| RESEARCH ARTICLE

Being a Teacher in a Plurilingual Environment: An Attitudinal Analysis

Dr. Sadik MADANI ALAOUI[1], Dr. Hicham ER-RADI[2] and ✉ Karim ES-SOUFI[3]

[1]Associate Professor of Applied Linguistics, Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University (USMBA), Fez-Morocco
[2]Assistant Professor of Applied Linguistics, French Department, Mohammed I University, Oujda- Morocco
[3]English Language Teaching (ELT) Supervisor, Fez-Meknes Educational Department, Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah University (USMBA), Fez- Morocco
Corresponding Author: Karim ES-SOUFI, **E-mail**: karim.essoufi@usmba.ac.ma

| **ABSTRACT**

This paper aims to examine the understanding of teachers' sociolinguistic representations of languages and their attitudes towards using code-switching (CS) in the classroom. While previous literature has explored the linguistic and functional aspects of CS, the attitudinal dimension towards code-switching remains largely unexplored. Therefore, the paper attempts to provide an attitudinal analysis of interviews with high school teachers to demarcate the way linguistic representations are conceived in the educational context. The study uses the interview technique to elicit information from ten selected teachers. The data is comprised of a collection of both oral data produced in French and, in a few instances, rarely identified as Arabic (standard or dialectal). The study focuses on the content analysis of the epilinguistic discourses of teachers in plurilingual environments. The findings reveal that teachers generally possess a well-developed language awareness, especially those who teach languages (DL). However, some aspects of the sociolinguistic landscape are not fully perceived, such as the use of Spanish in the communication of Moroccan speakers in the northern parts of the country. The study also reveals that Moroccan teachers generally have a high level of language awareness and positive attitudes towards CS. The use of CS is often in response to a didactic or communicative need felt by the teachers and dictated by the learners' deficient language skills. Certain components of the sociolinguistic dynamic remain insufficiently perceived, mainly the presence of the Spanish language in northern Morocco. These findings have proved to be significant because they first emphasize the crucial role of promoting language awareness and equipping teachers with the knowledge and skills necessary to navigate the linguistic landscape of their classrooms, and second they highlight the need for further research and education on the diverse sociolinguistic realities of language use in the classroom.

1. Introduction

Teaching foreign languages is a complex task, especially in a plurilingual environment where multiple languages are used in everyday communication. This is often marked by the widespread use of code-switching (henceforth CS), which has been the subject of several studies focusing on its linguistic or functional aspects. However, there is a lack of research on the psychosocial aspect of teachers' representations and linguistic attitudes towards this phenomenon, particularly in the context of secondary schools. This study aims to examine this gap by conducting interviews with Moroccan secondary school teachers from two disciplinary categories: (1) teachers of French as a foreign language (henceforth FLE), representing the language disciplines, and

(2) teachers of physical education and sport (henceforth PES), representing the non-language disciplines. The data collected through the interviews were transcribed and analyzed using an analysis grid, providing answers to the following research questions:

1. How do teachers represent the languages in contact in Morocco?
2. How do they perceive the language dynamics in the school environment?
3. What are teachers' attitudes toward the use of code-switching?
4. What are the motivations behind teachers' use of code-switching?

These questions are postulated to orient the direction of the study and to frame the realization of the general objective of the paper. Hence, to contextualize the study, the first section of this paper presents the conceptual framework and definitions of key terms that are frequently used in sociolinguistic literature. The second section outlines the main methodological choices made in the study. Finally, the third section presents and discusses the results obtained from the attitudinal analysis.

2. Literature Review
2.1. *Attitudinal Analysis: Explanation of terms and concepts*
Attitudinal analysis is an integral part of interconnected fields, including psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and social psychology. It encompasses a range of concepts, such as linguistic representation, social representation, language awareness, linguistic attitude, linguistic insecurity, and epilinguistic discourse. However, these concepts often overlap and lack precise definitions, leading to conceptual interferences. Consequently, there is a tendency for several terms, such as imaginary, attitude, belief, prejudice, ideology, and others, to be used interchangeably.

Given the complexity and potential confusion surrounding the interplay of concepts in attitudinal analysis, it becomes crucial to establish a clear understanding of the key terms before delving into the analysis. From Social Representations to Linguistic Representations, the lack of clarity in defining linguistic representation can be attributed to the inherent difficulty in defining an intangible concept, which is inherent in the very origin of the idea of representation. While the concept of representation is now commonly used in sociolinguistics, alongside related concepts such as ideology, belief, and stereotype, it was not initially developed by linguists. Rather, its emergence can be traced back to social psychology, where the concept was the subject of extensive theoretical and empirical investigation. Therefore, it is essential to understand the foundations of the concept of representation as it was originally developed and defined in social psychology before attempting to adapt it to a different field, such as sociolinguistics, and ascribing it to a new meaning, namely linguistic representation.

2.2. *Social Representations*
The notion of representation is one of the key concepts in social psychology. It is a hinge between the individual and their social group and between the social group and its environment. Many researchers (Rateau et al., 2012; Wagner, 2020) believe that Serge Moscovici is credited with developing the theory of social representations (SR). Moscovici (1968) argued that SRs are shared understandings of the world that are created and maintained through social interaction. SRs are both consensual in that a group of people shares them and distinctive in that each person's individual experiences shape them. Put simply, his theoretical model defines the relationship between the individual and the social as a continuum, where common spaces of meaning (beliefs, certainties, and opinions) go beyond individuality to the social sphere while keeping traces of the individual. SRs are both consensual and marked by individual differences. Indeed, Rateau et al. (2012) acknowledge the social nature of representation and propose that it emerges from interactive and communicative processes that contribute to the development of a shared understanding specific to a community, social group, or entire society. Due to their socially constructed nature, these SRs tend to prescribe norms and expectations for behavior, act as a guide for action, and allow individuals to pre-configure the situation they face.

