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Language Policy in the Kingdom of Morocco: Arabic, Tamazight and French in Interaction

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Abstract:
This article provides an overview of the substantial changes in language policy of the Kingdom of Morocco since its independence. The first part of the article describes the modes of use and the geographical and social distribution of all major languages spoken in Morocco. The paper focuses especially on the language situation in education and the media. Due attention is paid to the legal framework in the field of language policy. In the second part the author examines the historical perspective and presents a survey of government approach to language policy from independence to the recent years. Special emphasis is put to the field of education, precisely reflecting the development of language policies. The study also analyzes the origins, development and issues of the Amazigh cultural movement, which started in the early 1980s. Since Muhammad VI ascended the throne in 2000, it has been possible to identify substantial changes in the language policy, which have resulted in consolidating the role of foreign languages, especially French, and a greater openness to Tamazight in education and other fields.

Key words:
language policy, Morocco, Arabic, Moroccan Spoken Arabic, French, Tamazight, Berber, Arabization, Educational System

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Introduction

Due to its multilingual character, Morocco is an ideal object of study of the formation of a language policy. Herein meet four main language systems, each of which has a different status and use in the daily lives of the Moroccan people. These languages are Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Moroccan Spoken Arabic or Darija, Berber or Tamazight, and French. Multilingual population is a characteristic feature of Morocco. There exist several groups of speakers, depending on the number and command of languages used. The linguistic prowess scale extends from monolingual to quadrilingual groups of speakers. However, only Darija and Tamazight are used as the mother or first tongue. Hence, monolingual speakers use only one of the two languages. The bilingual-to-quadrilingual groups of speakers comprise combinations of all the above languages, with speakers switching to one as need be and sometimes actually doing that inadvertently or automatically in the process known as code switching or alternance codique (for details see Jacobson 1998). A basic survey of these language groups is presented in the first part of my study, which discusses the status of the individual languages, their functions, usage as well as giving a characteristic of their users.

Morocco offers us with a specific sociolinguistic environment in which there exist dichotomies between French and Arabic and between Arabic and Tamazight. The language policy applied in Morocco bears traces of both an effort to create a monolingual status by means of Arabization and the use of bilingual communication in Arabic and French, which is prevalent and widely recognized in education and official conduct. Tension between the Arabization policy and the Berbers’ quest to have Tamazight recognized as an official language is more emotionally charged than the relationship between French and Arabic. We have seen, in the last decade, a significant shift in the official language policy, towards a broader application of French at one level and the recognition of Tamazight and its gradual introduction into nationwide public school curricula at another level. Achieving this state of affairs was a difficult job and the matter shall be discussed in the second part of this study, focusing on the development of language policy since the declaration of Morocco's independence in 1956.

The core ambition of this study is to evaluate the changing status of Morocco’s individual languages since 1956 and to define the main factors that will shape their further development and interaction in the years to come.
1. Language Map of Morocco

1.1. Modern Standard Arabic MSA – Morocco's national language

MSA is a development of Classical Arabic and is regarded by all Arabs and Muslims as a highly prestigious tool of communication, common to the whole Arab world. Classical Arabic was originally spoken in the Hejaz area of what is today Saudi Arabia. Here, the Prophet Muhammad is said to have received, in the Seventh Century AD, the Quran, still the paragon today of refined usage of Arabic. Understandably, the language has developed over the centuries. The Classical Arabic of the Quran is today used only in religious rituals, prayers, Friday sermons and similar situations. MSA is a direct development of Classical Arabic and is used in official conduct, in schools, TV news programs, political circles, etc. The language is not only spoken but mainly written – regarding any legal documents, correspondence and most of quality books of fiction. The language owes its prestigious character to religious connotations as well as the fact that it unites the whole Arab World in spite of political divisions and frequent conflicts.

