PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES

From a sociolinguistic perspective, research following the lead of Labov (1966-1972) has focused upon two main problems: (1) Understanding the association between specific linguistic features (e.g. phonological variables, lexical patterns, and grammatical contrasts) and characteristics of the societal, social group, and situational contexts in which they occur; (2) Understanding the inferences listeners make about these associations.

Adapted forms of the matched-guise technique have been used to assess biases toward different varieties of the same language: Standard English and Jewish-accented English (Anisfeld, Bogo, and Lambert 1962); Standard English and French-accented English (Webster and Kramer 1968); and varieties of white and

Black English for several social classes (Tucker and Lambert 1969, Shuy 1969, Bouchard Ryan 1969).

Labov (1966,1970) has led the field in setting up methods for the description of speech styles of members of various social groups. He put forward the notion of the 'phonological variable' which helps the sociolinguist characterise various speech styles according to the relative frequency with which certain pronunciations occur. For example, the substitution of the stop /t/ for the fricative /θ/ in words such as 'thing' and 'three' by speakers in New York City becomes systematically more frequent the lower the social class and the more informal the speaking situation (Labov 1966).

The author (1972) investigated the different speech styles in New York City and was able to distinguish between 'careful' and 'casual' speech. 'Careful' styles occurred in more formal contexts, i.e. situations where "more than the minimum attention is paid to speech". A casual style (what Labov terms 'the vernacular') is, conversely, the style in which "the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech". The latter is the most difficult for the linguist to observe systematically, because the very fact that the observer is present with the speaker renders the situation a formal one. It is therefore useful for the observer to try and keep the context as informal as possible by making the informant 'feel at ease'. The most formal situation is where the subjects are asked to read sentences aloud or pronounce lists of words. Hence the difficulty of obtaining 'good data', i.e. casual speech (see section 3.7)

Labov's work (ibid.) on social dialects in New York City reveals that in the continuously graded social strata of the white population, the 'dialects' are themselves continua distinguished by a relatively small number of sociolinguistic

variables (mostly phonological), that are more often distinctive by relative quantity than by absolute absence or presence. It is apparently the relative frequency of these variables that lies behind the perception of a speaker's class (although there may also be some discrete variables, double negation for example); and matched-guise tests show that this perception is associated by numbers with the attribution of occupational potential.

A speaker may adopt a more or less prestige variable, depending on the situation in which he finds himself or herself. In more formal situations, speakers were observed to make use of a style (pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar) which approximates more closely to the standard.

In the present study, a number of phonological variables were selected according to criteria which include frequency of substitutions in accented speech as well as the reliability of their perception by linguistically-trained judges. Once the phonological indices have been chosen, the standard reading passages were prepared in French and SA. Since MA and MB do not possess a graphic system of their own, a recording of natural speech in each variety seemed most appropriate.

The passages in French and SA, which are written in informal style in order to elicit maximum accentedness in the readings, included ten specific opportunities for each of the ten specified phonological substitutions typical of highly accented speech to occur (see Labov 1966). This will ensure that each variable is given equal weight despite the fact that the overall frequency in natural speech of some variables is much higher than that of others (Ellen B. Ryan 1973).

The next step was to choose a sample of bilingual individuals with a wide range of accentedness in their speech. After hearing instructions intended to make the

situation as informal as possible, each subject read the texts; and his performance was recorded on a magnetic tape.

From the tapes, three trained listeners independently rated the pronunciations of each variable in each of the ten specified locations, and the inter-judge reliability of the ratings was determined. On the basis of these ratings, a relative frequency score for each of the variables, based on the proportion of the pronunciations which are accented, was obtained for each subject. The following speech styles are represented in the study of accentedness:²⁰

1. The highest-status pronunciation pattern for MA (as spoken in the capital)
2. Moroccan Arabic with a southern (Tashelhit) accent
3. The highest-status pronunciation for Tashelhit (as spoken in Agadir/Inezgane)
4. Tashelhit with a broad regional accent
5. The highest-status pronunciation of French (i.e. French French or Parisian French)
6. Moroccan-accented French
7. The highest-status pronunciation pattern for standard Arabic
8. Moroccan-accented Standard Arabic (as spoken by both MA- and MB-dominant groups).

5.6.2. MOROCCAN-ACCENTED FRENCH

A number of phonological variables (consonants and vowels) have been found to account for accentedness in Moroccan-accented French.

²⁰The term accentedness has been defined for bilinguals as 'the degree to which the phonological and syntactic structures of one language appear to influence speech produced in the other' (Terry and Cooper 1971).

(a) Substitution of /r/ for /ʁ/ in words such as [ʁut] (route) and [paʁti] (partie) resulting in pronunciations such as [rut] and [parti].

(b) Substitution of voiceless fricative /f/ or voiced bilabial /b/ for voiced fricative /v/ in words such as [vakas] (vacance) and [veʁite] (la verite) resulting in pronunciations such as [fakans] and [firiti] (see vowels for vowel substitutions).

(b) Substitution of nasal /n/ for nasal /m/ in words such as [otomobil] (automobile) and omission of vowels in initial position, resulting in pronunciations such as [ttonobil].

(c) Substitution of /u/ for /œ/ in words such as [ʁœgaʁd] (regarde) and [mœene] (mener), resulting in the following pronunciation: [rugard] and [mune].

(d) Substitution of /an/ and /on/ for nasalised vowels [a] and [o] in words such as [ʃaso] (chanson) and [ʁokotʁe] resulting in pronunciations like [ʃanson] and [ronkontre].

It should perhaps be pointed out here that greater accentedness would be expected in French spoken among Moroccans than in French spoken to French people. This can be attributed to the fact that when a Moroccan speaks to a French person, it is not uncommon to see that greater efforts by the speaker are made to accommodate to the speech of the standard speaker and therefore present a positive self-image to gain the interlocutor's admiration and cooperation.

Table 4.5. Relative frequency scores for phonological variables
in students and workers (Moroccan-accented French)

Subjects	Variables			
	/r/	/ʒ/	/f/	/v/
1*	0%	100%	0%	100%
2*	0%	100	0%	100%
3*	82%	18%	0%	100%
4*	75%	25%	2%	98%
5*	51%	49%	12%	88%
6	55%	45%	44%	56%
7	81%	19%	56%	44%
8	88%	12%	69%	31%
9	99%	1%	100%	0%
10	100%	0%	100%	0%

An asterisk indicates that the speaker is a student. The other half
are workers (including two immigrant workers)

4.6.3. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF USING THE TWO PHONOLOGICAL VARIABLES /q/ AND /g/ IN MA-SPEAKERS

For the accentedness study of MA the following phonological variables have been chosen:²¹

(a) Substitution of the velar plosive /g/ for the uvular plosive /q/ in words as /ʔlqəlb/ (the heart) and /ʔlqənʔra/ (the bridge), resulting in pronunciations such as /ʔlgəlb/ and /ʔlgənʔra/.

²¹Criteria: 1. frequency of substitutions, 2. reliability of their perception by linguistically trained judges.

(b) Substitution of the alveolar fricative /s/ for the palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ in words as /ʃəmʃ/ (the sun) and /ʔlməʃmaʃ/ (fruit), resulting in words such as /səms/ and /ʔlməsmas/.

(c) Substitution of unaspirated /t/ for aspirated /t^h/ in words as /tt^hiqa/ and /tt^hilifun/ (telephone), yielding pronunciations such as /ttiqa/ and /ttilifun/.

(d) Substitution of the initial velar plosive /k/ for the dental /t/ in words as [tajəmʃi] (he goes) and [tajətʕələm] (he is learning), resulting in pronunciations as [kajəmʃi] and [kajətʕələm].

(e) Substitution of the glottal stop [ʔ] for the uvular [q] in words as [qəhwa] (coffee) and [qəlʕa] (castle), resulting in pronunciations as [ʔəhwa] and [ʔəlʕa].

(f) Labialisation of certain consonants as /b/ and /t/ in words like [ʔlbid] (eggs) and [tab] (cooked), yielding pronunciations such as [ʔlbɔ̃id] and [tɔ̃ab].

The use of the two phonological variables /q/ and /g/ in everyday interaction was examined emphasising the following: (a) The pattern of style shifting of /q/ and /g/, and (b) The pattern of social and stylistic stratification of /q/ and /g/.

My objective here is to trace the subjective dimension of /q/ and /g/, i.e., the subjective reactions of lay people toward these two variables. I shall also attempt to trace a sudden change in the subjective evaluation of the new prestige pattern by our Moroccan informants: the development of a uniform attitude toward the two phonological variables. In this connection Labov (1972) maintains that

"Reactions to phonological variables are inarticulate

responses, below the level of conscious awareness, and occur only as part of an overall reaction to many variables." (Labov 1972: 144)

An analysis of the findings on attitudes to within-language variations showed that the variable /q/ emerged as an important entity of the new prestige pattern in Morocco. Thus, the use of either /q/ or /g/ may tell a lot about an individual's social class, level of education and provenance. The /q/ pronunciation, which is increasingly being associated with high-status northern-accented MA, emerged as the chief manifestation of the new prestige pattern which prevails in northern Morocco, whereas the variable /g/, which is normally associated with the low-status southern- and rural-accented MA as well as with peasantry, is increasingly being stigmatised, especially in urban settings.

a) [məlli qəlt lu raḥ dəwəzt ʕəl qəlb qləb lḥədrə]

(when I told him I had my heart operated on, he changed the subject)

as opposed to:

b) [məlli gəlt liḥ raḥ dəwəzt ʕəl gəlb gləb lḥədrə]

(when I told him I had my heart operated on, he changed the subject)

Notice how [qəlt] (I told) is followed by [lu] (to him) in the North of Morocco and that [gəlt] (I told) is followed by [liḥ] (to him) in the South. As is the case with the phonological variable /q/, the phrase /lu/, which is closer to the standard pronunciation [laḥu], is also associated with prestige and better education.

Table 4.6. Relative frequency scores
for phonological variables in the speech of 10 MA-speakers

Subjects	Variables	
	/q/	/g/
1*	100%	0%
2*	84%	16%
3*	75%	25%
4*	67%	23%
5*	59%	41%
6	23%	67%
7	22%	78%
8	17%	83%
9	0%	100%
10	0%	100%

An asterisk indicates that the speaker comes from the capital.

The rest originate from southern parts of Morocco.

Raters' subjective judgments of non-native MA speech have also been examined and we observe that the vast majority of bilingual, and monolingual MB-speakers, especially from the south, speak MA with an unmistakable influence from MB phonology. Many MB-speakers manifested a feeling of inferiority with respect to the 'Berber accent' in their spoken MA.

It was expected that non-standard pronunciations in Moroccans would increase as the style context becomes more informal. This prediction was tested by asking each of a group of subjects to perform a series of tasks, including reading and spontaneous speech, which were intended to elicit a wide range of speech styles. The results failed to support the hypothesis, i.e. the change in the style context from informal to formal did not appear to affect non-standard pronunciations.

4.6.4. RURAL-ACCENTED TS

A number of phonological variables have been found to account for accentedness in MB as spoken in the rural areas of the Souss. These are as follows:

(a) Substitution of /x/ or /ɣ/ for /h/ in words as [n-niħak] (I told you) and [ajəlliħ] (until) resulting in pronunciations such as [nnixak], [nniyak], [ajəllix], and [ajəlliɣ].

(b) Substitution of /ç/ for /k/ in words as [manik] (how) and /manzakin/ (how are you) yielding pronunciations such as [maniç] and /manzaçin/.

(c) Substitution of /q/ for /g/ in words as /almuggar/ (festival) resulting in a pronunciation like /almuqqar/.

(d) Omission of /d/ in sentences as [mad-ak-ism] (What's your name) and [mad ak-iskər] (What did he do for you) yielding pronunciations as [ma-kism] and [ma-kiskər].

(e) Substitution of /u/ for /ə/ in words as /ʔlməɣrib/ resulting in pronunciations as /ʔlmuyrib/ (Morocco).

These phonological variables have been found to account for accentedness in TS as spoken in the rural areas of the Souss (see above). These variables were systematically perceived by our raters as negative features. The speakers who use these substitute phonological variables have often been the object of mimic and abusive talk. Among lay people they are often referred to as "German", a term used by some MA-speakers to designate any language they do not understand. This would not be surprising if we know that very few MA-speakers can

understand or speak MB which is perceived as just another 'lahẓ̌a' (a very derogatory term for 'dialect'). They argue that they already speak MA and that "there is no need to waste your time learning another 'lahẓ̌a'. It goes without saying that the majority of these people are linguistically naive and that these judgments are better regarded as rather subjective and 'stereotypical'.

4.7. SUBJECTIVE REACTIONS TO CODE-MIXING

Language mixing, involving code changes both between and within sentences, is characteristic of situations wherever minority language groups come in close contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change. Furthermore, a high prestige language is perceived as having functional utility when in contact with a less prestigious language, which leads to rapid language switch in mixed bilingual communities.

There is an urgent need here to understand why certain cooperative language strategies such as code-switching or convergence of styles would be viewed positively in some contexts but not in others. To do so, stimulus speakers were presented for evaluation as they are heard code-switching (or not) in dialogues²² which are contextualised in terms of the social role of the speakers and the setting in which their encounter took place. Paralinguistic cues such as speakers' voice quality are controlled by selecting speakers who are 'perfectly' bilingual. The first dialogue between speaker A (a student) and speaker B (a shop keeper) illustrates MA-French codeswitching:

Dialogue 1

A: [ɣadda l-vakas]

A: Tomorrow is a holiday.

²² The dialogues are tape-recordings of natural speech: the speakers did not know that their speech was being tape-recorded.

B: [aɪmən fakans]

A: [l-vakas t-l^cid l-kbir]

B: [ʃhal ^cəndna d-l^cotl .]

A: [katrə .u:r]

B: [ɣadjin t-s .fru l-ʃi bl .s .]?]

A: [maʃi f-lə-prœmie .u:r]

B: [ʃlaʃ] ?

A: [hit il-ffu-kə ndəbhu l-kəbʃ]

B: [ijjeh]

A: [dima ka n-dəbhu l-kəbʃ,
pur selebre lajid]

B: What holiday ?

A: The holiday of Greater Bairam, I have heard.

B: How many days holiday do we have ?

A: Four days.

B: Are going to take a trip anywhere ?

A: Not the first day.

B: Why ?

A: Because we have to slaughter the ram)

B: Really ?

A: We always slaughter a ram to celebrate Greater Bairam's day.

On the basis of the detailed sociolinguistic analysis of a natural conversation involving a number of MB- and MA-speakers (see dialogues 1 and 2), it was revealed that code-switching, as a behavioural strategy, though often highly rated can also be deprecated if the interlocutor gets the wrong message from the speaker's switching of codes, i.e, code-switching can also be perceived positively or negatively depending on situation, interlocutor and topic.

To communicate functional meanings effectively the individual must have not only a range of linguistic norms to choose from (linguistic competence) but also the ability to project correctly the interpretation that their choice may be given by the

listener (communicative competence). For instance, if the intent of speaker A (dialogue 2, below) in switching from MA to French is to demonstrate superior education or refinement, then he or she must assume that the listener (speaker B) will define French as the idiom of the cultivated — if the wrong code is chosen then the wrong response is given by the listener.

Code-switching by speaker B from MA to French in dialogue No.2 is perceived as 'ostentatious' and 'showing off' because the speaker has made use of a foreign language in a situation where a local or national language would be a perfect substitute (e.g. when somebody is discussing a religious matter in French when the interlocutor would expect CA to be used). For speaker A code-switching can be said to serve a metalinguistic function; a conscious act on the part of the speaker to impress the listener by demonstrating his linguistic skills.

However, when this same speaker is to discuss a technical matter (describing parts of a car) his switching to French will be perceived as perfectly normal. In this case, code-switching serves a referential function because the mother tongue lacks technical terms and the speaker inevitably resorts to French:

[dak nh .r məfit ^əand lmikanik baʃ ns .jəb lmotur t-tonobi u hua i gul lia rah
həttə lpptarbriz ^əandək mhərəs]

Tasheliht-French codeswitching is widespread among immigrant groups coming back home during the summer holidays. For these groups code-switching serves the referential function, for in the majority of cases this group masters neither TS nor French after spending a period of time in the country of migration. Thus words from either TS or French may be semantically more appropriate for a given concept as the case may be. For example, a Ts-speaking immigrant comes

home from France and starts talking to his son whom he has not seen for a whole year:

[ʃaba sʕid iwi, manik-antgit isa sul tfattut s-likul. fəlhk təmzzit deza təmqqurt]
(How are you, Said my son. Are you still going to school? When I left [to France] you were still a young child, you have grown up fast.)

Many Moroccans view this kind of code-switching as a sign of linguistic 'degeneration' as a result of being lost between two cultures. Instances have also been observed where code-switching serves a directive function, i.e. either the inclusion of a person in the conversation by switching to that person's code or his exclusion from the conversation by refusing to switch (recall H. Giles' interpersonal speech accommodation theory, Chapter 1). Where a group of TS-speakers is involved, the norm is to switch to MA once a MA-speaker joins the group and provided this group can actually speak MA. On the contrary, when a TS-speaker joins a MA-speaking group, the conversation is in MA throughout. Here is yet an indication of the dominance of MA as a medium of inter-group communication.

The following is a dialogue between two TS-speaking A and B with speaker B switching from TS to French throughout the conversation.

Dialogue 2

A: [mənʃk əjad ilkəmn

ʔak issərbh rbbi] ?

B: [ʔilad əgwmə təkəm

dizœr]

A: [is nit t-ħəqqəqt] ?

B: [nõ, əʒij ədʒərħ

A: What time is it , please?

B: Now my friend, it's ten o'clock

A: Are you sure ?

B: No, let me look at my

- la montr. samhij, ɣilad
dizœr sanq ajəlkəmn] watch.I beg your pardon, it's
 five past ten.
- A: [ixssəj ad-ftuh/ s-la ffak] A: I have to go to
 university at ten thirty
- B: [bəd imik munh dik] B: Wait a minute and I'll go
 with you.
- A: [anqməz ttaksi] A: Shall we take a taxi ?
- B: [nõ, la ffak təqərbd ni] B: No the University is
 very close.
- A: [jallaḥ, oniva] A: Let's go.

In the course of the present chapter I have been able to reach a number of conclusions. A summary of the findings is as follows. The matched-guise experiments clearly demonstrated how speakers in their MA and MB guises have been perceived as possessing inferior attributes on status traits (e.g. less 'intelligent' and less 'confident'), although they have received the highest ratings on solidarity traits (e.g. 'kinder' and more 'sympathetic'). The highest ratings on status traits have been given to French guises, while SA-guises received intermediate ratings on both status and solidarity traits.

The analysis of the findings obtained through the open-ended and multiple-choice questionnaires revealed a range of stereotypical (subjective) attitudes towards various groups, which confirms the results of the mg technique. The general attitude can be said to be in favour of foreign groups (French-speakers for example) and less negative towards Moroccans speaking a foreign language, with MA- and MB-groups coming off worst.

In another experiment, I carried out an investigation of attitudes to within-language-variation and I came to the conclusion that this variation (mainly phonological) is not always tolerated (4.6.3). For instance, some phonological variables like /g/ in MA and /x/ in TS have been stigmatised and negatively perceived.

The findings strongly confirmed the proposition stated in hypothesis 13 above which advances that "MA and MB tend to be perceived as possessing inferior attributes, and we expect Moroccans to appreciate MA-French code-switching reasoning that this would win them a more positive perception by the listener, French being positively perceived. The same applies to MB-French code-switching.²³ A set of additional observations can be made here:

1. The raters differentially perceived the speakers on the basis of their sex
2. The judges reacted differently to the speech samples because of the subjects' native language backgrounds
3. Accuracy of pronunciation has been found to be a major variable
4. The important cues are the same for subjects with different linguistic background
5. In most cases, the judges were able, upon questioning, to specify the linguistic cues on which they presumably based their ratings
6. The judges could not consistently identify the native language background of the subjects
7. The judges' ratings correlate highly with the subjects' scores on language proficiency tests
8. Evaluations of speakers and attitudes towards their language tend to be

²³Code-switching studies focus on the complex and processual interplay of etiquette, impression management, expectation, social solidarity or distance, and inequalities of power in a multi-lingual situation (Giles et al., 1980).

identical.

However, speaker evaluations (judging the individual on the basis of his/her speech style) are only one facet of Language Attitudes. Another important aspect of Language Attitudes is the evaluation of languages and language varieties per se, in terms of what they can offer the individual socially, economically and psychologically. In this respect, we shall investigate the Moroccan public opinion on which languages are 'useful' (or 'useless') for gaining social mobility; which are 'good' for purposes of intimacy; and which are perceived simply as 'beautiful' or 'harsh'. Chapter 5 is devoted to this task.