2.3. *Linguistic Representations*
The concept of linguistic representation (henceforth LR) has historical roots and has been explored under different names in sociolinguistic literature. It gained its current designation within the context of European functionalist research, especially with André Martinet, who investigated French speakers' perceptions of their linguistic practices in his 1964 work *Elements of General Linguistics*. For him, LR is "the way in which a language is represented in the minds of its speakers." (p.10). He argued that LR is not simply a reflection of the physical properties of language but is also shaped by social, cultural, and historical factors. Later, Lehman (2004) gives another dimension and considers it as a visual depiction, usually in written form, of a language sign or a specific aspect thereof. As such, these representations are grounded in linguistic theory and methodology and can vary in complexity, ranging from individual signs to entire discourses, conversations, or texts. In contrast, Lehman (2004) provides a more technical definition of LR, describing it as a visual depiction, usually in written form, of a language sign or a specific aspect thereof. These representations are grounded in linguistic theory and methodology and can vary in complexity, ranging from individual signs to entire discourses, conversations, or texts.

In the years since Martinet's work, LR has been the subject of much research by linguists, sociologists, and psychologists. A number of different approaches to LR have been developed, each with its own strengths and weaknesses.

One of the most influential approaches to LR was developed by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1977) argued that LR is a form of "symbolic capital," which can be used to acquire social status and power. He also argued that LR is constantly being negotiated and contested as different social groups vie for control over the meaning of language.

Another influential approach to LR was developed by Michael Moore (1997). Moore (ibid) argued that LR is a form of "social cognition," which is used by individuals to make sense of the world around them. He adds that it is shaped by a number of factors, including individual experiences, social interactions, and cultural norms.

Today, LR is a thriving field of research. Researchers are using LR to understand a wide range of phenomena, from language acquisition to social identity to political discourse. LR is also being used to develop new educational and intervention programs.

2.4. Epilinguistic Discourse
Epilinguistic discourse (ED henceforth) refers to the conscious engagement and interaction of individuals with language, encompassing their discussions, attitudes, and beliefs about language and language practices. It acknowledges that language serves not only as a means of communication but also as a subject for reflection and conversation. According to Canut (2000), the study of epilinguistic discourse involves examining language representations and linguistic imagination, closely intertwined with the analysis of actual language practices. Drawing on the perspectives of the sociology of language, such as discourse, interaction, and enunciation, ED explores the speech acts and fluctuations inherent in epilinguistic activity. These fluctuations, rooted in the subconscious processes of subjectivation, manifest through discourses on language as one facet of its multifaceted metaphors, contributing to a dynamic understanding of language and its role in human interaction (Canut, 2000).

2.5. From Linguistic Representations to Linguistic Attitudes
Attitude is one of the notions that is imposed on the debates that take representation as their object. The relationship between the two notions is difficult to establish, and some authors take them as equivalent, while others propose a distinction.

Indeed, Houdebine (2005) indiscriminately uses the notion of linguistic attitudes as equivalent to judgements, feelings or ideologies without proposing a precise definition. However, she remains attentive to the distinction between linguistic attitudes and the linguistic behavior of speakers: "Studying attitudes, in relation to the behavior of speakers, should make it possible to identify whether they have an influence on linguistic dynamics, [...] and to identify which speakers favor a given phenomenon " (..). On the other hand, research on attitudes has made it possible to differentiate between linguistic behaviors as identified by speakers and the objective description of the linguistic practices of speaking subjects. Thus, the only distinction that can be made between the notions of representation and attitude is at the level of the terminologies of related scientific fields, namely, sociolinguistics, which opts for the term attitude, and social psychology, which adopts the term representation.

However, some authors have been committed to uncovering the distinctive elements that allow us to grasp the conceptual nuances of the two notions. Indeed, Billiez and Millet(..), without denying the difficulty of their task, claim that "it is not easy to distinguish and separate social representations from attitudes " (..). By so doing, the authors have tried to bring to light the differences between the two notions in question by moving from common features to distinctive elements. Thus, attitude and representation precede linguistic behavior. However, the authors' placement upstream of linguistic behavior differs by distinguishing them at the level of their relative proximity to the latter, the attitude being intermediate "would nevertheless be more directly articulated to the behaviors that it would direct or coordinate. It would exercise a sort of prescriptive hold and play the role of an anticipatory instance of language behavior. Its position between representations and behaviors allows it to be a hinge and dynamic element endowed with a regulating force on the relations maintained by the two. In general, as organizing instances of speakers' behavior, attitudes are not observable. Therefore, their evaluation must be based on the analysis of the behaviors that are attached to them.

3. Methodology
3.1. Sampling and Parameters
The present study opted for a purposive sample of ten secondary school teachers, ranging in age from 32 to 56 years. The selection criteria for informants is guided by the following parameters: (1) inclusion of two disciplinary categories, consisting of five teachers from the Linguistic Discipline (LD) and five from the Non-Linguistic Discipline (NLD), (2) experience as a teacher of at least five years, depending on the category to which they belong, which ensures their familiarity with various teaching-learning situations, including those that pertain to language instruction, and (3) representation of women in each group in a proportion commensurate with that of the parent population. The selected sampling strategy is intended to provide a wealth of data to support the research hypotheses posited in this investigation.

3.2. Data Collection and Method of Analysis

The purpose of the attitudinal analysis is the representational content observed and analyzed from the interviews of the ten selected teachers. Therefore, data is comprised of a collection of both oral data produced in French and, in a few instances, rarely identified as Arabic (standard or dialectal). The outcome is intended for the analysis of the discursive co-construction of linguistic representations and, possibly, of the attitudes that result from it, focusing on the use of CS by LD and NLD teachers. In order to accomplish this, data must satisfy three essential requirements:

First, data collection, based on the principle that LRs and which are co-constructed in discourse, must preserve the discursive dynamics of the interviews without reducing them to separate statements, and this is in accordance with the general requirements governing the chosen method of investigation, the semi-structured interview. Second, the analysis of the representations' content requires consideration of socio-linguistic processes, i.e., the interactions that preceded its emergence in the discourse. Therefore, data collection must take both processes and representational content into account. Third, the corpus data analysis and processing should enable the identification of potential differences between the two groups.