Morocco's constitution defines Arabic (meaning MSA or Classical Arabic) as the only official national language. Arabic is the core language of instruction at all schools and universities. In Protectorate times Arabic was taught as a foreign language in French Muslim schools. The instruction language role of Arabic was limited to traditional quranic schools – zawiyas and the Al-Qarawiyyin theological university in Fes. Some of these schools have undergone reforms, since the 1920s, the purpose of which was to ensure profane instruction in Arabic. In the 1950s, an estimated 120,000 students participated in this type of education, vastly outnumbering French school students (Benzakour - Gaadi - Queffélec 2000, 42).

School has always been the Moroccan children’s first exposure to MSA or Classical Arabic. At home, parents speak one of the variants of Derija, a phonetically and syntactically different language the command of which is a stepping stone to understanding the more complex MSA. However, this applies only to Arab children and the Berber population is logically disadvantaged, as the initial requirements of adopting a new language are too high.

1.2. Moroccan dialect of Arabic - Darija

Morocco, like all Arab countries, is a typical example of diglossy – a term for the situation when a population uses two languages, one of which is more prestigious, codified and used in official conduct and in writing, while the other serves in daily communication and is seldom recorded. In Morocco, the former is represented by Modern Standard Arabic and the latter by Moroccan Darija. Should we compare the Moroccan dialect (Darija) with other Middle East
Arabic dialects in regard of their proximity to Classical Arabic, we would conclude that Moroccan Spoken Arabic has less in common with Classical Arabic than the other Arab World dialects. However, Darija is not a homogenous language; it has many variants, chiefly conditioned upon social and geographic factors. Thus Moroccan Spoken Arabic could be further subdivided as urban, Bedouin and mountain strains. For the sake of completeness, not even this schematic subdivisions tell the tale. Bedouin Arabic is far from being a monolithic language entity; it has countless variants due to individual waves of migration of Bedouin tribes to the Maghreb area (Boukus 1995). Hence one can distinguish the Bedouin āroubi dialect, spoken on the mid-Atlantic coast, from the Eastern Bedouin dialect. A separate classification goes to the Hassaniya dialect, which originated in South Arabia and was ushered into the area by the migrant Banu Ma’qil tribe, or rather its Dhawu Hassan branch, in the 13th to 15th centuries AD (Gombár 2007, 188). Hassaniya is widespread in the southernmost regions of Morocco and Western Sahara, and is prevalent in Mauritania.

The above-mentioned survey would suggest that the various forms of Darija can be always associated with a specific town, region or social group. Each variant has specific language characteristics that enable speakers to tell a member of their community from the rest of the group. Darija in its various forms is doubtlessly the most widely spread language in Morocco, spoken also by most of non-native speakers, especially the Berbers. According to the Ethnologue catalog of world languages, Darija is the first language of 18.8 million people and a second language of more than five million people, including a part of the Berber population (Gordon 2005).

Darija could doubtlessly be classified as the first language of Morocco's Arab population. It is a language of daily conduct in families, all walks of informal life, in schools except instruction, TV variety shows and in an extent also in popular literature. It is a language of direct spoken communication and seldom appears in writing. Its written form is not codified and even Moroccan Darija textbooks usually use Latin transcriptions (see e.g. Harrel 2006). The language and its grammar are not taught except from foreigner language courses at certain linguistics institutions. The Moroccan state considers Darija a dialect not sanctioned by legislation and certainly it does not give support to the language. However, this can in no way diminish the importance of the Moroccan dialect as the only natural language used by Arabic speakers. Modern Standard Arabic continues to be the government-preferred official language, although few Moroccans can speak it correctly.

A stepping stone between Darija and MSA is the middle level of Arabic, so called ESA (Educated Spoken Arabic), the language used by educated people in spoken communication.
On the whole ESA is closer to Darija but its vocabulary taps MSA. Although it can be heard in educated discourse in the media, its frequency in the population is rather limited (Ennaji 2005, 49).

