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**Code-switching Practices of Young Moroccans in
Facebook: A Mixed- Method Study of Attitudes,
Patterns, and Motivations.**

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General Introduction

This study is a sociolinguistic investigation of the phenomenon of code-switching, particularly among young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions. Given the multilingual nature of Morocco, and the importance of French as a language of modernity and socio-economic advancement, it is not surprising to find that code-switching especially between Moroccan-Arabic and French is a common behaviour of almost all Moroccans, especially among the elites and highly educated people. With the advent of social media, this phenomenon has become even more widespread, as more instances of code-switching were observed in online interactions among the young generation mainly using Facebook which is considered the most popular and the most visited of all social-networking sites among this category.

Background

CS has always been considered as a central issue in the field of bilingualism and has attracted the interest of many scholars. Before the influential works of Gumperz, mainly Blom & Gumperz (1972) and Gumperz (1982), CS was considered a corrupt form of language and a sign of imperfect bilingualism, where less proficient speakers switch between languages to hide their linguistic incompetence. Similar attitudes towards CS were found in Bentahila's (1983) experimental study of attitudes towards CS among Moroccan bilinguals, using matched guise techniques. He found that majority of his respondents holds a strong negative attitude towards CS and considers it as something to be stigmatized (Bentahila, 1983). In other words, until recently, CS

in the entire world, and more particularly in Morocco, was considered as a corrupt form of language that is performed by less educated people and those who are unable to demonstrate a proper pride towards their Moroccan language; a sign of ignorance performed only by those who have poor education and a lack of mastery in terms of languages, and that well-educated people do not use this kind of speech (Bentahila, 1983). These attitudes can be interpreted as a reflection of the hostility of Moroccans towards foreign languages mainly French, given its colonial background, which is considered a bad memory in the minds of the majority of Moroccans.

However, given the high position that French occupies in Morocco, this language is now gaining more ground, and Moroccans are no more hostile towards it than they were in the colonial era or directly after independence. It becomes a means of upward mobility, especially among Moroccans who occupy higher positions in the country, in the private as well as in the public sector, they use French as a dominant language in their daily interactions, either at work or at home (Errihani, 2008). They also tend to transmit this culture to their children by providing them with French education. Therefore, French becomes a sign of modernity and socio-economic advancement, and people are more eager to learn this language and integrate it in their daily speech to appear modern and highly educated, while Moroccan Arabic becomes more restricted to informal domains and ordinary interactions of less educated people belonging to a lower class of society. The best evidence of the deep influence that French exerts over the Moroccan language is the constant use of code-switching between MA and French. Consequently, many words and expressions were borrowed from French and integrated in the Moroccan linguistic repertoire and barely recognized as separate from it.

Many studies stated that CS is directly linked to language attrition especially in immigration contexts (cf. de Bot & Clyne, 1994; Myers-scotton, 1998; Du Bois, 2009; Halmari, 2005) suggesting that when immigrants are no more in contact with their native language, this latter gradually starts to diminish and get replaced by the second language that becomes their sole means of communication wherever they go. Only a few studies reported the loss of first language in a native environment (Boikanyego, 2014) due to the dominance of a foreign language.

In the context of Morocco, one cannot talk about a real language loss due to the dominance of French, given the fact that MA is still considered the lingua franca of all Moroccans. However, there is a big risk of reduction of its use mainly through code switching due to many factors, such as colonialism and ‘Westernization’. According to Errihani: “The competition between French and Arabic is increasing at every level, even in the most intimate domains, such as among family and friends; French is overtaking Arabic, and its hegemony is expected soon to become more wide- spread despite what the official discourses might claim” (Errihani, 2008: 427). In other words, given the higher status of French in Morocco vis-à-vis its MA counterpart, Moroccans are now more eager to include French in their everyday interactions as a sign of modernity and prestige. Many MA words and expressions are now replaced by French ones and become part of the Moroccan linguistic repertoire. This shift from MA to French in many domains even in ordinary conversations is expected to lead to language attrition (Errihani, 2008).

Other studies on CS (cf. Daoudi, 2011) referred to the influence of globalization on language use, since a new electronic language emerged among young people and it is referred to as e-Arabic. E-Arabic, according to Daoudi (2011), is a combination of

English and Arabic which becomes more widespread due to the global use of smartphones, the Internet, and social networks. The use of smartphones and social media made it easier and more practical to use English as a language of online communication (Daoudi, 2011) than using a more complicated language like Arabic. The same remarks can be noticed among Moroccan Facebook users, as more instances of code-switching appeared lately in their online interactions, which could be considered among the aftermaths of globalization.

Although CS was found to be an indication of language loss (Myers-Scotton, 1998, Du; bois 2009) many other studies have revealed the opposite, suggesting that CS is a conscious act, rather than a random choice, made by bilingual speakers to serve certain communicative functions (Auer, 1984; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1998; Montes- Alcalà, 2007; San; 2009). Among the most influential studies in this field is Gumperz's (1982) conversational CS, where he addressed this issue, and suggested different social functions that CS may serve in a bilingual interaction mainly quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalization versus objectivization. The same case for Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1993) which is also evidence that CS is socially-motivated, rather than a random act, and that is a rational choice made by bilingual speakers to negotiate certain social roles (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Other studies considered the use of CS, with the use of a foreign language as a dominant language among bilingual speakers, as a strategy to show their high level of proficiency at the level of this language. For example, Bentahila & Davies (1992), in their study of CS among French-Arabic bilinguals, found that the use of French as a dominant language instead of MA in their subjects' bilingual interactions is a sign of

high proficiency in French, and they linked this finding to their subjects' educational background, regarded that most of them had a French-based education.

In social media discourse, some studies (N. S. Halim, & Maros, 2014) also found that CS among young Facebook users is perceived as a natural phenomenon that not only occurs in their face-to-face conversation, but also in their electronic discourse. It is used as a communication strategy to enhance the users interactions in Facebook, and make them more vivid and colourful.

Research Problem

The present research is an attempt to study the phenomenon of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users, mainly through examining their attitudes towards this type of language, as well as defining their CS practices in Facebook and finding out the possible motivations behind their language choice.

As far as this research is concerned, it is the first research that is interested in studying, in details, CS patterns among young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions, as well as their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon, and seeking to find out the possible factors that lead to its propagation among them. Previous studies on CS in Morocco were concerned more with studying CS in relationship with the topic of conversation. Salia (2011) is among the few, if not the only, studies on CS in Moroccan's conversations on Facebook, however her work sought to describe the occurrences of CS in some specific genres without delving deep into the functions that these code switches serve, or the extra-linguistic motivations behind their choice of language.

Furthermore, and regardless the spread of CS among online communities even more than in their offline conversations, no prior studies have investigated the issue of language attrition in relationship to written forms of CS among these communities, but have mainly concentrated on its spoken forms, especially in immigrant bilinguals' speech (Myers-Scotton, 1998; Du bois, 2009), and among children (Halmari, 1992)

Purpose

The main purpose behind this research is to holistically investigate, through survey questionnaire, the phenomenon of CS among young Moroccans in Facebook, trying to trace their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon and whether they consider it as a communicative strategy or a sign of Moroccan language attrition. It also attempts to find out whether demographic variables such as, 'age', 'level of education' and 'type of school' are among factors that might influence the way young Moroccan Facebook users perceive CS. Other variables are also examined through this research, such as 'the use of Facebook via smartphones' and 'daily Facebook consumption' to figure out whether the use of technology, manifested through these two variables, has any significant relationship with the increasing use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users.

This research also seeks to explore, through online ethnography of Facebook comments, the CS patterns among young Moroccans, mainly through studying types and functions of their code switches, as well as the motivations behind this choice of language. The aim behind the study of Facebook comments posted by young Moroccans, after examining their attitudes towards CS through survey questionnaire, is to figure out whether these CS patterns can be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition or they are simply a communicative strategy that they

adopt to make their Facebook interactions easier and more fluid.

Significance

Since researches on written code-switching are rather scarce, especially in the Moroccan context, this study aims to fill the existing knowledge gap through investigation, using a mixed-method approach to the attitudes, patterns and motivations for code-switching, more specifically in online conversation. Findings achieved from this research will help to give an insight into how and why code-switching occurs in young Moroccans' Facebook interactions, as well as their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon, and whether these CS practices can be considered as a communication strategy or an indication of Moroccan language loss.

With the advent of the Internet and smartphones, code-switching has become even more widespread among young Moroccans in their electronic interactions. This study aims to investigate the influence of technology on young Moroccans' language choice in Facebook, and whether factors, such as the use of Facebook via smartphones and Facebook consumption are behind the spread of CS practice among them. Thus, this study will be useful in defining the role of technology in language use.

The findings of the study will be useful in the field of sociolinguistics as well as computer-mediated communication, because the purpose of the research is to study the patterns and motivations for code-switching among young Moroccans' online discourse, which is a domain of sociolinguistics. The results of the research will also contribute to future research into the study of online discourse of young Moroccans.

The choice to use a mixed-method approach rather than relying on only quantitative or qualitative investigation was based on the need for not only statistical

findings, but also a deep understanding of the situation, by analysing patterns of CS among young Moroccans, and finding out the possible motivations behind their use of CS.

Research Questions

Given the exploratory nature of this study, which reports findings from both a questionnaire-based and an online ethnographic study, it attempts to gain understanding of the various factors which contribute to the propagation of CS among young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions, based on two different aspects, attitudinal and functional. To tackle this issue, this study is motivated by multiple research questions and hypotheses, which are listed below:

Quantitative research questions and hypotheses:

Q1: Do the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS in Facebook as an effective communication strategy in Facebook vary by their age, level of education and type of school they attend?

H₁: Age determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy;

H₂: Level of Education determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy;

H₃: Type of school determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy.

Q2: Do the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an indication of language attrition in Facebook vary by their age, level of education and type of school they

attend?

H₄: Age determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition;

H₅: level of education determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition;

H₆: Type of school determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition.

Q3: Is there any relationship between frequency of use of CS and the use of technology

H₇: There is an association between the frequency of CS and the use of Facebook via smartphones;

H₈: There is an association between Facebook daily consumption and frequency of CS use in Facebook.

Qualitative research questions:

Q4. What are the general CS patterns adopted by young Moroccan Facebook users in their Facebook comments?

4.1. How frequent is CS among young Moroccan Facebook users?

4.2. What are the dominant types of CS in their Facebook comments?

4.3. Does their use of CS serve any communicative functions?

4.4. What are the possible social motivations behind their choice of language?

Q5. Are there any signs of language attrition based on the CS patterns adopted by young Moroccan Facebook users?

Mixed methods research question:

Q6. To what extent does the results achieved from the online ethnography analysis of young Moroccans' Facebook comments help explain their attitudes towards CS?

Thesis Overview

This paper is organised as follows:

The first chapter of this thesis is a brief overview of the linguistic situation in Morocco and status of languages and how Moroccans perceive their country's linguistic and cultural diversity. It also gives an insight into the most common language contact phenomena in Morocco.

The second chapter of this research aims to shed more light on code-switching research and the most influential theories in the field that are relevant to research problem. It outlines the different studies done in the field of code-switching in terms of attitudes, types, functions, and motivations.

The third chapter sheds light on the definition of CMC, and new forms of language developed through this medium of communication, as well as its use by young Moroccans.

The fourth chapter outlines the research methodology adopted during the collection, coding, and analysis of data. It is divided into two main sections. The first section sheds light on the sampling procedures, while the second section mainly describes the research design focusing on data collection and data analysis procedures.

The fifth chapter outlines the analysis of data gathered during this research, which was carried out in two phases. The first phase deals with a quantitative analysis

of data gathered by a self-administered questionnaire. The second phase comprises the qualitative analysis of results obtained from a ‘nethnographic study’ (online ethnographic study is a synonym) of Facebook comments. Both phases are combined in order to test hypotheses as well as to answer research questions.

The sixth and last chapter portrays a summary of the findings along with their link with results achieved from previous studies, as well as their implications in the field of sociolinguistics and CMC research.

1. The linguistic situation in Morocco

Introduction

The linguistic situation in Morocco is known by its complexity. Generally speaking, the Moroccan linguistic repertoire is characterized by the significant use of Classical Arabic/Standard Arabic as well as the presence of Berber, Moroccan Arabic, French, Spanish and English, the existence of all these languages makes of Morocco a rich multilingual and multicultural country. However, not all languages cherish the same status in Morocco, while some languages are given a higher status, others are marginalized and given less importance. In Morocco, the status of languages is linked to socio-economic as well as historical factors.

1.1. Status of Languages in Morocco

Regardless the fact that Moroccan Arabic is the lingua Franca of all Moroccans, it is still relegated a lower status vis-à-vis its French counterpart and restricted to informal settings and ordinary conversations. Modern Standard Arabic is considered the official language of the country, though it shares some features to MA, however it is still considered more prestigious due to its standardization and codification. French on the other hand enjoys a higher status and is considered the language of modernity and prestige spoken by the elites and highly educated people as it is widely used in the job market and higher education. Spanish, as another Foreign language, is considered less important than French as it started to fade away soon after the decline of Spanish colonialism. English on the other hand started to gain ground in Morocco and can be considered as a rival of French, as it is now linked to highly sophisticated domains, such as international business, scientific and academic research.

1.1.1. Amazigh

Amazigh or Berber language is considered the second mother tongue of Morocco after MA. Until recently it was neither codified nor standardized and was restricted to informal settings and ordinary speech between native speakers. In 2001, Amazigh has been recongnized, by the Moroccan constitution, as an official language besides Arabic, and in 2003 incorporated in the educational curriculum (Ennaji, 2005).

The recognition of Amazigh language as an official language has to some extent appeased the conflict between Arabophones and Berberophones, in a way that the Amazigh people feel no more marginalized and alienated from the rest of Morocco (Ennaji, 2005). Although this may be true, not all Moroccans welcomed the implementation of Amazigh in the Moroccan educational curriculum, be they Arabs or berbers. In other words, some families refuse to send their children learn Amazigh language, believing that Arab and French are more practical and valuable than Berber (Z. Abderrahman, 2014). This attitude is also common among berbers themselves, as some of the Berber elites who have always been struggling for the recognition of their language and including it in education, prefer not to send their children to learn Berber. (Z. Abderrahman, 2014)

The unfavorable attitude towards the teaching of Amazigh might be explained by the socio-economic dominance of other languages, such as French and MSA, as they are considered the most practical and prestigious languages in Morocco, either in the private or public sectors.

1.1.2. Arabic:

In Morocco, the Arabic language exists in three varieties, Moroccan Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic. While MSA and CA enjoy high status in Morocco, MA on the other hand is considered less prestigious and restricted to informal settings.

1.1.2.1. Moroccan Arabic

Moroccan Arabic (MA) is the dominant language used by almost all the Moroccan population, even Berber speakers both in rural and urban spaces. It is a spoken language, and in most cases, restricted to informal interactions. It is highly marked by code-switching and borrowing from French, as many words were borrowed from French and integrated in the Moroccan linguistic repertoire. This linguistic phenomenon is especially common among the elites and highly educated Moroccans, who use a mixture of both languages in their everyday speech. (Bentahila 1983)

1.1.2.2. Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the modern version of Classical Arabic. While classical Arabic is reserved to religious contexts, MSA, on the other hand, is more present in almost all formal domains and settings such as, education, administrations, media, etc. MSA is the same throughout the Arab world. It is the official language of some 20 Arab countries (Bassiouny, 2009); the language that children start to learn from the primary level in written forms, while the verbal communication is usually conducted in local languages (Palfreyman & Al Khalil, 2003), such as MA and Amazigh.