CHAPTER

5

DATA-ANALYSIS : PART 2

EVALUATIONS OF LANGUAGES AND

LANGUAGE VARIETIES

In the discussion of speaker evaluations as an index of language attitudes in the course of Chapter 4, it was revealed that different speakers were commonly assigned different characteristics (occupational, social, and personality traits) on the basis of their language only. These findings were mainly the outcome of the matched-guise technique. Chapter 5 adopts a different focus. Rather than relying on an indirect method to elicit language attitudes, it relies on direct methods (questionnaires and interviews) to elicit self-reported data. Furthermore, using a different method serves our purposes of cross-validation, because of the possible limitations of the mg technique. The results of this study are reported in the form of tables and diagrams.

5.1. PERCEIVED LANGUAGE STATUS: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The majority identified the status of SA with its place in schools and colleges (see Table 5.1) — items 4 to 7, which are rank ordered 11, 2, 10 and 3 respectively. Items 8, 9 and 10, which are concerned with the mass media, the press and scientific publications are rank ordered 9,8, and 4 respectively, and come second to the items concerning the use of MSA in schools, public administration and justice (items 1, 2, and 3) and business (item 11) are rank ordered 5, 6, 1 and 7.

The low ratings of these items probably reflect the current standing of SA in these domains of use, and may not actually reflect how the samples regard the importance of these domains for the prestige of SA. Nevertheless, however we interpret them, the responses do indicate that the use of SA in such circumstances is not regarded at present as adding to its prestige.

Table 5.1: Perceived status of the languages under investigation according to specified variable (Response percentages & rank order).¹

	SA	Fr.	Eng.	MB/ MA	Rank order	convenient Language
(1) Officially used in courts of law	82	29	14	30	5	SA
(2) Officially used in public administration	64	20	10	17	6	SA
(3) Necessary for official appointments	70	87	4	2	1	SA
(4) Taught in primary and secondary schools	81	85	11	4	11	SA
(5) Taught in universities	67	80	29	-	2	Fr.
(6) Used as a means of instruction in primary and secondary schools	75	60	4	-	10	SA
(7) Used as means of instruction in universities	79	91	40	-	3	Fr.
(8) Regularly used on radio and TV	83	72	3	-	9	Fr./SA
(9) Regularly used in national press	62	64	4	-	8	Fr.
(10) Used in scientific publications	30	76	37	-	4	SA/Fr.*
(11) Regularly used in commerce and business	3	62	30	25	7	MB/MA **
(12) Regularly used for public worship.	88	-	-	-	12	SA

*Formal **Informal

¹ The model of this table is the research conducted by Lewis between 1968 and 1975 in Wales and the United States of America.

Religion is referred to in item 12 and is rank ordered 12, and we can conclude that the attitude to SA among this sample, as elicited through Table 5.1, is not favourably affected by its association with religious observances. The results of this questionnaire suggest that the institutionalisation of bilingualism is identified significantly — perhaps dominantly — with the schools, because the differences in means between items 5 through 7 and the next highest group — the media (items 8 and 9) — are considerable.

Other institutions such as courts of law and the mosques do not compete with schools. Bilingual education is seen by those connected with schools as a threat to the standing of SA in society, given the presence of French — a competing foreign language. Of those who attach a great deal of importance to SA in the schools and colleges 54% also attach great importance to item 1 in Table 5.1 — the use of SA in courts of law. Also the majority of those who attach great importance to item 9 in Table 5.1 ("use in the press") did not regard the use of SA for the purposes of reading books and periodicals as important.

On the whole, the dominant MA-speaking samples attach more importance to the use of MB in commerce and less to the use of the language at home or in the street. The dominant MA-speaking sample regarded the potential use of MB in schools as less important than does the dominant MB-speaking sample. Taking the total dominant MA- and the total dominant MB-speaking samples, however, there is considerable similarity in the relative importance of SA in public worship, the use of the language to teach other subjects in schools and colleges, the teaching of the language in schools, the use of SA in the administration of justice, and the appearance of the language in scientific publications.

Apart from the use of MB in commerce, which the MB dominant group do not

regard as important, the two occupational sub-samples (professional or manual) are generally in agreement. The main disagreements relate to public administration and the potential use of MB in schools (more favourably regarded by MB-dominant professionals) and the use of MB in public worship (less strongly supported by them). Apart from the fact that the MB-dominant manual workers give a higher rating to the use of MB in worship than do the MA-speaking manual workers, the differences between these two subgroups are not particularly noteworthy.

5.2. ATTITUDE IN RELATION TO COMPARATIVE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS AND LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE

No study of attitude would be remotely adequate if it did not at least touch upon the relationship between the uses to which languages in contact are put and the comparative knowledge of them. For our purposes, we shall use data from questionnaires completed in the three areas under study, namely Rabat-Salé, Marrakesh, and The Souss (see chapter 4).

5.2.1. INFORMAL LANGUAGE CHOICE AND LANGUAGE DOMINANCE AS INDICES OF ATTITUDE

Where different languages come in contact, it is almost inevitable to encounter instances of linguistic phenomena such as borrowing and code-switching. However, these are not the only consequences of language contact. Language contact also implies the existence of a sociolinguistic hierarchy in which each 'language' assumes a certain role (or function) and has a certain degree of dominance. Hence, the terms 'standard' and 'substandard', 'language' and 'dialect'. The status of a language and its dominance is one of the most important determinants of people's attitudes towards and evaluations of a given language.

The choice of language can be predicted if one knows the identity of the informant and the interlocutor. A first look at the bottom line of Figure 5.1 below

tells a lot about the dominance of MA in a situation where the speaker has five different linguistic codes to choose from. The decision tree models for the language choice of both MA- and MB-speakers within a marital context and the family circle, in general (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4) also show the clear dominance of MA. The bottom lines of two decision tree models (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) also indicate how a MA- or MB-speaker is more likely to choose French as a means of communication where MA cannot be used, for example where the interlocutor does not speak MA.

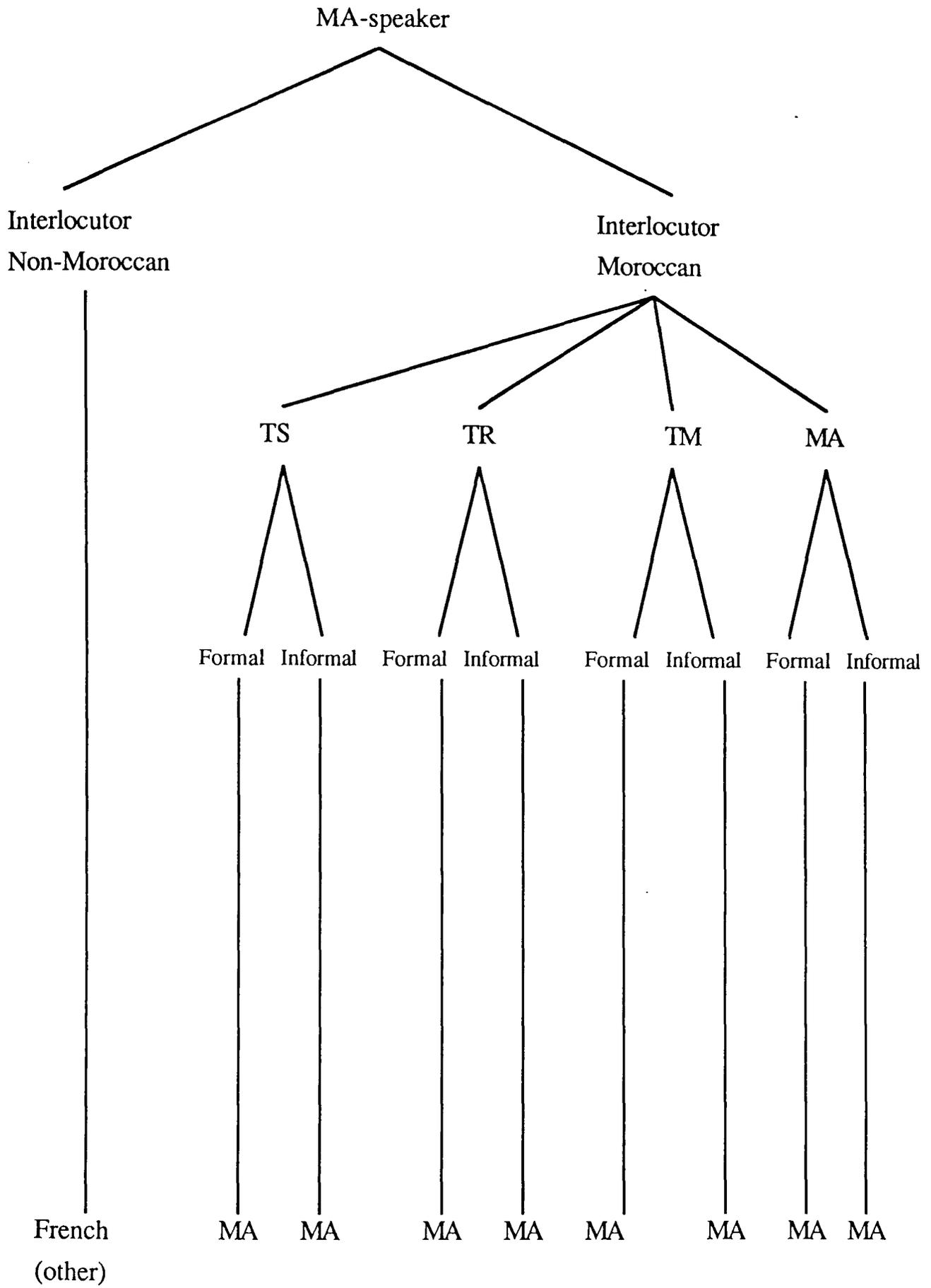


Figure 5.1. The decision tree model for the language choice of a biligual MA-speaker.

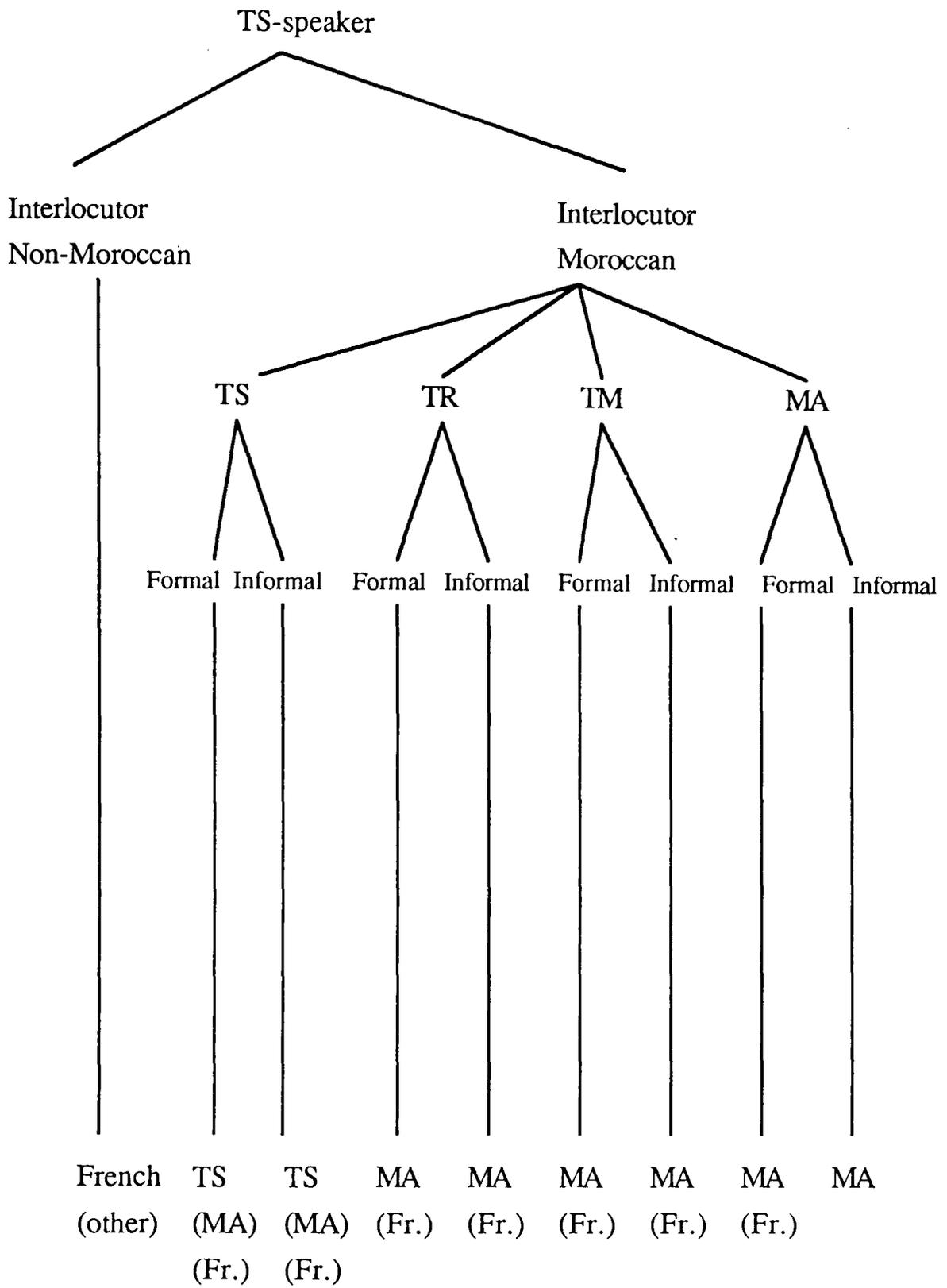


Figure 5.2. The decision tree model for the language choice of a bilingual TS-speaker.

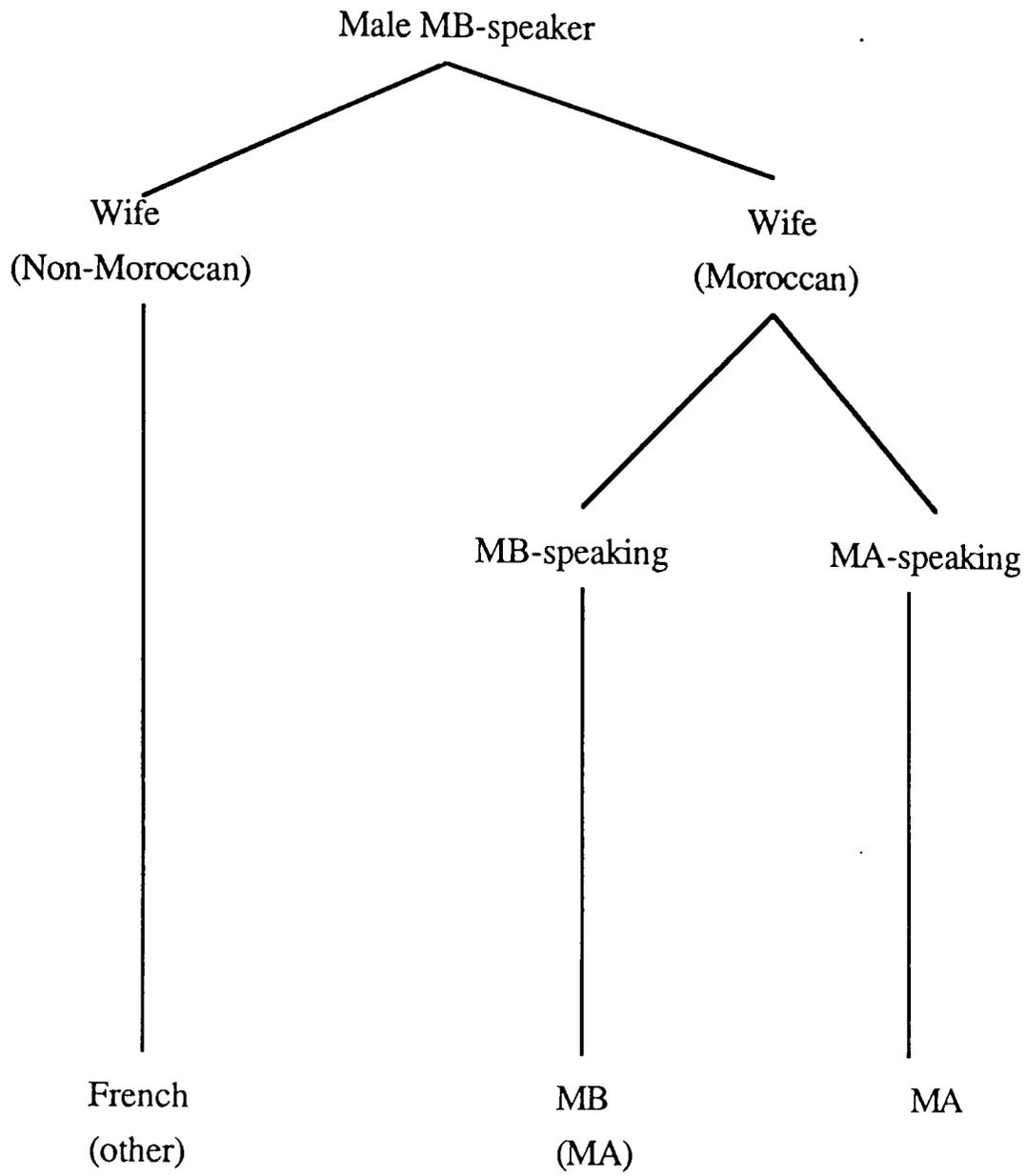


Figure 5.3. The decision model for the language choice of a bilingual MB-speaker within a marital context.

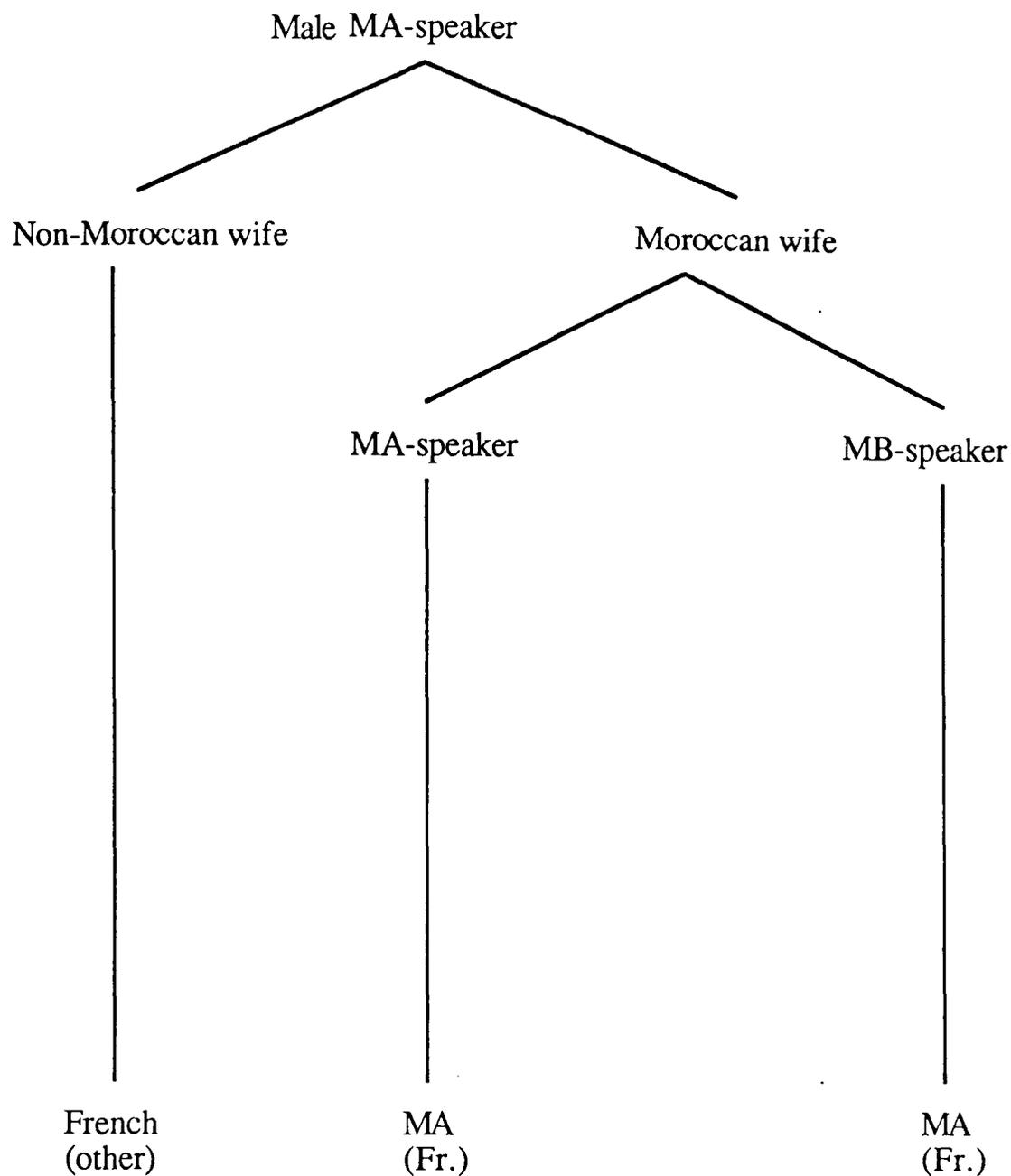


Figure 5.4. The decision tree model for the language choice of a MA-speaker within a marital context

In the course of Chapter 1 we were concerned with the various roles played by each of the languages in use in Morocco. A consideration of these functions in the light of representative excerpts of the data elicited is now in order. A first consideration of the languages employed in their main domains of use has given the findings in Table 5.2. below.