Should ESA be construed a really defined level of Arabic, one can speak of triglossia or even quadriglossia among the speakers of all three variants, if one includes the command of Classical Arabic (Ennaji 2007, 270).

1.3. Berber - Tamazight

The Berber languages and Arabic belong to the Afro-Asian language family. They are geographically spread across the Maghreb from the Mediterranean coast in the north to the river Niger in the south, and from the Atlantic coast in the west to the Egyptian Siwa oasis in the east (Abrous – Hawad-Cloudot 1999, 91). Barbaricus, the original Roman name for non-Latin speaking peoples of North Africa, was borrowed by Arab conquerors in the seventh and eighth century AD, who named them barbari (pl.: barabira) and their language barbariya. However, the speakers do not use the name for themselves and their language, and it could be perceived as mildly derogatory by virtue of its origin. Hence it would be more appropriate to use the name the Berbers identify with: Amazigh (pl. Imazighen), meaning free man; the name of their language is the feminine form of the same word – Tamazight. Due to considerable geographic distances between them, individual language communities are fairly isolated from each other and variants of the original common language arise in a process not dissimilar to the development of Arabic. Because of its focus, this paper deals primarily with the language variants spoken in the territory of Morocco.

There are three basic variants of the language spoken by Morocco's Berber population: namely Tamazight\(^3\) in the Central Atlas mountain area; Tachelhit dialect, prevalent in the Great Atlas, Anti-Atlas and southern parts of the country and the Tarifit variety, spoken in the Riff Mountains. All these variants are morphologically similar, with more pronounced differences in phonology, phonetics and partly also vocabulary (Moustaoui 2003).

According to official 2004 statistics, one or another variant as outlined is spoken by over 30% of Morocco's population. There are no official statistics for individual Tamazight variants, however, the number of speakers can be estimated on the face of their above-mentioned geographic spread: Tamazight is used by three million speakers, Tachelhit by 2.5 million, and Tarifit by 1.3 million speakers. (Moustaoui 2006, 12). However, statistics

\(^3\) Tamazight is the collective name for all Berber dialects and one separate dialect of the Central Atlas.
released by some societies in defence of the Amazigh languages cite far larger figures; thus the Association Marocaine de Recherche et d'Échanges Culturels, originally conceived as an association of Amazigh students, or the Congrès International de la Langue Amazigh estimate that one or another variant is spoken by more than 50% of Moroccan population (Moustaoui 2006, 13). Uncertainty prevails also about the total population claiming their nationality to be Imazighen (Berber), which has been conservatively estimated at 60% (BBC, 2 January 2001).

The status of the language is not regulated by the Constitution or other legislative or official documents, which do not even mention Tamazight. This is not surprising as until recently it was not recognized by the state as a language per se, because due to ideological reasons and the fact that it is seldom recorded in writing, Tamazight was considered a native tongue or dialect, similarly as the Arabic Darija. Because of its largely oral character it lacked a clearly defined method of transcription and a preferred script. Of late, Tamazight transcripts in Mali and Niger employ Roman type. The same approach would have been favoured by Amazigh activists in Morocco. Ultimately, however, the Ministry of Education and the chief authority in charge of such issues – the Institute Royal pour Culture Amazigh en Maroc (IRCAM) – selected transcription into traditional Tifinagh script. It should be noted that the language has not been codified to date in spite of IRCAM efforts in this field.

Tamazight is only symbolically represented in state-run media – the first channel of Moroccan TV airs only brief news bulletins in the language. News coverage on M2 TV gives about the same amount of exposure to Tamazight. Public-service SNRT network comprises La Radio Amazigh, specializing in Berber arts and culture. Another station, Radioplus, broadcasts from Agadir in Arabic and Tamazight (Al-Jazeera, 5 September 2007). Printed magazines such as Imazighen, Tifinagh or Tasafut, were once available at newspaper stalls. At present there are several weeklies and monthlies available, including Le Monde Amazigh and Tawiza (Moustaoui 2006, 13). Due to long-term marginalization under the French protectorate and over long decades of enforced Arabization, Tamazight has withdrawn from big cities, where it continues to be used only in Berber households. In regions with higher or prevalent percentage of Berber speakers, it continues to be used in many situations in daily life and official communication with the administrative bodies, provided their staff comes from the Amazigh ethnic background (Moustaoui 2006, 13). Due to its clear association with a nationality group, Tamazight emerges as the main and most important pillar of cultural identification of the Amazigh population.