3.3. Semi-structured Interviews

The study used semi-structured interviews as the primary data collection tool. These interviews were conducted in a room that met the necessary conditions for high-quality recording. Prior to the interviews, informed consent was obtained from each participant, and they were assured of confidentiality. The interviews were conducted in French, which was the preferred language of the participants. To avoid feeling overwhelmed and making mistakes, the teachers provided brief responses to the questions. Despite the brevity of their answers, the teachers were able to provide insightful and significant responses to the research questions. Following the interviews, all recordings were transcribed and organized into tables based on the type of analysis: linear (covering each interviewee) or vertical (covering each theme or sub-theme). This method of organization facilitated data management and analysis, ensuring the reliability and validity of the study's findings.

4. Results and Discussion

Various studies, both in the Moroccan sociolinguistic literature and in international contexts, have aimed to present the diverse languages and language varieties in contact within Morocco, as well as the complex dynamics resulting from their use in various social communication contexts. Nevertheless, the implications of this linguistic landscape on the educational sector, specifically with regard to the language of instruction and the potential challenges therein, have not been thoroughly investigated. Therefore, a significant gap exists in the current understanding of how the sociolinguistic landscape of Morocco impacts language education which this research seeks to address. Indeed, the school as a social structure perfectly reflects the general dynamics of society and can never be isolated from its social, economic, cultural and linguistic environment. The specific characteristics of this micro-society make it a real laboratory for the study of sociolinguistic objects from a new angle, with new methodological approaches and appropriate theoretical frameworks, thus giving rise to what could be considered the sociolinguistics of the school. The latter would straddle the line between sociolinguistics, from which it draws its research objects, methodologies, analytical tools and investigative techniques, and the field of education, with its two major didactic and pedagogical components, whose considerations guide and determine the researcher's choices.

This research aimed to explore the linguistic attitudes and representations towards languages, with a particular focus on Moroccan Arabic (henceforth MA), within Moroccan society and educational institutions through adopting an attitudinal analysis approach to understand the perceptions and attitudes towards MA prevalent in the Moroccan society and schools. This analysis addressed the issues related to linguistic representations and attitudes observed in society and schools towards MA.

The attitudinal analysis tackles the challenges associated with linguistic representations and attitudes towards MA that are noticeable in society and schools. By utilizing this approach, we aim to gain a comprehensive understanding of how language attitudes are formed and how they impact the use and preservation of MA in Moroccan society and educational institutions.

4.1 Sociolinguistic Representations of Languages and their Contact

The object of analysis in question is the sociolinguistic representations held by the interviewed teachers regarding the general sociolinguistic dynamics within both society and the school. Additionally, the aim is to examine their level of language awareness by assessing their perceptions of sociolinguistic reality. This involves investigating the disparities between the language practices perceived and described by the informants and the same situation observed and presented by sociolinguists who have studied the Moroccan sociolinguistic context.

4.1.1 Sociolinguistic Representations of Languages in Use in Morocco

To investigate the sociolinguistic representations of languages in use in Morocco, a set of questions were addressed to the informants. These questions aimed to elicit information about the language practices and preferences of Moroccans in various communicative contexts, including the languages commonly used and the perceived value of each language in the Moroccan

sociolinguistic landscape. The informants were then asked to provide answers to the same set of questions, but this time by describing their own language use and attitudes toward the languages present in Morocco. Specifically, they were asked to describe the languages they typically use for everyday communication in society and to express their opinions about the relative importance of the various languages in the country. Through this approach, we sought to gain insights into the complexities of language use and representation in Morocco from the perspective of the informants themselves.

The teachers interviewed were unanimous in their view that Moroccan Arabic (henceforth MA) is the dominant language in most everyday communication situations. Precisely, 70% of the teachers noted the presence of Standard Arabic and French in particular contexts of communication, namely in administrative, school, academic, religious, and economic contexts, especially by educated people. However, only half of the teachers mentioned the Amazigh language, which they consider to be reserved for ordinary local communication between Amazigh speakers. Similarly, almost a third of the teachers were aware of the use of Spanish in some parts of the country, especially in the north, and of the use of English by certain categories of people, namely young people, intellectuals, and in scientific contexts in the big cities. Furthermore, the representations of these languages differ from teacher to teacher and from category to category (DL / DNL). They generally refer to certain sociolinguistic aspects, social contexts, or socio-pragmatic functions. The figures below present an overall picture of each of the languages mentioned, consisting of the main elements attributed to them in the linguistic imaginations of the teachers interviewed.

Figure 1:
Representational elements of Moroccan Arabic (MA) in the linguistic imagination of teachers
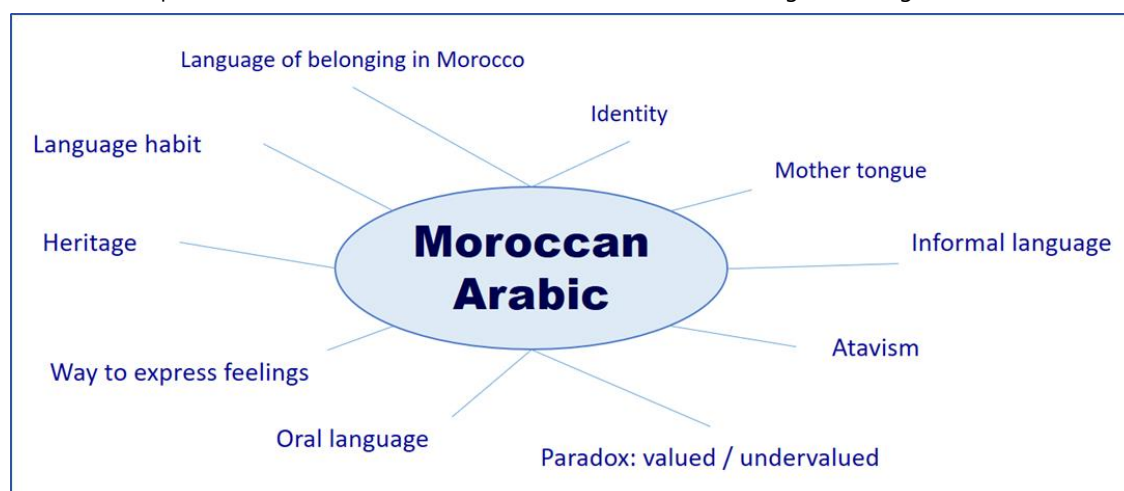