Arabic with its three varieties (MSA, CA, MCA) was for some Moroccans strongly associated with cultural heritage, and national identity. Whereas, for others it is a sign of lower social class, unlike French which is perceived as a language of modernity and prestige and considered more practical than the three varieties of Arabic.

1.1.2.3. Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic (CA) is a sacred language, it is the language of the Coran and religion, and was taught to children from an early age at the koranic schools or « *Msids* ». Among all three varieties of Arabic, CA is deemed the most prestigious because of its association with the Coran and Sharīʿa, and is used in religious contexts, Islamic education and other highly formal settings (Ennaji, 2005). According to Errihani (2014) the status of CA as a prestigious language is not linked to social class as in the case of some foreign languages, such as French, but is rather indexical of “a high level of religious and literary scholarship, which does not necessarily translate into higher social status, nor does it lead to socio-economic advancement” (Errihani, 2016). CA in Morocco -as in almost all Arabic-speaking countries- derives its prestige from Coran and religion.

1.1.3. French

After the decline of French Colonialism, French has become an important language in Morocco, especially among the Elites and intellectuals, people who have been taught by French educators, or sent to study in France, and adopted the French culture. It has become more popular than it was in the colonial era, as it is now considered a sign of modernity and prestige as well as socio-economic advancement.

Moroccan people are no more hostile towards French as they were in the colonial era, since they no more consider it language of the colonizer, and language of oppression that should be banned; they rather see it as “an avenue for socio-economic advancement- and, for a new generation of young urbanities, for spiritual liberation” (Heath, 1989: 12). In other words, French becomes a means of upward mobility, especially among Moroccans who occupy higher positions in the country, either in the private or public sector, they use French as a medium of their daily interactions at work as well as at home (Errihani, 2008). They also tend to transmit this culture to their children by providing them with French education (Errihani, 2008).

1.1.4. Spanish

Spanish is the second post-colonial language in Morocco, it does not have the same status as French has now. It started to fade away soon after the Spanish left the Moroccan territories, and it is now more concentrated in the northern and some of the Saharian regions. It is now given the status of a foreign language, unlike French, which is considered the second language of Morocco. Spanish is not taught in primary schools as French, until the secondary and university levels, and it is learnt upon choice.

1.1.5. English

Today, English is the most popular foreign language in Morocco. It becomes a serious rival of French, especially in the domains of education, technology, scientific research, tourism, and business. Young Moroccans are very eager to learn it, especially with the widespread of social networks, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Snapchat that use English as their official language.

There is no conflict over the use of English in Morocco all ethnic parties are encouraging its teaching to their children, since it has no colonial history in Morocco. (Ennaji, 2005) In other words, all Moroccans hold a positive stance towards English and its presence in Morocco. Many Moroccans either students, policy-makers, scientific researchers are learning English to develop their communication with the outsider world especially the U.S and Britain, as well as to excel in their field of research and studies and find better job opportunities. (Ennaji, 2005)

1.2. Language Contact Phenomena in Morocco

Language contact or contact of languages refers to “situations where groups of people who speak very similar varieties are in contact with people who speak rather different varieties” (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001: 2) Cited in (Bower, 2008: 3). It means that the use of more than one variety of speech; varieties could be languages as they also could be dialects. Whenever there is contact between language varieties, each language exerts a sort of influence on the other.

Contact between languages in Morocco, especially between Moroccan language and other foreign languages (especially the French one) could not be possible without the Moroccan colonial history, which had a great influence on the Moroccan culture as well as native languages. Among the very obvious aspects of influence of colonialism on Morocco is the adoption of French language and consider it as a language of modernity and socio-economic advancement leaving but a small space to Arabic with its varieties.

Morocco generally attests different types of influence of language contact, mainly the use of two varieties of Arabic side-by-side one in formal contexts (Standard

Arabic) and the other in informal settings (Moroccan Colloquial Arabic), and it is referred to this linguistic phenomenon as **diglossia**. Another type of influence of language contact is manifested through the use of two different languages interchangeably either in formal or informal contexts, foreign or local languages and it is usually recognized as **bilingualism**. The mixture of or the switching between more than one language in the same utterance of speech known as **code-switching** which is the central concern of this study. The adoption of words and expressions from a foreign or local language and their integration into the linguistic system of Moroccan language can also be considered among the aftermaths of contact between MA and other languages, and it is known as **borrowing**.

1.2.1. Diglossia

1.2.1.1. Definition of Diglossia

Diglossia in all the Arab countries is a “by-product of language contact” (Hornberg & Lee Mckay, 2010: 117). According to Ferguson (1972), diglossia is a language situation where a dialect or language is used in formal contexts and is considered as high prestige language, and another which could be, either standard or regional dialect, mainly used in informal situations and everyday conversations (Ferguson, 1972: 245 as cited in Bassioney, 2009: 3)

Diglossia in the case of Morocco, for example, is composed of two varieties of Arabic; MSA which is the high variety of Arabic, sometimes referred to as *Fusha*, CA, Standard Arabic (Aramouni, 2011), is highly standardized and taught at schools; and MCA which is considered the low variety of Arabic or the dialectal Arabic or even Colloquial Arabic and Vernacular, it is neither codified nor standardized and used for

ordinary conversation only.

Ferguson's definition of diglossia (1959) has been criticized and discussed extensively even by Ferguson himself (Ferguson 1996 cited in Bassiouney, 2014: 12) and by other scholars, namely Fishman (1971), for including only two varieties of language (high and low) not taking into consideration situations where “two genetically unrelated languages are used in the community, one in formal settings and the other in informal settings” (Cited in Hornberg & Lee McKay, 2010:120). Fishman extended the definition of diglossia by including situations where a foreign language is used as the high language and a dialectal language is used as the low language. This situation is very common in multilingual or bilingual “post- colonial settings” (kamwangamalu, 2000a: 103 cited in Hornberg & Lee McKay, 2010: 120) as in the case of Morocco, as an ex-colony of France, where French is considered the high language whereas MA is regarded as a low variety.

1.2.1.2. Polyglossia in Morocco

As previously mentioned, Ferguson's (1959) definition of diglossia has been criticized for not taking into consideration the linguistic situation in Morocco as in all the Arab countries. Since the use of Arabic in Morocco is not restricted to only high and low varieties, given the fact that Morocco and the Maghreb at large has three varieties of Arabic rather than two, as Ennaji (2005) inserted that these varieties exist in “a triglossic relation” (p: 49).

As previously mentioned, CA is a sacred language related to religion and classical writings. It is used in highly formal settings, such as in mosques, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Islamic Affairs, official speeches, and in classical poetry. The

second variety is Standard Arabic or MSA, which is a modern version of Classical Arabic, used in media, administration, education, political speeches, so on and so forth. Moroccan Arabic or MCA is used in informal contexts, everyday conversation, streets, home, between friends, etc (Ennaji, 2005: 48-49).

Ennaji suggests another term, which is *quadriglossia* which refers to the existence of a fourth variety of Arabic apart from CA, MSA, and MCA, he gave it the name of Educated Spoken Arabic or ESA (Ennaji, 2005: 49); this variety of Arabic is spoken by educated people who are influenced by CA or MSA and this influence is reflected through the integration of some Arabic words and expressions in their everyday interactions. According to him, this variety has linguistic features of MA but contains words and expressions from MSA (Ennaji, 2005: 50). The difference between MA and what Ennaji (2005) calls as ESA, is obvious in the following example: ESA *darss lyawm kan ra?iŝ Jiddan/* MCA: *darss dyal had nhar kan zwin bezzaf*. (Today's class was excellent).

Although ESA is a high variety used by educated Moroccans and contains MSA words and expressions, it is neither codified nor standardized, mainly like Moroccan Arabic (Ennaji, 2005: 50). It is a language of prestige used to reinforce social distinctions, and to assert social position, to make a distinction between the educated and illiterate people (Ennaji, 2005), which is the same case for the use of French words and expressions by Moroccan bilinguals out of a desire to sound modern and belonging to the upper class.

In the same regard, Bassiouney (2009) states that, MSA is not the only source of linguistic prestige, since in each country especially Arabic countries there is a dominant, prestigious language or dialect, which exerts influence on the other lower-

status languages. According to Bassiouney (2009), among the factors that lead to such an influence is the socioeconomic dominance of the city over the countryside, or the dominance of a big city on a smaller city. In this respect she claims: “the dialects of big cities become a symbol of their power and exercise a potent influence over those who come into contact with them or have to interact with speakers of these dialects” (Bassiouney, 2009: 19).

Thus, the “urban dialects of the big cities” (Abdel-Jawad, 1986: 58) Cited in (Bassiouney, 2009: 19) can be considered as another variety of prestige besides MSA and ESA in Morocco, mainly adopted by people emanating from rural areas. In urban cities like (Fez, Casablanca) there is the notion of “(ʕrūbī)”; literally means a person who belongs to rural areas, but metaphorically speaking ‘ʕrūbī’ is told to someone who is old-fashioned and illiterate just because s/he speaks a rural dialect which is different from the dialect spoken in urban cities like Fes or Casablanca.

Errihani (2016) further illustrates this idea in his work on the Fassi accent and its social status in Morocco. He suggests that within the same variety of speech, some accents are considered more prestigious than others, giving the example of the variety spoken by people living in Fez, which is considered as the most prestigious of all MA varieties (Sadiqi, 2003). According to Errihani, this variety “enjoys higher status thanks to the symbolic capital of its speakers, who distinguish themselves by their use of different phonological as well as lexical patterns, which indeed mark this variety’s social distinction”. (M. Errihani, 2016: 754). To put it differently, different accents of the same dialect could also be on a diaglossic relationship, where one constitutes the high accent while others are deemed low. This is the case for Fassi accent; for example,

as it is considered as the most prestigious of all the existing dialects, for the simple reason that its speakers enjoy a powerful socio-economic position in Morocco.

Considering the different varieties and dialects (ESA/MA, MSA/MA, dialect of big urban cities/ dialect of rural areas) as well as accents (Fassi accent/ the other Moroccan accents) that appeared to be in a diglossic relationship, one cannot really talk about diglossia in Morocco but rather ‘polyglossia’ (Lindsay, 2007). Some varieties are considered more prestigious and reserved to formal settings and others are given a lower status and restricted to informal and intimate interactions.

1.2.2. Bilingualism

1.2.2.1. Different definitions of bilingualism

Bilingualism is a linguistic phenomenon, a result of contact of languages. It is the use of two languages by a speaker, either two “genetically unrelated” (Greenberg: 1971: 95) languages or two dialects of the same language. Thus, all over the world, people are either bilingual or multilingual, but only few are monolingual. Bloomfield, one of the early scholars interested in the field of bilingualism defines it “as the native-like control of two languages” Bloomfield (1935: 56) Cited in (Parveen, 2013: 570).

Bloomfield’s definition of bilingualism has put into question the degree of mastery in languages (Cited in Parveen, 2013: 570). As a person to be considered bilingual, s/he is required to have a full mastery of two languages, or according to his definition s/he must have two mother tongues. On the other hand, Diebold (1964) in his definition of bilingualism considers any person who is able to “understand utterances in a second language without having a productive control, is called ‘incipient

bilingualism” (Diebold 1964 in Romaine 1989: 10). Thus, a good mastery or a “native-like control” of a language is not a criterion of bilingualism as Bloomfield mentioned.

In addition to Bloomfield and Diebold, Haugen (1956:9) defines bilingualism as “a cover term for people with a number of different language skills, having in common only that they are not monolinguals” (Cited in Ennaji; 2005: 124). By this definition Haugen refers not only to bilingualism but also to multilingualism. He further states, that a person could be considered as a bilingual when s/he is able to “produce complete meaningful utterances in another language.” (Cited in Parveen, 2013: 570). Based on what all the linguists have agreed upon, one can define a bilingual as a person who is able to understand and or produce meaningful utterances in two or more languages (Romaine 1989: 11).

However, defining bilingualism is a problematic issue, since different scholars have different opinions on when a person becomes a bilingual. As an alternative, scholars in the same field have tried to focus more on “the explanation of different levels of control of two or more languages (or varieties) instead of defining bilingualism” (Spolsky, 1988: 380). There are people who define themselves bilinguals, considering their fluency in two languages; in other words, they are equally proficient and competent in both languages. This concept is defined as ‘balanced bilingualism’ (Peal & Lambert, 1962) (Cited in Hamzeh, 2014: 108). Others who are “more proficient and competent in one of the two languages” are classified as ‘dominant bilinguals’. (Peal & Lambert, 1962 Cited in Hamzeh, 2014: 108)

1.2.2.2. Types of Bilingualism in Morocco

Morocco is a multilingual country, where many languages either national or foreign are used side by side on a daily basis in different domains. However, not all Moroccans are multilinguals, some of them are monolinguals with the ability to speak and understand only one language (either Moroccan Arabic or Amazigh), others, who constitute the vast majority, are able to understand or communicate in two languages, (e.g. Moroccan Arabic and French) and are considered bilinguals.

Today, Morocco attests different types of bilingualism, the most common ones are: MSA-French bilingualism, MA-French bilingualism, Amazigh, Moroccan Arabic bilingualism. However, in the past, and more specifically in the precolonial period, Morocco witnessed only one type of bilingualism, which is MA- Berber bilingualism. (Ennaji, 2002 : 73)

a. MA- French Bilingualism

With the arrival of French colonialism, French becomes deeply rooted in the linguistic repertoire of the country, and most of Moroccans hold positive attitude towards MA-French bilingualism. They use French and MA side-by-side as a sign of modernity and prestige.

According to Ennaji, “the degree of mastery of French depends on the bilingual’s level of education and socio-economic background, the bigger the frequency of speaking French and the more frequent the alternative use of French and Moroccan Arabic by a bilingual” (Ennaji, 2005: 127).

In other words, there are two factors that allow a Moroccan bilingual to be proficient in French. First her/his level of education, and second the social class s/he is belonging to. That is to say, if a person is belonging to upper or middle class, having access to a French-based education by attending French or private schools, where more emphasis is concentrated on teaching French, s/he will then have a good mastery of French, which allows him/her to get better job opportunities.

In general, monolinguals are considered illiterate in Morocco, especially if they speak only one dialect like MA or Amazigh. However, in developed countries like the U.S.A if someone speaks only English, s/he will not be considered as illiterate for the sole reason that English is an international language and everybody around the world seeks to learn it. In the Moroccan context, Moroccan Arabic is stigmatized, given the fact that it is restricted to only informal settings, and deemed useless in the job market or other formal contexts. That is why majority of Moroccans hold a sort of stigma towards their Moroccan language for being unpractical and useless in their professional life.

b. MSA- French Bilingualism

Another type of bilingualism, which is common in Morocco, is: MSA-French Bilingualism. According to Ennaji (2005) Moroccans are divided into two trends; the modernist trend that is made of French- educated Moroccans who support the French culture and language considering it as the solution to socio-economic advancement. The traditionalist trend, on the other hand, is composed of the Arabic-educated Moroccans who support Arabic language and calls for its preservation and promotion considering it the language of authenticity and nationalism. This split has created a huge gap between the two languages, for we have either “dominant bilinguals” (Peal &

Lambert, 1962 Cited in Hamzeh, 2014: 108) with a good mastery of either French or Arabic and not both of them, or monolinguals and just a small minority of Arabic-French bilinguals who have a ‘balanced bilingualism’ (Peal & Lambert, 1962 Cited in Hamzeh, 2014: 108) as they equally master both French and Arabic.