Until recently, the situation was much worse in education than other spheres of social life. Instruction in Tamazight was not permitted even in primary schools, which had adverse
impacts on the Berber population, resulting in sporadic school attendance and sometimes even ignoring education. Tamazight based on Roman script was taught in Amazigh areas under the French protectorate but the tendency was to oust religious elements from school instruction: Arabic was not taught at all and the Quran was not read in schools. For the same purpose, Le collège franco-berbère (Benhlal 2005, 334) was established in Azrou in 1929. However, this type of education was less than successful since the Berber elite preferred their children to be trained at the Franco-Muslim college in Rabat (Benzakour - Gaadi - Queffélec 2000, 47).

Lately the situation has been rapidly changing, progressing from royal promises to the application of Tamazight in junior primary schools. Traditional Tifinagh transcription is preferred to Roman type. As no standard version of Tamazight is taught and instruction is provided in all three dialects – each in its home area – there is considerable shortage of teachers capable of teaching the language. Amazigh cultural activists attribute this state of affairs to the effort to suppress common cultural identity of the Amazigh population both in Morocco itself and neighbouring states. All students undergo compulsory Tamazight training in an extent of three hours a week at 317 schools for the time being. The goal is set pretty high: by 2013 Tamazight should be taught by all schools, calling for training courses for about 20,000 teachers (Moustaoui 2006, 14).

1.4. French

A strong presence of French in Morocco understandably dates from the declaration of French protectorate in 1912. In due course, French was introduced as an official language. French was used at all levels of education and in all protectorate institutions. This language policy persisted for 50 years and survived even Morocco's independence in 1956. The change was not instant: it occurred about seven years later as independent Morocco started to pursue a policy of Arabization, which ushered MSA as the only language of instruction to all levels of education. The measures should have concerned also technical universities, where French was the traditional language of instruction. Many loan words and technical terms from French were used and included in the MSA corpus, which thus differs from the MSA used in other Near East areas, especially where English serves as the prevalent source of vocabulary. Although the goals of Arabization in education were clearly set, their implementation was sluggish, starting at the lower level of schools. Technical and economics universities retained French as the first language of instruction in all times without a break, and only sometimes was it complemented by Arabic. This strict language policy was gradually abandoned and today, French is taught as the first foreign language from the first grades of primary school.
Today, French is a dominant language in technical, law and economics departments of higher-education institutions. All universities have departments of French language and literature. No small role is played by language institutions, chief among which are nine French institutes operating under the auspices of the French embassy. In cooperation with the ministry of education these institutes provide training to Moroccan teachers of French. Together with other institutions, an important prestigious role is entrusted to French-language écoles, or primary schools, and higher-grade collèges and lycéés (numbering 30 in total), operating under the aegis of the Agence pour l’Enseignement du Français à l’Étranger and L’Office Scolaire Universitaire et International, partly in conjunction with La Mission Laïque Français. These institutions supervise the education of more than 28,000 students, 60% of which are Moroccan (Ambassade de France au Maroc).

