

**Dr. Nouredine Alem**  
**Mohamed First University**  
**Oujda -Morocco-**  
**[nouredine.alem@gmail.com](mailto:nouredine.alem@gmail.com)**

**Moroccan migrants' language choice and identity:  
a sociolinguistic study**

**abstract**

Sociolinguists give a particular attention and interest to the relationship between language and society. Moroccan immigrants living in France, a multicultural society, is an interesting field of research because of their everyday cultural and linguistic interactions.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse and discuss the link between language, culture and identity throughout the answers of Moroccan immigrants who live in France and belong to two different generations. It is crucial to know that the number of the informants who filled the questionnaires is 172. They belong to the first and second generations and are non-educated and educated respectively. The number of the questions is 36 but we will focus only on nine questions, which deal mainly with linguistic competence (Question 9), linguistic difficulties (Question 10), linguistic preference (Question 11), language choice and use in different situations (Questions 12 and 14) and also how those immigrants tackle everyday life (Questions 22 and 23), their attitudes towards traditions and cultures in France and Morocco (Questions 24 and 25).

The place of investigation is Morocco, and the informants are of course Moroccan immigrants who live in France with different ages and levels of education. The variables age and education are very important in my research in order to make comparisons between the first and the second generations of immigrants.

## Informants

My investigation was limited to the northern region of Morocco because I do belong to this region and most immigrants who live in France belong to the same region and represent the majority of Moroccan immigrants in general.

The choice of the type of population to inquire is very important before starting the field research. Knowing about their cultural background is an advantage which is of great assistance in dealing with data analysis and interpretations. Variation of informants is highly recommended for any field work study to be successfully reliable. That is why we tried the best we can to vary the respondents according to their age, sex group and level of education. I have chosen to do research among Moroccan immigrants living in France, belonging to different socioeconomic and educational groups, speaking MA (Moroccan Arabic) and/or B (Berber), educated (different levels of education) and non educated and composed of different ages (ageing between 15 and 65 years).

The following tables show the number of informants among which I fulfilled my research. The informants are classified according to the variables age, sex and education.

**Table 1: Distribution of the informants according to their age and sex**

Gender	Male	Female	Total
11 → 19	23	24	47
20 → 29	33	27	60
30 → 39	14	10	23
40 → 49	21	08	29
50 → 59	11	01	12

**Tables 2 and 3: Distribution of the informants according to their education**

<b>AGE</b>	<b>Educated</b>
11 → 19	47
20 → 29	57
30 → 39	17
40 → 49	12
50 → 59	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>138</b>

<b>AGE</b>	<b>Non-educated</b>
11 → 19	0
20 → 29	3
30 → 39	6
40 → 49	17
50 → 59	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>

## Data analysis and findings

The following tables show to what extent attitudes towards languages (French/F, Moroccan Arabic/M.A, Standard Arabic/S.A and Berber/B) and cultures (The French and the Moroccan cultures and traditions) differ from one context to another, and how the variables of education and age do affect such attitudes. The first generation of immigrants are old and non-educated while the second and third generations are young and educated:

Question 9	Very bad	Bad	Average	good	Very good
M.A	21	13	42	45	51
S.A	63	70	20	17	2
B	71	9	8	10	74
F	0	3	12	44	113

### Question 9: Distribution of language competence

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

Question 9	Very bad %	Bad %	Average %	Good %	Very good %	Total %
M.A	12,21	7,56	24,42	26,16	29,65	100
S.A	36,63	40,70	11,63	9,88	1,16	100
B	41,28	5,23	4,65	5,81	43,02	100
F	-	1,740	6,98	25,58	65,70	100
Average proficiency	22,53	13,81	11,92	16,86	34,88	100

### Question 9: Evaluation of language competence

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

Question 10	Very easy	Easy	Average	Difficult	Very difficult
M.A	48	53	11	38	22
S.A	07	16	23	74	52
B	54	23	14	45	36
F	69	78	19	4	2

### **Question 10: Degree of competence in speaking languages**

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

Question 10	Very easy %	Easy %	Average %	Difficult %	Very difficult %	Total %
M.A	27,91	30,81	6,39	22,09	12,79	100
S.A	4,07	9,30	13,37	43,02	30,23	100
B	31,39	13,37	8,14	26,16	20,93	100
F	40,12	45,35	11,05	2,32	1,16	100
Average competence	25,87	24,71	9,74	23,40	16,28	100