The gap between Arabic and French, according to Ennaji (2005), is to be blamed on “the present-day system of education that suffers from many flaws and shortcomings. It creates inequality and heterogeneity among Moroccans” (Ennaji; 2005: 129-130). Many young people today are considered multilingual but in fact they do not have a good mastery of either language, regardless their high level of education (Ennaji, 2005). As Dawn claims, in his article on Moroccan language policy: “the majority of pupils, on reaching the baccalauréat are still at the stage of deciphering; they still stumble over basic points (of the French language)” (Dawn, 2005: 1495). In other words, the Arabization policy of education has, to some extent, weakened the teaching of French in Morocco.

Generally speaking, children who belong to upper- or middle-class families in Morocco have better opportunities to attend private or French schools, and get a French-based education; henceforth, they become proficient in French, however this focus on French learning makes them neglect Arabic and consider it as useless. Whereas, children belonging to lower social class or coming from rural areas, having Moroccan Arabic or Amazigh as their mother tongues can barely follow the curriculum, as Ennaji (2005) mentioned: “they can hardly succeed in an educational system that is alien to their linguistic and cultural background”.(P: 130) They are introduced for the first time to both Arabic and French, and use them nowhere apart from school, however, and

since MSA has some linguistic similarities with MA they find themselves more open to it than to French (Ennaji, 2005).

According to some studies (cf. Dawn, 2005; Ennaji, 2005; Errihani, 2008), the Arabization policy of the educational system can be considered as another factor behind deficiency in both French and Arabic, besides level of education and social class. Through the Arabization policy, the government sought to get rid of the colonial educational system, by putting greater emphasis on the promotion of Arabic and the Arabization of the educational curriculum in schools. This policy was not implemented in universities as well, which created a big obstacle in front of university students especially those who specialize in sciences (Ennaji, 2005). As Dawn suggests (2005: 1490):

If the Arabization policy was well implemented, all young Moroccans will have a high degree of competence in Standard Arabic, and will be able to use this language correctly in a variety of domains. Moreover, they will have at least minimal competence in two foreign languages, which they will also be able to use in a variety of contexts.

Regardless the problems of MSA-French bilingualism, majority of Moroccans still hold a positive attitude toward it. As they are strongly attached to the Arabic language since it is linked to authenticity and religious identity, while still eager to learn French and feel proud to use it in their everyday life as a sign of modernity and prestige. They consider that both languages are beneficial for the advancement of the country.

1.2.2.3. The difference between Bilingualism and Diglossia in the Moroccan Context

As previously mentioned, diglossia according to Ferguson (1959) is the use of a high variety of language in formal contexts while using another low variety in

informal settings (for example: Standard Arabic and Moroccan Arabic) (Cited in Wei, 2000). Fishman (1971) extended this definition, by including the use of not only high and low varieties of the same language, but also the use of two genetically unrelated languages, considering the use of Foreign languages side by side with standard and local languages in some Arab countries as high varieties, since they are used in written and spoken formal forms (for example: French and Standard Arabic). (Cited in Hornberg & Lee Mckay, 2010)

According to Fishman, bilingualism “is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic behavior, whereas diglossia is a characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level” (Fishman, 1967: 36). In other words, bilingualism can be related to the person’s ability to speak multiple languages or varieties of languages, whereas diglossia refers to the social functionality of each variety (Fishman, 1967). It is clear from this definition that bilingualism is the ability to communicate in more than one language or variety, as for diglossia is the instrumental value of each language or variety within society. In the Moroccan context, as in different Arabic-speaking countries, diglossia and bilingualism are used side by side on a daily basis. Both Standard Arabic and French are considered as prestige languages used in formal domains like education, media, administration, etc. while MA and Amazigh are restricted to informal settings, such as ordinary conversation at home or in the streets, and are considered as less prestigious. (Ennaji, 2005)

1.2.3. Code-switching

Code-switching (CS) is the central interest of this research mainly among young Moroccan in their Facebook interactions. CS is considered as another manifestation of the contact between languages; it is the use of two or more languages interchangeably

at the same utterance of speech. (More details about the concept of CS are provided in Chapter 2).

Given the importance and high status of French in Morocco, it is not surprising to find that French-MA CS is widely spread in the country especially among the elites and highly educated people. As previously mentioned, French in Morocco is a symbol of modernity and socio-economic advancement; it is a language of prestige spoken by majority of Moroccans interchangeably with MA, whereas MA is usually linked to authenticity and national identity. Thus, in order to appear modern and highly educated, most Moroccans use French as part of their daily verbal interactions mixed with the Moroccan language.

Moroccan Arabic, in general, is regarded as an informal, ‘in-group’ language, or the “we code” language according to Gumperz (1982), through which Moroccan individuals tend to show their solidarity with each other, as well as their pride and sense of patriotism towards their country and its linguistic and cultural heritage. However, if one speaks only Moroccan Arabic s/he will then be considered as illiterate and consequently will be negatively perceived by the society for not speaking a foreign language like French.

Since independence the Moroccan government has been striving for the preservation of Arabic with its varieties through the Arabization policy of education by which they tried to get rid of the remnants of French system of education and replace it with an Arabic-Islamic one. This policy somehow created a huge gap between French and Arabic languages, as all the subjects at schools are taught in Arabic, giving but a small space to the teaching of French. Once a person reaches the university level in Morocco, they find that all the subjects are taught in French, which is deemed an

obstacle in front of all university students, sometimes coercing them to change their field of studies, or even leave the university.

Regardless the efforts made by the government vis-à-vis the promotion of Arabic, people seeking a modern and westernized lifestyle are rather more eager to learn and speak French. Regarding this fact, French-Moroccan Arabic code switching becomes more common between upper and middle classes. People belonging to the two classes have more opportunities to get a better French education either in private or French schools “*les Missions Françaises*”. While MA is considered as the “in-group”(Gumperz, 1982) language, the language of authenticity and national identity, French in Morocco, on the other hand, is regarded as the ‘they code’ the ‘out-group’ language (Gumperz, 1982), the ‘language of authority’ (Myers-Scotton, 1993) and advancement. It is a language of prestige used by Moroccans out of a desire to sound modern, classy and educated.

This mixture between French and Moroccan Arabic is widespread among young Moroccans, who find themselves inside a circle of contradictory feelings, torn between two conflicting cultures, the French culture represented through the use of French language and the adoption of the Western lifestyle, and the Moroccan culture, which calls for the preservation of the Moroccan language as well as the Moroccan cultural identity. French- Moroccan Arabic code switching in this case, as Myers-scotton has mentioned (Myers-Scotton, 1993) can be regarded as an unmarked choice, made by young Moroccans out of a desire to show two sides of their personalities, two identities at the same time, the French and the Moroccan ones. They tend to sound more modern and classier through the use of French, but at the same time they seek to preserve their ‘Moroccanness’ through the use of MA.

1.2.4. Borrowing

Borrowing is another byproduct of language contact. The degree of influence of a certain language on another is measured by the number of borrowed words and expressions, the best example is the case of Moroccan Arabic, that is “characterized by heavy borrowings from French” (Ennaji, 2005:148-149), which explains the huge influence that French colonialism had on Morocco. According to Ennaji (2005): “borrowing is involved when single vocabulary items, phrases, or frozen expressions from one language are used in the target language” (Ennaji, 2005: 143). The loans or borrowed items are adapted to the grammatical system of the native language as they become fully an integrated part in this language and one cannot recognize that they were originally loans or borrowed expressions. (Ennaji, 2005)

French becomes deeply rooted in the Moroccan linguistic repertoire mainly through the use of borrowing. Many Moroccans are unaware of their daily integration of French words and expressions that were borrowed and integrated in MA; as they consider these words part of the Moroccan linguistic repertoire and neglect their origins, this unawareness could be considered as the best evidence of the huge influence that French have on MA.

Conclusion

To sum up, one can assume that the linguistic situation in Morocco is a complex one. It is marked by conflicts between languages (either foreign or national ones) that came into contact due to colonialism besides other socio-economic factors. This complexity makes the Moroccan youth in a very confusing situation, as they are torn

between two conflicting desires. Their desire to keep up with modernity and Westernization which is manifested through the adoption of French culture with all its aspects, while still eager to preserve their Moroccan identity with all its cultural and religious aspects. Thus, CS can to some extent be considered as the best evidence on the conflict between these two identities. The next chapter is an attempt to trace the history of CS theories, trying to explore the different attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon, as well as the possible motivations behind its use.

2. Code-switching Research

Introduction

The second chapter of this research aimed to shed more light on code-switching research and the most influential theories in the field that are relevant to research

problem. It outlines the different studies done in the field of Code-switching in terms of attitudes, types, functions, and motivations.

2.1. Background and Related Works

Milroy and Muysken (1995) described CS “as perhaps the central issue in bilingualism research” (Cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 9). Linguists like Roman Jakobson (1953), Vogt (*Contact of Languages*, 1954) who first coined the term ‘Code switching’ and was inspired by the work of Weinreich ‘*Languages in Contact*’ (1953), and Haugen (1956) were among the earliest linguists to develop the notion of code switching (Cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 13). However, without the influential works of Gumperz and his associates like Blom and Wilson, the phenomenon of CS would have remained “more or less invisible” (Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 9) in research on bilingualism, works such as ‘*Linguistic and Social Interaction in Two Communities*’ published in 1964, ‘*Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure*’ (Blom &Gumperz, 1972) and ‘*Discourse Strategies*’ (Blom &Gumperz, 1982).

Before the influential works of Gumperz, CS was considered a corrupt form of language, representing “a deficient knowledge of language, a grammarless mixture of two codes” (Milroy & Muysken, 1995: 9) “an easy, lazy way out when people cannot be bothered to search for the words they need in a single language” (Cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 14). Through his works, Gumperz tried to change this misconception, by asserting that CS or language alternation is “an additional resource through which a range of social and rhetorical meanings are expressed” (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b as cited in Milroy & Muysken, 1995: 9). He mainly focused on the social motivations and social correlates of code switching, trying to recognize why and under what conditions bilinguals may choose to code switch.

CS according to Gumperz is “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982: 59). In contrast, Weinreich (1979) argued that CS is a “deviant behavior pattern”, and “the ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence” (p: 73).

In his definition of CS, Gumperz (1982) highlighted the grammatical aspects of CS and stressed the fact that a switch can happen not only between two different languages -grammatical system- but also between dialects – grammatical subsystems – of one language. This definition was criticized by many scholars claiming that even fluent or balanced bilinguals switch from one language to another in the same utterance of speech without any change in the situation or the topic. This argument has also been fostered by Myers-Scotton & Ury (1977:5) who identified code-switching as the “use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction”.

Another definition of CS is given by Haugen, who rejects, as many other scholars, the term CS arguing that: “the introduction of elements from one language into the other means merely alteration of the second language, not a mixture of the two (1950: 211) (cited in Gardner-Chloros, 2009: 9). In other words, Haugen does not consider switching from one language to another as a mixture of the two languages but rather the adaptation of L2 to the speaker’s native language.

2.2. The distinction between CS and other language contact phenomena

2.2.1. Code-switching and Diglossia

Myers-Scotton & Ury (1977)'s definition of CS does not include only switching between two languages, but also switching between varieties of the same language; they state: "the switch may be for only one word or for several minutes of speech. The varieties may be anything from genetically unrelated languages to two styles of the same language". (Myers-Scotton & Ury, 1977: 5) As also mentioned by Auer (1999) in his article *From CS to language mixing, fused lects*: "The 'codes' in CS may turn out to be 'languages, but they may also be 'dialects' or other varieties, or even sets of prosodic contextualization cues" (p: 3).

Therefore, according to the various definitions of code switching, Diglossia can be considered as part of code switching. As Myers-Scotton asserts:

Varieties is a cover term for selections at all linguistic levels so that choices between varieties include, for example, choices of one language rather than another, one dialect over another, one style or register over another, and one form of a directive or refusal over another. (Myers-Scotton 1998b: 18 cited in Bassiouney, 2009:29)

Thus, Diglossia or diglossic switching is more associated with 'situational code switching' (which will be discussed later) in a way that diglossia is considered the alternative use of two different languages or varieties of language in different contexts or domains. For example, the high variety is used in formal contexts, and the low variety

is used in informal domains, it is fairly predictable which language is going to be used, and the speaker is conscious about this fact and knows where to use each code.

2.2.2. Code-switching and Borrowing

Some scholars (cf. Myers Scotton, 1992; Thomason 2001) argue that there is no distinction between CS and borrowing, and as Auer (1999) mentioned both CS and borrowing are in a “diachronic continuum”, and that all loans or borrowed words “start-off as code switches then become gradually established as loans” (p: 311). That is to say, borrowed words and expressions were in their early stages code-switching and because of their repeated occurrences in the recipient language they become fully integrated in the target language and barely recognized as separate from it.

Others claim that CS “occurs spontaneously, while borrowing involves the phonological adaptation of words from the source language into the lexicon of the recipient language” (Isurin et al, 2009: 190). That is to say, speakers may switch between their native language and another foreign language for example, without having to adapt this latter to the grammatical system of their language.

According to Myers-Scotton (2006) “borrowed words arise in conversation with some level of predictability, while the same aspect cannot be applied to CS words” (Cited in Parveen, 2013: 570). This means that borrowed words are “generally standardized and socially accepted” (Ennaji, 2005: 143-144), and commonly used in the target language in different situations, whereas CS words differ from one speaker to another, not all the speakers use the same CS words, given that switches “belong to the individual register of the speaker” (Ennaji, 2005: 143-144).

2.2.3. Code-switching and Code Mixing

Many scholars, like Gumperz (1977), use the terms CS and code mixing in separate contexts; he uses code mixing to refer to conversational CS which he defines as a switch from one language to another within a single sentence, similarly to poplack's intra-sentential code switching (cited in Ennaji, 2005). In the same context, researchers like Myers-scotton (1993), consider intra-sentential switching as code mixing where the switch occurs below clause or sentence level in an unchanged social situation. (Cited in Bassiouney, 2009: 30)

To make a distinction between the two terms, Myers- Scotton (1993) for example, chose to use 'code switching' as a cover term, which refers to switching codes either between two sentences or clauses or within the same sentence in a changed or unchanged situation; considering code mixing as a sub-category of CS where switches occur within the same sentence but in an unchanged situation. In this regard, Torres (1980: 420) states that: "in code switching, unlike code mixing a change in the social situation motivates the alternation of codes" (cited in Ennaji, 2005: 141).

