Chapter 1 : Language Attitudes Among Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco - AbdelÃ¢li Bentahila - Google

Language Attitudes among Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco (ISBN) is a book by AbdelÃ¢li Bentahila, published by the Clevedon company of Avon, England. The book discusses Arabic - French bilingualism in Morocco.

Data were collected through an on-line questionnaire. We found that high levels of Tolerance of Ambiguity and Cognitive Empathy, and low levels of Neuroticism are linked with significantly more positive attitudes towards CS. Knowing many languages had a marginally positive effect. A more fine-grained analysis revealed that participants with mid-range global proficiency values were less positive towards CS than those at the lower and higher end of the scale. Participants who grew up in a bilingual family and in an ethnically diverse environment, and currently worked in an ethnically diverse environment had significantly more positive attitudes towards CS. Female participants and those with the lowest and highest levels of education appreciated CS most, and participants in their teens and twenties appreciated CS less than older participants. The findings thus show that the attitudes towards CS are linked to personality, language learning history and current linguistic practices, as well as some sociobiographical variables. People hold attitudes to language at all its levels, e. The vast majority of the existing studies on language attitudes are done on particular languages, language varieties, or certain aspects, such as pronunciation or spelling, of particular languages, usually in sociolinguistic situations 1 To appear - Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development http: For example, there are studies of language attitudes towards English and other local languages in Hong Kong, India, sub-Saharan Africa and Wales Garrett Systematic studies of attitudes toward code-switching CS â€" the alternation and mixing of languages within a conversational utterance â€" are, as Gardner-Chloros points out In this paper, we focus on attitudes CS by multilinguals in a variety of everyday situations. One of the most noticeable gaps in the literature, both on language attitudes generally and on attitudes towards CS specifically, is the investigation of individual differences in language attitudes, which includes questions such as how different individuals view the same linguistic phenomenon; how the same individual views different linguistic phenomena; and what psychological, historico-cultural, and socio-political conditions would affect inter and intra-speaker variation and change in language attitudes. Understanding what factors affect inter and intra-speaker differences in language attitudes will help us to understand the processes of social change and how individuals in their specific socio-psychological locale respond to social changes. In this article, we want to address individual differences in language attitudes towards CS. In addition to the theoretical significance of studying such differences, a particular motivation for the present study is our concern over the lack of consideration in experimental design of psycholinguistic studies of CS of inter- and intra-speaker variations in attitudes. Speakers are selected and grouped together according to gender, age, language proficiency, and, occasionally, frequency of CS, but rarely according to their attitudes towards the very linguistic phenomenon that is being studied. Language attitude seems to be treated as essentially a socio-ideological issue that can be dealt with entirely in the discipline of sociolinguistics. Yet, attitude affects behaviour, and the attitude-behaviour correspondence is a psychological process. Socio-ideological factors affect that process of course. But so do individual factors such as personality, emotional state, and experience. At a very general level, CS could be regarded as an achievement strategy by language learners, an identity marker in certain communities, or a snobbish ornament amongst the elite. Furthermore, the evaluation of different types of CS is likely to be different within the same individual in different communicative environments. One person may believe that it is entirely normal to code-switch within her own family but not at all appropriate in the workplace, whereas another may feel that CS is controllable and only occurs when inhibition is temporarily lifted as in anxiety or excitement. These individual differences may have significant effects on the results of psycholinguistic experiments, an issue that is largely under-explored in the current literature. Our study therefore aims to provide some initial evidence of the extent to which language attitudes towards CS vary individually, which we hope will raise awareness amongst researchers of the significance of attitudinal