Table 5.2. Response percentages: dominance of French and MB in the street, at home, and in correspondence

	Fr.	MB		
		Rabat	Marrakesh	The Souss
Used in the Street	14	19	35	76
Used at home	5	20	51	71
Correspondence	52	-	-	-

It is clear from Table 5.2 that 14% of the informants recorded in the study speak some French in the street. It should be observed here that these are predominantly youngsters who have received some formal education. Many of them, especially female students, showed a great tendency to alternately use French and the mother tongue (either Moroccan Arabic or one of the MB varieties).

Some of them chose to speak to us using some French, and when asked why they had such a tendency, they replied that they needed special terms and expressions which they thought are available only in French. However, I have noticed, and so did other members of our research team, that some informants used many lexical items borrowed from French even though the counterparts of these words existed in their mother tongue. Here is some evidence that their use of French is not only motivated by a desire to communicate but is, at least for some, a matter of ostentation.

Only 5% of our informants used French at home. These were found to belong to higher class and the French language was usually used by their parents. Some of them are students who claimed they spoke French to their brothers and sisters

because, as they stated, they needed to practice in that language.

This linguistic behaviour is found in a number of well-to-do families in big cities (e.g. Rabat and Casablanca), where the children are encouraged to use French or a variety of it. This attitude can be justified on behalf of the parents and the children alike by the belief that French is a means of social mobility and a factor of prestige.² It should also be pointed out here that the type of French used in these families ranges from a formal variety of French to a few expressions. This use of French, needless to say, is enforced by the various mass media: television, radio, and some newspapers.

Those informants who used French in the street and at home also used the language in their correspondence with their friends and families. But there are others who used French as a medium of correspondence, which brings the total percentage of those informants who claim they use French in their correspondence to 52%. A little more than 76% of informants from the Souss area used TS in the street, and it is interesting to notice that the use of MB decreases as we go up North; 76% in the Souss, 35% in Marrakesh and only 19% in Rabat-Salé. But it is quite surprising to see that the number of those who use MB at home is less than the number of those who use it in the street. This was mainly due to the presence of MA, the dominant variety (see figure 5.1 and 5.2). Indeed, we should not overlook the fact that MA is used as a lingua franca between MA- and MB-speakers. It is not, however, surprising that none used MB in their correspondence, given the fact that MB is not normally written.³

² This point will shortly be examined in detail in the section concerned with "language evaluation"

³ It should perhaps be pointed here that some Berber-speakers make use of the Arabic script to write Berber although this is very rare.

The analysis of the ratings on Table 5.2 also reveals that a negligible fraction of our Ss (2%) used English at home because people have a very restricted knowledge of the language. English is not generally used in the street, except by people whose jobs require some use of English. These are mainly tourist guides and language teachers. Only 5% of the total number of informants used English in their correspondence. They are mainly students who have studied English at school for at least three years. Some of them correspond in English with pen-friends abroad. Others, mainly youngsters, write in English to their Moroccan friends who also know some English. Therefore, it can be gathered from what precedes that the use of English is very limited. This reflects the general position of this language within the hierarchy of languages inside the country.

With respect to SA, it can be stated that this language is rarely used at home or in the street, except by some learned people who may want to discuss very formal topics such as literature and politics. A great number of informants, however, use SA in their correspondence with family and friends, mainly because it is the language used in literature and various spheres of knowledge in general.

It has also been observed that MA is the first language used at home, especially in Marrakesh and Rabat-Salé. Sixty per cent of our informants used MA at home. Among them we have many individuals who have MB as their mother tongue. Like MB, MA is not usually written (although it sometimes makes use of the Arabic alphabet) and therefore no one used it in correspondence. But despite its lack of a writing system, MA retains its dominance as a language of interaction among people.

5.2.2. FORMAL LINGUISTIC FUNCTIONS

The first aspect of usage and knowledge to be investigated was in the area of modes of formal linguistic functions — listening, speaking, reading, and writing.

The same questionnaire (see Appendix A) was used in all three linguistic areas under study. Generally speaking, the means for the use of SA compared with French are not high, the lowest being in respect of listening and the highest in respect of speaking (see Table 5.3.). The two more formal modes, reading and writing, are lowest in rank order and this confirms what other data have suggested about favourable attitudes to French in Morocco being mainly in respect of economic advantages and social mobility.

Table 5.3. Response percentages: Distribution of modal French usage

Language mode	Mean
1. Listening to French compared with SA	0.41 (0.34)
2. Speaking French compared with SA	0.13 (0.07)
3. Reading French compared with SA	0.21 (0.36)
4. Writing French compared with SA	0.20 (0.30)
Consolidated Mean	0.95 (1.07)

The 112 adults in the MA-dominant group (Rabat-Salé) were stratified according to language and age. As was the case with the MB-dominant group (104), the means for SA as compared with French tend to be low, and lower, except for writing and listening, among the MA-dominant group. As with French, the more formal modes (reading and writing) have the highest means, and this is true of all three linguistic groups. The older Moroccans, whether MA-dominant or MB-dominant, have higher means than the younger generation—except in reading and writing. Invariably, the MB-dominant age groups have lower means than the MA-dominant age groups.

Table 5.4. Response percentages: contact with French

	Whenever I can	Now and then	Only when I have to	Never
1) I try to speak French	40	27	9	24
2) I read French magazines	30	22	19	29
3) I read French newspapers	39	17	10	34
4) I listen to the programmes broadcast in French.	27	22	38	13
5) I invite French guests to my house.	21	24	24	55
6) I watch French theatrical plays	11	5	38	44

5.3. HIGH- VS LOW-PRESTIGE VARIETIES

Up to this point I have been concerned with the examination of the languages in use in their respective domains. It is now my intention to turn to a consideration of some more specific feelings and attitudes associated with each of the languages and language varieties under study. I shall base my statements here on the findings compiled from the data gathered through questionnaires, interviews and participant observation.

5.3.1. PERCEIVED APPROPRIATENESS OF LANGUAGE

The perception of the appropriateness of using a particular language in specified

domains, like the expression of what domains of usage promote the status of a given language, is a clear indication of attitude. Tables 5.4 & 5.5 set out the results of a questionnaire administered to 200 adults in Morocco categorised according to language dominance and age. The domains of usage were specified. The group from Rabat-Salé were predominantly MA-speaking, the group from the Souss were MB-dominant, and the group from Marrakesh were mixed.

Table 5.5. Response percentages: perception of appropriateness of language in specified domains.⁴

Domain of usage	Fr.	MB	MA	SA	Eng.
Intimacy purposes	10	61	71	2	-
Solidarity purposes	-	37	72	11	-
Medium of Instruction	63	3	3	57	37

Table 5.5 clearly shows that 10% of our informants used the French language in various situations of intimacy. Some Ss stated that French was a malleable language in which they could easily express their real feelings towards each other. Intimacy was, thus, the next most appropriate situation, except among the older Ss in both MA- and MB-dominant groups, by whom it is regarded as the least important. French was claimed to be the language of intimacy by a minority of informants, no one thought it could be the language of solidarity because, as was argued, French was 'alien' to them.

Furthermore, a great number of informants, making up 63% of the whole number of informants, chose French as a medium of instruction. The use of French in this particular domain takes precedence in both language categories,

⁴ Number of informants percent (MB-speakers only)

especially among the younger age-group. The majority of them have had some education and are able to read and write some French, but there were others who did not know the language and who expressed a wish to learn it. Some subjects had the intention of taking French as their major course in the University once they passed their Baccalaureate.

Unlike French, MB was heavily used in intimate situations. More than 61% of the MB-dominant group used it for intimate purposes. When asked why they had such tendency, a number of TS-speakers claimed that they could only feel intimate with each other by using their mother tongue with which they are most familiar. Some of them were unable to speak French but they said they would not use it even if they were able to do so.

A considerable number of our informants also stated that MB, which is their mother tongue, is a language of solidarity. The use of MB as a medium at school or at work is regarded as the least appropriate except among the younger MB-dominant group. On the whole only 3% thought of MB as a medium of instruction since it lacked an operational written alphabet and is therefore limited in use. However, this does not mean that they do not attach any importance to their mother tongue, nor does it imply that they would not like their languages to be used in a school context.

If French and SA are the mark of social distance, MA and MB are the mark of social acceptance and even equality. While the former are normally used on formal occasions, the latter are relegated to the contexts of casual, day to day interactions.

Table 5.5 also reveals that 72% of the informants considered MA as a factor of unification and solidarity. Some subjects argued that it is the language which has

the greatest number of speakers including many MB-speaking individuals. Others claimed that on the basis of its dominance in many regions of Morocco it can be considered as the language of unification on the level of the nation. It should perhaps be pointed out here that the majority of these informants know very little SA because they have had no formal education.

A similarly large number of informants, 71%, use MA for intimate needs. These include some Berber-speakers who chose to use MA in such a situation. This should, however, be considered with caution, for intimacy, as is normally widely admitted, is linked with the mother tongue. As is the case with MB, very few informants preferred MA as the language of instruction. These Ss have had no formal education and therefore use neither French nor SA. Their idea of instruction was limited to pure communicative purposes.

Table 5.5 also shows that only 11% thought that SA could be a suitable language for purposes of solidarity, arguing that it is known by a very limited number of people and restricted to formal contexts such as education and media. Only 2% of our Ss claimed they used SA for intimate purposes. These individuals have achieved some degree of education and some among them are SA teachers in various schools in Morocco.

Although SA is lauded as clear and beautiful while local forms are deprecated, it is indicative that such judgments are offered most frequently in the presence of standard speakers. The local forms assert solidarity regardless of occupation. The standard, given its association with education, administration and politics, is likely to sound boastful and insincere among both MA-dominant and MB-dominant groups. Its use is often taken as showing off, rejection of the group, putting oneself above others. This is also the case with French.

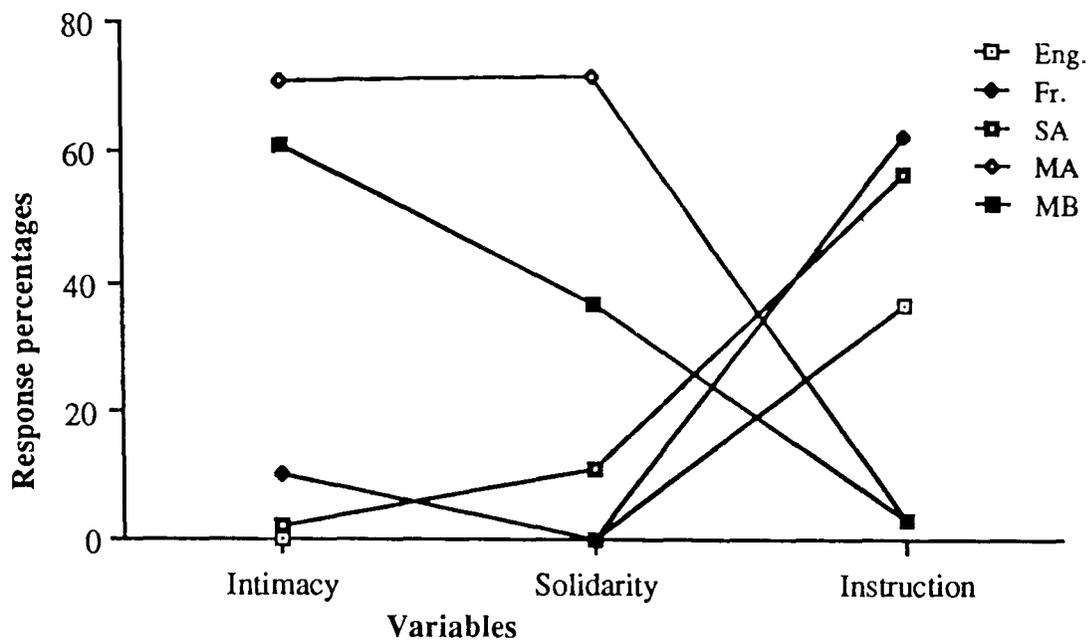


Figure 5.5. Perception of the variables under study in terms of specified variables.

English was altogether excluded from questions of intimacy by our informants, and no one considered that the language might be a means of solidarity, given the fact that a very limited number of individuals spoke or understood English. But, 37% said that English is an international language and that it is 'spoken in America'. They therefore stated that they would prefer the language as a medium of instruction. There appears then to be a general consensus regarding the areas of usage where the languages in question are appropriate. At the same time, apart from the use of MA and MB at home and in the street, the means are relatively low, and we can conclude that MA and MB are not regarded as highly appropriate in any other domain.

In Table 5.5 above we have seen that MB was used for intimacy and solidarity purposes, at least on a regional level, and that French was most preferred as a medium of instruction. After this consideration of the various correlations existing between "solidarity", "intimacy" and "instruction" and the languages used in Morocco, I proceed to the examination of language attitudes per se.

Table 5.6. Response percentages: The usefulness of MB, Fr., English, MA and SA in 'getting a job', Listening to music programmes and general preference.

VARIABLE	Fr.	MB	Eng.	MA	SA
'Job opportunity'	64	9	21	2	40
'Music programmes'	29	20	45	28	11
'General preference'	42	27	15	21	23

It is clear from Table 5.6 that 29% of our informants listen to radio music broadcasts in French because of the quality of music programmes. When asked why they had such a tendency the majority of the Ss stated that it was because French was a "romantic" language in which feelings could best be expressed. Needless to say that judgments of this sort have no linguistic grounds. Rather they are based on subjective feelings.

To the question " What language do you think would help you get ahead in life and secure a good job?"⁵, 64% of our informants said that it was the French language (compare 9% for MB). Their main argument was that French, being a language of great importance inside the country, was required from the individuals who sought a job, to the extent that those who did not have a sufficient knowledge of French were not given much opportunity for a job and were considered as "under-valued", to use the expression of one of our Ss.

Concerning the heading "general preference", there is a strong tendency towards French. Slightly more than 42% of our informants preferred to use French rather than any other language. Their preference was based on the social

⁵ Today the knowledge of standard French in North Africa as a whole remains the key to desirable governmental, business and educational positions.

advantages this language is supposed to provide for them. From Table 5.6 it is also clear that only a restricted number of our informants (9%) relied on MB in trying to secure a job. The table also reveals that French was generally preferred over the mother tongue, at least for utilitarian reasons. It is now my intention to consider the three other varieties, namely English, MA and SA, in the light of the findings in Table 5.8

Music programmes broadcast in English were the most preferred by our informants, especially among the younger generation (Table 5.6). A little more than 45% listened to these programmes on a regular basis on the grounds that this language is the dominant one in the field of music. An interesting observation here is that many informants claimed to listen exclusively to songs written in English. The majority of these people belong to the so-called "new-wave" and are much influenced by if not 'accultured' in Western values. Only 21% of our Ss felt that a mastery of English would allow them to secure a job (cf. hypothesis No.1, chapter 4). This, it was argued, is due to the fact that this language does not enjoy a wide currency in Morocco.

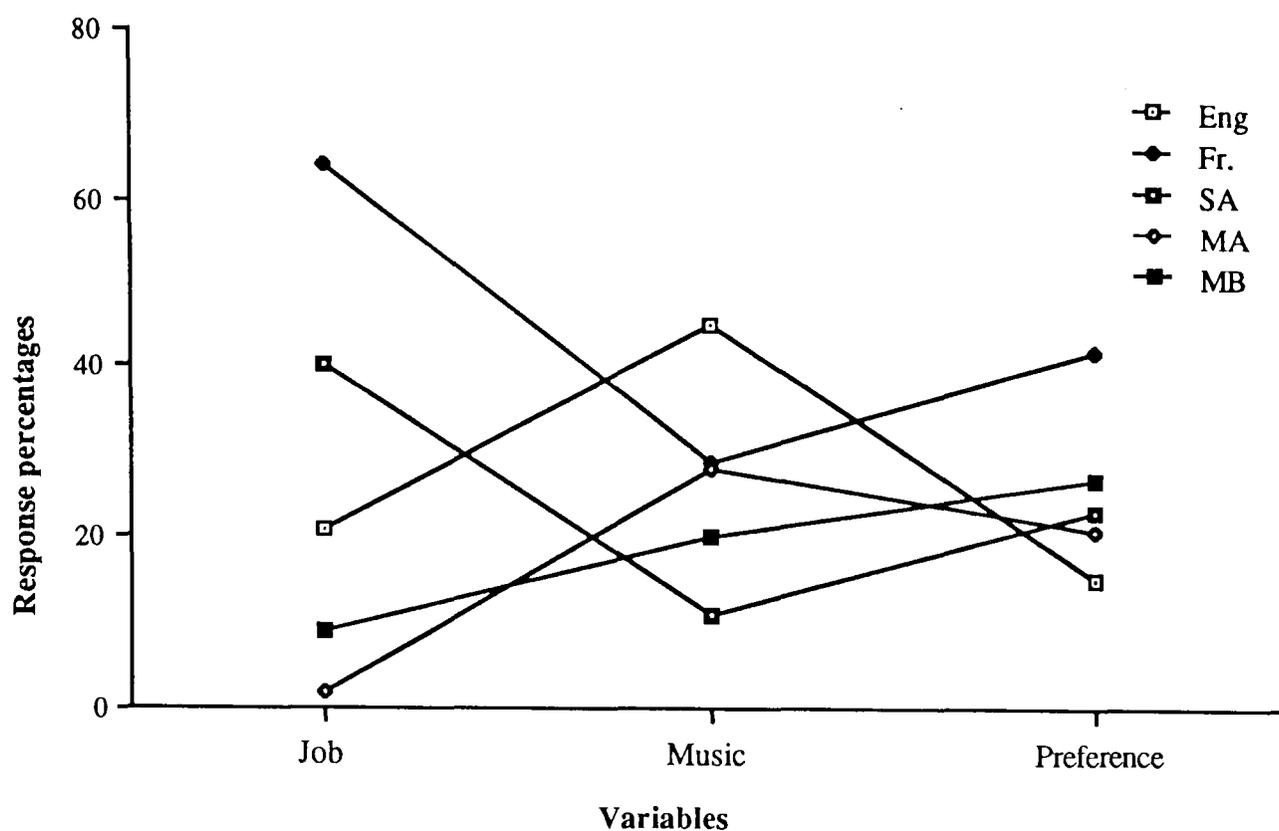


Figure 5.2. Perception of the varieties under study in terms of specified variables.

As was the case with MB our informants had very little reliance on MA in trying to secure a job. Those among our Ss who claimed they relied on that variety in seeking work had a very limited conception of "work" (conceived of as manual). Our Ss manifested more positive attitudes towards SA. However, because of the limited knowledge of this language, only 11% listened to SA-language songs⁶. This language was said to be reliable in securing a job because, as was argued by 40% of our Ss, it has a highly esteemed position in the various circles of education, administration and mass media.

From Table 5.6 it was also revealed that French was generally preferred to any other language mainly because of what it can offer in terms of social mobility (cf. hypothesis No.1, chapter 4). If we consider another type of correlation existing between the languages in use in Morocco and people's attitudes towards them, we

⁶ SA-language songs were dismissed, at least by some, as too artificial and far-fetched. It should perhaps be observed here that very few people can speak SA fluently.

come to subjective attitudes such as "language X is good", " language Y is bad" and " our language is better than their language".

Table 5.7. Percentage responses: perceived inherent values of the languages and language varieties under study.