However, other linguists like Myers-Scotton (1997: 24) make no distinction between code mixing and code switching. She considers that both terms represent the same concept, and she considers this distinction as creating 'unnecessary confusion'. According to her: "I prefer 'CS' as a cover term; the two types can be differentiated by the labels 'inter-sentential' and 'intra-sentential' when structural constraints are considered" (Cited in Bassiouney, 2009: 30)

Furthermore, other sociolinguists (like Haugen (1956)) reject the term code mixing, believing that "the notion 'code mixing' has a negative overtone in the sense

that it gives the impression that it is corrupt or impure” (cited in Ennaji, 2005: 141). In other words, many scholars prefer not to separate code mixing from code switching, considering that even the term ‘code mixing’ should not exist, believing that it has a negative connotation, as it may be understood by many people as an incorrect form of language.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical Framework of this study is based on four theories, which are mainly Poplack’s syntactic categorization of CS (1980), Gumperz’s conversational CS (1982), Myers-scotton’s Markedness model (1993) and Matrix Language Turnover Hypothesis (1998), Bentahila & Davies’s (1992) motivations for CS. The adoption of such theories will help identify the CS patterns among the Moroccan young Facebook users as well as their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon, and the possible motivations behind their choice of language. As they will also help determine whether the use of CS among this category might be considered as a communicative strategy or it is an indication of Moroccan language attrition.

2.3.1. Types of CS

2.3.1.1. *Blom & Gumperz’s Situational and Metaphorical Code Switching*

According to Hinrichs (2006), Blom and Gumperz’s situational and metaphorical types of CS are among “the most influential contributions to theory in the sociolinguistic branch of code switching” (p: 44). The terms situational and metaphorical CS were first introduced in Blom & Gumperz (1972), and then elaborated in Gumperz’s Discourse Strategies (1982).

It can be understood from the term situational code switching, sometimes referred to as “transactional switching” (Romaine, 2000: 9), a switching that occurs when there is a change or shift in the situation in which a conversation takes place, for example a change in terms of the interlocutor, the setting, the topic, etc. According to Blom & Gumperz (1972) “The notion of situational switching assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation” (Cited in Nilep, 2006: 8).

Similarly, Gardner-Chloros (2009) states: “situational CS occurs when distinct varieties are associated with changes in interlocutor, context or topic, and is therefore a direct consequence of a diglossic distinction of the varieties” (p: 59). For example, a young Moroccan speaker may use MA in informal contexts like home and switch to French or MSA in formal contexts like school. However, if s/he uses the informal variety while the formal one is required, then s/he will be violating the norms or what Myers-Scotton (2002: 205) refers to as “right-obligation sets”.

Whereas for metaphorical switching, it is defined as a switching that occurs when there is no change in the situation where the conversation takes place, “It takes place within a single place within a single interaction, such switching is metaphorical because it exploits associations between codes and social rules for communicative effect” (Paolillo, 2011). Metaphorical CS is not related to change “in social situations” (Ennaji, 2005: 140) it is rather determined by attitudes toward the languages concerned and toward the associations allocated to these languages (Ennaji, 2005). As stated by Blom & Gumperz (1972: 426-427):

In contrast to the situations where the choice of linguistic codes is narrowly controlled by social norms, there are others, which allow participants considerable freedom in the choice of varieties. Metaphorical CS occurs in such situations to convey special

social meanings such as privateness (Cited in Nilep, 2009: 7).

Therefore, one can presume that while situational CS is controlled by social factors and motives, metaphorical CS, on the other hand is not controlled by any social norms.

However, Gumperz has been criticized by many scholars for limiting CS to either metaphorical or situational and even Gumperz (1982) himself recognized this imperfect description of code switching, and acknowledged that “it is generally difficult for analysts to identify particular language choices as situational or metaphorical, and that native speakers generally have few intuitions about or recognition of their own conversational code switches” (Cited Nilep, 2006: 7). In his book “Discourse Strategies”, Gumperz suggests an alternative term, which is conversational CS where he describes CS as:

the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. Most frequently the alternation takes the form of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else’s statement. (Gumperz, 1982: 59)

Despite Gumperz’s attempts to make a clear difference between conversational and metaphorical code switching, they are still considered by many scholars as similar. (Nilep, 2006)

2.3.1.2. Poplack’s Syntactic Categorization of Code Switching

Some researchers consider Blom and Gumperz’s categories of situational and metaphorical CS as the types of CS (Boztepe 2003). Others identify them as functions of CS (that will be discussed later) rather than types. There is another categorization of

CS, which is of a systematic nature suggested by Poplack (1980) who divided CS into: inter-sentential switching, intra-sentential switching, and tag-switching.

a. Inter-Sentential Switching

Inter-sentential switching can be defined as a switching that takes place between sentences, thus “the switch can occur either at a sentence or clause boundary where each clause or sentence is in a different language” (Romaine 1995: 122); for example, the use of a sentence in French and another one in MA. Example: *je ne pense pas, ṣawdi ṣytélha/* I don’t think so, try to call her again. The first clause is in French while the second one is in Moroccan Arabic.

Myers-scotton & Jake (2002) relate the choice of inter-sentential CS to the speaker’s language competency. In this regard, they claim: “If the speaker is proficient enough to make a sufficient grammatical structure in the ML, it is called classical CS. On the other hand, “when speakers do not have full access to the grammatical frame of the intended ML, part of the abstract structure comes from one variety and part from another” and she refers to this kind of CS as composite CS (Cited in Obiamalu, 2013: 97). In other words, when bilingual speakers are able to produce full correct sentences in both ML or matrix language, which refers to the speaker’s dominant language and EL or embedded language that is often inserted in the ML, his/ her CS is referred to as classic CS, which is here equivalent to inter-sentential CS. Whereas those having a lower proficiency of either language opt more for composite CS that entails switches within one sentence.

b. Intra-Sentential Switching

Intra-sentential CS occurs within a single sentence, for example: *maṣṣndīsh un*

sujet précis, mais je pense hadi ndir chi ħaja scientifique/ I don't have a specific topic, but I'm thinking about a scientific one. Unlike Myers-Scotton (1993) who considers Inter-sentential CS as indicative of language proficiency, Poplack (1980) claims, on the other hand, that the use of intra-sentential CS is a sign of high level of language competency. He argues that, intra-sentential CS is the most complex of all types and that speakers engaging in such a choice must be fluent bilinguals with a good mastery of the two languages involved. In this regard, he states: "intra-sentential CS is a more intimate type than inter-sentential switching since both the code switched segment and those around it must adapt to the underlying syntactic rules of the two languages" (Poplack 1980: 571). Therefore, according to Poplack (1980), language proficiency is a prerequisite in performing intra-sentential CS, and the speaker has to master the grammatical rules of the languages involved, in order "to produce a grammatically correct utterance" (p: 570).

c. Tag-Switching

Tag-switching is "used to refer to a switching between an utterance and the tag or interjection attached to it" (Milroy, Lesly & Muysken, Pieter, 1995: 8). It is referred to by Romaine as "extra-sentential switching", who defines it as "inserting a tag in one language to an utterance which is otherwise in another language" (Romaine 1995 cited in Nguyen, 2015: 15). According to Poplack: "the insertion of a tag to an utterance has virtually no ramifications for the rest of the sentence", this is because tags have no syntactic constraints, they can be moved freely, and be inserted almost anywhere in a discourse without violating any grammatical rules" (Poplack, 1980: 589). For example: *bγīt nṣawnek, mais maṣndīch lwakt/ I wanted to help you, but I don't have time.* The sentence above is written in MA, and the tag inserted within is "*mais*", and even if we

remove it the meaning and the structure of the sentence will remain the same.

d. Intra-Word Switching

Another type of code-switching, which is very common among Moroccans who are influenced by the French language and use it on a daily basis in their ordinary conversations, is termed by (Myers-Scotton, 1989: 333) as “intra-word switching” and defined by Romaine as mixing or switching within word boundaries (Romaine 1995: 123); for example: ‘A chaque fois je la rencontre *kandéprima*/ Each time I met her, I get depressed.’ In this example there is a mixture of two languages at the level of one word which is « *kandéprima* » a mixture of French and MA, the word is in French but it is adapted to MA grammatical system.

Some scholars, mainly Valdes-Fallis (1978b), do not consider the integration of an L2 vocabulary into an L2 grammatical system as CS, but rather code-mixing assuming that the mixing of “the grammar of the L1 with the vocabulary of the L2, producing constructions which violate the grammatical rules of both languages” (cited in A. H. Abu-Melhim et al, 2016). Thus, this kind of switches is sometimes considered as an incorrect form of language.

According to Weinreich’s definition of code switching, as previously mentioned, the ideal bilingual is the one who switches between languages according to changes in the situation and not in an unchanged situation and not within a single sentence (Weinreich, 1979). If this statement is to be considered as true, all bilinguals who use Poplack’s three types of CS will be considered as imperfect bilinguals without any linguistic competence or ability to carry out a conversation in a single language, because all the three types occur without any changes in the setting, interlocutor or

topic, they always occur spontaneously and sometimes even unconsciously (Myers-Scotton, 1995).

Weinreich's rejection of CS within the same utterance of speech without any change in the topic or interlocutors perpetuates the belief that CS is a lack of competence and proficiency in terms of languages, and bilinguals who use these types of switching do so only to fill in the gaps and hide their deficiency in their first or second languages used during a conversation. The following section generally seeks to trace the different attitudes towards CS.

2.3.2. Attitudes towards the use of CS

Previous studies on the attitudes towards code-switching have in general shown that this linguistic phenomenon has been stigmatized all around the world and performed only by imperfect bilinguals who are not proficient in the languages they use and they try to switch between languages to hide this imperfection; especially before the works of Gumperz and his associates, namely Blom and Gumperz's (1972) article on "code-switching between dialects of Norwegian in Hemnesberget (a Norwegian fishing town)" (Cited in Bassiouney, 2009: 29).

In almost all the Arab countries, CS in fact, is considered to be among the aftermaths of colonialism, which is considered a bad memory in the minds of most of the Arabs. "CS between Arabic and a foreign language has been called by one Arab writer, according to Suleiman (2004) 'linguistic prostitution', It can also be considered a form of 'colonial penetration', as some people still feel culturally colonized because of the use of this mixture of languages. (Suleiman, 2004: 227 as cited in Bassiouney, 2009: 29) Others consider those who code switch between the MA and French as

“strongly marked by French colonialism, to the point where they are not able to express themselves without resorting to the colonizers’ language; ‘as they are still colonized’”. (Bentahila, 1983: 37)

In his experimental study of attitudes towards CS using matched guise techniques, Bentahila (1983) found that majority of his respondents holds a strong negative attitude towards CS, and consider it as something to be stigmatized. In this regard he stated: “75.22% of a sample of bilinguals questioned about their attitudes to such language mixture were strongly disapproving of it, their comments suggesting that they associated it with lack of education, carelessness, affectation and lack of identity» (Bentahila, 1983: 283). He further suggests that, this attitude is also common among many North African writers who consider CS as a sign of ignorance performed by only those who have a poor education and a lack of mastery in terms of languages, and that the well-educated people do not use this kind of speech (Bentahila, 1983).

Some studies even linked the use of CS to language attrition (cf. de Bot, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 1998; Halmari, 2005) assuming that when the use of a native language decreases due to the dominance of a foreign one, this can lead to native language attrition.

Regardless the different attitudes towards CS (either favourable or unfavourable), many studies on the other hand (cf. Auer, 1984; Gumperz, 1982; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1993) revealed that CS is far less to be considered as an indication of language incompetence, or a threat of language attrition, but rather a conscious act made by bilingual speakers to fulfill certain communicative needs.

2.3.2.1. CS as a Communicative Strategy

Though CS might be considered as a corrupt form of language or even a stigma, many studies have revealed the opposite, suggesting that CS is a conscious act, rather than a random choice made by bilingual speakers to serve certain communicative functions. Among the most influential studies in this field, is Gumperz's (1982) conversational CS, where he addressed this issue and suggests different social functions that CS may serve in a bilingual interaction mainly quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification, and personalization versus objectivization. The same case for Myers-Scotton's Markedness model (1993), which is also evidence that CS is socially-motivated rather than a random act; and that it is a rational choice made by bilingual speakers to negotiate certain social roles.

a. Gumperz's Conversational CS

In his book *Discourse Strategies* (1982), Gumperz tried to answer back the various critics he received over restricting CS to either situational or metaphorical, neglecting other important functions or motivations that trigger code switching. He suggested the term conversational CS instead, that is governed by social functions, which he named as follows: quotations, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration, message qualification and personalization versus objectivization (p: 75-84).

- **The Function of Quotations**

According to Gumperz (1982) People may code switch from one language to another in a conversation to report or quote what another person has said; this is what he calls the function of Quotations. The speaker in this case chooses to code switch in order to make a difference between what s/he is saying and what another person has said (Gumperz, 1982). For example in a conversation, a Moroccan speaker might be

talking in MA but inserts the reported words of another person in French to emphasize that it is a quote and not her/his own words, though the reported sentence might not be originally said in French; in this regard, Gumperz (1982) notes that when a person is being quoted the quotation is not always in the language the person normally uses.

- Addressee Specification

In a conversation, a person might switch to another language, in order to include another person in the conversation or direct his/her message to him/ her, especially if the addressee talks a different language and does not understand what the conversation is about (Gumperz 1982). For example: two young Amazigh native speakers are talking in Amazigh and one of them switches to MA to include a third speaker, who does not know Amazigh, in the conversation (Gumperz 1982). However, addressee specification can also be used to exclude someone by switching to a language no one else in the group knows apart from the speaker and to whom s/he directs his/her message. (Gumperz 1982)

- Interjection

This function has the same meaning as “tag- switching” (Romaine 1995: 162). It occurs when a person inserts a tag to the conversation “to mark an interjection or serve as sentence fillers” (Gumpez, 1982: 77-78).

- Reiteration

CS, in this function, appears when the speaker reiterates or repeats a message or part of a conversation in another language. This reiteration, according to Gumperz (1982), may serve clarification, when the message is not clear for the addressee, or when the speaker seeks to emphasize a point or give more details about it. This function,

in a way, could be considered also as ‘metaphorical switching’ since in both cases people might switch from one language to another in order to put more emphasis on a certain point in the conversation. (Example: A teacher of English at class may sometimes switch to French or Arabic to make an expression or an idea clearer to his pupils).

- Message Qualification

Message qualification means: “qualifying something that has been previously said” Gumperz (1982: 79). For example: when a teacher introduces a topic to his students in French, then gives some clarifications in MA and continues its elaboration in French. CS here, somehow, serves the same function of reiteration both are used for the same purpose, which is clarification.

- Marking Personalization/ Objectivization

In this case, CS may occur to mark personalization versus objectivization. According to Gumperz:

The code contrast here seems to relate to such things as: the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact. These things are in turn encoded in code choices. (1982: 80)

For example, two Moroccan parents are discussing the addiction of young people to social networking sites in French, one of them switch to MA to talk about the problems he/she is facing with his/her own son because of this addiction. We can notice here, that both speakers were discussing the issue of social media addiction, however, when one of them felt involved in the subject s/he switches to his/her mother tongue to

express his own opinion and evoke more personal details about his son.

b. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton's (1993) markedness model is considered among the most influential theories on code-switching, that provided a general theoretical model that can explain the socio-psychological motivations for CS in all multilingual communities where code-switching is a natural phenomenon (Cited in J. Blommaert, M. Meewis: 1994). Unlike many previous studies, which attempted "to simply offer taxonomic descriptions, often using open-ended lists of possible functions of code switching (cited in Davies, 1996), and these functions are often not clearly explained or defined, sometimes "one function may appear to overlap with another" (Davies, 1996), and frequently focus on individual interactions rather than on seeking general patterns. They often relate language choice directly to situational factors, rather than other important factors which are, for Myers-Scotton, choices made by speakers themselves; thus, the model is speaker-centred rather than only situation-oriented (Myers-Scotton, 1995).