differences in 2 designing future experiments. The article is structured as follows. We first review the existing research on attitudes towards CS in language contact situations and education. We then introduce the personality traits which we hypothesise to have a prima facie link with attitudes towards CS. Our research instruments include an online questionnaire specially designed for the present study, including items to assess some personality traits. We will describe the design of our empirical study and our hypotheses. Subsequently, we will test four specific research hypotheses with our empirical data. The implications of our findings are discussed in the concluding section. Even neutral sounding terms such as Tex-Mex, Franglais, Japlish often have negative connotations Languages are best kept separate and well formed according to tightly defined monolingual rules. Even bilinguals who code-switch themselves sometime believe that CS is an indication of laziness or poor linguistic proficiency. Chana and Romaine , for example, reported negative attitudes toward CS among Punjabi-English bilinguals in Birmingham, in spite of their almost exclusively using a CS mode. Experimental studies of attitudes towards CS using matched guise techniques largely confirm the negative findings from questionnaires and interviews. Bentahila found that the majority of the Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco who took part in the experiment reacted negatively to the CS guise, and their attitudes ranged from pity to disgust. Without CS, texts with a Balkan name were perceived as being superior, but with CS this superiority was lost and the samples got significantly lower assessment scores. Significantly more studies of attitudes towards CS exist in educational contexts and in child language acquisition. Again the majority of the studies point to negativity Martin-Jones But this needs to be interpreted against a background of behavioural norms in these contexts which are in turned driven by linguistic ideology. CS in language teaching has seldom been seen as a facilitating strategy. Instead, it is regarded as a sign of lack of proficiency in the target language. Likewise, CS in young children is often taken as an example of poor cognitive control or lack of sensitivity of the appropriate choice of language De Houwer Parents in particular are concerned that CS may confuse children as they develop their knowledge and skills in different languages. However, recent research in bilingual and multilingual education has provided evidence that CS not only can be used as an effective pedagogical strategy for teaching and learning Canagarajah but also should be seen as a sign of linguistic 3 creativity and criticality Li Wei Some researchers in bilingual and multilingual first language acquisition have argued that CS is evidence of advanced executive control whereby the child justify his or her language choice to manage the communicative demand Genesee ; Zhu and Li Their arguments have been backed up by extensive linguistic analyses of the complex structures of CS which suggest that the ability to switch between languages in conversational interaction requires high linguistic knowledge as well as sociolinguistic sensitivities Gardner-Chloros Informants from lower occupational groups had the most favourable attitudes towards CS; in fact, the more educated the respondents undergraduates and postgraduates , the less favourable their attitude towards CS. The younger respondents disapproved less of CS, and saw it as more advantageous, than the older ones. In the meantime, several significant differences were found between attitudes among Cypriots in London and in Cyprus itself even though the language combination was the same. Overall, CS seemed to be gaining acceptability within the London Greek Cypriot community, as cultural hybridity became more commonplace and, in some cases, even fashionable. Pena investigated what 98 first-, second-generation members of the Spanish-Galician community in London thought of code-switching. Most members of the second generation also expressed negative views about CS, while, ironically, about half of them where engaging in CS in their interaction with the researcher. The majority view was that CS betrayed a lack of competence in the languages. A small group of 9 participants were happy to use CS between Galician, Spanish and English because it allowed them to distinguish themselves from both the Spanish speakers and the English. All of these 9 participants had had linguistic training at university. Participants also reported a shift in attitudes towards CS over the years in London: Our previous research â€" based on the same sample that will be used in the present study- has provided evidence that self-reported frequency of CS is subject to a great amount of individual variation Dewaele and Li Wei b. Participants who grew up and worked in a multilingual environment, knew many different languages, which they learnt from a young age and who had advanced