Trait	Fr.	MB	Eng.	MA	SA
Positively perceived	60	76	20	52	66
Negatively perceived	11	4	-	-	-
Perceived as 'interesting'	62	17	37	31	-

A more interesting result was that a little more than 60% of our Ss perceived French in a negative way,⁷ basing their judgments on the assumption that French is the language of the coloniser and therefore the embodiment of past oppression and enslavement. Some argued that " this foreign language competes with our national and official languages". Others expressed a hostile attitude towards French on religious grounds, claiming that it is a "devil" language since it was associated with what was termed the "infidels". However, it was observed that a large number of informants (62%) advanced the idea that French was "interesting". They provided the argument that it is a good language because their interest in it allowed them to acquire some knowledge of science and technology, in general (see Table 5.7).

With respect to MB, we notice that not many informants (26 %) thought of it in a positive way. These Ss, who included both MA- and MB-speakers, claimed that MB was 'bad' in the sense that it lacked an operational writing system. Some MB-

⁷ It is a well known fact that languages do not possess inherent values of beauty , correctness, or pleasantness, but the general public tends to believe that some languages are more 'useful' or 'correct' than others. These inherent values are normally associated with prestige, power, or status.

speakers stated that "MB is of little use to us as we always have to resort to French or Standard Arabic for lexical items". However, some Ss termed MB as 'good' because, as was stated, it is their mother tongue and it is therefore the reflection of their personal identity. Another group of informants (17%), however, stated that MB was 'interesting'. Their interest in it was mainly for communicative purposes because it allowed them to get familiar with the 'Mazighi' culture and people in general.

From Table 5.7 it was clear that there was a strong positive attitude manifested towards French mainly because of the positive economic consequences of the ability to speak the language. A consideration of the other three varieties in terms of the attitudinal variables "good", "bad" and "interesting" is relevant.

In the light of the results in Table 5.7 there are some surprising facts. The first point is that only 20% of our informants termed English "good" although 37% stated that it is interesting. A great number of those who held a positive attitude towards English were "middle class" and were taking the language as their major course of study at University level. In this case, there is, therefore, a personal involvement with English. Some individuals, however, claimed that English was "bad". In this respect, I would like to point out that these individuals did not receive any formal education and have, therefore, very little knowledge of the language.

Moroccan Arabic was conceived of as "good" by a little more than half our Ss (52%), 1/3 of whom were MB-speakers. But others, 10%, considered this variety to be "bad" since, as it was argued, it is reserved for minor functions. Among these informants, MA-speaking group based their attitude to their mother tongue on the fact that, as was the case with MB, it lacked a graphic system of its

own.⁸ These people know some French and have a good mastery of SA. Nevertheless, 31% had an interest in MA because, as they thought, it is spoken in many parts of the country and, therefore, by a large number of individuals.

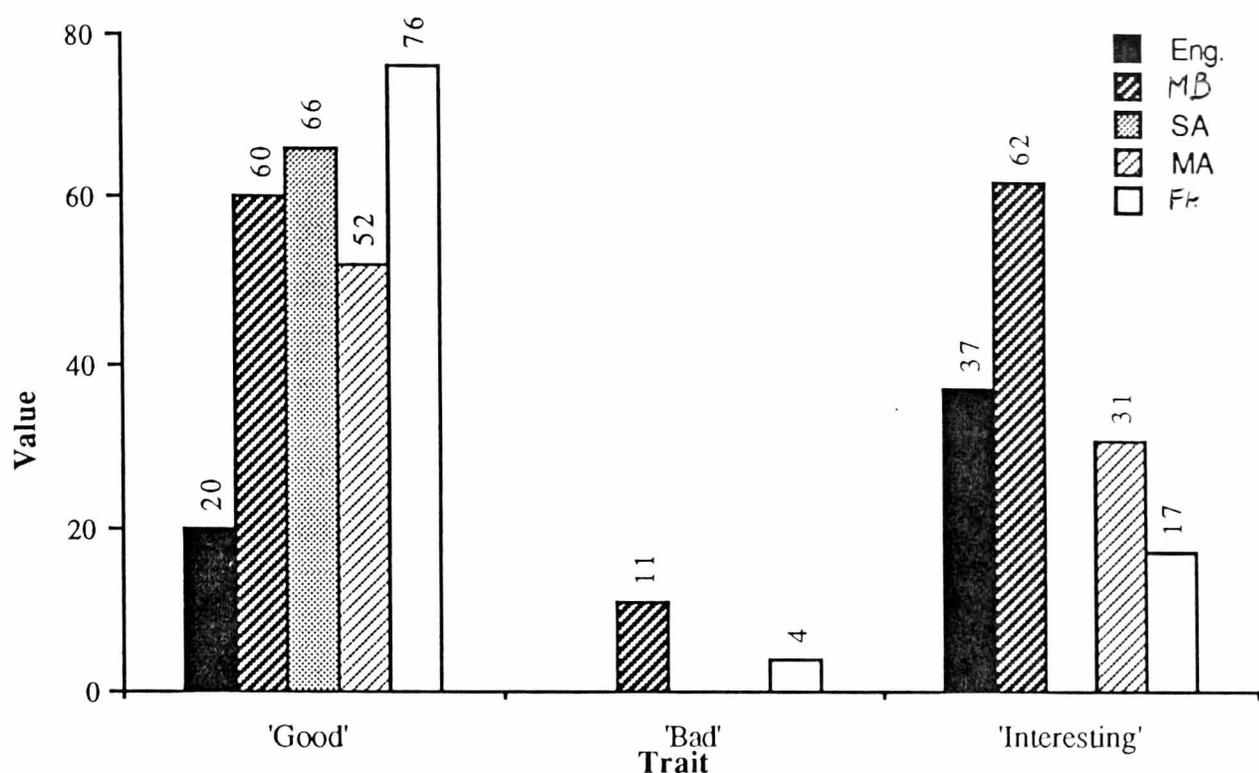


Figure 5.7. Subjective language evaluations in terms of specified variables.

Unlike MA and English, SA enjoys a wider prestige, given the fact that it is the official language of the country, associated with the mass media and related to CA, the language of the Holy Qur'an. These points made many informants, making up 66% altogether, believe that it is "good" as well as "interesting", but never "bad" albeit the fact that SA does not enjoy a very strong position relative to French for instance.

With the exception of SA, the results on Table 5.7 revealed that French and English were given the highest ratings concerning the item "good". In Table 5.8 French and MB were considered against three more attitudes, namely those concerned with the concepts of "modern" and "old-fashioned".

⁸ MA-speakers sometimes make use of the Arabic alphabet, but it is usually difficult to read.

Table 5.8. Perceived responses : percentage ratings of French, MB, English, SA, and MA in terms of the specified variables.

Trait	Fr.	MB	Eng.	SA	MA
Perceived as 'modern'	94	4	90	70	5
Perceived as 'old-fashioned'	-	10	-	-	17

As far as French was concerned, 94% of our Ss stated that it was a language associated with modern civilisation. These people, who were of various ages and levels of education argued that this variety was the vehicle of science, literature and art in general. But it should be observed here that these people, with the exception of a few, based their argument on particular stereotypes, for they were found to know very little literature, French or science. No one said that French was "archaic" or "old-fashioned" as this would have contradicted their first judgment on French as being a vehicle of modern civilisation.

With respect to MB, only 4% associated the language with modern civilisation, and claimed that since MB lacked a graphic representation it could not be associated with important fields of modern civilisation such as literature, science and technology. Ten per cent of our Ss stated that MB was "old-fashioned" since, as was argued, it has little to do with modern civilisation. Others argued that MB is not 'old-fashioned' since it is suitable for everyday communicative needs, at least on a regional level.

In Table 5.8 we saw that French was the language most associated with modern civilisation. It is now clear that this was mainly due to the fact that French dominates as the language of science and technology. Needless to say, this attitude to French has no ground in the inherent or aesthetic features of the language, given

the fact that all languages are perfectly suitable for communication purposes inside their respective speech communities. The remaining language varieties, namely English, SA and MA were also examined in the same way.

Table 5.8 reveals that 90% of the Ss we interviewed attributed the quality "modern" to the English language and 70% of them attributed the same quality to SA. Their arguments were almost identical to those put forward in the case of French. The attitudes towards MA match in many ways those expressed towards MB in terms of such attitudes as "modern".

Table 5.8 summarised the negative attitudes expressed to non-standard varieties, namely MB and MA. It has been observed that these varieties were deprecated to the extent of being considered to be "old-fashioned". Three more general attitudes were examined in correlation with the languages and language varieties in question. These judgments are concerned with the variables reported on Table 5.9.

Table 5.9. Perception of languages in terms of the specified traits: percentage responses.

Trait	Fr.	MB	Eng.	SA	MA
Perceived as 'corrupt'	4	57	-	-	9
Considered to be 'useful'	76	34	64	70	35
Considered to be 'indispensable'	61	30	22	55	45

The findings were highly significant and rather remarkable and some figures were unexpected. Very few among our Ss (4%) judged French as being a "corrupt" language. The great majority of these individuals held the idea that it was

a self-contained language. The few who termed the language "corrupt" meant that French received a distorted pronunciation by non-French speakers. It should be pointed out here that there is no such thing as "corrupt language", rather there are degrees of borrowing. It is normally observed that the more a language is mixed, the more it is deprecated.

A considerable number of Ss (76%) also stated that French was "useful" in the sense that it provided them with opportunities such as good prospects for a job. A great number among them were of the new generation. The 'necessity' of this language was also claimed by a large number of our informants (61%) who thought that since French was "useful" and much required in society, then it must be a 'necessity' to everyone.

Unlike French, MB was termed "corrupt" by a large number of informants. Fifty seven percent considered the language as such on the ground that it was not a self-contained language, i.e., MB-speakers had to borrow a number of lexical items from French, SA and MA, as MB, according to our informants, did not possess these items. This attitude thus confirms hypothesis 13 above which states that we would expect Moroccans to deprecate mixed language and therefore code-switching.

However, a little more than 34% held that MB was useful since they needed the language for their everyday interactional purposes. These people, who were for the majority MB-speakers, included as well some MA-speakers who expressed a wish for learning MB in order to communicate with a wider public.

Only 30% of our Ss claimed that MB was 'indispensable'. For these people, it was the only variety they could speak. Some advanced the idea that many MB-

speakers used MA instead of their mother tongue. In this connection, we have already mentioned above that MA is used as a lingua franca in many parts of the country.

French was perceived as 'indispensable' (and nowadays some command of French is indispensable) and more "useful" than MB, according to our informants (see Table 5.9). English, SA and MA were further examined in terms of these same variables.

Considering the figures on Table 5.9 it is clear that English, as is the case with French, was not considered to be "corrupt". This may be due to the fact that very few people knew that language enough to be able to give such a judgment on it. However, 64% claimed that it was "useful". These are mainly students who held very positive attitudes towards the English language. But only 22% stated that it was necessary on the grounds that it is as important a language as French.

As was the case with MB, MA was termed a "corrupt" language because, as was argued, 'strange' and 'foreign' lexical items from foreign languages (mainly French and Spanish) were introduced into it. It should be noted here that these informants were all linguistically naive and not in a good position to comment on language phenomena such as borrowing and code-switching. However, 35% of our Ss termed MA a 'useful' language. Their conception of "usefulness" was limited to the usage of this variety in various ordinary, every day situations such as the family circle and the street. A considerable number of informants stressed the necessity of that language because of its wide currency in the Moroccan speech community.

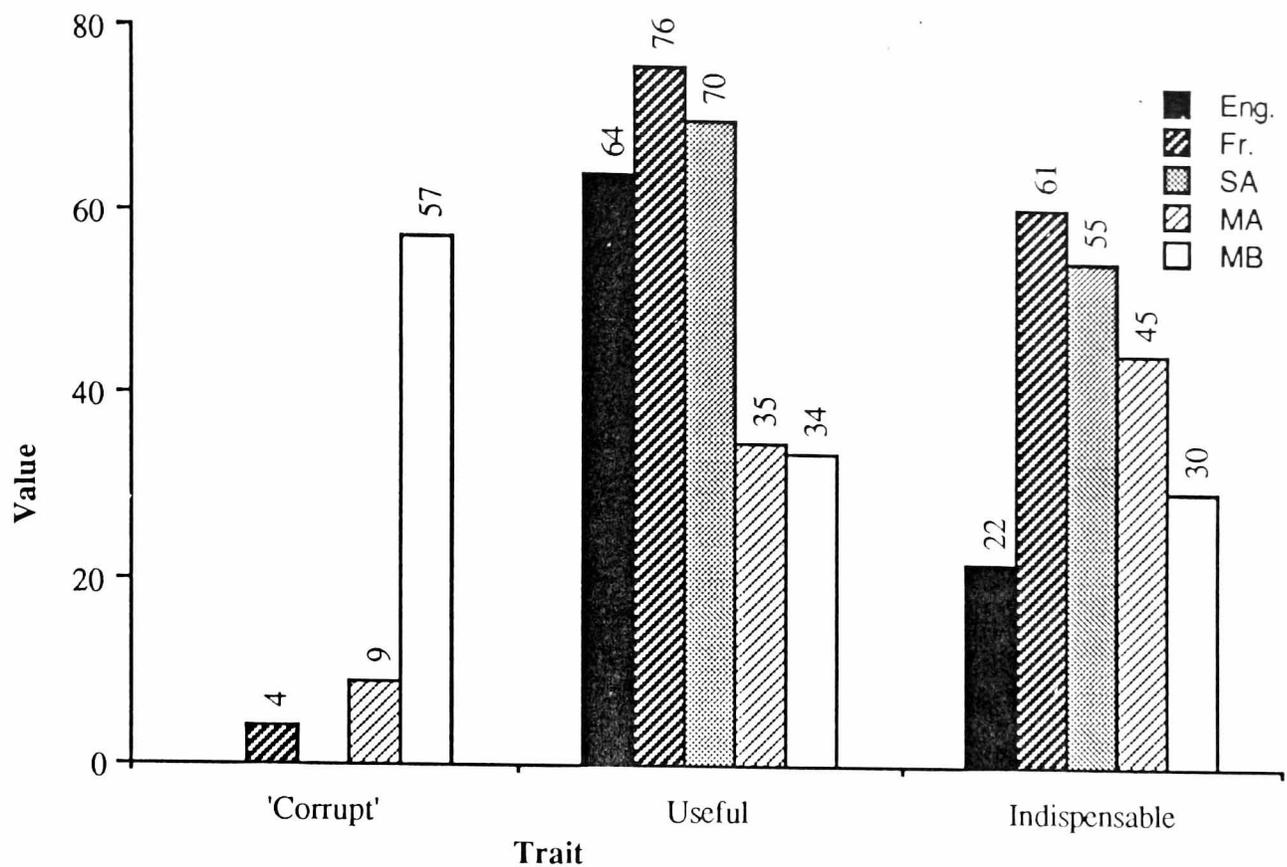


Figure 5.8. Perception of language in specified evaluative terms.

Unlike MA, SA was associated with a great deal of prestige. Many people stressed its usefulness and necessity which was due, as we have already mentioned, to its importance as an official and standard language and its effectiveness in conveying traditional Islamic arguments. Summary data are reported on Table 5.10.

Table 5.10. Summary data

Trait	Eng.	Fr.	SA	MA	MB
Intimacy purposes	-	10	2	71	61
Solidarity purposes	-	-	11	72	37
Medium of Instruction	37	63	57	3	3
'Job opportunity'	21	64	40	2	9
'Music programmes'	45	29	11	28	20
'General preference'	15	42	23	21	27
Positively perceived	20	60	66	52	76
Negatively perceived	-	11	-	-	4
Considered to be 'interesting'	37	62	-	31	17
'Modern Civilisation'	70	94	5	90	4
Perceived as 'old-fashioned'	-	-	17	-	10
Perceived as 'corrupt'	-	4	-	9	57
Considered to be useful	64	76	70	35	34
Considered to be indispensable	22	61	55	45	30

5.4. DETERMINANTS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION

So far we have considered attitudes to each of the five languages (SA, MA, MB, French and English) in fairly general terms. Our intention is now to investigate more specific aspects, and the first of these is interest, largely defined in terms of the motivations determining attitude. These motivations may be immediate personal involvement — items 1 and 8; or long term (items 3, 5, and 6); or they may be mainly affective in tone (items 2, 4, and 8); or more utilitarian (items 1, 3, 5, and 7). In all three representative areas, the same questionnaire (Table 5.10) was administered to the MA- and MB-speaking bilinguals.

Both the MA- and MB-speaking groups were stratified according to language dominance and age. The sample numbered 682 (see Table 4.1) shared evenly among the three subgroups. The MA sample was stratified according to language dominance and age. Each stratum was evenly divided between the two subgroups — 16- and 25-year olds. consequently there are 124 members in each of the three strata.

No consistent pattern of responses emerges from comparing the items reflecting immediate motivation (items 1, 2, and 8) and long-term motivation (items 3, 5, and 6), although on the whole the tendency is in favour of French being regarded as satisfying immediate rather than long-term requirements. The difference between responses to items 2, 4, and 8 (affective responses) and items 1, 3, 5, and 7 (utilitarian) is more consistent as well as more marked — favouring MA and MB as the languages regarded as satisfying emotional rather than utilitarian purposes.

A more detailed examination of the MA sample was possible and is presented here. The MA-dominant students (Rabat-Salé) among the 16+ age group register stronger support for those items reflecting an immediate interest. The 25+ age

group, however, reveals an opposite tendency — a slightly greater support for items reflecting an immediate interest, except for item 5 where the value of SA is related specifically to the value of French. Interest in the immediate significance of MA and MB among the 14+ age group suggests a certain lack of conviction about the future social significance of these two languages inside the country.

To the MB-dominant of both age groups, it is the long-term value of MB that appeals; this is especially the case among the older group. The means for the immediate interest items are very low among both MA- and MB-dominant groups and decline with age. Among the MA dominant group, the attitude to the long-term value of MA becomes slightly more favourable, while among the MB-dominant group both aspects of attitude become less favourable.

With respect to the other categories of items — affective (2,4, and 8) and utility (1, 3, 5 and 7) — the findings suggest that among the MA-dominant group support for the affective items declines with age, while support for the utility items increases with age. Among the MB-dominant group, support for both categories declines with age. If, instead of comparing the two age groups, we compare the support for the two item-categories in a single age-group, the results show that among the MA-dominant group of 16 years and 25 years of age support for the affective items is lower than support for utility items. The same is true for both age groups of MB-dominant bilinguals (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11. Indices of Attitude toward SA and French*
among 16+ and 25+ age groups.

Age group	Male		Female		Male & female	
	SA	Fr.	SA	Fr.	SA	Fr.
16+ age group	35	65	14	86	24	75
25+ age group	24	76	18	82	16	79

* The lower the Index, the more favourable the attitude.

5.5. GENERAL ASPECTS OF ATTITUDES IN ADULTS

A Thurstone-type (agree-disagree format) test was administered to two different adult samples, each of 95 Ss between the ages of 16 to 60+. The first was drawn exclusively from area A (Rabat and Salé: 65-70% MA-speakers), and consisted of competent bilinguals. The second, consisting of monoglot speakers of MA and MB, was drawn equally from area B (Marrakesh: 54% MA-speakers). The third group was drawn from area C (The Souss: 75% MB).

The distribution of the scores of the first (bilingual) sample (reported in Table 5.12) showed, first of all, that the deterioration in attitude to SA among school children continued among adults. A consistent progression is found in attitude to French with age, especially among the student population.

The second sample, which was evenly stratified according to language dominance, was further divided according to length of residence in the particular area. Attitude is more favourable to French among bilinguals (column 1) than among monolingual MA- and MB-speakers in all three areas, irrespective of length of residence. Attitude to SA remained fairly constant irrespective of length of residence (compare columns 1 and 2, 3 and 5); but increasing length of residence, independent of area correlates with a less favourable attitude to SA (columns 2 and

3, 6 and 7) and a slightly less favourable attitude to French (columns 2 and 3, 4 and 5). Irrespective of differences in area or length of residence, the attitude of monolinguals (MB- as well as MA-speaking) to SA is much more favourable than their attitude to their mother tongue, and the disparity between the two attitudes among monolinguals is much greater than the disparity among the bilingual Ss.

Table 5.12. Response percentages: Attitude to MA/MB and French and SA among bilinguals and among MA and MB monolinguals in three linguistically different areas.