Figure 1 shows the representation of MA made up of the representational elements mostly shared by most of the teachers interviewed. For them, MA is indeed the mother tongue of the majority of Moroccans. It represents, to a large extent, the identity and belonging to Morocco. Its use remains the most dominant compared to other languages, even though it is a colloquial language because it allows Moroccans to communicate their ideas and feelings in a fluid way. It, therefore, dominates the language habits of Moroccan speakers in the majority of communication situations throughout Morocco. Boukous (2001) affirms that being a character of dialectal Arabic, "Dialectal Arabic constitutes the transactional code par excellence insofar as it is the language that ensures the widest communication " (p. 147).

However, according to the statements of our informants, MA is sometimes left in a paradoxical situation in Morocco in that it is both valued for its function as a lingua franca enabling all Moroccans to communicate easily with each other in any situation and despised for its colloquial character, even often vulgar in some people's minds (the language of the street), and its use limited to oral communication. Such a paradox is, in fact, the case for most mother tongues. Caubet and Miller (2016) assert such a situation:

> Among the taboo subjects finally tackled that of the place of MA, long despised and associated with backwardness and illiteracy. More and more voices (journalists, artists, civil society activists) are being raised to rehabilitate it and to make it one of the essential elements of a Moroccan identity rich in its plurality (p. 80).

In 2009, D. Caubet focused on new social trends leading to new roles for MA, or 'Moroccan' as Caubet prefers to call it, in the new cultural and social movement that the country has experienced since 2003:

MA, or Darija El-maghribiya, has acquired a completely new role in Morocco today for a language that had no status and was once despised. This is, as one might expect, a recognition emanating from civil society, but it is no less important.

Figure 2:
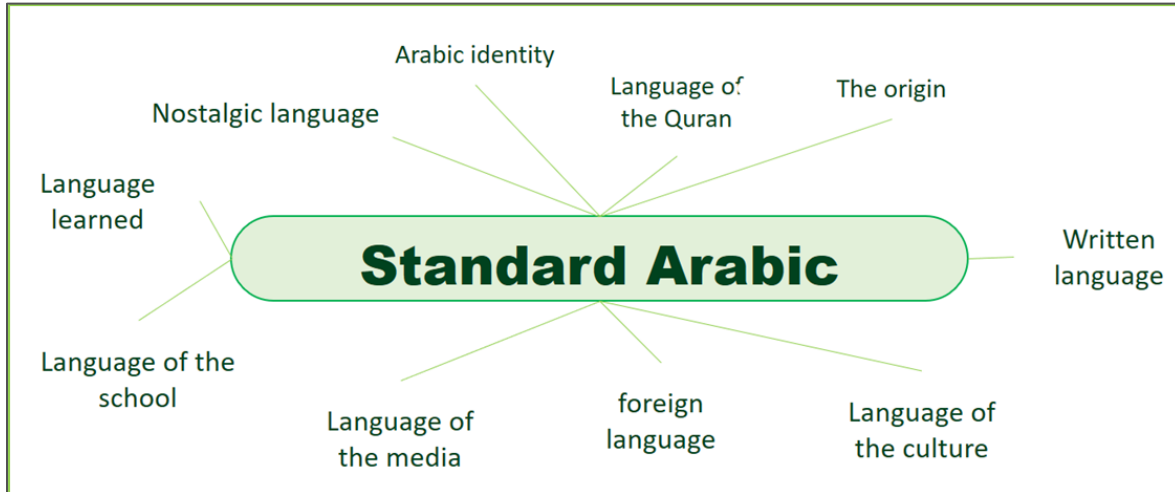The representational elements of standard Arabic in the linguistic imagination of teachers

Figure 2 shows the image of Standard Arabic as perceived by our informants. Indeed, it is strongly linked to Arab-Muslim identity. It is a sacred language ("the language of the Koran") and represents the Arab origins of a large part of Moroccans ("language of nostalgia"). Benzakour (..) states, in fact, that "Arabic, in its classical variety, was and still is confined to traditional cultural functions. It is the liturgical language that perpetuates the religious tradition and the language of Arab-Muslim culture ".

Thus, De Poli (2005) presents the arguments justifying the place of Arabic as a language of 'Moroccan authenticity' and a guarantee of 'national unity':

> Arabic referred to Moroccan authenticity and national unity through arguments of a religious (Arabic is the sacred language of the Koran), ideological (pan-Arabism), cultural (historical belonging to the Arab-Muslim community) and political (the national unifying force of the language) nature. (De Poli, 2005, p. 15, translated from French).

On the other hand, our interviewees are all aware that it is a foreign language ("learned language", "school language") whose use is mainly reserved for writing. Thus, its use remains remarkably frequent in the media, cultural, educational and religious fields. Boukous distinguishes two forms of Arabic according to its field of use, namely the classical and the modern form: "Standard Arabic is used in its classical form as a liturgical language and in its modern form as the official language of institutions ".