proficiency in various languages reported significantly more frequent CS. Female participants, extraverts, and participants with high Cognitive Empathy, also reported significantly higher frequency of CS. Our overall research question is whether the same variables also affect attitudes towards CS? We add personality traits which have not been extensively investigated in relation to CS, but have been found to be significant in our parallel study b. Personality traits Personality traits are hierarchically organized with five broad, independent dimensions at the summit and a larger number of more specific lower-order traits Pervin et al. Extraversion versus Introversion and Neuroticism versus Emotional Stabilityi. Extraversion - Introversion Variation on the Extraversion â€" Introversion dimension is linked to the amount of cortical arousal, which leads to different behavior, also different communicative behaviour Dewaele Extraverts are sociable, gregarious, talkative, impulsive and risk-taking individuals. Introverts are quiet, introspective, reserved individuals who plan ahead and avoid excitement. They swear more frequently than introverts Dewaele and are more willing to use stigmatized speech styles Dewaele Dewaele and Li Wei b using the database on which the present study is based, found that extraverts reported more frequent CS. We thus assume that extraversion is linked to more positive attitudes towards CS. Those who score low on Neuroticism can be described as emotionally stable, calm, and contented. Dewaele found that high- N individuals both English L1 users and English foreign language users reported swearing significantly more in interactions with friends and strangers. Neuroticism has been linked to activity in the limbic system, with high-N individuals being more responsive to threat or stress, and showing slower reaction times in response to negative words in emotional Stroop tests Pervin et al. We hypothesise that high-N individuals may be more anxious in dealing with CS. The person with low TA experiences stress, reacts prematurely, and avoids ambiguous stimuli. Dewaele and Li Wei a found that mono- and bilinguals scored significantly lower on TA compared to multilinguals. Moreover, participants with higher levels of multilingualism and those who has lived abroad also scored significantly higher on TA. A regression analysis showed that both variables contributed significantly to explaining the variance in TA. A prolonged stay in a new environment requires a sustained and conscious effort to acquire the new local rules governing communication and social interaction. It refers to the ability to empathise, to understanding what other people might be thinking or how they might be feeling. People with high levels of empathy are better at understanding the intentions of others, are more accurate in predicting their behaviour, and are better able to recognise the emotion of their interlocutor. Dewaele and Li Wei investigated the relationship between multilingualism and CE among mono- and multilinguals. A significant positive correlation emerged between multilingualism and CE. It is possible that the ability to empathise with a multilingual interlocutor might be linked to more positive views of CS, as this is a way of highlighting the specific links between the speaker and the interlocutor. Hypotheses The present study aims to test the following hypotheses: We expect participants who grew up in a linguistic and ethnic diverse environment have more positive attitudes towards CS. We also expect participants who know more languages, who have advanced knowledge of several languages, who grew up with two or more languages before age 3, and who lived abroad to have more positive attitudes towards CS. Finally, we expect participants who work in multilingual and multi-ethnic environments to have more positive attitudes towards CS. Gender, 6 age and education level could be linked to attitudes towards CS, but it is hard to predict the direction. We expect positive attitudes to be linked to more frequent use. Method Participants A total of multilinguals females, malesii filled out the questionnaire. The mean age was The participants reported different nationalities, including many participants with double nationalities. Mean age of acquisition of the L2 was The sample consists of 36 monolinguals, bilinguals, trilinguals, quadrilinguals, pentalinguals, sextalinguals, 54 septalinguals, 20 octalinguals, 9 nonalinguals, 5 participants knew 10 languages, and 1 participant reported 12 languages. A single category was created including all participants with six or more languages.

Chapter 2 : Bilingualism and Bilingual/ Multicultural Education

Those familiar with a bilingual community may be aware of the passionate reactions bilingualism can inspire in those who experience it. The Arabic-French bilingualism examined here, for instance, has been both denigrated as the root of many social and psychological problems and glorified as a source.

It is particularly characteristic of informal conversations where all the participants are bilingual, and in such circumstances a bilingual may switch between one language and the other several times within the same utterance. That code-switching is so much used may seem remarkable in view of the fact that it is apparently very unfavourably viewed by the bilinguals themselves. In an investigation described in Bentahila , The following discussion is based on an examination of the switches occurring in seven and a half hours of conversations which were recorded without the knowledge of the participants, who were all balanced bilinguals aged between seventeen and forty. The conversations took place in a relaxed home setting, involved between two and four participants, meeting on a friendly basis, and covered a wide range of topics, from idle chat about food, weather and everyday events to more serious discussion of work, politics and education. The tone of the speakers varied from light-hearted and humorous to argumentative and dramatic. An examination of the data suggests that the distribution of switches is by no means as arbitrary as might be imagined by a casual observer. It is possible to identify a number of factors which may provoke a switch; a few examples will serve to illustrate these. Switching provoked by external factors It seems possible to attribute many switches to the influence of factors external to the speaker himself, in particular to the type of topic under discussion. This would often seem to be because the terms from one language are more readily available to the bilingual than those from the other; although in most cases the speaker probably knows appropriate terms in both languages, he seems to recall those in one language more immediately than those in the other. The effect of availability of vocabulary has also been observed in the code-switching of Spanish-English bilinguals Lance, and of German-English bilinguals Clyne, The influence of topic is illustrated in our data by the frequent switches from Arabic to French for technical terms referring to medical, educational or administrative matters, as in the following quotations. This tendency may reflect the fact that French is still widely used in the education and medical sectors in Morocco. It is interesting, too, that a switch to French is something made to refer to a concept associated with Europe, such as an item of food not part of traditional Moroccan cuisine, as in 4 , or a type of accommodation found in modern European-style apartment blocks, as in 5. The data reveal a strong tendency for bilinguals to switch to French in order to indicate a number, date or time. There are numerous examples where an expression of this kind in French occurs in what is otherwise an Arabic utterance. Just give him about thirty thousand francs for the rent 7 la: The tendency to switch to French for numbers could perhaps be related to the fact that the speakers would all have been taught their arithmetic in school exclusively through the medium of French. While French lexical items seem to be more available than Arabic ones in the domains noted above, for religious topics the opposite seems to be the case; not surprisingly, perhaps, there is often a switch to Arabic to refer to a religious custom. Arabic also seems to be favoured over French for expressing insults and swearing, so there is often a switch to Arabic for this purpose: Also among the expressions which seem to be more available in Arabic are a number of stereotyped phrases, typically used as fillers to avoid a pause, often in what are otherwise French utterances. This seems to be the case, for example, in 14 , where the Arabic word [Iaskri] carries connotations of ignorance and lack of refinement which the French soldat lacks. In other cases, it is the desire to avoid certain connotations which motivates a switch; for instance, there are a number of examples where a switch to French seems to be motivated by the desire to avoid using what would be a taboo word in Moroccan Arabic. Here the switch enables the speaker to avoid embarrassment. Sometimes a switch which is motivated by the need to use one language rather than the other for some particular item is not restricted to this item alone, but extends beyond it. This is the phenomenon which Clyne labels triggering. He distinguishes between anticipational triggering,