French is often used as a working langue in the corporate sphere, banks and consular conduct with mainly non-Arab countries. French-language newspaper and literary output is not insignificant, either, and this applies to specialist as well as fiction literature. In the 1990s French book production made on third of all publications released in Morocco (Benzakour – Gaadi - Queffélec 2000, 101). La Télévision Marocaine has regular news programs in French, and the mainly state-owned 2M TV channel airs many other French-language products, including feature films, sometimes with MSA subtitles. Consequently, the use of French is quite widespread in Morocco and the level of its command among people with at least secondary-school education is good. This is due not only to the echoes of colonial influence but mainly the perception of French as a key to the modern Western civilization and its prevalently material goods. Many intellectuals and middle-class families consider French a prestigious and very practical language, the fluent command of which warrants adequate jobs; therefore these population strata tend to send their offspring to French schools (Moustaoui 2006, 22). However, despite its elevated position of more than a foreign tongue, French is not officially recognized by the Constitution or other laws as an official or legal language, which is solely Modern Standard Arabic.

1.5. Other foreign languages

1.5.1. Spanish

Due to geographic proximity to Morocco, the presence of Spanish has been longer than that of French. It dates at least from the expulsion of Moriscos from Spain in the 16th century, but its use by the inhabitants of Morocco has yet to be documented. The direct impact of Spanish came to be obvious only after Spanish colonization of the first areas of Morocco:
by 1860 the Spanish had established a presence in Tétouan (capital of the later French protectorate) and by 1906 they occupied what is today West Sahara. In the colonial era, Castilian Spanish was the official language. Spanish children went to Spanish schools (escuelos hispano-árabe), the first of which opened in Nador (del Rio 2005). Spanish libraries operated in the protectorate, the largest of which was in Tétouan. Linguistic purity and broadening the cultural influence of Spanish were supervised by the office of Alta Comisaría. However, educating Moroccans was not the focus of attention of the protectorate authorities. The situation was far worse than under the French protectorate and the only school for Moroccans operated in Tétouan! Spain continues to exercise sovereignty today in the Ceuta and Mellila enclaves, the command of Spanish being most widespread in their areas and on the Mediterranean coast. This is due also to large numbers of Spanish tourists heading for Morocco's Mediterranean seaside resorts near the port city of Nador.

The media representation of Spanish is quite modest: Morocco TV's first channel airs half-hour newsreels and state radio has hour-long daily news bulletins. La Mañana daily closed down in 2006 due to poor circulation figures (Marruecos Digital, 14 September 2006).

The position of Spanish is duly enhanced by the fact that it can be used in state-run public tenders and selecting candidates for senior administrative posts (Moustaoui 2006, 24). There are many Spanish institutes in modern Morocco. Chief among them are the Institutos Cervantes in big cities and the Aula Cultural in Agadir. The country also has eleven schools (colegios, institutos) with Spanish curricula, attended by 4,208 registered students in 2004, 81% of whom being Moroccan (Mayordomo 2004). In academic 2007/2008 enrolment increased to 4,723 (Ministerio de Educación Política social y Deporte). State schools provide a choice of Spanish, taught as a foreign language from the first year of high school education. Private primary schools offer this possibility from first grade. The Spanish language and literature are taught by eight university faculties (Ennaji 2005, 112). Coordination of spreading Spanish through the Moroccan education system with the ministry of education is assisted by the Consejería de Educación y Ciencia, supervised by the Spanish embassy in Rabat, which has several advisory bureaus (Moustaoui 2006, 24)

1.5.2. English

During the French protectorate, when all school instruction was provided in French. English was taught as a second optional language next to Arabic. Paradoxically, students were required to have a fairly good command of French to help them start learning English. After independence, English enjoyed the advantage of not being associated with the protectorate
past as strongly as Spanish and French. Today English is the international language of business, information technologies and science. The same holds for Morocco, where interest in English is on the rise. Due to this ongoing trend, English may in future significantly enhance its status, notably at universities, at the expense of French (Ennaji 2005, 114). A range of possibilities come to the fore in tourist trade. The offer of English-language periodicals is expanding and it is also possible to watch English-language news programs on Moroccan TV's first channel.