Figure 3: Representational elements of Amazigh in the linguistic imagination of teachers
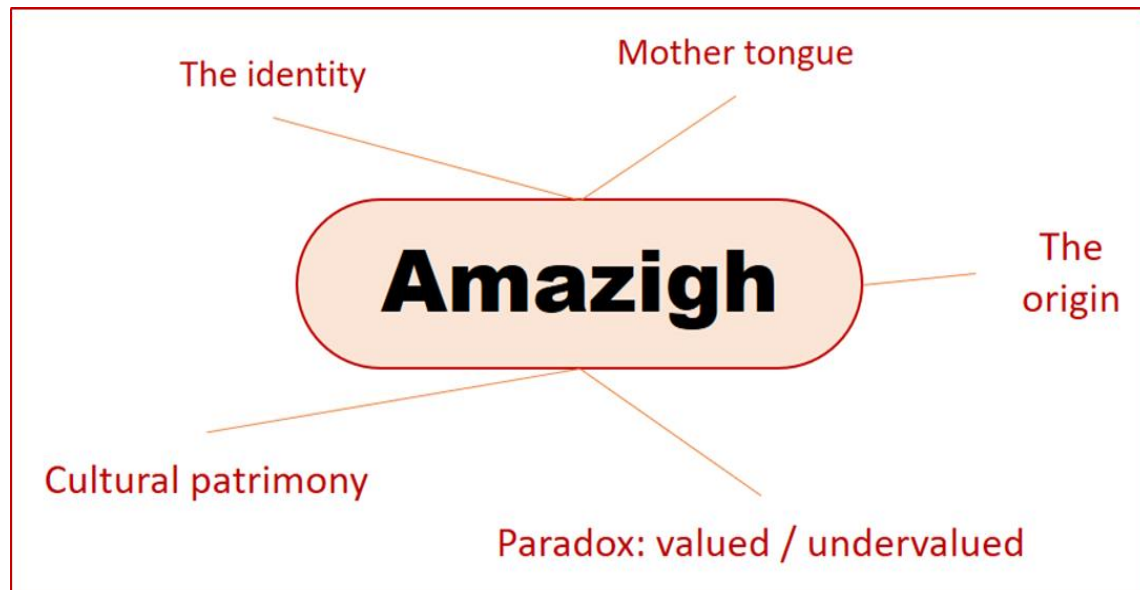
As for Amazigh, as demonstrated in Figure 3, it is the mother tongue of most Amazigh-speaking Moroccans. It is, therefore, strongly linked to Amazigh identity and, possibly, to cultural, social and historical origins. However, its use remains limited to local communication and is perceived by some informants as a cultural heritage of all Moroccans. But, like MA, it is also the victim of a paradoxical situation where it is both valued for its identity, cultural and communicative value, and devalued for its colloquial character and its local use limited to Amazigh-speaking regions.

Indeed, the perception of Amazigh by our informants seems to be attested by Boukous (2012), who considers that:

> Amazigh, with its different varieties, represents the indigenous language. At present, it functions as the preferred code for communicative situations where personal role relations predominate within the Amazigh-speaking community. (Boukous, 2012, p. 201, translated from French)

Figure 4: Representational elements of French in the linguistic imagination of the teachers interviewed
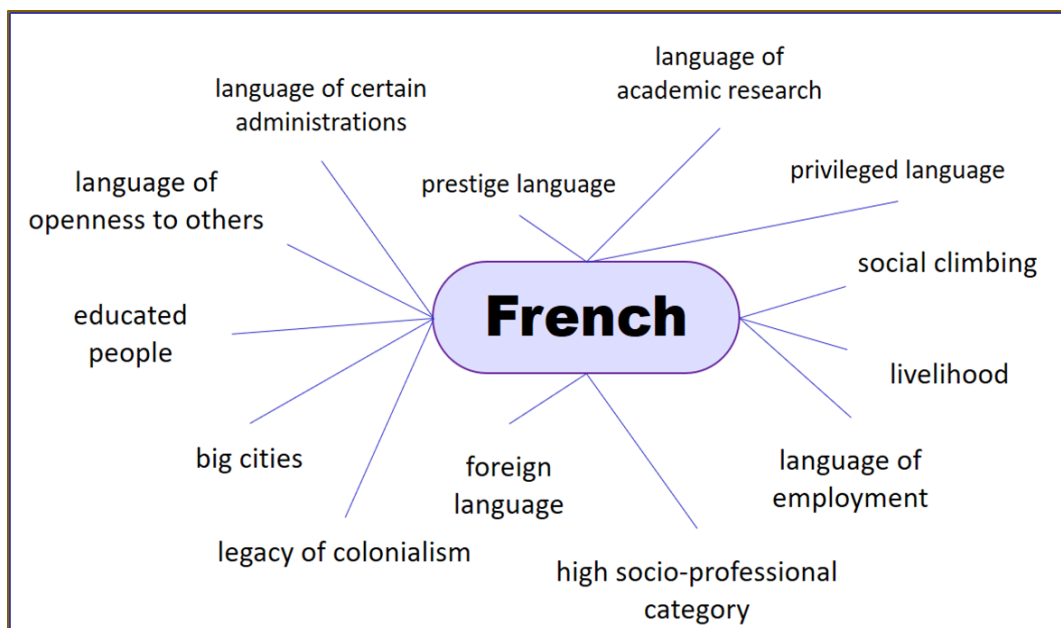
French, as represented in Figure 4, is perceived by the teachers interviewed as a privileged language in Morocco in that it is the dominant language of academic research, of openness to the world and of social mobility ('a breadwinner'; 'language of

employability'). It is also perceived as a difficult language compared to the other languages taught, namely Arabic and English. It is, in fact, used much more in the big cities, particularly by the higher socio-professional categories ("language of prestige"). Thus, some informants recall that it is a legacy of French colonisation, which explains its still dominant use in some administrations, particularly in the economic and financial fields.

Benzakour (2007 and 2013), who studied the situation of the French language in Morocco, agrees that despite the various identity, political, and ideological "shocks", French remains a vital tool for scientific and technical knowledge and a symbol of modernity and social prestige.