	Bilinguals		Monolinguals				
	Area A*		Area B#		Area C@		
	Res. † 2 Yrs	Res. 10+	Res. 2 Yrs	Res. 10+	Res. 2 Yrs	Res. 10+	
Attitude to MB and (MA)	48 (52)	28 (72)	33 (67)	31 (-69)	21 (79)	68 (32)	73 (27)
Attitude to French and (SA)	81 (19)	55 (45)	59 (41)	62 (38)	50 (50)	71 (29)	63 (37)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

* Rabat-Salé, # Marrakesh, @ The Souss, † Residence length

Concerning our subjects' self-rating, even those who can approximate to both standards feel unsure and insecure about their speech style when talking to monolinguals or outsiders. Only half scored themselves the highest category for SA and only 21% scored themselves the highest on French. As many as 20% said they spoke MA only moderately well and 37% said the same about MB. Several people refused to rank themselves altogether, apparently out of embarrassment, saying only, "not too well". It can be concluded here that the self-ratings reflect linguistic insecurity rather than modesty.

5.6. PERCEIVED USEFULNESS OF LANGUAGE

Because of the evidence that the attitude of MA-speaking bilingual Ss tends to favour the short-term and personal/informal significance of MA, it was decided to probe further into this matter. For the contrary reason, namely, the apparent lack of interest among MB bilingual Ss in the utility of that language, it was decided to use the same questionnaire in an attempt to discover whether there were any (and if so what) aspects of the usefulness of MA which the students might value in spite of the general lack of interest in utilitarian issues.

Table 5.13. Response percentages: perception
of the utility of SA among our Ss

Aspects of the usefulness of SA	Percentage
1. Studying SA may help me get a good job	49%
2. I need to study SA because it is in the curriculum	90%
3. I need to study SA because it is used to teach some other subjects.	85%
4. I need to study SA in order to read SA books	79%
5. Studying SA will help me if I need to study another language.	4%
6. Studying SA will help make SA-speaking friends	7%
7. SA will help communicate with a greater variety of people	10%
8. SA will help know and appreciate the way of life of Arabic-speaking people.	8%

The above-mentioned eight statements Table 5.13. belong to different categories of usefulness: economic (item 1); scholastic and academic (2,3, and 5); social

communication (6, 7, and 8); and usefulness for cultural activity such as reading (item 4).

The table reveals that the aspects of usefulness of SA which are most highly regarded are those which belong to the broad context of the academic achievement and economic life — formal administrative settings. The least valued are those associated with general social communication (both national and international) — informal interpersonal relations. The value of SA in the domain of culture related more closely to the two domains of writing and reading. Standard Arabic is considered useful in those aspects favoured in Table 5.13 — the long term values of the language.

In contrast, the findings suggest that the aspects of usefulness of MA and MB (vernaculars) which are highly regarded are those which belong to the broad context of the general social communication — informal interpersonal relations. The least valued are those associated with academic achievement and economic life. The value of MA and MB in the domain of culture (folklore) related more closely to touristic and folkloric domains rather to other domains (e.g. theatre or cinema). These two languages are considered useful only as far as their immediate (short-term) personal values are concerned.

Among the female sample, a greater tendency is seen, in comparison with that of the male sample, to polarise the utilitarian values according to whether they are economic and social. The male Ss (in both the MA and MB samples) have a greater spread of range of uses for their mother tongues, tending to encompass all aspects of the utility of MA and /or MB. Thus, among the female sample, attitude is determined by the absence of the two languages in the curriculum, their little importance in literature (mainly oral literature like poetry and stories passed on from

one generation to the other), and the poor prospects for which MA and MB would be an advantage. Because of this lack of interest in MA and MB, it should not be surprising to observe a greater spread of interest in French among the younger generation, in general and among the female sample, in particular. Nevertheless, both sexes among the younger generation attach relatively less value to French as a means of enriching interpersonal communication.

So far as the MB-dominant group is concerned, a relatively higher value is attributed to MA as a means of enriching interpersonal communication, but they give a relatively low value to the economic 'uselessness' of both MB and MA. At the same time, the MA-dominant group attach very little value to MB as a means of widening one's interpersonal communication in Morocco at large, but they express its importance when it comes to communicating with the MB-speaking monolinguals.

Most of the differences among the MA-dominant and the MB-dominant groups are attributed to the fact that for the former MA is their mother tongue and because of the existence of SA, a dominant language, they take the importance of MA in interpersonal communication for granted.⁹ It is noteworthy that the values among both linguistic groups tend to diminish between 16+ and 25+, and that they are lower among both age groups of the MA bilinguals than among the MB-dominant group.

Because of the apparent agreement among the MA-bilinguals concerning the economic value of the French language, it was decided to take the matter further and investigate how a sample of adults evaluated the consequences to them of the

⁹ It should be observed here that the majority of our Ss, being linguistically naive did use MA and SA as interchangeable labels, and some did indeed use the term Arabic to refer to both varieties.

ability to speak MA and MB on the one hand and French and SA, on the other hand (see Table 5.15).

The sample consisted of 182 adults between the ages 16 and 60+ equally drawn from the three representative areas in Morocco. The first thing to note are the relatively high means (see Table 5.15) for French and SA (taken in this order) among the MA-dominant and MB-dominant professional groups and the much lower means for French and SA among the manual workers. Second, both the MB-dominant and the MA-dominant professional and manual bilinguals appraise the economic consequences of MB and MA lower than the monolingual samples from both linguistic groups. This probably reflects partly their confidence in using French and SA and partly (and consequently) the lower frequency of their resort to MA and or MB. Third, both linguistic groups give a much higher rating to the consequences of using French than they give in the case of SA.

Table 5.14. Percentage answering 'Yes' and 'No' to the question, 'Is it necessary to speak French to secure a good job?', by age group

AGE GROUP	YES	NO
25-34	65	35
35-49	71	29
50-59	48	52
60+	40	60

One point of extreme significance, however, must be made at this juncture. SA in Morocco is nationally used over a great range of affairs and circumstances — used in as many domains as French though not as extensively in some of them — and it seems probable that interest in and the perception of the usefulness of SA is influenced by the current situation of the language. It is now clear that a favourable

or unfavourable attitude grows largely out of the degree of use or neglect as the case may be. The case so being, the results in both the MA and MB cases reflect the current situation in Morocco of the respective languages as much as and possibly more than they reflect attitudes as such. If we wish to improve attitudes we need to give the language an opportunity to show what it can do and how far it can spread.

Table 5.15. Response percentages: perception of the Economic consequences of the ability to speak French, SA, MA AND MB

	Professional group	Manual group
Economic consequences of ability to speak French	84	24
Economic consequences of ability to speak SA	54	19
Economic consequences of ability to speak MA	17	13
Economic consequences of ability to speak MB	11	15

Model of table format: Lewis survey (1968-75) in Wales and USA.

From ratings of the importance of MA/MB compared to French for getting a job, making friends, school success, personal fulfilment and family life, it was apparent that MA/MB played an essential role in the respondents' personal and family lives, but were not as important outside the home.

5.7. COMPONENTS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN STUDENTS

From a more detailed examination of the items which constituted the several questionnaires, it is possible to develop a content analysis of the attitudes to the three sub-groups and to offer a tentative categorisation of those elements. The first thing to be said is that it becomes more evident than ever that the nature of the response, from item to item in the questionnaires, varies consistently according to

the area from which the subjects were drawn. For instance, the percentage responses of Ss in group A and B, on the French scale ("French should be taught all over the world") was in the range 30 to 40% varying according to age and area, but the percentage response in category C was half that, in the range 16 to 20% varying according to age.

In the same list, the item "French is a beautiful language" produced a range of 54 to 75% in favour among all Ss except group C where the percentage was 42%. It is likely that the attitude to the two languages, and especially SA, is a function of the linguistic character of the locality, and individual variance within localities is limited.

Table 5.16. Percentage responses to these questions, by age group: 'Do you think speaking MA is a good thing to do? 'Is it an advantage to speak MA?'

Age group	Yes			Indifferent			No		
	Like to speak?	Good thing?	Advantage?	Like to speak?	Good thing?	Advantage?	Like to speak?	Good thing?	Advantage?
5-9	50	57	39	6	10	-	44	33	61
10-14	36	47	26	7	-	10	57	43	64
15-24	42	43	19	10	6	2	48	51	79
25-34	59	61	16	9	8	9	32	23	79
50-59	46	62	24	6	7	14	48	24	60
60+	54	49	10	1	5	1	45	46	89

Attitude to MA and MB among the younger generation appears to have four components. The first of these is a factor that we may term "general approval"—"I would like to speak MA for the fun of it", "MB is a language worth learning", "I would like to speak MA", and so on — and the average favourable response is 20

to 25%. The second factor is commitment to practice — represented by such statements as, "I want to maintain MA to enable Morocco to develop" (16%); "Likely to use MB" (14%). Responses to items on the SA questionnaire appear to be in line with the MA and MB responses. While general approval was favourable to MA and MB, response to items which might be taken to imply a practical decision to implement approval was relatively unfavourable. One indication of the apparent reluctance to take practical steps to promote MA and MB is the fairly high percentage of responses in favour of individual choice in deciding to learn MA or MB, "MA and MB should not be forced upon non-MA- or non-MB-speaking pupils" (84%); "The learning of MA or MB should be left to individual choice" (75%).

The third factor in attitude to MA and MB is national tradition — represented by, "The need to keep up MA for the sake of tradition" (61%); "We owe it to our forefathers to preserve MB" (85%); "MA and MB should be preserved because of the Moroccan nationhood" (77%). This, together with the first factor of general approval, is the most important aspect of attitude to MA and MB. The fourth factor, economic importance, plays the least important role. For instance, MA and MB were considered to offer advantages in seeking good job opportunities by no more than 9% in both the MA-dominant and the MB-dominant areas. This factor tends to be far less impressive in area A where French dominates in educational, economic and political spheres. The unfavourable attitude to MA and MB seems to increase with age and to decrease as we go southward.

So far as MA and MB are concerned, two factors — general approval and traditional nationalism — produce favourable responses and the other two factors — a commitment to practice and economic importance — produced unfavourable responses on the whole.

The attitude¹⁰ to French also has four major components, three of which correspond closely to components to MA and MB — general approval, commitment to practice, and economic and educational importance — and all received very favourable responses. The fourth component of attitude to MA and MB finds no place in the attitude to French, and is replaced by a factor we may term necessary bilingualism. This factor is expressed in favourable responses to such statements as, "I should not like French to take over from Arabic" (68%); "The French language is killing the Arabic language" (59%); "Moroccans should speak both languages" (64%), "French should not be more important than Arabic in Morocco" (71%). The existence of this fourth factor in attitude to French is in line with the nature of the curve of distribution of total responses to French. It is unimodal and to that extent is devoid of extreme antipathy to MA or MB or extreme commitment to French in Morocco, but there is a certain degree of tolerance that is remarkable among the younger generation of Moroccans.

5.8. COMPONENTS OF ATTITUDES IN ADULTS

The 182 bilinguals referred to in the previous section volunteered to a second test designed to ascertain their beliefs about MA and MB, the relative importance to them of those beliefs, and their conceptual significance. The initial preparation and pretesting of the instrument indicated the existence of 5 categories or groups of concepts about these two varieties. The order of their apparent importance with exemplifying statements is in order.

In the first place we have familial and local considerations — the two varieties

¹⁰ One line of thought in the study of language attitudes suggests that prestigious languages and language varieties are favourably viewed by both majority and minority members, and are preferred, at least attitudinally, to low prestige language norms (Ryan 1979). This assumption was supported by studies among French- and English-Canadians (Lambert et al. 1960; Lambert 1967) and among black and white Americans of Southern and Northern provenance (Tucker and Lambert 1969).

are important to family life, whether at home or in formal worship, and they are vital to the integrity of small groups. In the second was ethnic considerations — MB and MA are the symbol of Moroccan life and the institutions of Morocco are meant to preserve Moroccan traditions. MA and MB bilinguals both stress the value of their language in close interpersonal relations — MB (to a larger extent) and MA (to a lesser extent) do not promote the kind of progressive outlook we all approve of, and it does not provide for an adequate range of aesthetic experience in literature, the theatre, the media, and at school.

Table 5.17. Percentage responses to these questions, by age group: 'Do you like to speak SA?'; 'Do you think speaking SA is a good thing to do?'; 'Is it an advantage to speak SA?'

Age group	Like to speak ?	Good thing ?	Advantage ?
15-24	15	25	22
25-34	11	35	34
35-49	10	40	42
50-59	16	42	55
60+	25	54	67

Social communication was the fourth consideration — MA and MB promote exclusiveness, and they are of little use in making contact with the world outside Morocco. Finally, there were the linguistic considerations — MA and MB have not developed sufficiently to meet the demands of modern society, industry, science, and technology, and they lack the material and subject matter which would facilitate their acquisition by potential speakers.

Table 5.18. Percentage answering 'Yes' and 'No' to the question: 'Is it necessary to speak SA to be a Moroccan ? , by age-group.

Age group	Yes	No
25-35	16	84
35-49	14	86
50-59	21	79
60+	9	91

In the course of the present chapter I have considered some evaluations of and attitudes towards the languages and varieties in use in Morocco. The findings supported the proposition that evaluations of languages and attitudes towards their speakers tend to be identical.

I can summarise my conclusions as follows. Among MA-dominant and MB-dominant groups, greater interest is expressed in the long-term value and utility of French and SA, taken in this order. The interest in the immediate significance of MA and MB declines with age among both types of bilinguals. There is, however, an exception: the 12+ MB-dominant group are more interested in the short term as opposed to the long-term significance of MA, and we would expect the same with the 14+ age group. So far as the affective and utilitarian dichotomy goes, both age groups in both categories of bilinguals reveal stronger interest in the usefulness of French, and relatively speaking the degree of support increases with age.

According to their language use patterns and attitudes toward SA as the official/national language, it was argued that their positive attitude toward French reflects an instrumental rather than an integrative motive to the language. This kind of motivation is supported by the finding that these individuals, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, held negative attitudes toward the French people, but perceived the French language extremely positively (more so than MA or MB). The mother

tongues (whether MA or MB) were favoured for their immediate values (interpersonal communication and broad social interaction). They were less valued for economic purposes in favour of French and SA.

Chapter 6 directs attention to an equally important aspect of language attitude studies — its application in the educational context. Focusing on the question of attitude inevitably leads to a consideration of motivation (orientations) behind the learning of a new language, and the reasons for the maintenance or dropping of an old one. In the context of second-language acquisition three parties are involved, namely students, parents and language policy makers.

CHAPTER

6

DATA-ANALYSIS : PART 3

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING

In the course of Chapters 4 and 5, I have been concerned with attitudes to languages in fairly general terms. I have demonstrated how people in Morocco held certain attitudes to languages as well as their speakers and that these two tend to be identical. My analysis was based on a body of self-reported data as expressed by the two linguistic groups (MB-speakers and MA-speakers) from the three representative areas and as elicited through the matched-guise technique, questionnaires and interviews. However, there are several other indices of attitude, the most important of which is actual language behaviour — for instance, which language is chosen, consciously or unconsciously, in particular situations, the extent to which shift of language affiliations occurs, the desire to learn a particular language, and evaluations of language planning and bilingual schooling. These phenomena are widespread among MA- and MB-speakers.

6.1. LANGUAGE PLANNING EFFORTS IN MOROCCO AND THEIR IMPACT ON ATTITUDES

To the extent that language is planned, attitude is also planned. Research in sociolinguistics has shown that language attitudes are deeply influenced by language policies. Although Moroccans held their own attitudes towards languages and language varieties, these attitudes are not considered to be the major force determining the different categories of language (majority-minority, official-national, standard-non-standard). Great influence can be exerted on languages and as a consequence on people's attitudes by the language policy makers who can make decisive decisions about the ultimate role of each language or variety. What is then the nature of the language policy in Morocco and in what way can it influence, positively or negatively, people's attitudes?

In many countries, through the efforts of governments and educational systems a standard language becomes the norm for educated people. It would be useful here to mention some instances of language planning in earlier as well as modern

periods. Language planning emerged in the 20th century although there were instances of planning activities in earlier periods. Harold Haarman (1986) mentions the successful attempt made by a group of scholars in the 15th century to provide the Korean language with a script (called Han'gul) independent of Chinese characters. The writer also points out that certain European languages came to be written because the Protestant movement had the eager desire to promote the vernacular languages by providing them with a written form. Another example of earlier attempts at language planning are the efforts of some early 19th century writers and scholars to create a unified Serbo-Croatian literary standard. In the initial phase its emergence as a societal movement promoted by state authorities, language planning is said to have started as a typically European phenomenon:

"One must stress that language planning in the 20th century first developed under the conditions of newly industrialised societies (especially in Europe). Language planning processes in the developing countries of Africa and Asia are a comparatively modern development". (Harald Haarmann 1986: 84).

The modernisation of Turkish society under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk after World War I was a movement to adopt Western European standards. As a consequence, it was decided that the Arabic writing system be abandoned and replaced by the Roman alphabet for writing Turkish. In the space of a few years in the late-twenties, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk managed to transform written Turkish from an Arabic to a Roman alphabet through a mass literacy campaign, accompanied by the elimination from the Turkish language of Arabic and Persian forms (ibid).¹ This constituted not only an exchange of writing systems, but a conscious and planned procedure which was the outcome of state ideology — "an integrated component of Turkey's planned Europeanisation" (ibid.: 85).

¹ As a consequence, for most Turks reading their language in the 1980s, the contents of the material printed before 1928, containing Ottoman idioms, ideas and values, have become unintelligible.

Large-scale language planning in the Soviet Union also took place for the first time in the 1920s to affect not only the corpus (alphabet, literary standard, etc.) but also the status (official use, medium of instruction, etc.). The adoption of the Latin script as a basis for the writing system of certain non-Russian languages (for example, Azerbaijani, Uzbek and Kergiz) (see Kenneth Katzner (1977: 123,137 and 139) reflected, as was the case with Turkey, a tendency towards Europeanisation, Latinisation and, therefore, a form of language planning (ibid).

6.2. FRENCH COLONIAL PRESENCE IN MOROCCO AND ITS IMPACT ON THE LANGUAGE SCENE

During its colonial presence in Morocco, 1912-1956, France imposed standard French as the only language of civilisation. The ruling elites of francophone Morocco were trained in France where standard French has long been the prestige norm in educational circles. Furthermore, the use of standard French² as the prestige form across the world was promoted by economic, cultural and educational activities in France. This explains why standard French remains the target norm taught to individuals learning French as a second language in Morocco, and indeed in many other countries around the world (ibid.). The French colonial administration attempted, under the Dahir Berbère (Berber Decree) law (1930), to set up a Berber school system in which TM was to be taught systematically and perhaps even used as a medium of instruction, whereas SA was to be totally discouraged. The idea was totally rejected by the Nationalist movement in Morocco, and was dismissed as just another strategy in the French divide-and-rule colonial policy (Hammoud 1982).

Morocco, like many other emerging countries in which the national languages

² Sociolinguistic research in France has revealed that North-African-accented French of Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan migrant workers is probably the most denigrated variety of French spoken in France today. (Richard Y. Bourhis: 1982: 34).

were displaced by the colonial language, is now trying to reverse this situation and reassert its identity by replacing French³ with a "modernised version"⁴ of its own language. The introduction of a strong ancestral language as a symbol of identity is considered to be a factor promoting group identity⁵ and an important step towards nation-building (Fishman 1977). The policy of Arabisation⁶ now being implemented in Morocco, and in fact in most Arab nations, shows that the Arabic language is now being given a special treatment in view of meeting those needs.⁷

³ Today, Standard French remains the official language of former French colonies such as Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Mali, Senegal, Togo and Burkina Faso.

⁴ Ferguson (1968, p.32) considers the modernisation of a language as being the "process of its becoming the equal of other developed languages as a medium of communication ..." and sees "the expansion of the lexicon" as an important aspect in this process.

⁵ However, one would also agree with Richard Y. Bourhis 1982 when he points out that the adoption of the colonial language as the official language of these emerging countries, had a 'double advantage' in that 1) it avoided potential ethnic conflict while 2) facilitating modernisation through technology and international communication.

⁶ In an article entitled 'The Sociology of Language' Fishman (1971c) argued that "Latinisation, Arabisation, Cyrillisation are not merely farguing indications of desired (and frequently subsidised or directed) social change and cognitive-emotional reorganisation, but they have immediate consequences for the relevance of traditional elitist skills and implications for the distribution of new skills and statuses related to literacy and the philosophy or ideology of the carrier of literacy".

⁷ In this respect, Joshua A. Fishman (1968) distinguishes between nationism and nationalism concerning language choice and planning. He points out that both terms are concerned with language choice or selection, but not necessarily in the same way. 'As far as the nationalist is concerned language represents a "continuity of a great tradition with all of its symbolic elaborations". However, for the nationist, language choice is "a matter of effectiveness, of communicational ease, of operational efficiency". Competing languages are approached in terms of what they can offer towards the functional strength of the nation. Thus, the nationist may advocate the idea that "the fewer the languages the better, the less opposition to them the better" (Fishman, Joshua A.(1968c:6).