Public schools introduced instruction in English on the primary level as early as 2004. Earlier, this option was provided only by private schools. A prominent ranking within the paid-education sector goes to the American Language Centers, of which there are 10 in Morocco, with a total of 16,000 students. The British Council operates two student and teacher-training centres in Rabat and Casablanca. New higher education institutions of Anglo-Saxon type, specializing in marketing, also help spread the English language. By far the most prestigious institution, providing instruction in English, is Al-Akhawayn University in Ifrane, established in 1995. Since 2002, Casablanca's University of Sunderland has provided education in economics and IT technologies, issuing British and Moroccan university degrees.

2. Moroccan language policy since independence

2.1. Language policy in the spirit of Arabization

After gaining independence from France in 1956, Morocco started to introduce changes to its language policy, which until then had been strongly Francophone throughout the public sphere. In one plane, the introduction of the Arabization language policy led to gradually replacing French in all areas of its use by Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Hence it was a competition between two codified, standardized languages, predominantly used in formal conduct. In another plane, the Arabization policy with MSA applied in all spheres led to a conflict with the Berber-speaking population, which was disadvantaged and its identity suppressed or marginalized by the policy. The Arabization policy was vehemently supported by the nationalist Istiqlal party, which strongly lobbied in the 1960s for emancipation from the influence of French (Benzakour - Gaadi - Queffélec 2000, 60). The change could to an extent be considered a natural reaction to the previous state of affairs and was meant to symbolize confirmation of Morocco's Arab-Muslim identity and document cultural independence from the old colonial power. However, due to the deep-rootedness of French in education and administration, the process of Arabization was neither easy nor smooth. The change, which was not only linguistic but also political, social and cultural, sparked numerous disputes.
The goal of Arabization was linguistic and cultural unification of the country under the banner of the language of the Quran and cultural traditions common for the whole Arab and Muslim world. Arabic started to be presented as the only legitimate language for a Muslim country. The whole process of Arabization in education and culture was supervised by the Institute for Study and Research of Arabization (L'Institut d'Études et Recherches pour l'Arabisation), founded in 1960.

The main concern in education, which was considered as a priority, was for French as a major language of instruction in most subjects to be replaced in schools by Modern Standard Arabic. However, the system of instruction was to remain French. Initially the introduction of the program was complicated due to a severe shortage of teachers of Arabic, inherited from the previous education system. Another challenging task was to lower illiteracy, which was fairly high due to inaction of the protectorate authorities. Only 10 percent of boys and six percent of girls finished school 1956 (Ennaji 2005, 205). Today's statistics are a little more favourable, but there is still a lot of room for improvement, even though primary education is free of charge. Men's literacy stands at 65.7% but women's only 39.6% according to 2004 census (CIA World Factbook). As we have noted, the Arabization process in education was gradual, starting from the lowest grades of primary schools and ending with higher education. From the launch of the changes in 1965 to 1980, only the first four grades of primary schools were fully Arabized and in secondary schools, not more than 25-50% of subjects were taught in Arabic. Arabization gained momentum in the next years and by 1988 instruction in Arabic was provided by primary and secondary schools, and partly also by universities. Bilingualism appeared in certain humanities teaching programmes at universities, but French continued to be the exclusive language of instruction at faculties of technical and natural sciences (Moustaoui 2006, 33).

This relationship between codified Arabic and French in education has remained basically unchanged. Independence and Arabization were not meant as an end to French teaching, and much less to make it disappear from public life. Although Arabic was declared the only official language, French continued to be taught as a first foreign language, and a language of instruction at higher levels of the education system. French also retained its positions in business, administration and science. It is safe to say that spoken French is more prominently used by educated population strata and in the more formal environment at public offices and universities than MSA, since Arabic speakers usually prefer the middle level of the language (Educated Spoken Arabic). In administration, the situation has crystallized into a virtually equal position of the two tongues and all types of documents, regulations and official forms.
are published in both MSA and French. Even in the past, some nationalist leaders saw in French a language of modernization and business, and parents wishing to ensure a quality education for their children opted for bilingual instruction in MSA and French.