Figure 5: Representational elements of English in teachers' linguistic imaginations
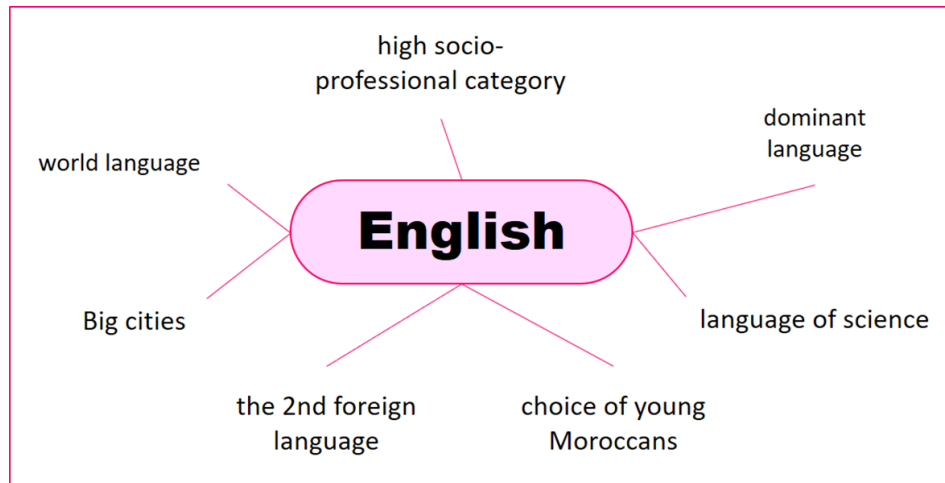
Finally, Figure 5 represents the image of English as perceived in the linguistic imagination of our informants. This language unanimously represents for them a dominant language at the international level, "world language". However, its use in Morocco is limited to the big cities, where it remains reserved for the higher socio-professional categories, like French.

Some informants also note that English has become the preferred choice of a large proportion of young Moroccans today, supplanting French, which for a long time monopolized the market for communication between young people. Moreover, its status as the second foreign language in Morocco does not prevent it from becoming a first-rate language at the academic level, whose mastery is the keystone for the promotion of scientific research throughout the world.

Buckner (2011) outlines two issues related to the expansion of English in Morocco: "Firstly, the opening of Morocco to the world." Secondly, the choice of young people seeking better educational and employment opportunities. Such a choice expresses their desire to learn this language, which "is not a cultural threat".It is important to note that Spanish was not omitted by omission, but as it was not used by any of our teachers, it was not mentioned by them when presenting their assessment of the languages they use for ordinary everyday communication.

4.1.2 Awareness of Sociolinguistic Profile

For Messaoudi (2011), plurilingualism refers to the repertoire of languages used by an individual. This repertoire includes the language variety considered as 'mother tongue' or 'first language', as well as any other language or language variety, the number of which may be unlimited. It thus refers to much more complex dimensions than bilingualism. However, without going into detail about the different categorizations of these two notions, we will use the notion of bilingualism, and we will be satisfied with the simple clarification, sufficient to deal with the situation in Morocco, made by D. Coste, D. Moore and G. Zarate:

> […] we consider that it [bilingualism] does not (only) imply the dual practice of languages, but of *at least* two languages. It includes (and is included in) plurilingual competence, it being understood that the latter notion adds other dimensions. The term bilingualism has multiple definitions and describes both the individual as a speaker of at least two languages and the institutions and societies that frame that individual in a wider geopolitical space. (Coste, D., et al., 2009, p. 16)

We also refer to Grosjean's definition of a bilingual as a person who "regularly uses two languages in everyday life, rather than having a similar (and perfect) command of both languages ". This definition rejects the classical conception of bilingualism as an equal and perfect mastery of one's two languages, a very rare case, according to the author.

We were interested in assessing the level of awareness of our participants regarding their bilingual profile in this survey. To achieve this, teachers were not expected to provide a detailed meta-sociolinguistic account. Instead, we used a few questions that focused on their use of languages in everyday communication to determine their bilingual profile.

Thus, the informants all state that they regularly use MA predominantly in their ordinary daily communication. However, it is important to highlight a distinction between the French and PE teachers, particularly with regard to the use of standard Arabic and French. Indeed, the majority of the French teachers surveyed (4/5) make remarkable use of French, in addition to MA, in different communication situations, but rarely of standard Arabic. The PE teachers, on the other hand, occasionally use French or Standard Arabic, depending on the situation.

Moreover, the ordinary language practices of bilingual teachers promote the development of their language habits and consequently shape their discourse strategies. This raises questions about the influence of these language habits on teachers' discourse practices in the classroom.

4.1.3. Representation of Language Dynamics in a School Context

The informants in the study unanimously identified three languages commonly used in schools: Standard Arabic, French, and English. Messaoudi (..) provided an overview of the language situation in schools, noting that Arabic is the primary language of instruction, while French is used for technical and scientific subjects in specific branches of the qualifying secondary cycle and in higher education. French is also the language of instruction from the third year of primary school throughout the curriculum until the baccalaureate. Other foreign languages, such as English, Spanish, German, and Italian, are also taught to varying degrees.

However, only 40% of the teachers in the study mentioned the presence of Moroccan Arabic, and 10% mentioned Amazigh and Spanish in some regions. This could be because some teachers prioritize the academic status of languages, specifically the language of instruction and the language being taught. They may also overlook the sociolinguistic status of certain languages, such as Moroccan Arabic, which is often reserved for use outside the classroom, despite being present in schools.

The study found that many teachers use MA and undifferentiated Arabic and French frequently during teaching practices, despite guidelines from the Ministry of Education prohibiting this practice. Although the majority of teachers are aware of the status of Standard Arabic, French, and English as languages of instruction, Amazigh was only mentioned once, perhaps because it is only taught at the primary level.

The study also found that FLE teachers were more specific in their answers compared to PES teachers, who tended to give general answers. This difference may be attributed to the nature of the subject matter, which is languages and language practices. For FLE teachers, this topic is familiar and closely related to their discipline and training, whereas PES teachers may have less experience with this topic as their discipline is mainly based on psychomotricity.

4.2.1 Language Attitudes towards Code Switching (CA): from society to school

Code Switching (CA) is a phenomenon inherent in situations of language contact. It is both the natural product and the most remarkable manifestation of it. It was negatively perceived by most speakers as "language interference". This stigma becomes more and more severe when it comes to its use in the school environment by both students and teachers and is further aggravated once the alternation is made through recourse to the mother tongue, which in most cases is a familiar language.