Language planning efforts exert a great deal of influence on people's attitudes towards languages as well as their speakers. For instance, in the categorisation of people from France, the Occitans, Bretons, or Alsatians are normally looked upon as patois-speakers who live in the "provinces" and speak 'bad French'. Such an evaluation has for a long time exerted a strong influence on the self-identification of minorities in France. Speakers of regional varieties of French tend to accept this low-prestige status, thus thinking of themselves as "patois-speakers", and they act accordingly. This is what Harold Haarman legitimately terms a "language-related collective inferiority complex" (Harold Haarmann 1986). Many aspects of attitudes towards the French language in Morocco have been the product of the language planning efforts carried out by the French colonists:

"Attitudes towards the French language in 'le monde de la francophonie' have been deeply influenced by language policies developed in France since the seventeenth century. Through vigorous and sometimes brutal language planning programmes, multilingual France emerged in this century as a unilingual French state. In addition to legislating against non-French languages, policy makers in France insured that only the "Ile de France" dialect emerged as the prestige standard form of the language" (Richard Y. Bourhis 1982: 34).

6.3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PROCESS OF ARABISATION AS A FORM OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Many attempts have been made to change the linguistic scene inside the country and to introduce new measures with the view of finding a cure to the deplorable educational and sociolinguistic situation. The major goal of language planning in Morocco has always been Arabisation. The first attempt at Arabisation was made during the first year after independence (1956-57). By putting forward the policy of Arabisation, the return to an authentic Arab-Islamic identity was seen as the only way to achieve national reconstruction and cultural independence. This virgin attempt at Arabisation ended up in failure as there was a drop in the standards of

education and as a consequence, a dissatisfaction among the parties concerned, especially the parents. The following year (1985) the new language efforts were marked with an air of caution and were impregnated with a spirit of moderation and gradualism. The main objective was to nationalise instruction and by so doing unify the educational systems, progressively Arabise the content of the textbooks (originally in French), and gradually introduce SA as a medium of instruction.

An examination of an individual's attitudes towards the process of Arabisation is extremely valuable if this policy is to receive some kind of credibility. The success or failure of the process of Arabisation can only be determined by the degree of its acceptability by the Moroccan public. My analysis of the subjects' responses to the questionnaire on the process of Arabisation (see Appendix A) indicated that the perception of the process varied according to age, sex, and mother tongue . A large number of subjects (43%) strongly agreed with the idea that the process of Arabisation would improve the status of the Arabic language (SA). Those who advocate the process are mainly Arabists who have had very little contact with any other language and are, therefore, strongly in favour of the promotion of SA.

In connection with the Arabisation of education in Morocco, Beatrice Alouia (1986) has rightly warned against the possible dangers of Arabisation in education, given the fact that the content of the textbooks in SA has very little connection, if any, to the child's environment (milieu) and therefore plays against his socio-psychological development:

"Pourquoi employer des manuels de lecture constitués de textes relatants des histoires sans parenté aucune — ou si peu — avec le vécu quotidien et l'origine socio-économique de la majorité des enfants scolarisés au Maroc? L'utilisation de ces manuels présente le risque évident que l'enfant n'assimile finalement

l'arabe classique comme appartenant à un monde qui lui est étranger, ce qui s'inscrit en opposition totale avec les objectifs du processus d'Arabisation." (Beatrice Alouia 1986).

In addition to the irrelevance of SA to the child's milieu, stressed in the above-mentioned quotation, the difficulties in reading experienced by Moroccan children have been considered to be another serious problem which stems from the process of Arabisation. Both parents and educationalists have complained about the lack of a short vowel system in Arabic, which they held responsible for the retarded development of many children and their failure at school (reading speed for instance).⁸

In an attempt to reduce the intensity of this problem, Lakhdar-Ghazal (Director of the IERA, Rabat.) puts forward a reformed writing system coded as ASV-CODAR (Arabe-Standard Voyellé-Code Arabe). Lakhdar Ghazal's point is that the lack in the traditional Arabic system of a short vowel system not only hinders the child's reading speed but also restrains his reading comprehension in Arabic. Furthermore, the multiplicity in the shapes of characters makes the system additionally ineffective and expensive for purposes of printing and information processing. The new system (ASV-CODAR) is particularly useful in that (1) It is well adapted for use in printing, type writers, and telecommunication machinery, (2) It reduces the number of characters in the traditional Arabic type set from a minimum of 117, with the exclusion of vowel symbols, numbers and punctuation marks, to a minimum of 84 basic characters, including all of these signs. This system has received a great amount of state as well as public encouragement and is now used extensively used in Morocco.

⁸ Not to mention the irreparable imperfections in communication skills (dyslexia, and dysgraphia) which are only a few of the learning disabilities and psycholinguistic disorders observed in Moroccan children (especially of lower social classes) which clearly result from the lack of planned and rigorous language policies and a hastened bilingual programme.

Though loyalty to non-standard speech styles exists in certain regions of Morocco, it is apparent that such loyalties are seriously undermined as institutional support in favour of SA is growing rapidly. For example, Al-jabiri (1985) suggests that a full-scale Arabisation should set as its goal not only the elimination of French as a language of civilisation, culture, communication and interaction, but also — and this is extremely important according to Al-jabiri — to work towards the eradication of regional dialects be they MB or MA. The author goes on to suggest that this can only be achieved through the implementation of a centralised and wide-spread education in the mountainous and rural regions and also through the prohibition of the use of any language or dialect at school, on TV and radio, other than SA.

Table 6.1.* : Response percentages: Attitudes towards
the process of Arabisation (Summary data)

	A	B	C	D	E	Total %
1) Arabisation will improve the status of the Arabic language	43	25	15	0	15	98%
2) Students enjoy their courses in French more than they do in SA.	25	17	7	35	12	96%
3) Students will understand better in SA.	38	23	25	2	7	95%
4) The teacher will find it difficult to give a lesson of maths in SA.	33	23	12	17	5	90%
5) SA is as rich in technical terms as is French, for example.	28	28	17	20	0	93%
6) Arabisation will serve its purposes and will contribute towards progress in Morocco.	25	25	33	2	10	95%

* Formulated by the present author. (percent)

Scale: A = Strongly agree; B = Agree; C = Neutral; D = Disagree; E = Strongly disagree.

In view of the fact that the government established the IERA⁹ to promote and maintain the Arabic language in Morocco, I next decided to probe Ss' awareness of this responsibility for language planning in Morocco.

In general, those subjects who were aware of the efforts made by the government-appointed body (IERA) to implement the language policy of Arabisation¹⁰ held a mixture of feelings as to what its objectives should be. Although the majority strongly agreed with the idea that Arabisation would improve the status of the Arabic language (see Table 6.3), support for the use of French alongside SA is also fairly strong.

Positive attitudes towards Arabisation are not only held by students with high levels of SA competence but also by adults who manifested a great degree of attachment to traditional Islamic beliefs, often without fluency in the language. Among the relatively few Moroccans (mainly students) who claim high levels of competence in French, a good majority hold negative attitudes towards the process of Arabisation, and many disapprove of it entirely. The attitudes of Moroccans toward SA are not necessarily extended toward the implementation of SA language policy. Although MA may be held in high esteem by many Moroccans, the

⁹ Founded in 1960 the IERA was placed under direct control of the Mohammed V University rector, who was also named as the president of its advisory council. It is now considered to be the principal authority on corpus Arabisation and the official LP agency in Morocco. At the outset the IERA set itself a number of objectives:

- a) To establish a list of all scientific and technical terms without equivalents in Arabic and to create such equivalents. This lexical elaboration work was to be ideally performed in coordination with Arab LP policies and scientific research institutions in other Arab countries;
- b) To develop reference and other educational materials in Arabic;
- c) To provide all interested private and public institutions and individuals with standardised technical vocabulary.

¹⁰ French is only slowly being replaced by Arabic in primary and secondary school systems in Morocco while French remains the primary language of higher education.

process of Arabisation does not secure as much positive evaluation. For some, it is the unsuccessful attempts of implementation that account for this attitude. For others, however, it is the fear of losing a very 'powerful', prestigious language (French) that lies behind their opposition to Arabisation (cf. Hammoud 1982).

Table 6.2. "Qui devait s'occuper d'améliorer ou de préserver la langue Arabe au Maroc?"*

Agent	Students	Teachers	Workers
Government	1	2	2
Teachers	4	3	1
Parents	3	4	4
Arab linguists	5	5	5
Universities	2	1	3

* The choices of each group expressed in rank order

Subjects felt that the Arabic spoken in Morocco was in need of improvement (see Table 6.4). Many among our Ss (64%) indicated that Arab linguists and parents were not appropriate organisations for effecting language policy. Students and teachers most frequently cited the government, university, and then teachers/parents in that order as the group to effect language policy while the workers most frequently selected teachers followed by the government. This latter finding suggests that the workers may feel themselves relatively incapable of helping their own children and implies an awareness on their part that their own parents were unable to help them. All three groups seemed to agree that Arab linguists are the least able to preserve or improve the Arabic language in Morocco. The rankings by each group are reported in Table 6.2, above.

Table 6.3. Perceived weakness in MA
by rank of importance.

VARIABLE	Rabat-Salé			Marrakesh			The Souss		
	S*	T	W	S	T	W	S	T	W
Pronunciation	3	1	3	3	1	4	3	1	3
Vocabulary	4	2	2	4	3	3	1	4	2
Grammar	2	4	1	1	4	2	2	2	4
Intonation	1	3	4	2	2	1	4	3	1

*Scale: S: Students; T: Teachers; W: Workers

6.4. SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Up to this point I have been concerned with a discussion of some data arising from the present study of attitude to language contact in Morocco. Although attitudes to the institutionalisation of such contacts are closely associated with attitude to languages themselves, especially in education, these two aspects of attitude need not necessarily be considered identical. The importance of such a study cannot be ignored if we realise that bilingual education programmes cannot be effective without a knowledge and understanding of wide-ranging public sentiment and opinion.

One of the most important applications of language attitude research beyond the study of social structure is in education. Attitude studies carried out in education focused on two crucial points: (a) language attitudes of teachers; and (b) language attitudes of second-language learners. The latter type of study is set up to find out if the attitudes of the foreign language learner have any impact on his/her attainment

in a given language.

The importance of language in the process of socialisation, the relationship between the family circle and the school environment, the understanding of the way human interaction fundamentally works, and the manner in which psychological and social realities are shaped by language are all factors that render the phenomenon of bilingualism an important subject to be taken into consideration (Chester C. Christian, (1976: 33).

Attitudes to the social phenomenon of bilingualism (whether in administration, education or business life) are as important as attitudes to native language itself (see Chapter 5) Promoting bilingualism to a recognised place in society may be an extension of attitude to language. However, language attitudes and attitudes towards the institutionalisation of bilingualism within the education system are not necessarily the same. An examination of attitudes towards a native minority language would not help us find out what the attitude to teaching and using it in schools at various stages in the system are likely to be.

For example, it is not possible to correlate attitude towards a second language, say French, and towards its inclusion at various levels in the curriculum. This is partly due to the fact that bilingual education is influenced by considerations other than language — for example, attitude to schooling generally, among both students and parents, student and parent aspirations in respect of education and employment, as well as beliefs held about the kinds of schools the students should attend.

Instrumental and integrative orientations toward second and foreign languages have been found in groups of speakers of various backgrounds such as Hindus (Lukmani 1972), Israelis (Cooper & Fishman 1977), Chinese speakers living in

the United States (Oller, Baca, & Vigil 1977), and Spanish speakers residing in the South-west United States (Oller, Baca, & Vigil 1977). These studies have consistently reported that individuals claim a higher instrumental than integrative motivation toward English.

The first studies (Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Gardner, 1960) were carried out with English-speaking Montreal high school students studying French who were examined for language learning aptitude and verbal intelligence as well as attitudes toward the French community and their intensity of motivation to learn French. A factor analysis indicated that aptitude and intelligence formed a factor which is independent of a second comprising indices of motivation, type of orientation toward language and social attitudes toward French-Canadians. A measure of achievement in French was reflected equally prominently in both factors. In this case, then, French achievement was dependent upon both aptitude and intelligence as well as a sympathetic orientation toward the other group. This orientation apparently sustained a strong motivation to learn the other group's language. In the Montreal setting, it was clear that students with an integrative orientation were the more successful in language in contrast to those instrumentally oriented.¹¹

Gardner's (1960) study confirmed and extended these findings. Using a larger sample of English Canadians and incorporating various measures of French achievement, the same two independent factors were revealed, and again both were related to French achievement. But whereas aptitude and achievement were especially important for those French skills stressed in school training, the acquisition of French skills whose development depends on the active use of the language in communicational settings was determined solely by measures of an

¹¹ Gardner and Lambert (1959) have not concentrated on the manipulative orientation and they maintain that a certain degree of error in classifying students may occur until attention is given to this form of orientation.

integrative motivation to learn French. Further evidence indicated that this integrative motive was the converse of an authoritarian ideological syndrome, opening the possibility that basic personality dispositions may be involved in language learning efficiency.

Recently, students undergoing an intensive course in French at McGill's French summer school were examined for changes in attitude during the study period (Lambert, Gardner, Barik and Tunstall, 1961). Most were American university students or secondary school language teachers who referred themselves to the European-French rather than to the American-French community in their orientations to language learning. In this study, it became apparent that feelings of anomie¹² were markedly increased during the course of study. At the same time, they tried to find means of using English even though they had pledged to use only French for the six week period. The pattern suggests that American students experience anomie when they concentrate on and start to master a second language and, as a consequence, develop stratagems to control or minimise such feelings.

In the research at hand, a group of high school students (30 students from each of our representative areas) were administered a questionnaire (see Appendix A) containing items concerning their orientation towards second language learning. Students were also administered tests measuring their orientation toward learning French and their attitudes toward the French culture and community (see Appendix A: Q.9) as well as tests of verbal intelligence and language aptitude. These tests were correlated with measures of achievement in French at the school years level and at university level. The results supported the generalisation that both intellectual capacity and attitudinal orientation affect success in learning French. However, whereas intelligence and linguistic aptitude are relatively stable predictors of success, the attitudinal measures varied from one age group to another.

¹² The state of being lost between two cultures (see Chapter 3)

The present study reveals that bilingual Moroccan subjects held markedly more favourable attitudes toward the "other" language community in comparison to the monolingual subjects. Furthermore, the parents of bilingual students are believed by their children to hold the same strongly sympathetic attitudes in contrast to the parents of monolingual students. It seems here that attainment in a second language, to the point of bilingualism, depends heavily on family-shared attitudes toward the other linguistic-cultural community.

The measure of Moroccan student's desire to become more acculturated into the Moroccan tradition and culture was not particularly sensitive in any of the age groups. A social psychological analysis of the nature of the Moroccan students' adjustment to the mixed Western and Moroccan cultures suggested that these particular individuals were not very concerned with their own cultural values and would willingly adopt the French culture. Among the older generation, the measure of desire for Moroccan acculturation did not correlate with achievement (or lack of achievement) in French, i.e., their attitudes toward the other ethnolinguistic community did not have an impact on their attainment in the French language.¹³

The findings of the present study also indicated that Moroccan students also

¹³ A point of criticism with regard to Gardner and Lambert's view is made by René Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987) who believe that only a weak relation between social and psychological factors on the one hand and second-language acquisition on the other is established, but this relation is often taken as meaning that the factors studied are expected to influence or even determine success in learning a second-language. The authors also argue that this can only be considered an assumption as long as researches are unable to establish the direction of the causal link. René Appel and Pieter Muysken (1987) put forward the idea that this direction is the other way round from that commonly assumed: success in learning a second-language fosters a positive attitude towards speakers of that particular language and this provides them with a strong motivation to better learn the language. Resentment towards a particular language community can also lead to antipathy towards its language and impede the learning of that language.

experienced a feeling of anomie during the course of their learning French as a foreign language. It became apparent that these findings of anomie were markedly increased as their study of the language developed. It was observed that the more students progressed in their study of French the more their feelings of anomie increased, especially when they come to the point of 'thinking' in French. The results also suggest Moroccan students experience feelings of anomie when they concentrate on and start to master a second language. This is mainly the case with university students who took up French or English as their major subject.

It goes without saying that attitude alone does not determine preference for one language over the other in any of its modes. It involves more than just this; a great deal depends upon relative competence, just as there is a reciprocal association between competence¹⁴ and attitude.¹⁵ Where attitude to French is more favourable than attitude to SA, attainment in French is higher than attainment in SA. Similarly the lower attainment of MB among MA-dominant bilinguals compared with attainment in MA among MB-dominant bilinguals of all age groups corresponds to similar differences in attitude among the respective linguistic categories. It is also the case that attitude to SA becomes less favourable with age as also does the level of achievement. Attitudes and motives of our Moroccan bicultural youngsters appear to influence the development of skills in both French and SA.

¹⁴ It should perhaps be noted here that the learning of a language involves not only the acquisition of linguistic competence but also of communicative competence. In this connection, Hymes (1972: 63-4) points that "language attitudes are an integral part of communicative competence, which is the knowledge required to use a language appropriately in a speech community."

¹⁵ PROCEDURE

1. Measuring competence in French and SA

2. Attainment in French and SA (as a 'second language')

- For three groups: 10 years, 14 years, and 16 years of age

For the student sample, the indices of language aptitude, motivational intensity and desire to learn French (see Table 6.4) were associated with achievement in French. In the MB-speaking sample, the motivational variables were related to perceived parental support, while in the MA-speaking sample, they were related to empathy and evaluation of the French course.

Table 6.4. Response percentages: Interest French,
English, SA, MA and MB among students¹⁶

Variable	Fr.	Eng.	SA	MA	MB	Total%
a) My marks in —— are better than in any other subject.	90	5	5	0	0	100%
b) I like —— better than any other subject.	60	30	10	0	0	100%
c) I would like to continue the study of —— at university.	70	20	10	0	0	100%
d) —— becomes more interesting as I go on studying it.	30	65	5	0	0	100%
e) I would like to speak more languages than ——.	10	15	20	30	25	100%
f) I would like to be able to use —— in my future career.	20	25	30	0	25	110%
g) I think everyone will profit from learning ——.	20	24	16	5	35	100%
h) I owe my knowledge of —— to my parents.	0	0	10	10	20	40%
i) My parents encourage me to speak ——	10	0	46	18	26	100%
more than —— .	0	0	40	10	40	90%

¹⁶ MA and MB have been totally excluded from questions having to do with school, University and literacy in general (Items a, b, c, and d).

Other factors influencing bilingual education through the determination of attitudes to schooling are the social and economic circumstances of the family (whether urban or rural, for instance) and the degree of the linguistic heterogeneity in the schools area. These factors have been found to be influential in Britain and in the ten countries recently studied (Lewis and Massad, 1975) where English was taught to non-native speakers of the language. They have also been found influential in the Soviet Union and the United States, and there is no reason to doubt that they would be similarly involved in the creation of attitudes in Morocco.

6.5. ATTITUDES TO BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE USE OF THE VERNACULAR IN A SCHOOL CONTEXT: SUPPORTIVE DATA

The major purpose here is to assess and evaluate the impact of language attitudes on the linguistic, intellectual, and attitudinal development of children in Morocco. The first stage of the research at hand involved a small-scale sociolinguistic survey of the groups involved (adopted from Fishman, Cooper, Ma et al., 1968). Information was gathered about the family's socioeconomic status, parents' aspirations for their children educational future, and parents' orientation toward the ethnolinguistic group whose language their children are to learn. As for the children themselves, it was valuable to assess their performance. A group of parents (male and female) were interviewed concerning the importance of their children learning the vernacular languages MA/MB and the standard French/SA languages. The results, supported by excerpts from the data gathered, are in order.

The responses to the question as to "Which language (or languages) would you like your children to learn and why?" clearly support the assumption expressed in hypothesis No.1 that parents in Morocco would encourage their children to learn French and other foreign languages as these, according to the parents, would secure better social mobility (see Chapter 4). However, although this instrumental motivation was prevalent among parents in Morocco (regardless of their place of

origin) , some of them expressed an integrative motivation towards the learning of a foreign language; mainly a wish to communicate with the outside world and tolerate other cultures, as stated by one of our informants. Others (32%) would like their children to learn SA for more personal reasons. The arguments for the learning of a foreign language were in the nature of those reported here:

Box 6.1

Bilingual education

Second-language learning

Informant R26:¹⁷ "To secure a better future and face difficulties in life" (74%), or

Informant M61: "Because there is a shortage of teaching material in SA (31%)"

Informant A10: "To be able to study abroad (56%)"

Informant R59: "English being a world language and of ever-increasing importance (20%)"

Informant M67: "French being a 'noble' and 'simple' language" (11%)

Informant A126: "To acquire wider knowledge (45%)"

Informant R40: "Because I am not against opening on the outside world and I am willing to tolerate other cultures (19%)".