Based on her data drawn from her own field work conducted in Kenyan and Zimbabwean urban settings, she suggests that all speakers in multilingual countries tend to constantly switch between codes or languages, and that they all have a sense of markedness regarding the languages they use in different contexts with different interlocutors. (J. Blommaert, M. Meewis: 1994)

According to Scotton's markedness model, "speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/ or relation with others which they wish to have in place» (Myers-Scotton, 1995: 75). It also focuses on the notion of CS as low-level proficiency in the second language, taking into consideration situations where speakers

tend to switch from one code to another only because they lack proficiency in one of the codes.

Therefore, she claims that: “language users are rational, and choose to speak a language that clearly marks their rights and obligations, relative to other speakers, in the conversation and its setting” (Myers-scotton. 1995:89). According to the latter, the concept of right-and-obligations or RO sets, mentioned in the statement, has to do with the expectations and attitudes of participants in a certain interaction. Each code used in a certain community is assumed to index a specific RO set, and therefore to invoke, somewhat, different relations between speaker and addressee (cited in Davies: 1996). Thus, the relationship between the code choice and RO set is not an arbitrary one, but rather governed by a set of rules that may change according to relationship between speakers.

In the same regard, Myers-Scotton suggests that the speakers have a kind of indexicality towards the choice of language; she gave the example of the status of French in Morocco, which is a post-colonial language that indexes prestige, and socio-economic advancement. Thus, a Moroccan speaker may sometimes resort to French, in his/her ordinary conversations, as a strategy to appear more modern and highly educated. It is very common among Moroccans to use French-MA code-switching as an unmarked choice since according to Myers-Scotton: “colonial languages have been institutionalized as the unmarked medium of status-raising activities such as higher education, inter-ethnic communication between the highly educated, business and governmental interactions especially with foreign nationals” (Myers-Scotton, 1993:120). MA, on the other hand, may index solidarity among Moroccan native speakers.

Besides indexicality, Myers-scotton (1993) also mentioned the concept of rationality, as she claimed that all speakers are rational actors, they make rational choices vis-à-vis the languages they use, as they may favour one language over another depending on the context where the conversation takes place, as well as their relationship with their interlocutors.

Thus, when speakers choose the unmarked codes, they generally answer what is expected and predictable in the norms of their community, however when their choice of codes becomes marked, they rather tend to violate the norms of their community by resorting to an unexpected language choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

The markedness model generally suggests four possible motivations for CS. These motivations are as follows: the unmarked choice maxim, made due to changes in social and situational factors, CS as an unmarked choice which is considered the expected choice in a certain bilingual interaction, CS as a marked choice to opt for a new RO set as well as to renegotiate social distance between speakers, and finally CS as an exploratory choice when the speaker is not sure of the most suitable language choice to be made.

- The unmarked choice maxim

The unmarked choice maxim CS is made by the speaker due to changes in the situation (either in terms of the interlocutor, setting, or topic) where the conversation takes place. This choice happens in two circumstances, the first circumstance is called the sequential unmarked CS, which is made in response to changes in the situation. It is similar to Gumperz's (1972) situational code-switching where the switch from one language to another is triggered by the change in the situation; the second circumstance where a speaker chooses to switch from one language to another simply to report or

quote what has been said by another person (Myers-scotton, 1993). This motivation or code choice is also similar to Gumperz's (1982) description of CS for quotation.

- CS as an unmarked choice

The second possible motivation is when CS itself constitutes the unmarked choice for certain types of interaction. CS is considered as an unmarked or safe choice when it is more or less expected in a particular type of interaction that is determined by factors other than the conversation content such as social and situational settings (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 77). This choice is made when, for example, people switch from one language to another in a desire to show two sides of their personality or two identities. This is the case with young Moroccans, for example, when they use both French and MA, in the same utterance of speech, French, which represents them as modern and educated, whereas the MA symbolizes their national identity.

Myers-scotton claims that speakers using “unmarked code-switching must be peers, not strangers or of different status, though they need not necessarily be highly proficient in both languages”. In this regard, she suggests that sequential unmarked switching is “typically realized by inter-sentential switching” whereas switching as the unmarked choice “may more typically include a good deal of intra-sentential switching” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 125).

- CS as a Marked Choice

The third social motivation suggested by Myers-Scotton is code-switching as a marked choice, “where speakers use switching to signal that they wish to instigate a change in the RO set, for instance by modifying the way the speaker is perceived by the addressee or altering the relationship between the two” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 130).

This code choice is similar to Gumperz's metaphorical code switching, as well as addressee specification function of code switching (1982), where a speaker switch from one code to another when s/he wants either to include someone in the conversation "to introduce a more solidary tone" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 131) or exclude him/her for not being proficient in the language of to simply "signal a more distant stance" (Myers-Scotton, 1993 : 131). In this regard, Myers-scotton, in one of her articles, states:

Marked choices inherently are potential sources of costs (in comparison with unmarked choices that largely validate the status quo). However, these marked choices also are the means for speakers to "step outside the box" of one set of values and embrace another set. Therefore, marked choices are the means of self-expression, for example, the means to negotiate new identities or multiply existing ones. (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 205-206)

From the above-mentioned quote, it is presumed that when CS as a marked choice is unpredictable, through which the speakers seek to disregard all the expectations, this gives them more freedom to choose any code they want at any time without being restricted to any social or situational factors of a certain conversation. Speakers may engage in code-switching as the marked choice, whereby they reject the expected RO set, wishing to establish a new RO set as unmarked for a specific communicative exchange (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

- The Use of CS as an Exploratory Choice

The last possible suggested motivation is CS as an exploratory choice, which is considered by Myers-Scotton as "a strategy of neutrality" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 147). A speaker might seek refuge in this choice when s/he is not sure which code s/he is going to use in a certain interaction. When there is no obvious unmarked choice,

speakers switch from one variety to another to explore new possible language choices (Davies, 1996). According to Myers-Scotton this choice of language may arise in some instances “where a speaker lacks sufficient knowledge of the addressee to be able to make a decisive choice about the appropriate RO set” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 147).

In addition to Myers-scotton’s social motivations, some studies showed that factors, such as age, level of education and level of proficiency could be considered as extra-linguistic motivations behind the use of CS. For example, in a study conducted by Bentahila & Davies (1992) investigating the CS patterns between two groups of Moroccan bilinguals, which brought them to the conclusion that the use of CS by bilingual speakers is controlled by extra-linguistic factors, such as age of the subjects under study along with their level of education, and the dominant language of their interactions as well as the type of CS used.

Bentahila & Davies (1992) found out that, variables such as age, educational background and level of proficiency are very important factors determining the language choice among their samples. As the first group of their samples included older generation balanced bilinguals who were highly educated, mainly received their education where Morocco was still colonized or right after independence, which means that French was the major language of their education, and they have an equal command of both French and MA. The second group was made up of Arabic-dominant younger bilinguals who are considered highly educated as well, but received their education after independence mainly during the implementation of Arabization policy, and received much of the subjects in Arabic instead of French (Bentahila & Davies, 1992).

Bentahila & Davies (1992) remarked striking differences between the two groups in terms of frequency and types of the code-switches used in the conversations

they recorded, and assumed that these differences were due to variations in terms of age, educational background (older bilinguals received French education whereas younger bilinguals received more or less Arabic one), and level of proficiency, which was manifested through the type of preferred CS as well as the dominant language in the conversation. They found that older bilinguals preferred switching inter-sententially, where the dominant language is French, whereas the younger bilinguals preferred intra-sentential CS where conversation's main language was MA with the insertion of French lexical items, and this insertion mainly served the function of availability, as most of the inserted French words or expressions were technical ones (Bentahila & Davies, 1992)

In the same regard, Myers-Scotton (1990) suggests that the use of inter-sentential CS is a sign of balanced bilingualism whereas intra-sentential or extra-sentential CS is a sign of bilinguals' inability to fully express themselves in one of the languages they code-switch to. Similarly, Myers-Scotton claims: "the ML is generally the language in which speakers have the higher proficiency" (1990, p. 66 cited in Bentahila & Davies. 1992). She suggests that the matrix language is "generally the more dominant language in the community in terms of the number of domains in which it is the more unmarked choice" (cited in Bentahila & Davies. 1992). Myers-scotton's definition of the matrix language is clear evidence that the use of a language as a matrix or dominant language requires speakers to be highly proficient in that language, and that this language gradually becomes their unmarked code choice. Thus, she assumed as well that there is a direct link between the level of language proficiency and types of CS used by speakers.

However, not all scholars, who investigated the link between CS and language proficiency, shared the same opinion with Myers-Scotton (1990) and Bentahila & Davies (1992) concerning the use of inter-sentential CS as a sign of language competency. For example, Poplack (1980)'s study of Puerto Ricans suggested that the most balanced bilinguals used intra-sentential CS whereas the less proficient ones opted for intersentential, tags and intra-word switches. Poplack came to the conclusion that given the fact that "intra-sentential CS is the most complex type of CS, it requires bilingual speakers to have sufficient knowledge of the grammars of both languages" (Poplack, 1980: 182). Therefore, and according to Poplack (1980), the more a speaker is proficient in both languages, the more he/she can code-switch from one language to another within a single sentence or clause.

CS in Gumperz's conversational CS (1982) and Myers-scotton's (1993) markedness model is interpreted as a conscious act that is governed by a set of RO and that serves many communicative functions. Although this may be true, in other studies CS was not considered as a communicative strategy but rather a sign of language attrition. The next section seeks to shed light on this issue, with an attempt to identify the possible factors that may lead to language attrition due to CS.

2.3.2.2. CS as an Indication of Language attrition

Many studies have directly linked CS to language attrition, especially in immigration contexts (cf. Halmari, 2005; de Bot & Clyne, 1994), suggesting that when immigrants are no more in contact with their native language, this latter gradually starts to diminish and get replaced by the second language that becomes their sole means of communication wherever they go. Only few studies have reported the loss of first

language in a native environment (Boikanyego, 2014) due to the dominance of a foreign language.

In the Moroccan context, it is hard to determine whether language attrition is taking place or not, as MA is still considered the dominant language of almost all Moroccans. However, the impact of French language is so deep on the Moroccan society, and this is reflected through the constant use of French-Moroccan Arabic code switching.

The Moroccan code switchers might favor one language over another or even one identity over another depending on different factors sometimes depending on the situation where a conversation takes place, or the topic of the conversation, or even depending on the persons to whom they speak. However, in many times they may unconsciously switch from MA to French without even knowing that they are doing so. This can be due to the deep influence that French colonialism exerted on them. This unconscious act might in some cases be interpreted as a sign of language loss or attrition where many native words and expressions disappear due to the increasing shift to a foreign language.

a. Definition of Language attrition

Language shift, language loss, language death, language obsolescence language endangerment, language extinction, all these terms refer to the same concept, which is language attrition; a term that will be adopted throughout this research. Language attrition can happen when a language (especially an indigenous language) is no more spoken by a certain group of people or a nation as a whole, or when the number of its speakers is declining with time under varying conditions (Crawford, 1996). One can also talk about language loss when a majority language exerts a kind of pressure on a

minority language, which consequently leads to its disappearance (Lam & Beck, 2003).

Another term is suggested by Denison (1977) who first introduced the concept of language attrition under the term ‘language suicide’ or ‘linguistic suicide’ (cited in Lam & Beck, 2003). Regardless his choice of the term ‘suicide’, he argues that languages have no will of their own and cannot make a suicide and kill themselves. He further explained that a language suicide is caused due to the reduction of its functions mainly by the speakers and not because of internal linguistic phenomena (Cited in Lam & Beck, 2003)

b. Factors behind language attrition

In Morocco, one cannot talk about real language attrition, since it is still spoken by the majority, and cannot easily be dead. However, there is a big risk of reduction of its use mainly through code switching due to many factors notably colonialism and ‘Westernization’. According to Errihani: “The competition between French and Arabic is increasing at every level, even in the most intimate domains, such as among family and friends”; in other words, French is overtaking Arabic, and its hegemony is expected to soon become more widespread despite what the official discourses might claim (Errihani, 2008: 427). Thus, given the huge gap between French and MA in terms of status of French, Moroccans are now more eager to include French in their everyday interactions as a sign of modernity and prestige. Many MA words and expressions are now replaced by French ones and become part of the Moroccan linguistic repertoire. This shift from MA to French in many domains even in ordinary conversations is expected to lead to language attrition.

Studies on language attrition (cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987; Lam & Beck, 2003) found that extra-linguistic variables such as economic, social class, age, level of education and level of proficiency are responsible for language attrition.

- *Economic Factor*

Appel and Muysken (1987:33) claim that economic status is “a prominent factor in nearly all studies on language maintenance and shift”; in a way, that if a language is not helpful in making a living then it will become useless and may eventually vanish.

For example, in Morocco, using French is associated with academic achievement and economic status. Most monolinguals speaking only Moroccan Arabic or Amazigh, who are not proficient in French or English, find themselves at a very weak position, since fluency in foreign languages, especially French, is a prerequisite in the job market. As a result, these people find no job opportunities or if they are lucky to find some, they will be only semi-skilled or unskilled jobs, and as a consequence they find themselves in “the lower level of the economic echelon” (Ayan, 2015: 116). Given the high status that French enjoys in the Moroccan economic spheres, Moroccan individuals are all eager to learn this language and integrate it not only in their professional interactions but also in ordinary ones. This integration of French expressions and words might in some cases be at the expense of the maintenance of their MA.

- *Social Class Factor*

Dennison (1977) argues that linguistic suicide or language loss occurs, when an older generation of speakers deliberately chooses to teach a foreign language to their children instead of their native language, henceforth, they intentionally interrupt the

transmission of their language to the next generation (cited in Lam & Beck, 2003). Especially those belonging to upper or middle classes in Morocco, who consider French as a language of modernity and advancement, and do not put much emphasis in transmitting their mother tongue language to their children, considering it a useless language; in this sense Dennison notes that:

There comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low- prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, and education. The languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier functional domains, displaced by higher prestige languages, until there is nothing left for them to be used about. In this sense they may be said to “commit suicide”. (Denison 1977: 21 as cited in Lam & Beck, 2003)

In other words, a person is well perceived if s/he talks French, s/he is perceived as classy and well educated. This perspective is very common among parents belonging to upper and middle social classes in Morocco, as they put more emphasis on teaching French to their children from an early age instead of Moroccan Arabic. Parents choose not to transmit their language to the younger generation, as it is considered a low prestige language and too poor to be of any use. This rejection causes the reduction of the use of Moroccan Arabic, which may gradually leads to its loss.

- *Age Factor*

Another important factor causing the loss of language is age. The reduction of the use of language might not be blamed only on parents, as previously mentioned, who

refuse to fully transmit their native language to their children, considering it as a low-prestige language and put more emphasis on making them acquire foreign languages instead, but also on young children, who themselves reject the native language unintentionally by adopting a higher prestige peer language in their daily activities. (Lam & Beck, 2003)

Because of westernization, which is a by-product of globalization, most young Moroccans shift to foreign languages, on a daily basis, many foreign words, especially in terms of French become part of the everyday verbal interactions of this category; mainly those who desire to succeed in professional careers, they often identify with non-Moroccan role models (Crawford, 1996). They identify themselves more with the Western culture and lifestyle, considering the West as a prototype of success and advancement.