The Arabization language policy could not be positively perceived by the Berbers, who viewed it as a harsh suppression of all forms of Tamazight. According to plans of the political forces behind the Arabization drive, all Moroccans were supposed to speak Arabic in future, while the "rural dialects" – actually all variants of Tamazight – were supposed to disappear in due course. Planning this type of language policy was hardly more than an application of the protectorate's French language policy, only Arabic assumed the dominant role for a change (Marley 2004, 29). Its proponents continued to ignore the undisputed fact that Morocco has a multilingual population.

While Berbers and Arabs share the same religious faith and some of its traditions, the identity awareness of the former is closely associated with language. Most Berbers learn the Moroccan dialect of Arabic through contacts out of home and most of them speak the language. School exposes Berber and Arab children to literary Arabic. However, the Berbers' socialization and professional growth in an Arabic-speaking environment are too difficult for them and they are often excluded from access to administrative jobs and economic resources. Their communities find themselves restricted and socially controlled by the dominant population (Arabs), which projects into the linguistic subordination of Tamazight and hierarchic relations between the two language groups (Moustaoui 2006, 36).

In addition to cultural homogenization, Arabization had a role in the cultural plane as well. Here the aim was to formulate a uniform concept of history, in which only the Arabs as a prevalent population had a place. History classes were supposed to intentionally skip the important pre-Islamic past of the indigenous population of Maghreb, and to further weaken Morocco's prominent Berber identity. In the 1980s, Berbers in Morocco and the whole of Maghreb started to activate in defence of their language and cultural rights. The movement was triggered by the developments of the Berber Spring (Tafsut Imazighen in Algeria, where Berbers staged protests at Tizi Ouzou University). Amazigh cultural revival activists in Morocco also began to seriously question the government policy of assimilation and demanded official recognition of their language and culture, thereby accentuating existing national diversity of Morocco's population (Moustaoui 2006, 41).

The activities of six Berber cultural revival organizations resulted in the joint formulation of the Agadir Charter (Charte d'Agadir relative aux droits linguistiques et culturels), presented in public on 5 August 1991. The Charter proclaimed Amazigh identity as the most original
part of the cultural identity of Morocco and documented unsatisfactory socio-cultural conditions of Moroccan citizens, especially concerning official and institutional ignorance of their language. It pointed out the failure to recognize the Amazigh language and culture by the Constitution or any legislative document. Based on these objections the Charter presented clearly defined demands: the recognition of the national character of Tamazight in the Constitution, the founding of a national institute for Amazigh studies and research, which would standardize the grammar of the language, introduce an adequate transcription system, produce Tamazight textbooks, establish departments of Amazigh studies at universities and achieve permission to use Tamazight in the print and audiovisual media.

The release of the Agadir Charter was followed by the foundation of the World Amazigh Congress, which was to have become a global network of Berber organizations to champion the rights of indigenous inhabitants of North Africa and principles of democracy and human rights protection. However, there was little change in government policy on Berbers. The newly ratified Constitution of 1996 again failed to recognize Tamazight language and Berber’s national identity. With the government not living up to promises of change, representatives of the Amazigh cultural movement wrote a Berber Manifesto (Le manifeste berbère), published on 1 March 2000 and demanding the creation of a legal framework for Tamazight and its recognition as a national language in the Constitution. The momentary political situation promised positive changes in approach to the Amazigh population after the enthronement of the young King Mohammed VI. The change on the throne really led to a gradual revision of Morocco's language and cultural policy.