### **Question 10: Evaluation of difficulties when speaking languages**

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

Question 11	Do not like it	Like it	Like it too much
M.A	13	86	73
S.A	107	3,2	33
B	39	54	79
F	2	108	62

### Question 11: Distribution of language preference

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

Question 11	Do not like it %	Like it %	Like it too much %	Total %
M.A	7,56	50	42,44	100
S.A	62,21	18,60	19,19	100
B	22,67	31,39	45,93	100
F	1,16	62,79	36,05	100
Average preference	23,4	40,69	35,90	100

### Question 11: Evaluation of language preference

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

Question 12	N	S	A
M.A	47	64	61
S.A	126	27	19
B	82	33	57
F	-	-	172

### Question 12: Distribution of language use

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 12	N %	S %	A %	Total %
M.A	27,32	37,21	35,46	100
S.A	73,26	15,70	11,04	100
B	47,67	19,19	33,14	100
F	-	-	100	100
Average use	37,06	18,02	44,91	100

### Question 12: Evaluation of language use

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
	69	9	-	73	-	-	77	-	-	-	-	78
%	88,5	11,5	-	100	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100
Total	78/100			73/100			77/100			78/100		

### Question 14: Distribution of languages learnt at school

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	51	03	24	71	-	-	31	05	42	47	19	12
%	65,38	3,85	30,77	100	-	-	39,74	6,41	53,85	60,25	24,36	15,38
non- educated	59	03	32	87	-	-	40	06	48	23	28	43
%	62,76	3,19	34,04	100	-	-	42,55	6,39	51,06	24,47	29,79	45,75

### Question 14: Distribution of languages used at home

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	63	08	07	74	-	-	46	14	18	28	29	21
%	80,77	10,26	8,97	100	-	-	58,97	17,95	23,08	35,90	37,18	26,92
non- educated	34	28	32	82	-	-	34	19	40	29	20	39
%	36,17	29,79	34,04	100	-	-	36,56	20,43	43,01	32,95	22,73	44,32

### Question 14: Distribution of languages used among friends

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	50	02	26	64	-	-	26	08	44	59	14	05
%	64,10	2,56	33,33	100	-	-	33,33	10,26	56,41	75,64	17,95	6,41
non- educated	47	18	29	90	-	-	39	07	48	67	21	-
%	50	19,15	30,85	100	-	-	41,49	7,45	51,06	76,14	23,86	-

### Question 14 Distribution of languages spoken with parents

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	57	13	08	68	-	-	30	09	39	53	18	07
%	73,08	16,67	10,26	100	-	-	38,46	11,54	50	67,95	23,08	8,97
non- educated	43	22	27	81	-	-	38	06	50	73	12	-
%	46,74	23,91	29,35	100	-	-	40,42	6,38	53,19	85,88	14,12	-

### Question 14 Distribution of languages spoken with brothers

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	54	05	19	67	-	-	29	01	43	58	17	03
%	69,23	6,41	24,36	100	-	-	39,73	1,37	58,90	74,36	21,79	3,85
non- educated	54	17	20	87	-	-	36	04	54	80	-	-
%	59,34	18,68	21,98	100	-	-	38,30	4,25	57,45	100	-	-

### Question 14 Distribution of languages spoken with sisters

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	78	-	-	78	-	-	74	-	-	-	-	78
%	100	-	-	100	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100
non- educated	90	03	-	83	-	-	83	04	-	-	-	88
%	96,77	3,23	-	100	-	-	95,4	4,6	-	-	-	100

### Question 14: Distribution of languages spoken in supermarkets

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	75	-	-	77	-	-	78	-	-	-	-	78
%	100	-	-	100	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100
non- educated	91	-	-	81	-	-	88	-	-	-	-	89
%	100	-	-	100	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	100

### Question 14 Distribution of languages used in administration

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	10	41	27	13	08	12	34	29	15	70	03	-
%	12,82	52,56	34,61	39,39	24,24	36,37	43,59	37,18	19,23	95,89	4,11	-
non- educated	02	61	29	10	70	13	61	14	15	79	10	-
%	2,17	66,30	31,52	10,75	75,27	13,98	67,78	15,55	16,67	82,76	17,24	-