According to Crawford (1996: 45) “fluency in the language increases with age, as the younger generation prefers to speak another (usually the dominant societal) tongue”, this may produce a whole generation of imperfect native speakers who downsize their mother tongue and give more value to foreign languages. Consequently, they fail at preserving and transmitting the linguistic heritage of their country to the next generation, which may lead to the disappearance of many native language words and expressions. Thus, one can say that language change in Morocco is mainly caused by the young generation who are introducing new words and concepts that are not part of the Moroccan culture through the process of code switching. In fact, “this phenomenon is becoming a natural and vital practice in the Moroccan society” (Mahdad, 2014: 17).

c. Signs of Language Attrition based on Myers-Scotton's Matrix language

Turnover Hypothesis

Based on the Matrix Language turnover hypothesis, Myers-scotton (1998) traces some signs of language attrition due to CS among which she mentioned: the shift in terms of dominance from the speaker's L1 to L2, unbalanced bilingualism, which is marked by the constant use of composite CS where the dominant language or ML in this type is the second language of the speaker rather than his/her native language; and finally, the use of CS as the marked choice among bilinguals through which they tend to change the expected RO set.

- *Second Language Dominance*

According to Myers-scotton (1998), when CS becomes as a sign of language attrition in a community, a shift occurs from the use of monolingual clauses in the speaker's L1 to intra-sentential CS with L1 as ML to intra-sentential CS with L2 as ML to monolingual clauses in L2 (Myers-Scotton, 1998 as cited in Joan Smith/Kocamahhul, 2003: 133). That it to say, at the other end of the continuum from CS to language attrition, attriters may shift from the use of their mother tongue as the dominant language of their bilingual interactions to a foreign language instead. This shift, in many cases, leads to the reduction of use of the speaker's L1, which may eventually cause the disappearance of a great deal of native words and expressions.

- *Unbalanced bilingualism*

Another sign of language attrition due to CS is, according to Myers-Scotton (1998) the unbalanced bilingualism, when bilingual speakers do not have an equal command of their two languages. This unbalanced bilingualism is manifested through

the constant use of intra-sentential CS with L2 as the ML, assuming that “speakers who engage in inter-sentential CS have notably the ability to produce correct clauses in both languages, should equally be able to produce a series of monolingual clauses, and eventually a monolingual discourse in both languages” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 73 cited in Joan Smith/ Kocamahhul, 2003: 124).

As previously mentioned, the use of inter-sentential CS is defined by Myers-Scotton as ‘classic’ CS, where speakers are equally proficient in both languages (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 297), and, therefore, could not necessarily lead to language attrition. In other words, the only type of code-switching that is deemed as problematic, according to Myers-Scotton, and may eventually lead to language attrition is the composite CS that entails many intra-sentential code switches with L2 as the dominant language. However, speakers who use classic CS, represented through the use of predominantly inter-sentential code switches, are considered balanced bilinguals, and can produce correct utterances in either language, as they have equal command of both languages and are also able to preserve both languages.

- *CS as a Marked Choice*

Myers-Scotton (1998) considers the use of CS as a marked choice in a certain bilingual community as a sign of language attrition. She argues that if CS is the unmarked choice among bilinguals, that would denote that “there is some stability in the codes available to speakers” and that it is a neutral code choice among bilinguals, by which they try to exhibit dual memberships within one interaction to “index those memberships simultaneously” (Joan Smith/ Kocamahhul, 2003: 92-93). This is the case for many Moroccans who tend to appear modern and educated through the use of French while preserving their Moroccan national identity by using MA. To put it

differently, when CS is not a normal and accepted behavior among speakers it would probably be considered as a threat of speakers' native language attrition.

Conclusion

In short, despite the different attitudes towards CS, this phenomenon is today gaining ground in Morocco, as it becomes part of the daily speech of a huge number of Moroccans. The insertion of French words and expressions in the Moroccan individual's verbal interactions, gives the impression that s/he is modern, educated and belonging to a higher social class. This kind of language is very common among young Moroccans, and considered as a sophisticated way of communicating, especially in social networking sites mainly Facebook, where there is more freedom of expression far from any prejudices and social conventions. In the following section, more light will be shed on the use of CS in CMC mainly in the young Moroccans' Facebook interactions.

3. Code-Switching in Computer-Mediated Communication

Introduction

Computer-mediated communication or electronic language is the way people interact with each other virtually via the Internet. This language has for some transcended the traditional ways of writing, as it is full of spelling and grammar mistakes, abbreviations and acronyms. However, it is widely spread among young people all over the world, including young Moroccans, especially in social networking sites like Facebook. By the use of language of the Internet, young Moroccans feel more freedom of expression, as they find themselves in platforms where they can write whatever they want without being restricted to the rules and conventions of language. This freedom of expression was behind the creation of a new youth jargon, through which young Moroccans attempt to describe and criticise, in a sarcastic manner, their society as well as their everyday life. Besides the introduction of a new jargon, the Moroccan Facebook is where more instances of code switching occur, as there is a huge use of CS between Moroccan Arabic and French sometimes with the insertion of some English expressions and acronyms.

3.1. Definition of Computer-mediated Communication

Computer Mediated Communication or CMC means the way people communicate or use language on the Internet. Scholars in this field tried to study and investigate the way people interact with each other via electronic devices, for example: computers, or mobile phones. Susan Herring, one of the scholars interested in the field of CMC, suggested a definition to this term: “CMC is communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers” (Herring, 1996: 1 cited in Thurlow & Lengel & Tomic, 2004: 15).

Another definition is suggested by John Recamber (1997), which is that computer mediated communication means when different people in different contexts are communicating with each other through computers (cited in Thurlow & Lengel & Tomic, 2004). They share their different experiences, and different views about the world, they try to use a common language that is understood by everybody and which would make their communication easy and fluid.

Some scholars suggest other terms, which have the same meaning as CMC. For example Crystal (2006: 19) suggested the term ‘Netspeak’ or ‘Netlish’ and ‘Weblish’ these last two expressions are derived from the term ‘English’ probably to show that this concept has the same importance and value as the international language which is English. There are also other terms suggested, such as “Internet language” or “language of the internet” “cyberspeak” “electronic discourse” “electronic language” (Crystal, 2006: 17). All these expressions will be used interchangeably throughout this chapter.

Crystal considers that “Netspeak is the biggest revolution in language ever, and that it is not a monolithic creation, but rather a disparate set of communication methods

and types such as e-mails, chatrooms, Internet Relay Chat, World Wide Web pages, websites, etc” (Cited in Naza-ryan & Gridchin, 2006: 28). He assumes that, the electronic language is a new way of communicating, which is completely different from the traditional forms of language. He sees it as « a genuine third medium » (Crystal, 2006: 52) besides the written and oral forms of English, which is developing its specific rules that fit the needs of everybody (either illiterate or literate, young or old, etc.).

3.2. Attitudes towards Computer-mediated Communication

For many people net discourse or CMC is nothing but “linguistic vandalism” or “illiterate online expression” (Naza-ryan & Gridchin, 2006: 26), where almost all the systematic rules of language are broken, either in terms of grammar or spelling. Regardless of this fact, many others consider the Internet as “a more interactive and dynamic world”, they assume that the language in the electronic space is employed by real people from different backgrounds “whose output is largely unedited by proofreaders or publishers, unlike the library” (Naza-ryan & Gridchin, 2006: 25). Therefore, thanks to CMC, interacting with other people online becomes much easier and more practical than offline.

People, who are interacting online, try to explore new possibilities of expression, “introducing fresh combinations of elements, and reacting to technological developments. It seems to be in a permanent state of transition, lacking precedent, struggling for standards, and searching for direction” (Crystal, 2006: 16). In other words, thanks to CMC, people become very creative and innovative in terms of the language used in virtual platforms. Besides, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has introduced features that are those of the oral language used in the everyday verbal interactions (Werry, 1996; Yates, 1996 cited in Palfreyman & Al Khalil, 2003)

Similarly, Spitzer (1986: 19) suggests that CMC is “talking in writing” (cited in Herring, 1996). In other words, people, in order to feel comfortable while interacting online, they try to imitate the way they talk in their real life, away from all the linguistic rules and conventions, in order to get rid of all the possible obstacles that could make their interactions difficult.

There is a popular argument which is supported by early scholars of CMC assuming that CMC is “poor-quality communication” where linguistic rules are broken and the body language is absent, compared “to face-to-face (FTF) communication” CMC is “impoverished, impersonal, ineffectual and emotionally cold” (Thurlow & Lengel & Tomic, 2004: 47).

Crystal largely dismisses the common view that online communication is illiterate and dumbed-down language. He agrees that much of it is non-standard, playful, highly deviant in bending the usual rules of language, tolerant of typographic and spelling errors, and full of new words. But he is fascinated by its variety and innovation and takes a very positive view, suggesting that “the phenomenon of Netspeak is going to change the way we think about language in a fundamental way, because it is a linguistic singularity – a genuine new medium” (Crystal, 2006: 272).

3.3. Computer- Mediated Communication Vs Paper-Based Communication

There are many distinctions between computer mediated communication and ‘paper-based communication’ or the formal form of language that is taught at school. First, unlike ‘paper-based communication’, CMC is a new phenomenon and people have not been using it for a very long time. Second and as previously mentioned, this

kind of language has been created by ordinary people and it is similar to the way they interact with each other in real life. Thus, people write whatever comes to their mind without paying attention to grammatical or spelling rules.

Paper-based communication, on the other hand, is taught to everybody from a very early age. Children from the elementary level learn how to write, what are the rules to abide by, the difference between formal and informal language and what kind of language the person is supposed to employ in what circumstance. These rules are found in books and manuals, which everybody can have access to, so there is no ambiguity over this language. Taking for example letter-writing, people know that there are formulaes that are required in the opening and closing of letters (Dear Sir, Madam, Yours faithfully, yours Sincerely), where to put the name of the receiver, the address and date, and how to break the text into paragraphs; people who have been exposed to this kind of knowledge for a long time, master it and use it “confidently without thinking, and on occasion, as in informal letter-writing” (Crystal, 2006: 16).

3.4. The New Forms of Language developed through Computer-Mediated Communication

New forms of language have been developed thanks to the regular use of CMC. Some of these are “syntactically-reduced forms” of language such as, acronyms (for example: ‘*lol*’= laugh out loud ‘*thx*’= thanks) which play on variations of words (for example: ‘*bae*’ = baby, ‘*latah*’= later »), graphical icons that represent emotions, called emoticons (Naza-ryan & Gridchin, 2006: 26) (for example: ☺) by this emoticon the sender tries to show that he is smiling or happy, and as it obvious in this emoticon ☹, the sender wants to express his sadness. According to Crystal: “Emoticons, also referred to as smileys, derived from the hybrid of ‘emotion’ and ‘icon’, and are either composed

of punctuation characters or of graphical symbols. They somehow compensate for the missing visual and paralinguistic cues that are necessary in communication (as previously stated). They help online communication users communicate and transmit their feelings and express their attitudes so that the communication between them will be effective and unambiguous (Crystal, 2006). All these forms of language could not see light without the creation of electronic communication (Huffaker & Calvert, 2005); they are considered by some scholars (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2013) very practical in online conversations, since “they reduce the time and effort necessary to communicate” (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 674).

3.5. Modes of CMC

3.5.1. Asynchronous CMC

Asynchronous text-based computer-mediated communication whereby people communicate at a different time via the internet, for example by emails; and the receiver of the email does not need to be online at the same time, s/he may respond to the message whenever s/he can. This feature of asynchronous CMC makes CMC more similar to the traditional text-based communication (Hard af Segerstad, 2002: 4).

Asynchronous computer mediated communication allows network users to give more importance to their message writing, trying as much as possible to avoid grammar and spelling errors (especially if the sent email is a professional one) reviewing their message before sending it to the recipient (Heisler & Crabill, 2006). This valuable property of asynchronous online communication demonstrates no difference between text-based CMC (for example: emails) and the traditional text-based communication (example: letters). However, there are other online platforms where network users

employ this kind of CMC, such as forum discussions, comments on some posts in social networking sites (for example: comments on Facebook or Instagram, leaving some tweets in Twitter) where the language use, in some instances, could be informal or less correct unlike in formal emails.

3.5.2. Synchronous CMC

Synchronous CMC is where people communicate online at the same time with other network users via chat or discussion softwares. Both parties (the sender and the receiver of the message) should be active in “producing a discussion”; it is “an interactive mode of communicating (Hård af Segerstad, 2002: 4). This immediate interactivity of CMC makes it, to some extent, like the spoken language (Hård af Segerstad, 2002: 4) or FTF communication; given the fact that synchronous CMC or SCMC shares the same features with FTF communication, the language used in both are informal forms. (Keiko, 2006)

3.6. The Use of CMC by Young Moroccans

3.6.1. Communication via Facebook

Regardless what many people think of CMC in terms of quality of writing and expression, it is still considered as a refuge to many young people, since they find themselves in a virtual world free from all the rules and conventions that are imposed by society. They have more opportunities to express their beliefs, concerns, desires and dislikes with like-minded people. As Spritzer (1986) mentioned, communicating in social networking sites is like “talking in writing” (cited in Herring, 1996), thus, in order to feel more comfortable, young people chose to simply imitate the way they interact with each other in their everyday verbal communications.

Facebook has become one of the most popular social networking sites and the most used among young people. People in such platforms can easily establish new friendships and relationships, keep in touch with old friends and family members, create group discussions and pages, triggering different subjects related to society, politics, religion, education, so on and so forth, posting personal photos and information, even discussing subjects that are considered as taboo in their own societies.

The easy access to Facebook via smartphones has made the process of chatting and browsing even easier and time saving, users can get logged in anytime and everywhere, at home, in class, etc. In general, Facebook “has opened new paths of communicating far from the real world where young people live, in addition, it has broken the barriers of distance, age, ethnicity and religion” (Kaid Slimane, 2014: 14). Therefore, People from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds have the possibility of meeting and talking via Facebook without giving much consideration to their differences (Kaid Slimane, 2014).

Among the features of Facebook is Facebook status updates, where people post their personal thoughts and feelings. This feature makes the users employ any language they prefer in order to transmit their feelings to their Facebook community. Thereafter, it is very common to see an informal form of language full of grammar and spelling mistakes, with a lot of abbreviations, acronyms, as well as emoticons or smilyes (Nur Syazwani & Maros, 2014). This corresponds to what Herring thinks of such practices, as for him they “result from the users’ intention to economise on typing effort, mimic spoken language features, or express themselves creatively” (Herring, 2001: 617 cited in Nur Syazwani & Maros, 2014: 128).

3.6.2. The Development of New Urban Youth Terminology via Facebook

Apart from abbreviations, acronyms and emoticons, communication through Facebook has led to the creation and spread of many innovative expressions. These expressions have grown in popularity and become widespread among the young generation (Al Shlowiy, 2014). According to Thurlow (2003: 1), these newly established expressions compose a unique linguistic style that is “reinventing conventional linguistic and communicative practices” (cited in Al Shlowiy, 2014: 456).

In Morocco, this new language or terminology has become the ordinary way of speaking of many young people; it makes them sound cool and open-minded. They have created words that only their Facebook community can understand. Some words are derived from the jargon of the Internet and Facebook and adopted even to offline conversations, and others were created for the first time outside the Facebook sphere but become more widely spread due to their regular use on Facebook. Some of the most used new urban youth expressions in Morocco: ‘*ʕniba*’ ‘*Bouzebbal*’ ‘*Moustasha*’ ‘*Kilimini*’ ‘*Titīza*’ ‘*Tcharmīl*’.