Learning a second language is also part of 'popular wisdom' and many subjects (20%) stated a saying or a famous proverb to endorse his or her positive attitude towards the learning of a foreign language:

¹⁷ In the following analysis informants will be referred to by their codes only, i.e., area code, R (Rabat) or M (Marrakech) or A (Agadir) followed by their number on the list of informants). For instance, Informant R 26 originates from Rabat and is under number 26.

Box 6.2

Bilingual Education

Popular wisdom

Informant R97: "As the saying goes (SA): man t.allama lu.ata qaumin salima
Jarrahum

(He who learns another people's language is immune to their
evil)

Informant M82: "As they say in French 'Qui parle deux langues vit deux vies'"

Amongst those who were in favour of a unilingual education, the great majority (54%) chose SA as the only language of education and their arguments were supported by the idea that their children would not find any difficulties in understanding and discussing subjects in SA. Others defended the idea on aesthetic grounds because, according to the subjects, SA is 'original', 'rich' and 'beautiful' and has a long history, or even on the grounds that it is a liturgical language and "the most sacred language in the world". An even more elaborated and representative response was given by one of our informants who argued (not without enthusiasm) the point of view quoted in Box 6.3.

Box 6.3

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Language & Identity

Informant R86 :

1. We are Arabs,
2. Arabic maintains a link between our past and present,
3. By learning Arabic my children will not have an 'inferiority complex' vis-à-vis other cultures, and
4. Because it is 'la langue nationale' par excellence".

Some extreme views were also expressed in this connection. For instance, one of our informants argued that he would like his child to receive mainly a religious education, and that means the exclusive use of the Arabic language.

After a consideration of the responses to question B: "Are you for or against a bilingual education for you children?", it is interesting to note that the most frequent reason given both for and against bilingual education in Morocco was socioeconomic. Of those in favour of bilingual education, 84% said it would help socioeconomically. The reasons were expressed as follows:

Box 6.4

Bilingual Education

MOTIVES

Informant R73: " So that my child can work in both the countryside and the city" or "because my child will use both in daily life"

Informant M99: " To be able to continue their studies abroad."or even just "because both languages are part of the curriculum"

Informant A23: "A bilingual education helps the individual be in contact with other civilisations and keeps him aware of what is happening in the outside world. But, a bilingual education also hinders the development of our own language. For example, you must have noticed that youngsters use French even in their own milieu (family circle). As a consequence, our language loses ground in favour of other languages within our own speech community."

Of those against bilingual education in some form, 16% said they felt it would impede the child's socioeconomic progress. It should be observed here that the idea of bilingual education is restricted to the use of a second language either as a

subject in itself or as a means of teaching other subjects. However, bilingual education supporters also argue that bilingual education opens new horizons for the students who wish to carry out a scientific research. Some chose a bilingual education where SA is the dominant language. Other people were undecided because to them bilingual education involves positive as well as negative sides.

Ever more Moroccans are confronted with the need to become bilingual to some extent, whether as a matter of choice or not, and, like many other emerging countries, is consciously applying programmes of bilingual education. However, there appears to be a conflict between (1) the desire to preserve their identity (Arab authenticity) by preserving their language and culture (Arabic being the language of the Qur'an and a symbol of Islam, identity, and the Arab community) and (2) the need to live up to the expectations of the modern world by adapting a foreign language (most frequently French).

These data supported the notion that the proper orientation toward the other group is developed within the family. Students with an integrative disposition to learn French had parents who also were integrative and sympathetic to the French community. The students' orientations were not related to parents' skill in French nor to the number of French acquaintances the parents had, indicating that the integrative motive is not due to having more experience with French at home but more likely stems from a family-wide attitudinal disposition.

In this experiment a number of subjects were also administered a questionnaire as to what their reactions would be if all subjects at school were taught in MA and/or MB. The aim was to assess the social psychological implications of the use of the vernacular¹⁸ in a school context. The responses revealed a variety of

¹⁸ It goes without saying that values and goals related to the education of minorities are nowadays topics of heated argument in different parts of the world (for example, USA, UK,

reactions ranging from extremely favourable to extremely unfavourable as well as some intermediate reactions.

The major arguments for the use of Standard Arabic at school can be divided into linguistic (or communicative), cultural and religious.

Box 6.5

VERNACULAR EDUCATION

Linguistic factors

Informant M11: "I would be satisfied if MA was used to teach other subjects at school because it is a major language inside the country. It is also used as a lingua franca (ease of communication in MA) as opposed to French which is a foreign language."

Informant R88: "That would be good for the sake of identity. But 'lahajat' [dialects] differ from one region to another, hence the need for a 'unified dialect'. To achieve this general goal one needs a long-term research and it would be a waste of time and energy. Thus SA, being the carrier of an ancient civilisation, and given the fact it is boasting a 'rich' lexicon (which would in fact compete with other languages), it is the only solution."

It seems implicitly accepted that where the school language is also the language used at home most of those who do not speak the school language in the family circle, in comparison with those who do, will remain permanently retarded in education. With regard to the Moroccan setting, neither MA nor MB, as home languages, is used in the school context. Hence, it is very difficult to speak of "advantaged" or "disadvantaged"¹⁹ children. Children, regardless of their mother

USSR).

tongue, social class and linguistic area, face the problem of discontinuity between home and school. Still, our MA-speaking Ss claim they do not have this problem. As stated by one of our Ss for whom MA and SA were part of the same language: "Arabic is used both at home and in the school context". However, one cannot ignore the differences (on levels phonological, morphological, and grammatical) between MA and SA. They feel that if it was not for colonialism SA would have been the means of teaching all the subjects at school.

Box 6.6

VERNACULAR EDUCATION

Support for the use of the two vernaculars at school

Informant R101: "If all the subjects at school were taught in MA or MB, school would not seem so strange. There would be no gap between home and school."

Informant M7: "If it is possible I would strongly support it."

Informant R116: "What a good idea ! I would become a teacher."

Informant A33: "There is no difference between the two [MA and MB] because they both originate from Morocco."

Informant A77: "It would be a success for both MA and MB."

Informant M2: "MB would not have as much success as MA."

Informant R19: "As far as I am concerned, there is no harm in using MA in all public school."

Informant M28: "It is a necessity as far as Arabic is concerned. Language should not only fulfil our social or regional goals, but it should also be a means of creating a world culture."

¹⁹ Bernstein's work (1972, '73) has quite often been taken as support for the language difficiency argument. I would certainly agree with John Edwards and H. Giles (1984) who refuted this idea of elaborated and restricted codes, arguing that it is not based on any linguistic or cognitive grounds, and that they are rather based on social factors : to the extent that dialect differences exist, children may experience a considerable home-school discontinuity.

Many subjects whose support for the use of MA/MB as a means of instruction was only conditional stated that it would be a good idea provided no foreign language is used in higher education. Others approved of the idea on the condition that other languages are not neglected: "Yes, but there should be room for other languages."

Another experiment aimed at eliciting people's reactions with respect to the teaching of MA and MB not as media of instruction but just as subjects of study. The findings were surprising and many reactions unexpected. The majority of the subjects who support the teaching of MA and MB at school base their arguments on the fact that these two varieties are spoken natively inside the country, which makes them easy to teach once the necessary textbooks and other teaching material in them are provided. A number of informants thought that if MB was taught at school, it would become their favourite career "as it is my mother tongue", and "I would become a teacher myself", added another one.

Historical and cultural considerations were also stated in support of the teaching of MA and MB as subjects of study in a school context. Many informants claimed that "this is possible only in order to get familiar with Moroccan art and folklore". On a national level, the teaching of the varieties is seen as a way of getting familiar with one's environment: "happy, because Moroccans will better know their own country" and "it would be very interesting, language being useful in helping us understand more about the history, literature and customs of our society". Others saw the teaching of the two national varieties as having a unitary function: "it would strengthen our unity and improve the status of the two languages". As a consequence "it would help future generations better live side by side with a knowledge of more than one variety. It would also help (a) facilitate internal communication and (b) regional exchange.

Some purely linguistic reasons were also put forward in support of the teaching

of the vernacular varieties at school and these were in the nature of: "I would agree because one should know more about these languages (in terms of vocabulary, grammar, etc.) to improve the scientific research and study to achieve educational, political and economic independence" and "It would help carry out further linguistic research by comparing the two languages". One informant simply stated that it is a good idea because "on a donné de l'importance à notre langue primitive". Others simply find self satisfaction and emotional contentment when the mother tongue is taught at school:

Box 6.7

VERNACULAR EDUCATION

Emotional contentment

Informant M95: "It has always been my dream to receive my education in my mother tongue."

Informant A119: "It would mean to regain commonsense and realism".

Informant R107: "No objection".

Informant A12: "Why not?".

Informant M10: "Satisfied".

Those in favour of teaching MA and MB at school cited the factor we could term 'familiarity' with the two varieties to defend their idea, whereas those subjects who were against the teaching of MA and/or MB at school used the same argument to claim that the teaching of these two varieties would be a waste of time because they are 'easy' to learn. As one of our informants claimed, "To be honest with you, I learn MA in the street and would like to learn MB later on, and there is no need for me to go to school and waste my time just to learn these two easy dialects". Another subject stated: "I would not be be happy because these languages are only a means of communication". The prevailing negative attitude is that MA and MB are only 'lahajat' (useless patois) which are not worth learning:

MB and MA labelled 'lahaja:t'

- Informant M97: "MB does not possess a 'good' grammar to be studied".
- Informant R16: "MB is a local language and its teaching may lead to 'séparation entre les gens'".(separatist function of language)
- Informant M72: "Only SA can be accepted".
- Informant R6: "I am completely against this idea because SA is a rich language which should be preserved".
- Informant A111: "Not at school. Only at high school and university levels".
- Informant A165: "I would not like that: I am used to French".
- Informant M91: "This is out of the question".
- Informant R70: "I'd never attend any of the classes and I'd never allow my children to do so. I think that neither MA nor MB would be useful for academic purposes."
- Informant M44: "Only Arabic could stand a chance of succeeding in the fulfillment of that role 'SA being a language and not a 'lahja' as is the case with MB and MA'."
-

6.6. WRITTEN LANGUAGE AND SELF EVALUATION IN MOROCCAN CHILDREN

How written language affects the Moroccan child's self-image depends largely on the use his parents make of it, and on whether he associates their language with writing at all. The Moroccan child is almost inevitably exposed to many written words in the outdoor environment and on TV. He becomes aware of the fact that these words either do or do not represent the language of his parents. The child certainly realises that his language is not represented on TV or outdoor and he starts thinking about the importance of the two varieties. Because written language is not

associated with his home language, both within and without the home, the result is that the child starts differentiating between the functions of "significant others" and the "generalised other" (George Herbert Mead, 1934) in the formation of the self-concept.

In a classic analysis of the 'self' concept, Mead (1934) draws a contrast between the role played in the child's development by those most significant to the child in his self-evaluation and acceptance of social constraints with the role played by others outside the primary group and with the more general concept of their expectations and attitudes. For bilingual Moroccans, the division is often linguistic as well as social; the oral use of the home language is identified with 'significant others' (family and friends), and the formal use of the school language, as well as the process of reading and writing, is identified with the 'generalised other' (the Nasrani²⁰ in the case of French and the Arabic teacher in the case of SA).

It goes without saying that school is the single most important point of contact between speakers of different language varieties. For the child whose dialect is considered deficient, school represents the first concentrated evidence of this social 'deficiency'. A MB-speaking child grows somewhat conscious of his supposedly deficient dialect in the street where he meets other children speaking a supposedly efficient (therefore dominant) dialect. This social deficiency is more felt at school where in addition to child/child relationship another relationship, child/teacher, obtains. ²¹

²⁰ The term 'Nasrani' is widely used to refer to any person who speaks French or any other European language. The term also implies that the person is an 'outsider'.

²¹ In such a case there remain two options:

- (a) Either the pupil must accommodate to the ideas and methods of the school, or
- (b) the school must adapt to the ideas and methods of the pupils. Here, the Moroccan child is obviously at a disadvantage. Robert C. Gardner "Language Attitudes and Language Learning", in, Ellwn Bouchard Ryan and Howard Giles (eds.), 1982.

Teachers' stereotypes and predispositions, teachers' expectations are all matters of paramount importance because they inevitably influence the pupil's performance. All in all teachers are members of society too, and, like any one else, they held certain language attitudes and, therefore, expect the child to behave and to speak in a certain way.

"Regardless of overtly expressed attitudes ... teachers are quite likely to be influenced by what they perceive as deviant speech ... thus potentially inhibiting the students' desire to learn".
(Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez 1972: 105)

In Morocco, children arrive at school possessing a well-formed linguistic system (either MA or one of the MB varieties). Difficulties arise because this system is not (and has never been) the one encouraged and reinforced at school; their speech style is, therefore, seen as inferior and substandard. Keeping in mind the fact that language differences do have a significant influence on a teacher's expectation, and hence on the learning environment, the difficulties of the Moroccan child at school can only be aggravated if the teacher bases his evaluations of the pupil on his or her speech style.

The present study reveals that within the Moroccan educational context, teachers held views on "correctness" which imply negative evaluation of the way many children talk (see Appendix A.11). Children's speech which may reflect little or nothing of their academic potential, may cause teachers to hold lower and essentially unjustified expectations of their performance. As a consequence, children receive less favourable ratings than they actually deserve. MA- and MB-speaking children who are expected by teachers and other official representatives of the state within or without the school to consider their language only as an oral means of communication, not to be read or written as is the language of the school

and that of the government, may also be expected to consider their language and that of their parents to be inferior.

When children learn to read and write only the language of the school — even though they may sometimes be addressed orally in their home language for as long as is felt necessary — and do not even learn that science, literature, mathematics, geography, and all the transcendent subjects of school attention exist in their home language (or could potentially exist), that language must almost inevitably be considered a second-rate means of communication (Chester C. Christian, Jr, 1976).

Moroccan Children who do not learn to read and write the language of their parents and are, after entering school, subject to constant pressures to adapt to the standard language (SA) and afterwards to face a completely new language (French) as a condition of personal and social "success", even when they continue to speak the minority language. Within the Moroccan society-at-large, children are at a disadvantage and find the way they speak a hindrance in many situations. Under these circumstances, Moroccan children may consider identification with family and friends as secondary in importance to identification with members of a Western society (most frequently the French) with whom they have had very little contact, if any. As a consequence, the child's social psychological make up is almost inevitably marked with an air of 'linguistic insecurity', 'loss of identity', and 'alienation'.

The intent of this chapter has been to focus attention on specific language attitudes as they relate to language in education and language planning in Morocco and to consider the social psychological consequences of their relation. The study revealed that for all the samples, although the indices of motivational intensity and the desire to learn French were associated with achievement, attitude was not the only variable determining the degree of attainment in a foreign language, other

variables such as aptitude to learn were also found to be involved. The reasons why the learning of a second language have an effect on the social psychological make up of our Moroccan subjects are these: (a) The process of learning a second language allows contact with and therefore possible socialisation by another speech community; learning a second language involves far more than the acquisition of a set of grammatical patterns, mode of pronunciation, and (b) because of the strong feelings about language as a symbol of identity in Morocco, a second language is very likely to influence the perception of 'own' and 'other' communities .

CONCLUSION

In the course of the study at hand, I attempted to examine some social psychological aspects of 'language' use by the Moroccan speech community. Language attitudes received great emphasis as they are the basic concern of the research in modern social psychology, both by linguists, sociolinguists and sociologists. I was able to make a number of important conclusions. These are as follows.

As far as general attitudes were concerned, the study revealed that on a prestige and evaluative continuum Moroccans would be expected to grant French and English their most favourable ratings and MA & MB their lowest ratings while SA would receive intermediate ratings. Whereas French and SA were considered to be important for practical reasons, MA and MB were valued for idealistic and personal reasons. These parental attitudes appear to reflect the functional separation between MA and MB, on the one hand, and SA and French, on the other hand, which exists for many Moroccans.

The majority of the individuals interviewed manifested very positive attitudes towards foreign languages, namely French and English, as these were considered to be the languages of modern civilisation and technology. This positive evaluation was reinforced by the fact that these languages provided the individual with better economic opportunities and social mobility. As a consequence, many individuals have a strong desire to learn French and/or English, mainly for instrumental reasons. However, North African-accented French, which results from the linguistic interference of MA or MB on French pronunciation, received intermediate ratings.

A considerable number of informants held negative attitudes towards their own

languages and speech styles, namely MA and MB, because of the feeling that these languages are not operational enough, i.e., they lack a graphic representation of their own and are relegated to minor usages and are, therefore, dismissed as 'useless' and 'second-hand' languages. Despite this expressed negative attitude towards the mother tongue, many people still remained attached to their own language, especially in intimate contexts.

Standard Arabic retained its prestigious status in relation to the non-standard speech styles (MA & MB) as it was assigned very important functions and is therefore used in the various spheres of the administration, education and government offices. However, SA was rated lower than the competing foreign languages (French and English) when it comes to its use at university level, although it was evaluated highest in terms of its usefulness as a symbol of identity, unity, and nation building. Among sectors of the population that strongly identify with the Islamic movement, CA received even higher prestige ratings. As is the case with most diglossic situations, Standard Arabic, as one would have expected, was viewed as most appropriate in formal situations while Moroccan Arabic was generally viewed as most appropriate for informal settings. Values were often expressed in terms of "right" or "pure" or "wrong" or "corrupt". Such judgments are important reflections of socio-psychological factors, although they may not have any particular linguistic significance. A "corrupt" dialect may in fact be a highly effective form of communication.

In the course of the present work I have also been able to conclude that 'language attitudes' are clear manifestations of the social psychology of language in the Moroccan speech community. These attitudes are generally determined by certain extralinguistic factors, including social status, group identity, the existence of standard and non-standard varieties, among others. In addition to that, second

language learning is also one of the major factors behind language attitudes as a result of the individual's coming in contact with more than one language and therefore with more than one speech community and culture: language being culture-bound.

The assumption that learners with an integrative motivation towards the target-language community would achieve better in their second-language learning process than those with an instrumental motivation, was only partially supported by the results yielded by the present study, i.e. an integrative motivation was not always a predictor of success in second-language acquisition. A desire to become French was even negatively correlated with attained skills in the French language.

In view of our expectations, the results are perhaps most surprising in that the experience by an individual of a bilingual education, a motivation towards the learning of another language did not appear to elicit his/her attitude and motivation.

No definite association between attitude and behavioural changes could be established. Geography helps determine language behaviour independently of attitude: remoteness confirms language loyalty while contact promotes change. Inter-marriage and urbanisation are forms of linguistic contact in Morocco and there is a need for wider cultural contacts if attitudes are to change.

The language situation as it is in Morocco today precludes the possibility of elaborating written standards for the regional (non-standard) languages. Yet, setting aside the principle of the Arabic language as the only vehicle of advancement and cultural independence in modern Morocco, there is no practical reason to believe that the coexistence of Arabic, French and other written languages would

lead to confusion or would increase tensions among the different groups. On the contrary, group frictions can be created not by the existence of different written languages, but by the fact that other written media have been stripped of their prestige and have been replaced by others.

It is now clear that in Morocco as a whole all languages are not on an equal footing and do not enjoy the same amount of support in usage among the various groups. Instead the French language enjoys great advantages. But it is the policy, irrespective of personal or group desires, which governs the increase or the decrease in that advantage. More efforts are now made to promote the learning of SA, and Arabisation, which is a fairly recent language policy, is now being implemented and has so far covered primary and secondary schools. It is also clear that when a language has the opportunity to be used it will attract a favourable attitude, but where it has a history of denial, unfavourable attitudes will prevail. Social psychological research has already shown that a prestige standard form of a language has no inherent aesthetic or linguistic advantage over non-standard varieties. The prestige ascribed to the standard form of a language is usually the product of culture-bound stereotypes passed on from one generation of speakers to the other. What is promising, though, is that the traditional depreciation of MA and MB is in the process of changing as people, especially among the new generation, are becoming more and more aware of the fact that their own speech styles are perfectly suitable for use in various domains, at least potentially.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Instructions and Items from the Interviews and Questionnaires**Appendix A.1.**Language usage interview

The following list of questions was asked in the context of an interview. The informants' answers were written down. The subjects were also allowed to give lengthy and detailed responses whenever they wished to do so. In some cases I had to ask in more detail than the questionnaire below indicates, about particular interactions. The informants were also asked in their own language or dialect to enable them to express themselves as freely as possible.