### Question 14 Distribution of languages spoken in the mosque

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
educated	61	08	09	73	-	-	37	27	14	29	33	16
%	78,20	10,26	11,54	100	-	-	47,43	34,61	17,95	37,18	42,31	20,51
non- educated	31	43	18	79	-	-	36	25	27	57	19	16
%	33,69	46,74	19,57	100	-	-	40,91	28,41	30,68	61,96	20,65	17,39

### Question 14 Distribution of languages spoken in cafes

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French

N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
At school	69	9	-	73	-	-	77	-	-	-	-	78
At home	51	3	24	71	-	-	31	5	42	47	49	12
Among friends	63	8	7	74	-	-	46	14	18	28	29	21
With parents	50	2	26	64	-	-	26	8	44	59	14	5
Among brothers	57	13	8	68	-	-	30	9	39	53	18	7
Among sisters	54	5	19	67	-	-	29	1	43	58	17	3
In supermarkets	78	-	-	78	-	-	74	-	-	-	-	74
In administration	75	-	-	77	-	-	78	-	-	-	-	78
In the mosque	10	41	27	13	8	12	34	29	15	70	3	-
In cafés	61	8	9	73	-	-	37	27	14	29	33	16
Average use	56,8	8,9	12	65,8	0,8	1,2	46,2	9,3	21,5	34,4	13,3	29,4

**Question 14 Distribution of languages used by educated informants in different situations**

Question 14	M.A			S.A			B			F		
	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A	N	S	A
At school	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
At home	59	3	32	87	-	-	40	6	48	23	28	43
Among friends	34	28	32	82	-	-	34	19	40	29	20	39
With parents	47	18	29	90	-	-	39	7	48	67	21	-
Among brothers	43	22	27	81	-	-	38	6	50	73	12	-
Among sisters	54	17	20	87	-	-	36	4	54	80	-	-
In supermarkets	90	3	-	83	-	-	83	4	-	-	-	88
In administration	91	-	-	81	-	-	88	-	-	-	-	89
In the mosque	2	61	29	10	70	13	61	14	15	79	10	-
In cafes	31	43	18	79	-	-	36	25	27	57	19	16
Average use	45,1	19,5	18,7	68	7	1,3	45,6	8,5	29,3	41,2	11	27,5

**Question 14 Distribution of languages used by non-educated informants in different situations**

M.A stands for Moroccan Arabic, S.A stands for Standard Arabic, B stands for Berber and F stands for French. N stands for never, S stands for sometimes and A stands for always.

Questions 22-23	P <sup>+</sup>	P	O	N	N <sup>+</sup>	Total
Life in Morocco	21	43	0	8	4	76
Life in France	20	38	0	16	2	76

**Questions 22-23 Comparison between Moroccan and French social lives (educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

Questions 22-23	P <sup>+</sup>	P	O	N	N <sup>+</sup>
Life in France	26,32 %	50 %	-	21,05 %	2,63 %
Life in Morocco	27,63 %	56,58 %	-	10,53 %	5,26 %

**Questions 22-23 Evaluation of Moroccan and French social lives (educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

Questions 22-23	P <sup>+</sup>	P	O	N	N <sup>+</sup>	Total
Life in Morocco	21	44	-	17	12	94
Life in France	26	43	-	19	05	93

**Questions 22-23 Comparison between Moroccan and French social lives (non-educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

Questions 22-23	P <sup>+</sup> %	P %	O %	N %	N <sup>+</sup> %	Total %
Life in Morocco	22,34	46,80	-	18,08	12,77	100
Life in France	27,96	46,24	-	20,43	5,38	100

**Questions 22-23 Evaluation of Moroccan and French Social lives (non-educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

Questions 24-25	P <sup>+</sup>	P	O	N	N <sup>+</sup>	Total
Moroccan culture	12	22	9	8	4	55
French culture	7	19	8	17	5	56

**Questions 24-25 Comparison between Moroccan and French cultures and traditions (educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

Questions 24-25	+P %	P %	O %	N %	N <sup>+</sup> %
French culture	12,5	33,93	14,28	30,36	8,93
Moroccan culture	21,82	40	16,36	14,45	7,27

**Questions 24-25 Evaluation of Moroccan and French cultures and traditions (educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

Questions 24-25	P <sup>+</sup>	P	O	N	N <sup>+</sup>	Total
Moroccan culture	40	44	7	2	0	93
French culture	03	37	6	30	12	88