However, with the development of research on bi-/plurilingualism, a positive perception of the phenomenon is beginning to develop that somehow counters the arbitrary stigmatization that has long been widespread. However, attitudes towards CA vary according to a number of factors and remain strongly dependent on its different contexts of use. For this reason, we distinguished in our interview between the two main contexts that interest us and that are likely to influence the attitudes of our informants, namely the ordinary social context of communication and the school context.

4.2.2 Linguistic attitudes towards the use of CS in society

Informants' awareness of the languages used alternately varied considerably from one teacher to another. However, it is important to note that, despite the differences observed among the French teachers, their answers are quite precise, unlike the PES teachers whose answers are generally vague (e.g. Moroccans use several languages; more than one language, etc.).

Generally, according to our informants, Moroccans mainly use MA plus at least one language, namely Standard Arabic, French, Amazigh, and/or even English or Spanish, depending on the context. CS thus takes the different forms (or combinations) in which MA is often present: Moroccan Arabic - Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic - French, Moroccan Arabic - Amazigh (in Amazigh-speaking regions), Moroccan Arabic - Spanish (in the northern and southern regions) and, in less remarkable cases, Moroccan Arabic - English. The following statement is made by a teacher who represents the general view of other informants:

"Moroccans in all regions of Morocco do not generally use only one language. They often use more than one language; in addition to their mother tongue, Arabic, they use French, Spanish, English, depending on the region; for example, in the north, Spanish is used much more. [...]. Young people also use English, for example, in the tourist areas". (YT270119E)

Furthermore, the mixing of languages by Moroccans in ordinary everyday communication is perceived by our informants as a quite natural phenomenon that reflects linguistic competence and responds well to communicative needs. Some informants reveal these attitudes more lucidly and are aware that social situations differ in nature and context and therefore require diversification of communication strategies by speakers, including the choice of languages to be used, separately or in a mixture, to interact and get along. An example of this is the following:

"I think that mixing languages is very useful in certain situations. It's a normal practice; that's what dominates now: the mixing of languages dominates the use of one language." (AR100119E)

4.2.3   Linguistic attitudes towards the use of CS in the classroom

All informants, without exception, affirmed their use of CS to communicate both in the classroom and elsewhere. Indeed, this use differs according to the context and the motivation. Indeed, for some, this use is generalized and concerns all communication situations; for others, the use of CA is reserved for certain social situations, namely between friends/colleagues, within the family, during the lesson and for some still, depending on the interlocutor.

There are various reasons for this use. We have distinguished them according to the level of awareness that users have of this phenomenon. Two categories were identified. The first category includes the use of CS by some teachers in a spontaneous, semi-conscious or unconscious manner (by reflex, language habit, atavism, etc.): *"Sometimes the word just comes out, spontaneously."* (AR100119E). The second refers to the use of CS by some teachers in a conscious way for the following reasons:

• Communicative reasons (better expression, understanding):

"Sometimes the teacher is stuck because he has not been able to convey an idea clearly in the language he is teaching, so he resorts to it, which is actually very right, and which is actually beneficial for the teaching-learning process, because it helps to facilitate some content and make comprehensible." (AM180119E)

In this respect, some present the use of CS as a means of ensuring good communication flow in the teacher:

"Sometimes even the teacher is blocked, and so he resorts to keeping the flow of these ideas going. (AM180119E)

• Instructional reasons (to make the teaching content more accessible):

"I try to insert words or paraphrases in dialectal Arabic. To explain a word or a notion, I use two tricks: either I paraphrase, or I translate. [...] On the other hand, we use classical Arabic when there are things in common between classical Arabic and classical French. For example, in the core curriculum, we teach narrative text, and we know that this is also programmed in the Arabic language course "an-naṣṣu s-sardi". So why not do a reminder of classical Arabic? It allows us to mobilise the learner's previous knowledge". (CO140119E)

• Pedagogical reasons (to control the class group):

"French is unable to express certain moods: when I want to blame or "insult" someone! And well, I'm not going to do it in French because the message won't be transmitted. The only way here is to use Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, it's more expressive, because it's the culture" (AR100119F)

• Psychological reasons (feeling comfortable):

"I feel more comfortable when I express myself in both languages (French and dialectal Arabic). (CO140119E)

• Socio-pragmatic reasons (do it quickly, save effort):

"I use his [the student's] language just to save time, and at the same time for the student to understand the message in a simple way." (BH030119E)

Furthermore, the comparative analysis of the motives behind the use of CS in the classroom shows that for French teachers, this use is much more spontaneous or semi-conscious and is generally motivated by didactic and/or pedagogical reasons. However, for PES teachers, the use of CS is much more conscious and is generally for communicative and/or socio-pragmatic reasons.

Moreover, according to the statements of the teachers surveyed, the use of languages other than the official language of instruction is, for the most part, positively perceived. Indeed, we were able to identify two categories of attitudes:

- Positive attitudes: are the most dominant, i.e., 80% of teachers perceive this recourse as "natural" and "normal"; for some, it is even more "beneficial and virtuous"; for others who encourage this recourse, it is "perfect": "it helps the teacher to explain better", to "give synonyms", to "communicate in a fluid and interactive way":

> "*I find it natural. It's part of our multilingual landscape.* (HL060119E)

> "*The use of other languages is good; I'm not against it; on the contrary, I encourage it; the main thing is that the pupils understand.* (YT270119E)

- More or less negative attitudes: some teachers consider this recourse to be an obligation if not a "stopgap":

> "*Sometimes teachers are obliged to use MA, given the language level of the students, in order to better explain and communicate with these students*" *(AS200119E).* (AS200119E)

> "*Our objective is to teach French, and there, Arabic would only be a stopgap that will allow us to reach our objective during a given activity.* (BH030119F)

Moreover, the main didactic and communicative virtues of the use of CA are precisely spelled out in the following statements:

> "*We must not forget that the learner in front of us already has something "already there". They have resources that we can take advantage of, and it would only be very beneficial to mobilize this 'already there' to build new knowledge.* (HL060119E)

> "*It quickly creates channels of communication between the student and the teacher and avoids blocking.*" (BL300119E)

The first statement refers to the theoretical principles of plurilingualism, which advocate the conception of the language repertoire as a dynamic whole integrating all the languages and varieties acquired, learned or being learned that a speaker has and uses in everyday communication. Lüdi demonstrates the value of the plurilingual repertoire as a resource for the different forms of bilingual speech:

> Any theory of language should, in order to be valid, account for plurilingual repertoires and the way in which
> a plurilingual speaker draws on the full range of resources in different forms of bilingual speech.