- ‘*ʕniba*’: this term has a pejorative meaning as it is said to a boy who has some feminine features, most girls love him and befriend him for his soft heart and also to tell him about their love stories with their boyfriends and ask his advice. Girls never think of him as a boyfriend or lover.
- ‘*Moustasha*’ or ‘*Moustashat*’: this word is derived from the French word « Moustache », it refers to girls with mustaches, which means ugly girls.
- ‘*Bouzebbal*’: this term started as an online cartoon character created by *Mohammed Nassib*, a young blogger who chose this character to sarcastically

criticise many political and social issues and problems faced by young people in Morocco, especially those belonging to lower class, people who dropped out of school and face bad conditions of living and as a consequence feel marginalized from the society as a whole. The term '*bouzebal*' is derived from the Moroccan word '*zbel*' which means trash, bouzebal is considered as trash, s/he finds difficulty to be accepted as a member of the society. (Znaïdi, 2012) The term '*Bouzebbal*' is now losing its real meaning amongst young Facebook users as it becomes more pejorative, it stands for the less significant, the propertiless, and the vulgar person (Chentoufi, 2016)

- '*Kilimīni*': a person belonging to an upper-class family, studying in a private school, good-looking, usually speaks French, is the opposite character of '*bouzebbal*'.
- '*Mshrmel*' or '*Tsharmīl*': Refers to Moroccan youngsters taking pride in posting their photos on Facebook, carrying dangerous weapons, or displaying stolen money and property (Bennis, 2014). This phenomenon was banished by law, and serious legal actions were taken against anyone posting such photos. Now it refers more to dangerous criminals and vandals.
- '*Titīza*': is said to a beautiful girl. The plural is '*Titīz*'

In general, CMC through Facebook is for most young Moroccans an opportunity to express themselves creatively, talk about their problems and concerns, and transmit their beliefs and perception of things to their society. They established a new jargon that is adapted to their needs as young people, by which they can freely and implicitly criticize the social, economic and political issues of their country. Words such as '*Bouzebal*' and '*Kilimini*' are but an implicit way to criticize the huge gap and

inequality between social classes in Morocco. While ‘*bouzebbal*’ stands for lower-working-class people who strive for a decent living, ‘*kilimini*’ on the other hand represents the upper-class, people born with a silver spoon in their mouth, who harshly exploit the poor ones. As for the ‘Tsharmil’ phenomenon, this can be interpreted as a desire to show a kind of transgression of the rules. It is a message, from young Moroccans who are experiencing miserable conditions of living, to the whole society that they also exist and have no fear of making their criminal side obvious to everybody, including higher authorities.

3.6.3. The Use of Code-Switching in Facebook

Besides the introduction of a new urban youth jargon on Facebook, it is now also becoming a “rich site of multilingualism and CS” (Androutsopoulos, 2013: 187). The most widespread type of code switching in Facebook is that between French and Moroccan Arabic, sometimes with the insertion of some English words and expressions. However, not all Facebook users switch between languages in their interactions, some prefer to stick to only one language or variety (Nur Syazwan & Maros, 2014). Some instances of the commonly used French and English acronyms in Facebook are as follows:

“Lol”: laugh out loud

‘Plz’: please

‘Bae’: Baby

Dsl: Désolé / Sorry

Bsr: Bonsoir /Good evening

2r1: De rien/ you are welcome

@+: A plus/ See you later

Dac: d'accord/ Ok

The motivations behind the use of such expressions are probably what San (2009), in his study of Chinese-English CS in Chinese English CS in blogs by Macao young people, refers to as CS for the principle of economy. Young people opt for short forms of language which are most of the times acronyms and abbreviations by which they tend to economize the time spent on writing. These expressions are widespread in the young Moroccans' Facebook interactions maybe because they find it more practical and more available in foreign languages like French and English than in Moroccan Arabic.

Besides CS for economy, San (2009) also found that CS for availability was a very common function of CS among his subjects. Facebook users may sometimes resort to a second language other than their native languages mainly to fill lexical gaps especially in terms of CMC vocabulary, which are more available in foreign languages like English and French than in MA; for example: (douzī inbox rani byīt nhder mṣak/ go inbox I need to talk to you).

The insertion of formulaic expressions in a foreign language mainly French and English might also be considered among the motivations behind the use of CS by young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions. These expressions become common among them and are employed on a daily basis as habitual expressions (Malik, 1994), they are often inserted by young Moroccan Facebook users to express different emotions ranging from admire to love, giving compliments, wish a happy birthday, thank

someone, or even to express anger; expressions, such as, *merci bcp* (Thank you so much), happy birthday, *désolé* (I am sorry).

Conclusion

To sum up, CMC is a virtual platform where people can share and acquire information and find people with the same interests. This kind of communication is very useful for everybody (especially young people). Given the fact that the language used is less formal and more familiar makes Moroccan Facebook users feel more comfortable and spontaneous in their interactions. Even though many scholars as well as ordinary people consider it as poor-quality language, and nothing but a linguistic vandalism where linguistic rules and conventions are lost and considered by them as language destruction, it is still perceived by most young Moroccans as an opportunity to freely and creatively express themselves and talk about their concerns and problems. Thanks to virtual platforms such as Facebook, young Moroccans are now able to create a language of their own, via which they have transcended all the linguistic and social rules. They may find in such platforms a refuge from all their concerns.

4. Research Methodology and Design

Introduction

This chapter outlines research methodology adopted during the collection, coding, and analysis of data. It is divided into two main sections. The first section sheds light on the sampling procedures, while the second section mainly describes the research design focusing on data collection and data analysis procedures.

The present research is exploratory in nature as it seeks to investigate and explore from a sociolinguistic perspective the use of CS among young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions, trying to define their attitudes towards such a language. It attempts also to find out the motivations of young Moroccans behind the use of CS in their Facebook interactions, and trace the common types of CS among them as well as its functions in their Facebook comments. The main purpose behind this research is to study the phenomenon of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users and find out whether their constant use of CS in Facebook can be considered, as a communication strategy that serves many functions or it is an indication of Moroccan language attrition. Therefore, both survey questionnaires and online ethnography of Facebook comments are triangulated to test hypotheses as well as to answer research questions, which are as follows:

Quantitative research questions and hypotheses:

Q1: Do the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS in Facebook as an effective communication strategy in Facebook vary by their age, level of education and type of school they attend?

H₁: Age determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy;

H₂: Level of Education determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy;

H₃: Type of school determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy.

Q2: Do the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an indication of language attrition in Facebook vary by their age, level of education and type of school they attend?

H₄: Age determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition;

H₅: level of education determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition;

H₆: Type of school determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition.

Q3: Is there any relationship between frequency of CS use and the use of technology?

H₇: There is an association between frequency of CS use and the use of Facebook via smartphones;

H₈: There is an association between Facebook daily consumption and frequency of CS use in Facebook;

Qualitative research questions:

Q4. What are the general CS patterns adopted by young Moroccan Facebook users in their Facebook comments?

4.1. How frequent is CS among them?

4.2. What are the dominant types of CS in their Facebook comments?

4.3. Does their use of CS serve any communicative functions?

4.4. What are the possible social motivations behind their choice of language?

Q5. Are there any signs of language attrition based on the CS patterns adopted by young Moroccan Facebook users?

Mixed methods research question:

Q6. To what extent do the results achieved from the online ethnography analysis of young Moroccans' Facebook comments help explain their attitudes towards CS?

The first phase of this research is a quantitative exploration of young Moroccans CS practices in Facebook as well as their attitudes towards this kind of language, trying to figure out whether they perceive it as an effective tool of communication that facilitates their interactions in Facebook or they rather consider it a threat of Moroccan language loss.

The second phase is based on a qualitative study of the participants' Facebook comments. The qualitative aspects of the study represent the result of "a desire to observe naturally occurring activities and practices in context" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) mainly through defining the CS patterns adopted by young Moroccans in Facebook, trying to figure out the motivations behind their code switches to better understand their attitudes explored earlier through questionnaires.

4.1. Methodological Approach

Table 1 : Sampling Methods.

Sampling Methods	Population	Representative Sample
Probability sampling	Young Moroccans	151 young Moroccans
Mixed Purposeful sampling (Purposive+Convenience)	Young Moroccan Facebook users	30 young Moroccan Facebook users

4.1.1. Sample Selection

This research comprises two techniques of sample selection, the probability and non-probability purposive sampling. In probability sampling, samples are randomly selected, and everyone in the population has an equal chance of being selected (Creswell, 2009), whereas, for probability sampling technique, the selection of samples is always based upon specific characteristics and assumptions (Tongco, 2007).

Besides probability sampling, this study comprises a mixed purposeful sampling method which is a combination of two techniques of purposeful sampling: purposive and convenience, through which only the most reachable participants who accepted to take part in the qualitative research and share their private data with researcher, were selected. In this research probability sampling technique was employed in the distribution of questionnaires while the non-probability mixed purposive technique was adopted in the selection of online ethnography participants.

4.1.2. Questionnaire Samples

Name of the school/university	Type of School/university	City/region	Number of distributed Questionnaires
Ibn Al Bannaa (secondary school)	Public	Fes	20
Ibn Hazm (High school)	Public	Fes	20
Ibn Toumart (High school)	Public	Casablanca	20
Rameau (High school)	Private	Casablanca	20
Ipep (High school)	Private	Fes	20
la résidence (Secondary school)	Private	Fes	20
Ista Adarissa (Higher Education)	Public	Fes	20
ISTA (Higher Education)	Public	Sidi Kacem	20
ENCG (Higher Education)	Public	Fes	20
Errachidi (Secondary school)	Private	Kenifra	20

la résidence (secondary school)	Private	Fes	20
FST (Higher Education)	Public	Fes	20
Faculty of sais (Higher Education)	Public	Fes	21
Faculty of Dhar mehraz (Higher Education)	Public	Fes	19
Ennahda (Secondary school)	Public	Taza	20
HEC (Higher Education)	Private	Fes	20

Table 2: Questionnaire Sample

During the first phase of research, a self-administered questionnaire was designed to collect data from 350 young Moroccans between the age of fourteen and twenty-five from different regions in Morocco, mainly from Fez, Taza, Sidi Kacem, Khenifra and Casablanca (Table 2). The main purpose behind this questionnaire is to holistically investigate, through a statistical analysis of the respondents' answers, the use of code- switching among young Moroccans in Facebook, trying as well to trace their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon. It further examines whether demographic variables such as, 'age', 'level of education' and 'type of school' are responsible of the way young Moroccans perceive CS, and tries to figure out whether other variables such as 'the use of Facebook via smartphones' and 'Daily Facebook consumption' may be behind the increasing use of CS among young Moroccan in their Facebook interactions.

4.1.2.1. Variables:

In a research study, variables play a vital role in formulating the hypothesis and making it more precise, as they also give more clarity to the research problem, and help the research opt for the most suitable research design (Y.P. Raiphea, 2015). Table 3 displays the main variables that were studied during the quantitative phase of research through which there was an attempt to investigate the use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users as well as to trace their attitudes towards this phenomenon.

Section	Variable	Types of Measurement	Number of Question	Sort of Question
Demographic Information	Age	Interval	1	Closed-ended
	Gender	Nominal	2	
	Level of Education	Ordinal	3	
	Type of school	Ordinal	4	
Linguistic Background	Name of school	Nominal	5	Open-ended
	Languages			

Information	spoken	Nominal	6	Multiple Choice
	Mother tongue language	Nominal	7	Closed-ended
Facebook Consumption	Facebook Account.	Nominal	8	Dichotomous
	Accessing Facebook from Smartphones.	Nominal	9	Dichotomous
	Reasons behind accessing Facebook.	Nominal	10	Multiple Choice
	Daily Facebook Consumption.	Interval	11	Checkboxes

Language Use in Facebook	Languages Used in Facebook	Nominal	12	Checkboxes
	Frequency of CS use in Facebook	Scale	13	5-points likert-scale
	Reasons behind using CS in Facebook	Nominal	14	Multiple choice
Attitudes Towards CS	Attitudes towards CS as a an effective communication strategy in Facebook	Scale	15+ 16	3-points likert-scale + Open-ended
	Attitudes towards CS as a threat of Moroccan language attrition	Scale	17+ 18	5-points likert-scale + Open-ended

Table 3: Questionnaire Variables.

4.1.3. Online Ethnography Samples

While conducting research, qualitative and quantitative data were connected during the phases of research; as results achieved through statistical analysis of survey questionnaire helped identify participants for qualitative data collection. Results showed that age, level of education, type of school, are responsible for the way young Moroccan Facebook users perceive CS. Therefore, online ethnography purposively included participants between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five as in survey questionnaire, with different levels of education mainly secondary, high school and tertiary levels and from both private and public schools.

The second phase of the research is based on a qualitative online ethnographic study of young Moroccans' Facebook comments, mainly through observation and content analysis, to help explain the results obtained from statistical quantitative results mainly through studying the CS patterns adopted by young Moroccans in Facebook as well as the social motivations behind this linguistic phenomenon. The samples were purposively selected from the researcher's Facebook friend list. The sample size was 30 Moroccan Facebook users both males and females between the age of 14 and 25 from both private and public schools.

To protect privacy of participants, an electronic message was sent via the Facebook inbox messaging service to the selected participants, explaining the purpose of the study, as well as asking for their permission to have access to their Facebook profiles, collect and study their posted comments. They were also asked to provide some basic background information mainly their age, level of education, name of their

school, if they still go to school. As shown in Table 3, the thirty selected participants were young Moroccans between the ages fourteen and twenty five with the majority from Fez and few of them lived outside Fez mainly Casablanca, Sidi Kacem and Marrakesh.

Name	Gender	Age	Level of Education	Name of School/university	Type of School	City/region	Number Of Analysed Comments
Z. AH	Female	25	Tertiary	Faculty of Medicine	Public	Fes	30
Ji. AI	Female	21	Tertiary	ISTA	Public	Sidi Kacem	50
A. AL	Male	23	Tertiary	ISTA	Public	Sidi Kacem	20
F.Y.B	Female	21	Tertiary	ENCG (Sttat)	Public	Casablanca	35
W. AL	Female	20	Tertiary	Faculty of Economics	Public	Fes	14
K.K	Female	19	Tertiary	FST	Public	Fes	22
EL. B	Male	24	Tertiary	INSEA	Public	Casablanca	36
AS. EL	Female	23	Tertiary	Faculty of Arts and human Sciences (Dhar Mehraz)	Public	FES	20

S.C	Female	24	Tertiary	Faculty of Medicine	Public	Marrakesh	40
Y.D	Male	22	Tertiary	ENCG	Public	Fes	20
S.A	Male	19	Tertiary	HEM	Private	Fes	17
Y.B	Female	18	Tertiary	UPF	Private	Fes	15
Z.B	Female	24	Tertiary	UPF	Private	Fes	27
A. Ben	Male	18	High School	Moulay Slimane	Public	Fes	60
O. Kh	Male	19	High School	Karaouine	Public	Fes	50
B. S	Female	19	High School	Lycée Bensouda	Public	Fes	56
H. G	Female	17	High School	Touria Sekkat	Public	Fes	45
A. Tel	Male	18	High School	Touria Sekkat	Public	Fes	30
Y. ben	Male	17	High School	Moulay Slimane	Public	Fes	14
A. LB	Male	16	High School	IPEP	Private	Fes	20
A. Br	Female	17	High School	IPEP	Private	Fes	30
O. J	Female	16	High School	AL Jabr	Private	Fes	15
Z. KA	Female	17	High School	La résidence	Private	Fes	40
A. K	Male	15	Secondary School	Collège Bensouda	Public	Fes	36

Y. BC	Male	15	Secondary School	Al Qods	Public	Fes	70
Am. F	Female	16	Secondary School	Collège Bensouda	Public	Fes	20
I. AZ	Male	15	Secondary School	Louis le Grand	Private	Fes	27
S. AM	Female	15	Secondary School	La science	Private	Fes	20
J. B. A	Male	14	Secondary School	La science	Private	Fes	60
Total							979

Table 4 : Online Ethnography Samples

4.2. Research Design, Data Collection and Data Analysis Procedures

A research design may be described as a series of strategies and procedures adopted to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses. Parahoo (2014:142) describes research design as “a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analysed”. In other words, a research design is a description of the framework that will be adopted during the selection of the appropriate research instruments, the collection and analysis of data.