**Questions 24-25 Comparison between Moroccan and French cultures and traditions (non-educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

Questions 24-25	P <sup>+</sup> %	P %	O %	N %	N <sup>+</sup> %	Total %
Moroccan culture	40,01	47,31	7,52	2,15	-	100
French culture	3,41	42,04	6,82	34,09	13,64	100

**Questions 24-25 Evaluation of Moroccan and French cultures and traditions (non-educated informants).**

P, P+, N, N+ and O stand for the qualitative evaluation of attitudes towards languages and cultures. P represents the Positive evaluation and attitude, N represents the negative one, P+ stands for the highly evaluated attitude, N+ for the lowly evaluated one and O stands for the optional attitude.

### Question 9:

To what extent do you speak these languages?

Moroccan Arabic:	not at all	bad	average	good	very good
Standard Arabic :	not at all	bad	average	good	very good
Berber :	not at all	bad	average	good	very good
French :	not at all	bad	average	good	very good

### Question 10:

Which language do you find easy or difficult to speak?

Moroccan Arabic:	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult
Standard Arabic :	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult
Berber :	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult
French :	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult

### Question 11:

Which language do you prefer to speak? Why?

Moroccan Arabic:	don't like it	like it	like it too much
Standard Arabic:	don't like it	like it	like it too much
Berber:	don't like it	like it	like it too much
French:	don't like it	like it	like it too much

**Question 12:**

Which language do you speak frequently? Why?

Moroccan Arabic:            never                    sometimes                    always

Standard Arabic:            never                    sometimes                    always

Berber:                        never                    sometimes                    always

French:                        never                    sometimes                    always

**Question 14:**

In which situation do you speak these languages M Insert 'N' for Never, 'S' for Sometimes and 'A' for Always:

	Moroccan Arabic	Standard Arabic	Berber	French
At school				
At home				
With your friends				
With your parents				
With your brothers				
With your sisters				
In the super market				
In administration				
In the mosque				
In cafes				

**Question 22:**

How do you find everyday life in Morocco?

**Question 23:**

How do you find everyday life in France?

**Question 24:**

What do you think about the Moroccan culture and traditions?

**Question 25:**

What do you think about the French culture and traditions?

Concerning question 9, answers of both educated and non-educated informants are included. Results show that Moroccan immigrants who live in France master French and find it easier than native languages spoken in Morocco, Moroccan Arabic and Berber (question 10). The respondents are bilinguals but French is clearly dominant in their speech; this is due to the power of French as a means of socio-economic promotion which is used in many domains. They prefer to use it so as to be socially and economically integrated in the social life. Moroccan Arabic and Berber are used in only some situations and contexts (questions 11 and 12). The distribution in the use of the languages shows that the bilingual situation of the informants is recommended and highly evaluated. Bilingualism is a worthwhile advantage that helps the Moroccan immigrants feel at ease whatever the situation they may find themselves involved in.

Question 14 deals with the informants' use of languages in different situations. It is a comparison between educated informants represented by second and third generations and non-educated informants represented by the first one.

At school, it is only French which is used (100 %). Moroccan Arabic (11.05%) and Berber are rarely employed. At home, educated informants use less French (15.38 %) than Moroccan Arabic (30.77 %) or B (53.85 %) whereas among non-educated immigrants French is more used (45.75 %) than Moroccan Arabic (34.04 %) or Berber (51.06 %). This attitude may be explained by the fact that the non-educated informants are less aware of the importance of mother tongues and their daily use. In other words, a community's maintenance of its mother tongue entails the maintenance of its cultural heritage.

Among friends, both categories of immigrants, educated and non-educated use more French than Moroccan Arabic and Berber but with parents it is Moroccan Arabic or Berber that are more used. The main observation is that all immigrants are bilingual and switch from French to Moroccan Arabic and Berber.

French is more used between brothers and sisters because they are educated and master it. They choose to speak French and switch to Moroccan Arabic or Berber. In supermarkets and administrations both educated and non educated immigrants use only French because it is the language that gets them integrated and socialised. Moroccan Arabic and Berber remain languages of the “kitchen” that are used only as languages of refuge.