2.2 Language policy after 2000

The first changes appeared in the new National Charter for Education and Training (Charte Nationale d'Education et de Formation), released in 2000. In addition to introducing many new elements into the structure of education, it brought about a change of language policy in education. Its Article 110 sets three principles – strengthening and improving the quality of Arabic teaching; diversification of languages for instruction in science and technology; and "openness" to Tamazight. These three points convey a clear message – stop the expansion of Arabic in technical and scientific disciplines, which could lead to a measure of isolation from the rest of the world. On the other hand, however, it supports the endeavour of modernization of Arabic, to be sanctioned by the newly established Academy of the Arabic Language (2000). In all cases, technical subjects are to be taught in the most suitable languages, used also in higher education. This formulations opens a broad space for the use of
French or English, although none of them is specifically identified. Regarding openness to Tamazight, it must be noted that this is in fact tantamount to recognizing that Morocco has also a non Arabic-speaking population, using its own language. Article 115 permits the use of Tamazight or another local "dialect" to facilitate instruction of the national language – literary Arabic. At the same time, training of Tamazight teachers is to receive support. The Charter does not mention the Arabization policy of the past, much less commenting on it. Thus, MSA remains a national language, which in fact calls for proper MSA instruction in schools to enable students to assuredly and properly communicate in the language in many spheres. The Charter also presumes that students will achieve a high degree of command of two foreign languages. It should guarantee to Berbers a limited use of their language in school instruction in order to provide them with easier access to education. Article 20 of the Charter sets an implementation deadline for the 2000-2010 period.

The Charter, sanctioning reform of the education system, began gradually to move from paper to practice. The year 2001 saw the founding of the Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture in Morocco (Institute Royal pour Culture Amazigh en Maroc), charged with standardization of Tamazight. Its other tasks include research of Amazigh culture, literature and civilization in general. In academic year 2003/2004 more than 300 primary schools introduced Tamazight as a compulsory subject for all pupils. By 2010 Tamazight teaching should extend across Morocco. In 2005, the possibility of teaching a second foreign language was extended to all primary schools, strengthening the status of English (Moustaoui 2006, 45).

Nor was the media sphere left out: many magazines in various languages were launched to discuss Amazigh culture and language. Today, Radio Amazigh is part of SNRT public service radio and television.

Conclusion

On the face of analyzing the development of Morocco's language policy one can state that there have occurred radical changes in this field over the past decade. It is safe to say the whole language-policy discourse has changed its direction. The policy of Arabization, implemented in the past 40 years, has failed to achieve its initially declared goals, which may be a good omen for the country's future, as Morocco today is a state, opening to the modern world, where diverse cultures have always been bedfellows – something the Arabization drive failed to take into account. Many authors today agree that the policy of Arabization could have led, especially in Algeria, to strengthening the positions of radical Islamism. This presumption duly convinced the governments of Maghreb states about the need to change that
policy (Marley 2004, 30). It may be one of the reasons for Morocco's language policy to take another course at the turn of the millennium.

Although Modern Standard Arabic remains the only national language sanctioned by the Constitution, the presence of other languages, especially Tamazight, has achieved practical recognition. Consequently, Tamazight teaching, commenced in 2003 in some schools, signified a departure from decades of ignoring the language. Latest developments in Morocco indicate that the country's multilingual character will be preserved, while active use of foreign languages will be strengthened due to changes in the education system. The position of Tamazight has improved; however, the Amazigh cultural movement's demands for its official recognition in the Constitution and introduction into administrative use have yet to be satisfied. The position of literary Arabic is deep-rooted and its widely recognized prestige stems from its association with Islam and its holy scripture – the Quran. For these fundamental reasons, nothing much can change about its status. MSA will continue to be used in education and the media, and presumably it will be adapted to the needs of instruction in natural sciences, technology and business, which will make it even more different from Classical Arabic. In these spheres it will be more than fully matched by French, which in turn will face the onslaught of English from the position of a second foreign language, used by an ever-growing number of speakers. Paradoxically, it is Moroccan Darija, which enjoys the surest status of most widely spread first (mother) tongue, being by far the most broadly used language in Morocco, although it is not recognized as a national language, is not standardized and its teaching is not supported. It is a language of daily communication among the Arab population, learned even by a crushing majority of Berbers through social interaction.

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