where the switch is made before the speaker reaches the particular item which motivates the switch, and consequential triggering, where the speaker, after switching to one language for a particular item, continues in this language instead of returning to the pre-switch language. Both these types of triggering can be observed in our data. For instance, in 17 the switch seems to anticipate the need to use the French term licence, which is much more readily available than its Arabic counterpart, which is rarely used by Moroccans. In 18 , the expression which seems to have motivated the switch is the Arabic phrase [mula: In 20 , the initial switch is in order to use a stereotyped Arabic phrase like those discussed earlier see examples 12 and 13 , after which the speaker continues in Arabic. In cases like these, then, the source of a quite lengthy switch can be found in a particular item within this stretch of speech, which for some reason favours the use of one language rather than the other. There are however other cases where a switch seems to be more deliberately chosen and exploited by the speaker to achieve a particular type of effect. The data provide many illustrations of how code-switching can be used as a stylistic device to produce special rhetorical effects. Firstly, there are many instances where a speaker first says something in one language and then repeats the same point in the other. However, this does not. Instead, the purpose seems to be to add emphasis to what is said. Rayfield , observing the same kind of repetition in the code-switching of Yiddish-English bilinguals, suggests that their use of this device may be influenced by the frequency with which emphatic repetition occurs in Biblical Hebrew. One could similarly link its use by Moroccans to the repetition characteristic of Arabic literary texts; but in fact there seems no need to seek such an explanation, for it seems in fact to be a very common strategy of bilinguals, which has also been attested in Spanish-English code-switching Gumperz, ; Redlinger, ; Timm, and in Hindi-English and Slovenian-German code-switching Gumperz, There are also other environments where a switch serves an emphatic function. There are many cases where a speaker addressed in one language switches to the other to reply and thereby emphasises his disagreement with the previous statement, as in In 24 , the second speaker repeats what the first has said, but in the other language, to emphasise his astonishment and indignation. In 25 , the switch to Arabic is for a humorous, sarcastic comment. Skun had nzha A: In examples like 26 , the switch to Arabic coincides with the introduction of an entirely new topic, and may help to draw attention to this change of subject. In 27 , the inter- ruption is a request for clarification, but the first speaker, in responding, continues to use French; the use of Arabic for the interruption alone seems to mark it as separate from the general flow of information. In 28 the interruption is in order to correct a false assump- tion, and here the switch, as well as serving to draw attention to the interruption, may also emphasise the element of contradiction, as it does in The contrast between the two languages may also be exploited for dramatic effect in a narrative or description. A very effective use of switching is seen in The change of language here perfectly accords with this contrast of content, the modern technological solution being described in French and the traditional religious one in Arabic, and thus serves to heighten the contrast quite dramatically. The following speech, which is a character sketch, will illustrate the contribution of switching over a longer piece of discourse. I1fait mathPmatiques, il est gPnPraliste, 3! He is a real Soussi; and yet he is cultivated, he has a very good job. He makes a lot of money and everything, but there is nothing. The main point being made by the speaker here is that, although Ahmed has plenty of money, he is reluctant to spend it and prefers to live a very simple life. After first intro- ducing the subject, Ahmed, in French, he switches to Arabic to make his essential point, that Ahmed does not like to spend money. He proceeds to make the point, very dramati- cally, that Ahmed is rich. This he does by listing one by one the signs of his wealth, progressing from the fact that he is educated and well placed, through the fact that he owns his own house, and, even more remarkable, other property as well, to what in Morocco is one of the ultimate signs of financial success, the fact that he has bought some land. It is interesting, too, that it is the references to his education and to his possession of modern, European-style property, in the form of apartments, which are in French, while the other points, which have no such modern connotations, are in Arabic. When this progression reaches its height, he switches again to French to introduce the contradiction with mais, and then, in contrast to the lengthy enumeration of details which preceded it, comes the single Arabic word [walul-nothing. He switches to Arabic to make an