Moroccan Arabic, Berber and Standard Arabic are used in mosques. It is the first time that Standard Arabic is used because it is the language of the Koran. In cafes, educated informants use more French if compared to non-educated informants. The use of French in public places can be explained by the fact that they master it and use it as a means of a social lubricant to get them integrated socially and culturally. The choice of using one language rather than other can be triggered by sociolinguistic factors governing the interactions. The use of language is prescribed by the setting and the participants as Herman (1961) quoted in Edwards (1988: 4-5) asserts: “*context can influence the linguistic choice and the linguistic choice can serve as an index to perceptions of situations*”.

Results concerning questions 22 and 23 show that educated informants have a positive attitude towards both ways of life in France and Morocco with a very little preference to everyday life in Morocco. This result is confirmed by their negative attitudes to both social lives in France (21.05%) and Morocco (10.53%). Second and third generations do accept the French language and culture without rejecting their native Moroccan ones. Even though the social life in general (school and society) has a great impact on the immigrant child, he is more attached to his Moroccan identity and traditions and does his best to speak M.A or B. Non-educated immigrants have a little preference to life in France noticed in their negative views about life in Morocco (18.08%) if compared to France (20.43%). In fact the latter enjoy neither life in Morocco nor in France. They try to find their own culture of *insterstice*, a culture in between so as to have a psychological and social equilibrium.

I have brought the two questions 24 and 25 together so as to have a clear comparison between immigrants' estimation of Moroccan and French cultures and traditions. Answers show that the first generation of Moroccan immigrants who are non-educated are very attached to the Moroccan culture and traditions (P+ 40.01 %) (P 47.31 %). Almost half of the answers react negatively to the French culture and traditions (N+ 13.64 %) (N 34.09 %). Ahmed, 65 years old says about the Moroccan culture and traditions: "*ce sont nos cultures et nos traditions. On peut jamais les ignorer ou les oublier. Ce sont nos raciness* » (They are our culture and traditions. We can never be unaware or forget them. They are our roots) and about the French culture and traditions he says: « *J'en ai pas avec ces traditions ou cette culture même si nous sommes en France depuis longtemps. On a jamais oublié que nous sommes des musulmans et en plus des Marocains* » (I do not like these traditions or this culture eventhough we have been in France since a long time. We have never forgotten that we are Moslems and in addition we are Moroccans).

The second generation of immigrants who are educated prefer the Moroccan culture and traditions (40%) to the French ones (33.93%). In fact, answers of Moroccan immigrants who live in France proved that they are attached to their home culture and traditions without rejecting the French culture and traditions. Nour-el-houda, 19 years old, says about the Moroccan culture and traditions: "*Les cultures sont riches, les traditions sont très plaisantes et agréables*" (The cultures are rich and the traditions are very pleasant)and about the French culture and traditions: "*Certes, elles n'arrivent pas à la hauteur des traditions marocaines, mais elles sont tout de même belles* » (Indeed, they are less important than the Moroccan culture and traditions, but they are beautiful all the same).

It is worth mentioning that some answers were not clear enough to be classified either as positive or negative because I think that the informants suffer from identity formation and group belonging; that is why they are categorized as optional and need further deep research and analysis. For instance the answer of an informant who prefers to be anonymous concerning the Moroccan traditions is "*Elles sont différentes et variées. Chacun peut y trouver son compte*" (They are different and varied. Each one can find himself) and about the French traditions: "*De même que les traditions marocaines* ». (Just as the Moroccan traditions).

## **Conclusion**

Language use has a close inter-dependence and inter-influence with cultural and ethnic identity. The results of the questionnaire do confirm this relationship. The figures show that the informants frequently use French because they cannot speak Moroccan Arabic or Berber fluently, especially the second generation immigrants. Moreover, most of the time they find themselves in situations in which they are obliged to speak F. For instance, F is used at school, administration, supermarkets and cafes and also at home particularly among brothers and sisters. Whereas Moroccan Arabic or Berber are rather spoken at home especially when parents address children and vice versa and in the mosque as well. I would like to point out, at the end of this study, that language use varies not only according to the social characteristics of the speaker such as social class, ethnic group, age, education...but also according to the social context in which he finds himself.

Language use is then related to cultural identity; the history and culture of a group contribute to the construction of its identity which is not stable but is rather always in a state of evolution. Language, as a dynamic phenomenon, also changes and varies according to the social and intercultural movements and developments throughout history in different societies.