A small tape-recorder was used to record the respondents' answers. In the course of the interview notes were also taken of the subjects' behaviour .

A. Official business/Doctor

- 5) In what way do you talk at the "Municipality" to the governor; to the secretary; to the doorman?
- 6) Which doctor do you go to for general trouble or check ups? In what way do you talk to him/her ?
- 7) Have you ever been to hospital ? Which doctors did you talk to then ? In what way did you talk to them.

B. Work

- 8) Are there any people on your job who speak a language other than yours?
(children: school)?
- 9) Give an example of when you have talked Berber or French to them?
- 10) What did the Berber monolinguals say when that happened?

- 11) Have you ever worked away from Morocco? How many years?
- 12) Do you have the kind of job where you are in contact with the public? When clients come to talk to you, in what way do talk to them?
- 13) Do you ever work for other people away from your job? For additional income? Give an example of when that happened Who are some pepole you have worked for? How did you talk to them?
- 14) Do you and your family ever exchange labour with another family during a wedding, harvesting or other times when lots of people are needed? In other words, helping together. In what way did you talk to those people?

C. Shopping

- 15) In what way do you talk if you meet a friend at the Tuesday market?
- 16) In what way do you talk to the sales people in a store? Which sales people do you usually talk to ? How do you talk to them?
- 17) Do you ever go to the post office ? Who of the clerks do you usually talk to ? In what way?

D. School

- 18) When did you start school ? For how many years did you go?
- 19) In what language was the instruction conducted? Why that particular school? Which kind did you send your children to?
- 20) Who were your teachers? How do you talk to them in school? Outside school?

E. Kin

- 21) In what way did you talk to your parents?
- 22) In what way did you (do you) talk to your grandparents?
- 23) In what way do you talk to your in-laws?
- 24) In what do you talk with your brothers and sisters?

- 25) In what way do you talk to your brothers and sisters when you go with them to market?
- 26) To your children? To your children before they went to school?
- 27) To your spouse when you were courting ? Before you got married? To your spouse now?
- 28) Did you have other boyfriends or girlfriends before you got married ? How did you talk to them?
- 29) In what way do you talk to your grandchildren? To your daughter- or son-in-law?
- 30) Have you ever had letters from France? Who is in France in your family? In what way do they write letters to you?

F. Friends

- 31) Do you have a close friend ? How do you talk to him/her?
- 32) Have you ever been on a trip with other people? Where? By bus or by car? How did you talk?

G. Entertainment

- 33) What do you do on Sunday afternoons? (pursue this question)
- 34) Have ever been to the north/south of Morocco? (pursue this question and ask about experiences). In what way do you talk?
- 35) Do you have a TV? Do you ever watch programmes in Arabic? In French? In MB?
- 36) Do you have a radio? Do you ever listen to programmes broadcast in Arabic? In French? In MB?
- 37) Do you read any newspapers? Which ones? Why?

H. Mosque

- 38) Which language do you prefer to hear in the mosque?

- 39) Which service do you go to? MA or MB?
- 40) Why do you go to that particular service?
- 41) In what way do you talk to the "Imam" when asking questions inside the mosque?

I. General attitudes

- 42) Do you have any monolingual friends or acquaintances who speak only Berber?
Do you have any who speak only Moroccan Arabic?
- 43) Which language do you find is more comfortable for you?
- 44) Which language do you prefer? Do you have a favourite? Which sounds better?
- 45) Are there some things that sound better in MA? Are there some things that sound better in MB/French? Like what? Give an example?
- 46) Do you find that one language is easier for you to express yourself in? Can you put forward your thoughts better in one language? Which one?

J. Self-ranking

- 47) If you had to describe how well you speak Berber/M.Arabic/French which would you say:
- 1) Perfect MA; as well as any native MA-speaker.
 - 2) Very well but not perfectly.
 - 3) Moderately well
 - 4) Not so well
 - 5) Hardly at all

Thank you.

APPENDIX A2: QUESTIONNAIRES**Appendix A2.1****Background Information about subjects**

- (1) Age:
- (2) Sex:
- (3) Occupation:
- (4) Mother tongue:
- (5) Place of origin:
- (6) Level of education:
- (7) What languages do you speak:
- (8) Your father's occupation:
- (9) Your mother's occupation:
- (10) Your father's level of education:
- (11) Your mother's level of education:
- (12) The level of education of your brothers and sisters:

Appendix A2.2

a) Interest of students in languages

Please fill in the blanks in the sentences below using one of the following items where appropriate

- a) Classical Arabic (al-fous-ha)
- b) Moroccan Arabic (ddarija)
- c) MB (Tamzight, Tarifit and Tashelhit)
- d) French
- e) English

1. My marks in _____ are better than in other subjects.

2. I prefer _____ to any other subject.

3. I would like to continue my studies in _____ when I go to University.

4. I would like to speak more languages rather than only _____

5. I hope to be able to use _____ in my future career.

6. I think everybody will profit from the study of _____

7. I am grateful to my parents for teaching me _____

8. My parents encourage me to speak _____ more than _____

Appendix A2.4**(A) THE OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE**Attitudes to groups

Please complete the following statements using whatever information you think is appropriate.

a) People who speak Moroccan Arabic think _____

b) The children of the parents who speak Tamazight _____

c) The inhabitants of the Atlas live _____

d) When I speak to a Moroccan in French _____

e) The more I get to know the French people _____

f) Every Moroccan who speaks English or German _____

g) When I visit the city in the North (of Morocco) and meet its residents I feel

(B) MULTIPLE CHOICE

Group members

Group	Provenance
1) Bidaoui	Casablanca
2) Marrakshi	Marrakesh
3) Rifi	Rif mountains
4) Neglizi	UK
5) Soussi	The Souss
6) Sahraoui	The Sahara
7) Rbati	Rabat
8) Fransawi	France

Which of the preceding group-members would you like to have as:

- (1) Spouse _____
- (2) Colleague _____
- (3) Friend _____
- (4) Neighbour _____
- (5) Supervisor _____
- (6) Other _____

(1) Please indicate with a check mark (/) where you think the speaker originates from as appropriate.

- _____ Tangier
- _____ Casablanca
- _____ Marrakesh
- _____ The Souss

_____ Sahara

_____ Rif

_____ Other regions or cities

(2) I think the speaker's mother tongue is _____

(3) On the following scale please indicate , using a check mark (/) , to what extent the speaker did (or did not) understand what he was reading?

Not at all _____ Completely
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Appendix A2.5.

Rating of speech

(1) On the following scale, please indicate using a check mark (/) where you would place the speaker's speech ?

MA _____ Not MA
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

MB _____ Not MB
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

SA _____ Not SA
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

French _____ Not French
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

English _____ Not English
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Appendix A2.6

Attitudes towards bilingual education

(A) What language or languages would you like your children to learn? Please explain.

(B) Would you approve of a bilingual education? (for or against)? Please explain?

(C) What would be your reaction if Moroccan Arabic or Moroccan Berber were taught as subjects at the school? Please explain?

(D) What would be your reaction if all the subjects at school were taught in Moroccan Arabic or Berber? Please give details where possible?

Appendix A2.7

Perception of the appropriateness of language in certain domains

The following questionnaire was administered to the subjects who volunteered to take part in the experiment. The aim was to record 1) their perception of the appropriateness of a given language to a particular domain, and 2) the perceived importance of specified variables in promoting the status of a given language.

	SA	Fr.	MA/MB	RANK	THE APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE
A) Officially recognised in the courts of law	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
B) Officially recognised in public administration	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
C) Required for official appointments	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
D) Taught in primary and schools	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
E) Taught in colleges and universities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
F) Used to teach other subjects in school	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
G) Used to teach other subjects in colleges and universities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
H) Used frequently on radio and TV	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

I) Used frequently in
nationally recognised
press

J) Used in scientific
publications

K) Used frequently in
business and commerce

L) Used in public worship

Appendix A2.8

Attitudes towards the process of Arabisation

Using a check mark (✓), please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the idea expressed in each of the following statements about the process of Arabisation in Morocco?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1) Arabisation will improve the status of Arabic.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2) Students find it difficult to understand material translated from French.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3) Students will understand better in Arabic.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4) Teachers will find it difficult to give a maths lesson in Arabic.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5) Arabic is as rich in technical terms as is French, for example	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6) Arabisation will be a success.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Appendix A2.9

Rating of speaker (format) on the seven-point semantic differential scale

On the following seven-point scales indicate with a check mark (/) where you would place the speaker ?

Intelligent	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Unintelligent
Pious	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Non-pious
Leader	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Non-leader
Self-confident	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Not confident
Kind	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Cruel
Ambitious	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Non-ambitious
Sociable	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Unsociable
Sympathetic	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Hostile
Honest	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Dishonest
Generous	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Mean
Rich	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Poor
Prestigious	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Non-prestigious
Clean	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Dirty
Likeable	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Not likeable
Humorous	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Non-humorous
Good-tempered	___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___	Bad-tempered

For the scoring of the seven-point scale (procedure) see Chapter 3.

Appendix A2.10

Motivation in second-language learning

Following is a statement with 9 possible answers. Please read each of them very carefully and indicate on the seven-point scale the extent to which the reason given is descriptive of your own reasons for learning a language or a variety.

Statement: Learning (French) (English) (Arabic) (MB) (MA)

(1) Will help me understand the French people and their way of life.

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

(2) Will enable me get a good job in the future

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

(3) Can help me make new friends in the other group

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
Disagree

(4) I need to learn at least one foreign language to gain prestige in society

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

(5) Will help me think the way the French people do

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

(6) I feel that no one is really educated unless they speak French

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

(7) It will be easier to meet and talk to a greater number of people

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

(8) I need it for particular purposes in commerce and education

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

(9) I will be able to manipulate members of the other group

Completely
agree

____:____:____:____:____:____:____

Completely
disagree

Appendix A2.11

Teachers' perceptions of child's speech style

On the following scale, please indicate your impressions about the child's voice by placing a check mark anywhere along the lines making up each of the seven-point scales

-
- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Child's general vocabulary is probably Very good | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Very poor |
| 2. Child sounds Disadvantaged | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Not disadvantaged |
| 3. Child's general speaking ability is probably Very good | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Very poor |
| 4. Child's family is probably Low social-status | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | High social status |
| 5. In general, the child can probably communicate the gist of a story Very well | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Very poorly |
| 6. Child sounds Very intelligent | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Not intelligent |
| 7. Child's general writing ability is probably Very good | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Very poor |
| 8. Child sounds Very unsure | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Very confident |
| 9. Child seems to enjoy reading Very much | ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ | Not very much |

10. Child sounds Very enthusiastic	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Unenthusiastic
11. Child sounds Very reticent to speak	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Very eager to speak
12. Child is Very fluent	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Very disfluent
13. Child is probably a Very good student	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Very poor student
14. Child sounds Very unhappy	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Very happy
15. Child's pronunciation is Very good	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Very poor
16. Child's general reading ability is probably Very good	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Very poor
17. Child's accent is Very good	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Very poor

Source of format: John R. Edwards (1979).

APPENDIX B

Appendix B.1.

THE PASSAGES USED IN THE MATCHED-GUISE TECHNIQUE

(1) ENGLISH

DAILY NUTRITION

Man cannot lead a happy life unless he enjoys perfect health. A knowledge of the correct ways of selecting nourishment helps in this. There is no single nutritional substance that will provide the body with everything that it requires, and so it is necessary to have a variety of foods. The importance of nourishment, and a variety of nourishment, for the body necessitates a knowledge of its basic constituents, that is, the nutritional elements it. There have been numerous views concerning the classification of food-stuffs into groups, for the purpose of facilitating the task of selecting the daily menu. According to the old division, devised after the first World War, food-stuffs were divided into seven groups; this classification is still considered to be a good criterion for the selection of nourishment.

(2) FRENCH

LA NOURRITURE QUOTIDIENNE

L'homme ne peut pas mener une vie heureuse s'il ne jouit pas d'une santé absolue. Pour cela il est important de savoir bien choisir sa nourriture, car les besoins du corps humain ne peuvent être satisfaits par une substance alimentaire unique. Aussi doit-on prendre une nourriture variée. Pour ce faire, il est indispensable de connaître les constituants fondamentaux- c'est-à-dire, des aliments nutritionnels qui s'y trouvent. En effet, il y a eu de différents points de vue concernant le classement en groupes des aliments, afin de faciliter le choix des repas quotidiens . Selon la division ancienne, élaborée après la première guerre mondiale, les aliments se divisaient en sept groupes; cette classification est encore considérée comme un bon critère dans le choix des aliments.

(3) MB (IPA)

tirəmt uwwas

urizdər bñadəm eiʕiʃ tudərt tasəʕdit iħdars urtəlli ʃʃaħt ifulkin. ɣajan af-ixʃʃa anstti ngər tiram. d-urtlli jat-tirəmt lli reif iddat kullu ɣeilli stixʃʃan, ɣajan af-ixəʃʃa ansən kullu ɣeilli gis illan __ at-iggan t-ɣausiwin lli sənʕunin ddat. nit, l-lan bzzaf la rja lli-tərttabnin tiram u-wwas. ikkattin təqsim aqdim ar-itqəssam tiram f-sat. təqsim ad l-li sul ittuʕtabərñ ja-lmərziʕ ifulkin ħ-usuxjur ntiram.

(4) MA (IPA)

makəlt n-nħa r

meiqdərʃ bñadəm iʕiʃ hjat məzjana bla meitmətəʕ b-ʃʃəħħa l-kamla, u-keissaʕəd ʕla dakəʃʃi baʃ t-ʕrəf t̪turuq l-məzjana baʃ təxtar l-makla. u-makattuzədʃi makla wəħda katəʕti l-ddat kulʃi l-hweiz lli labadda mənħa, ʕliħa labdda ma-tñawəʕ l-makla. uməlli l-makla muħimma l-ddat hijja u-tənwiʕ djalħa, ktrat lʔa rə baʃ-nrətbu l-maklat djal kul-nħa r. ukan təqsim lqdim keiqəsəm l-maklat l-səbʕa djal nwaʕ. u-mazal had təqsim keitəʕtəqbar wəħd l-mərziʕ məzjan baʃ təxtər l-makla.

(5) SA

ahyiḏa:ʔu l-jaumijju

la: jastati:ʔu l-ʔinsa:nu ʔan jaʕi:ʔa ḥaja:tan saʕidatan ma: lam jatamattaʕ
 bi-ṣṣiḥḥati t-ta:mmati, wa jusa:ʕidu ʕala: ḏa:lika maʕrifatu ʔuruqi ṣṣḥi:ḥati
 li-xtija:ri l-ʔiḏa:ʔi. wa la: tu:zadu ma:ddatun ʔiḏa:ʔijjatun waḥidatun tuzawwidu
 l- zisma bi zami:ʕi l-ʔiḥtija: za:ti d-daru:rijjati, wa liḏa:lika wazaba maʕrifatu
 mukawwina:tihi — wa hijja l-ʕanḏ:ʕiru l-ʔiḏa:ʔijjatu l-mauzu:datu fi:hi. wa
 qqad taʕaddadati l-ʔara:ʔu fi: taṣni:fi l-ʔayḏijjati ila: mazmu:ʕa:tin buyjata
 taḥi:li muḥimmati xtija:ri l-wazaba:ti l-jaumijja. wa ka:na t-taqssimu l-
 qadi:mu ju qassimu l-ʔayḏijjata ila: sabʕi maza:mi:ʕa. wa la: jaza:lu ḥa:ḏa t-
 taqsi:mu mʔziʕan ʔajjidan fi-xtija:ri l-ʔiḏa:ʔi.

Appendix B.2.

Additional selected mg data

EXPERIMENT 1

Table 4.1 : Mean ratings of speaker A according to guise

Trait	Fr. guise	Eng. guise	Tash. guise	guiseSA
Intelligent	4.62	4.25	4.12	3.62
Pious	4.62	3.00	3.50	3.50
Leader	3.50	4.12	3.75	3.25
Self-confident	4.62	4.75	4.25	4.62
Kind	5.37	4.62	4.62	4.50
Trustworthy	4.37	4.25	3.62	3.62
Ambitious	6.00	4.12	3.50	4.00
Sociable	4.62	5.12	3.50	4.00
Sympathetic	5.12	4.25	3.62	5.12
Honest	3.75	3.62	4.25	4.37
Generous	4.37	3.75	3.75	3.75
Rich	3.75	3.75	3.75	3.75
Prestigious	3.87	4.87	3.50	3.25
Friendly	4.75	4.00	3.75	4.00
Humorous	4.75	4.25	3.87	4.25
Good-tempered	3.87	4.00	3.87	4.00
Total Mean :	3.70	4.30	3.81	3.99

EXPERIMENT 2 : RATING OF SPEAKER B

Table 4.2: Mean ratings of speaker B according to guise

Trait	MA guise	Tash.guise	Fr.guise
Intelligent	5.37	4.25	4.50
Pious	4.25	3.62	3.50
Leader	4.62	5.00	4.12
Self-conf.	6.00	3.00	3.37
Kind	3.25	4.25	4.2
Trustworthy	3.87	3.75	3.50
Ambitious	4.25	3.87	5.12
Sociable	4.75	4.62	5.12
Sympathetic	6.00	4.62	5.12
Honest	5.12	5.25	3.87
Generous	5.00	4.87	3.87
Rich	4.50	4.25	4.37
Prestigious	4.37	3.75	4.37
Friendly	5.62	4.87	4.50
Humorous	3.62	4.00	4.75
Good-tempered	5.25	4.62	4.87
Total Mean:	4.87	4.59	4.59

EXPERIMENT 3: Rating of speaker C

Table 4.3 Mean ratings of speaker C according to guise

Trait	Tash.guise	Fr. guise	SA guise
Intelligent	4.12	4.75	5.00
Pious	4.50	3.25	4.00
Leader	4.12	4.25	4.00
Self-conf.	4.50	4.50	4.25
Kind	4.12	4.12	4.75
Trustworthy	3.87	4.00	3.37
Ambitious	4.00	4.75	4.37
Sociable	4.25	4.75	4.62
Sympathetic	4.50	4.00	4.12
Honest	5.12	4.12	4.00
Generous	4.25	4.25	4.12
Rich	4.00	4.37	4.37
Prestigious	4.25	3.62	4.51
Friendly	4.12	5.12	4.12
Humorous	4.50	4.00	4.25
Good-tempered	4.50	4.37	4.00
Total Mean :	4.59	4.48	4.25

EXPERIMENT 4 : Rating of speaker D

Table 4.4 Mean ratings of speaker D according to guise

Trait	SA guise	Fr. guise
Intelligent	3.12	4.12
Pious	4.87	4.87
Leader	3.75	3.87
Self-conf.	4.12	3.75
Kind	4.62	4.00
Trustworthy	3.87	3.75
Ambitious	4.25	4.75
Sociable	4.00	4.37
Sympathetic	4.12	3.62
Honest	5.25	3.87
Generous	4.37	4.50
Rich	4.00	4.00
Prestigious	4.25	3.50
Friendly	4.75	3.75
Humorous	3.50	4.62
Good-tempered	4.00	4.12
Total Mean :	4.48	4.27

Appendix B.3.Field work: schools, universities and other settings represented in the study**(1) Rabat-Salé:**

Alhikma (primary school)

Alyaqatha (secondary school)

Ahmed Nassiri- (high school)

Yussuf Ben Tashefin (secondary school)-

Rabia Al'adaouia (primary school)

Lala Mariam (primary school)

Tariq bnu Ziad (primary school)

The general public

(2) Marrakesh:

Azzahra (high school)

Kadi Iyyad (high school)

Faculty of Science

Faculty of Law

Faculty of Arts

The general public

(3) The Souss:

C.P.R (Regional Centers for secondary school teachers' training)

Almouahidine (primary school)

Abdallah Ibn Yassin (high school)

Amanssour A-Dahbi (secondary school)

The general public

Appendix B.4List of persons whose voices figure on the mg tape-recordings

(12 voices = 12 minutes)

- Voice 1: Mr Elhamri Rachid
- Voice 2: Miss Zehra
- Voice 3: Mr Laissari
- Voice 4: Mr Jebbour
- Voice 5: Mr Elhamri Rachid
- Voice 6: Miss Zehra
- Voice 7: Mr Laissari
- Voice 8: Mr Elhamri Rachid
- Voice 9: Miss Zehra
- Voice 10: Mr Laissari
- Voice 11: Mr Jebbour
- Voice 12: Mr Elhamri Rachid

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