The last statement refers to one of the main functions of CS that Causa calls "support strategy", i.e. "the teacher's use of the audience's language ". This refers to the use of CS as a communication strategy that allows the teacher to:

> [anticipate what is considered at a given moment of learning as a barrier in LC for learners (assessment). In other words, with the *support strategy,* the teacher does not use a reduction or an amplification in the language he/she teaches, but, in order to facilitate access to the LC, he/she uses the other code that "circulates" in the classroom.

While Causa (1996) limits the use of CS as a "support strategy" to the field of language teaching where she has conducted her research, we also attest to its usefulness for NLS based on the statements of PE teachers presented above.

In general, the use of CS by the teacher is encouraged by more than half of the teachers surveyed, while others find its use obligatory and unavoidable in the current situation where language proficiency is, unfortunately, lacking among both students and some teachers.

This finding allowed us to identify two distinct categories of attitudes towards the use of CS by the teacher in the classroom. On the one hand, the FLE teachers have, for the most part, a positive attitude towards the use of CS. They even encourage it, but without abusing it. On the other hand, PES teachers are largely in favour of the use of CS by DNL teachers, as this use is inevitable for disciplines related to technical, technological, scientific fields, etc., but they remain doubtful about its usefulness in the foreign language classroom.

As for the use of MA, whether monolingual or alternating with another language, all the teachers expressed more or less positive attitudes that varied between the perception of MA either as a reality that is imposed or as a solution to be advocated. The following extracts demonstrate the different positions of teachers with regard to the use of Moroccan Arabic in the classroom for pedagogical and didactic reasons:

> "*It's a good thing to use it; it kind of reassures them [students], and helps them to understand better and, for the teacher, to explain better.*" (AM180119E)

"*I even believe that there is a need to use MA because the level of French and Arabic among students is falling. They need another teaching aid, which is MA.* (YT270119E)

However, most of these teachers insist on the conscious use of MA occasionally (not regularly) and in a neat (not vulgar) form.

"*Of course, we must not abuse it; I am not going to speak only in Arabic to the detriment of the French language. We must not forget that we are here to teach the French language.* (BH030119E)

"*MA is a necessity. Just as it has been imposed in all areas, it is also imposed in the classroom. Even in the classical Arabic class, MA is necessary. It can fulfil the same functions as it does in French class. On the condition that this MA is more polished, removed from its vulgar register*". (CO140119E)

"*I believe that the use of MA is very beneficial and very useful, but it must be used with awareness.* (AR100119E)

These statements reveal the major concern of each of the two categories of informants, in this case, the DNL teachers and the DL teachers, with regard to the usefulness of CA in the classroom. Indeed, the FLE teachers tend much more towards the use of CA to alleviate difficulties relating to intercomprehension and the explanation of the content of the lesson, whereas the PE teachers are much more concerned with the quality of teacher-pupil communication relating essentially to the relational and organizational aspects. This is explained. It should be remembered by the nature and objectives of each discipline.

In any case, the majority of teachers emphasize the decisive role of the context and the teacher's intention in the choice of languages to be used, separately or alternately, and the appropriate time to use them to overcome the difficulties inherent in the teaching-learning process which the official language of instruction cannot sufficiently remedy:

"*I consider it [the use of KT] according to the aim, the intention that drives the teacher*". (BH030119E*)*

"*It is the didactic and pedagogical situation that dictates my use of Moroccan Arabic*". (AM180119E)

5. Conclusion

This study has examined the teachers' sociolinguistic representations of languages and their attitudes towards using code-switching (CS) in the classroom. The analysis has revealed that teachers generally possess a well-developed language awareness, especially those who teach languages (DL). However, some aspects of the sociolinguistic landscape are not fully perceived, such as the use of Spanish in the communication of Moroccan speakers in the northern parts of the country. These findings highlight the need for further research and education on the diverse sociolinguistic realities of language use in the classroom.

The study also indicates that teachers have positive attitudes towards using CS, but they believe that its use should be conscious, judicious, and occasional. The use of CS is often in response to a didactic or communicative need felt by the teachers and dictated by the learners' deficient language skills. This suggests that teachers are aware of the potential benefits of using CS, such as promoting learner participation and engagement. However, they also recognize the importance of balancing the use of CS with other pedagogical strategies.

By and large, the findings emphasize the crucial role of promoting language awareness and equipping teachers with the knowledge and skills necessary to navigate the linguistic landscape of their classrooms. By doing so, we can create a more inclusive and equitable educational environment that empowers all learners to achieve their full potential. This study provides valuable insights for teacher education programs, curriculum development, and classroom practices, ultimately contributing to the improvement of language education and the promotion of linguistic diversity. Further research is needed to explore the potential impact of teacher attitudes and practices on learners' language development and academic achievement.

However, this study has some limitations that need to be considered. First, the relatively small sample size and the data collection from a specific geographical region may limit the generalizability of the findings to other contexts. The second concerns the data collection being limited to teachers of French and Physical Education and Sports. While these disciplines are undoubtedly, important, they represent only a subset of the wider language teaching community. Consequently, the findings might not fully reflect the diversity of attitudes and beliefs that exist among teachers of other languages or language specializations, including teachers from different language disciplines, such as Spanish, Arabic, or other foreign languages. To address these limitations, future research in this area could be conducted on a larger-scale with more diverse samples of teachers from different geographical regions and from different disciplines. More objective measures of teachers' language awareness and attitudes towards CS could also be utilized.

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