aside, indicating the radio; Arabic seems to be used here to keep aside separate from the mainstream of his speech, as it is in 32 , to be discussed below. It is striking that this fundamental point is made three times in the course of the speech, each time very briefly, and each time with a switch to Arabic. This is achieved through the connotations of the word [xdma] which tends to be used more often to refer to manual work than to a profession. The change of language seems to be a useful device for marking such a change of topic. This strategy is illustrated in the following examples: Tu veux un peu de coca? Do you want some Coke? Another very common tendency is for a switch to coincide with a quotation, so that the quotation itself is in a different language from that used to introduce it. This has the effect of separating the quotation from the rest of the utterance and making it stand out from its narrative background. In examples like 33 and 34 , a quotation in Arabic is introduced in French. In these cases, there are good reasons why it is the quotation itself which is in Arabic. In 33 , the person quoted is a lowgrade soldier who would not be fluent in French and whose original words would have been in Arabic; while in 34 , the quotation contains an idiomatic expression, typically used by older people to the younger generation, which has no obvious French equivalent. This has the effect of leaving the introductory verbs unobtrusive in the background, while the information contained in the dialogue stands out. This is the tendency to use a switch in order to resolve a hesitation. There are many instances where a speaker pauses in mid-utterance, as if uncertain how to continue, and then finally begins again in the other language. In some cases, the speaker turns to the other language simply to fill in the gap caused by his hesitation, before returning to his original language once he has regained the thread of his discourse. Thus, in examples like 37 and 38 , the switches to Arabic are simply to use filler words or phrases, while the speaker reflects on how best to express his main point; in each case he goes back to French when he finally continues with his message. Zta f la boufftance. Other examples illustrate a rather different strategy, whereby the speaker, after seeming to experience difficulty in expressing his message in one language, pauses and then continues with the same message in the other language. I was in Agadir. It would appear then that once the speaker has lost the thread of his remark in one language, he may find it easier to start again in the other. Some of the examples of switching after a hesitation may be motivated by this desire for avoidance of effort. In the first place, it was seen that switching may allow the bilingual to use the vocabulary which he finds most available or most appropriate to a particular topic, thereby making possible greater fluency than if he had to search. The wider choice from the two languages at his disposal may also allow him to find the word which carries a particular connotation, or to avoid using a word the connotations of which might cause him or his hearers embar- rassment. Secondly, we saw that code-switching can be used as a rhetorical device to achieve a variety of special effects. It can serve to emphasise a point, to add variety or to heighten a contrast; and the speaker may use it in an attempt to gain the floor or to change the topic of discourse. Thirdly, it was seen that switching may be a strategy adopted when the speaker gets lost for words; if he finds it difficult to express himself in one language on a particular occasion, he can make a second attempt in the other language. Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. Eds , El Lenguajede fos Chicanos. Eds , Bilingwlism in the Bicentenniuland Beyond. Bilingual Press, New York.

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Chapter 7 : French language in Morocco

Language chosen* Always Very often Often Sometimes Arabic 1 French Maids Arabic 88 1 3 French 2 Grandparents Arabic 81 1 4 French Parents Arabic 81 10 8 2 French 1 3 7 *A few respondents mentioned Berber in their answers to these questions, while others gave no answer.

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Pcrgamon Press Ltd. MOTIVATIONS FOR CODE-SWITCHING AMONG ARABIC-FRENCH BILINGUALS IN MOROCCO ABDELI BENTAHILA Introduction Code-switching, or the alternation between two different languages within a single conversation,1 is a common feature of the speech of those Moroccans who are fluent in both French and Arabic.

Chapter 9 : Language Attitudes Among Arabic French Bilinguals In Morocco by Abdelali Bentahila

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