## Questionnaire

1. Name: (Optional)

2. Age:

3. Sex: Male Female

4. Profession:

Student:	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	.
Worker	No work	800-1300 E	1300-2000 E	more than 2000 E

5. Where were you born?

6. When have you been to France?

7. Where have you been studying? Morocco or France?

8. What is your native language?

9. To what extent do you speak these languages?

Moroccan Arabic:	not at all	bad	average	good	very good
Standard Arabic :	not at all	bad	average	good	very good
Berber :	not at all	bad	average	good	very good
French :	not at all	bad	average	good	very good

10. Which language do you find easy or difficult to speak?

Moroccan Arabic:	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult
Standard Arabic :	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult
Berber :	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult
French :	very easy	easy	average	difficult	very difficult

11. Which language do you prefer to speak? Why?

Moroccan Arabic:	Don not like it	like it	like it too much
Standard Arabic:	Don not like it	like it	like it too much
Berber:	Don not like it	like it	like it too much
French:	Don not like it	like it	like it too much

12. Which language do you speak frequently? Why?

Moroccan Arabic:	never	sometimes	always
Standard Arabic:	never	sometimes	always
Berber:	never	sometimes	always
French:	never	sometimes	always

13. Which language do you think is beautiful?

Moroccan Arabic:	not beautiful	beautiful	very beautiful
Standard Arabic:	not beautiful	beautiful	very beautiful
Berber:	not beautiful	beautiful	very beautiful
French:	not beautiful	beautiful	very beautiful

14. In which situation do you speak these languages M Insert 'N' for Never, 'S' for Sometimes and 'A' for Always:

	Moroccan Arabic	Standard Arabic	Berber	French
At school				
At home				
Among friends				
Among parents				
Among brothers				
Among sisters				
In the super market				
In administration				
In the mosque				
In cafes				

15. Do you think that speaking these languages is important?

Moroccan Arabic:            not important            important            very important

Standard Arabic:            not important            important            very important

Berber:            not important            important            very important

French:            not important            important            very important

16. Do you learn Moroccan Arabic? Where? How many hours per week?

17. How do you find this course?

18. Do you learn Standard Arabic at school? How many hours per week?

19. Do you learn Standard Arabic in other places than school? Where? How many hours per week?
20. How do you find this course?
21. How many times a year do you go to Morocco?
22. How do you find everyday life in Morocco?
23. How do you find everyday life in France?
24. What do you think about the Moroccan culture and traditions?
25. What do you think about the French culture and traditions?
26. Do you have Moroccan friends?
27. Do you have non-Moroccan friends?
28. Do you like the house where you live (in France)? Why?
29. Do you like the school where you study? Why?
30. Where do you spend your week-end?
31. Where do you spend your holidays?
32. Do you think that you can find work easily in France?
33. Do you think that speaking French helps you to find work?
34. Do you feel that you are more Moroccan than French or more French than Moroccan? Why?
35. Do you think that Moroccan immigrants can save lot of money?
36. Do you project to come back home (Morocco) in the future? Why?

## References

- Biber, D., Conrad, S., and Reppen, R. (1998) *Corpus Linguistics, Investigating Language Structure and Use*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bickman, L., and Rog, D. (1998) *Handbook of Applied Research Methods*. Sage publications.
- Calvet, L-J. (1994) *Les voix de la ville: introduction à la sociolinguistique urbaine*, Paris, Payot.
- Caune, J. (1995) *Culture et Communication, Convergences Théoriques et Lieux de Mediation*. Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.
- Coulmas, F. (1997) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Blackwell publishers.
- Dabène, L and Danielle, M. (1995) "Bilingual Speech of Migrant People" in: One speaker, Two languages. Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, S. (1992) *The Question of Cultural Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heller, M. (1995) Language choices, social institutions and symbolic domination, in: *Language in society*, 24, 373-405.
- Kasper, G. and M. Dahl (1991) « Research methods in interlanguage Pragmatics » in: G. Kasper and Grotjahn Ruditer (eds.), *Methods in Second Language Research* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p: 215-248.
- Mesthrie, R. et al. (2000) *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh.
- Moslem, M. (1997) "The Second Generation in France: Identity against Integration", In: *The Science of Education*,\_13.
- Selim, A. (1981) *L'identité Culturelle : Problèmes Inter-ethniques et Problèmes d'Acculturation*. Paris : Anthropos.
- Trudgill, P. (1992) *Introducing language and society*. London: Penguin English.