The present study is an exploratory mixed methods design, for this reason multiple instruments were used to gather data concerning participants’ attitudes

towards CS, as well as patterns of CS adopted in their Facebook interactions. It is a sequential explanatory mixed methods research, as it combines two research methods: quantitative and qualitative. It is mainly characterized by the collection and analysis of quantitative data in the first place, followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data as a second stage, and then the results achieved from both methods are discussed at the end of the study (Creswell, 2009) (see Figure 1). It is typically named sequential explanatory research, given that the results achieved through quantitative data are explained and interpreted through qualitative data (Creswell, 2009). The rationale behind adopting mixed methods design is that the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods can provide a better understanding of the issue of CS than either approach alone, with each method complementing each other (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011).

Quan data collection → Quan Data Analysis → Qual Data Collection → Qual Data Analysis → Interpretation of Entire Analysis (Creswell, 2009: 208).

Figure 1: Research Design

Equal weight is given to both questionnaire and online ethnography of Facebook comments. Both methods are judged important in this inquiry, given the fact that results achieved from online ethnography will help fill the gaps left in the questionnaire. In other words, comments through direct observation and content analysis will help explain the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS. While survey questionnaire approached a large size of samples and focused more on the general attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS, online ethnography, on the other hand, targeted few Facebook users to study their CS practices in a more complex way, with a desire to have a better understanding of their attitudes towards this phenomenon.

4.2.1. Data Collection Procedures

4.2.1.1. *Survey Questionnaire Data collection*

A self-administered questionnaire is designed in English and translated to Arabic and French, with the aim to approach a maximum number of young Moroccans. 350 young Moroccans is the size of respondents from different regions in Morocco (see Table 2). Both “paper-and-pencil” (Wright, 2006) and online questionnaires are adopted during this inquiry. Paper-and-pencil questionnaires are distributed by the researcher and some colleagues in different settings (see Table 2). The choice of schools and universities, other than any other settings, helped approaching a large size of young respondents in a short period of time. The use of internet-based questionnaires gives the opportunity to access a variety of samples from different regions in Morocco.

The questionnaire includes a short introduction at the beginning informing the respondents about the purpose behind the collection of their answers, as well as ensuring that their responses will be kept confidential and not used for any other purposes than the present research.

It is a mixed-mode questionnaire that includes both close-ended and open-ended questions. Open-ended questions are designed to give respondents the opportunity to express their opinions, and provide more details about their attitudes towards CS. The questionnaire is four pages including eighteen questions covering five main areas, which are represented as follows:

- Demographic information: the first section of the questionnaire includes five closed-ended questions seeking to elicit demographic information about the respondents. It covers their age, gender, level of education and type of school.

- Linguistic background information: the second section includes two closed-ended questions about the languages spoken by the respondents as well as their mother tongue language.
- Facebook consumption: this section is composed of four closed-ended questions, where the respondents' Facebook habits of use are elicited, mainly in terms of frequency of accessing Facebook, as well as the reasons behind its use.
- Language use in Facebook: this section contains three closed-ended questions through which the researcher aims to find out how the subjects under research communicate in Facebook, whether they use only their Moroccan Arabic language or they tend to insert some other foreign languages words and expressions, and what languages are mostly used besides Moroccan Arabic in their Facebook interactions.
- Attitudes towards the use of CS in Facebook: the last section includes four questions, both closed-ended and open-ended ones. Closed-ended questions investigate the respondents' attitudes towards the use of CS and whether they consider it as an effective tool of communication that facilitates their interactions in Facebook, or they see it as a threat of Moroccan language loss. Open-ended questions, on the other hand, give respondents the opportunity to explain and give more details about their attitudes.

4.2.1.2. Pilot study

To test the survey questionnaire appropriateness and to ensure the gathered data validity and reliability as well, a pilot study was conducted two months before the

distribution of the final survey, using a convenience sampling method with a sample size of thirty young Moroccans who did not participate in the final survey. The purpose behind pilot testing of the questionnaire is to ensure that questions are correctly worded and that all the included items are unambiguous and easily understood by respondents.

The samples involved in the pilot study were informed that they were in a pre-test stage, and that their remarks and suggestions would be helpful in testing the feasibility of the questionnaire. After analysing the results obtained from pilot test, and taking notes of the respondents' remarks, some modifications were applied at the level of questions as well as the language used. For example some questions were removed mainly because they were misunderstood by most of respondents, others were developed to elicit more details; and in terms of the language, a simpler language was adopted in the English version of the questionnaire.

Triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative instruments is considered as an effective tool that helped ensuring validity and reliability of the survey questionnaire adopted in the present research. The purpose behind combining two methods is to gain a better understanding of the use of CS by young Moroccan as well as validate the answers obtained from the questionnaire samples.

4.2.1.3. Online Ethnography Data Collection

The second methodological instrument adopted during this research besides survey questionnaire, is based on an online ethnographic study mainly through non-participatory observation and content analysis of Facebook comments. Online ethnography, virtual ethnography, digital ethnography, Internet ethnography, nethnography, all these expressions refer to the same concept, which is the study of

online communities and computer-mediated discourse. According to Hinrichs (2006: 3) “naturally occurring, informal CMC data needs to be analysed by qualitative, ethnographic methods”. In the same regard, Androutsopoulos (2006a: 523) suggests that the aim behind CMC research is to study online communities and computer-mediated discourse from a sociolinguistic lens. For this reason, it is recommended to use online ethnography as a method of research. Therefore, online ethnography is considered the most suitable instrument during this inquiry, as it helps the researcher to better understand CS practices of young Moroccans, as well as the social motivations behind their choice of language.

d. Setting

Since the purpose of this research is to examine the CS patterns of young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions, the selected setting is Facebook. 30 participants' Facebook profiles are consulted by the researcher, with the aim to study the use of CS among young Moroccans, and find out the common motivations behind such a choice of language, with the hope to figure out whether this language use is considered as an indication of language attrition or only a communication strategy adopted by young Moroccans to facilitate their interactions in Facebook.

e. Researcher's role

The researcher is a non-participant complete observer; she observes and gathers participants' posted comments without participating. The reason behind adopting this role is to obtain the language and words of participants as they occur in Facebook to better understand their CS patterns. According to Georgakopoulou (2006: 551) online ethnography does not necessitate to include participation, which gives the researcher

an opportunity to study naturally-occurring computer-mediated activities without intervention, given that the researcher's participation, in some cases, may interrupt the act of observing and cause some alterations which may decrease the the gathered data validity and reliability.

f. Process

The purpose behind the use of online ethnography is to explore the CS patterns of young Moroccan Facebook users, seeking to better undersatnd their attitudes previously investigated during the quantitative phase. It aims at identifying the types, functions as well as social motivations of CS that occur in the participants' Facebook comments. This study also aims to figure out whether CS patterns of young Facebook users can be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition, or it is a communicative strategy that aims at facilitating their Facebook interactions.

979 comments are extracted from the participants' Facebook profile pages; they were posted between 1st September 2017 and 1st April 2018. The comments are kept as they are to be as faithful as possible, even though they may contain grammatical, syntactical and spelling mistakes. An English version of the participants' comments is produced by the researcher and revised by some colleagues and professionals in English. The choice to study participants' Facebook comments as the sources of online ethnography rather than any other types of content, simply because the researcher is more interested in the way young Moroccan Facebook users communicate with each other, besides during the observation stage, it has been noticed that a high frequency of CS occurrences appeared at the level of Facebook comments more than any other kinds of posts.

g. Ethical considerations

While conducting a qualitative ethnographic research the participants' life becomes invaded and their private data are more exposed; therefore, a set of ethical considerations should be considered to gain more credibility as well as to protect the rights of participants. Protecting the participants' rights was a primary concern in the present research.

As a first step taken before conducting the online ethnography of Facebook comments, is that an electronic message was sent to the samples' inboxes explaining the aim behind the study and giving a clear description of how their comments will be used as well as asking their consent concerning their participation. Generally, all the selected samples agreed to participate in the study. They were informed that their names are to be kept anonymous using only their names' initials instead (see Table 4) and their comments aren't used for any other purposes but the present research.

The second step is that a list of the selected comments included in the research was sent to participants in case they may refuse to make some of them public. Some comments were deleted based upon the participants' choice.

The final step that is taken in order to safeguard the participants' rights as well as to check the validity and reliability of the analysed data is that participants are involved in all phases of research starting from data gathering to data analysis and interpretation of the findings. For this purpose, a copy of the analysed comments along with their translations as well as researcher's own interpretation of these comments were sent to participants to verify the credibility of researcher's work.

4.2.2. Data Analysis Procedures

Data gathered through survey questionnaire were coded and statistically analysed through SPSS and Eviews. As for data gathered from the online ethnographic research, they were coded using Excel program and analysed using content analysis method.

4.2.2.1. Quantitative Data Analysis

Questionnaires were designed and distributed to more than 350 respondents, of which 260 answered the questionnaire. 25 respondents did not complete the questionnaire, 19 questionnaires with a lot of missing data, 16 are either above or below the specified age groups, and 30 do not have a Facebook account. This means that 90 out of 260 questionnaires were not considered during the analysis, only the 151 remaining questionnaires that were coded and entered as variables in the computer using SPSS.

The analysis of questionnaire's findings is generally divided into two parts. The first part deals with statistical description of variables through frequencies and percentages, mainly presented in tabular as well as graphical forms. As for the second part, it is primarily devoted to inferential analysis of the questionnaire's findings. This part focused on testing hypotheses and answering research questions, that are based on investigating the relationship between independent variables such as, 'age', 'level of education', 'type of schools' and the dependent variables 'CS as communicative strategy' 'CS as a threat of Moroccan language loss'; trying as well to determine whether other independent variables such as 'the use of Facebook via smartphones' and 'daily Facebook consumption' significantly correlate with the dependent variable

‘Frequency of CS use in Facebook’. Whereas for Open-ended questions, they were qualitatively analysed using coding frames.

To answer research questions and find the relationship between variables, cross-tabulations and chi-square test of independence were employed using SPSS. Cross-tabulation or contingency table is a cross-classification of two variables or more; it provides information about the relationship between dependent and independent variables (O’Brien, LG. 2014). The chi-square test, on the other hand, is considered the primary statistic tool used for testing the statistical significance of the cross-tabulation table. Chi-square test verifies whether, the two variables are independent (Jay, B. 2011). In other words, chi-square test of independence determines whether there is a significant relationship between two variables, if the relationship is significant then the p-value or asymptomatic significance should not be higher than 0.05.

As for determining the nature of the relationship between variables, ‘multinomial logistic regression’ test was used via EVIEWS. “Regression analysis is popularly done to find the effect of one or more independent variables on a dependent variable” (Tirouvingadame, 2015). The name logistic regression is used when the dependent variable has only two values, such as 0 and 1 or Yes and No. The name multinomial logistic regression is usually reserved for the case when the dependent variable has three or more unique values” (Tirouvingadame. 2015).

4.2.2.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

The second phase of this research, which is qualitative in nature, was conducted using the method of content analysis. This study examined the content of Facebook comments and analysed what are the most common CS patterns among young Moroccans mainly through examining types, functions of their code switches as well

as the motivations behind such a choice of language, and whether it is used as a communication strategy or it is an indication of language attrition.

Content analysis is an ethnographic strategy that enables researchers to study and analyze large-scale conversations and systematically observe the occurrences of words, phrases, ideas, or themes in written contents (Powell, 2004), and describe the observed data in numbers and percentages. As explained in Krippendof (2013), the aim behind using content analysis in qualitative research is “to examine data, printed matters, images, or sounds text in order to understand what they mean to people, what they enable or prevent, and what information they convey” (Cited in Kurniawan, 2016: 172). Therefore, the strategy of content analysis was adopted in this study to organize the posted comments according to the types and functions of CS, in order to better understand the possible motivations behind the propagation of this phenomenon among young Moroccan Facebook users.

To answer qualitative research questions, data were collected from the participants’ Facebook comments, codified using Excel program, based on the occurrence of code-switching, and then thematically analysed in terms of the types, functions that they serve in the participants’ Facebook comments as well as the motivations behind the use of CS.

CS Types and motivations were analyzed within the theoretical framework of Poplack’s syntactic categorization of CS (1980), Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness Model for CS as well as Matrix language turnover hypothesis. Whereas for the functions of CS, they were studied using a grounded theory. The rationale behind using grounded theory while investigating the functions of CS is to try to define all the possible functions that CS may serve in the participants’ Facebook comments and not

to be restricted to only those mentioned in previous studies, so that new functions could emerge. Grounded theory in studying the functions of CS, therefore, is employed to allow for the development of new functions.

Results obtained from the analysis of Facebook comments were displayed in numbers and percentages using tabular and graphical forms. Examples extracted for discussion were kept as they occurred in participants' Facebook comments and were followed by an English translation, as for words and expressions that were switched were indicated with underline.

Conclusion

This chapter generally described the methodological approach adopted during this research. It described the methods used to gather data as well as procedures for data analysis. As this dissertation used a mixed methods approach, both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined to investigate the phenomenon of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users as well as to answer research questions and test hypotheses. The first phase of research was a quantitative study of the use of CS among young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions eliciting their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon through the medium of questionnaires. As for the second phase, it generally investigated, through online ethnography of Facebook comments, the CS patterns among young Moroccan Facebook users as well as the motivations behind their use of CS. In the next two chapters, findings of the research will be provided followed by further discussion and conclusion to the study.

5. Findings

Introduction

This chapter outlines the analysis of data gathered along this research, which is carried out in two phases. The first phase deals with a quantitative analysis of data gathered through a self-administered questionnaire. The second phase comprises the qualitative analysis of the results obtained from a ‘nethnographic study’ (online ethnographic study is a synonym) of Facebook comments. Both phases are combined in order to test hypotheses as well as to answer research questions.

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the present research is a sequential explanatory mixed methods research. It is a combination of two methods: quantitative and qualitative, mainly characterized by the collection and analysis of quantitative data in the first place, followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data (Creswell, 2009). The emphasis in this research design is mainly put on the quantitative data. It is typically named sequential explanatory research, since the results achieved through quantitative data are explained and interpreted through qualitative data. (Creswell, 2009)

The main purpose behind this research (as stated in the previous chapters) is to holistically investigate -through statistical analysis of the questionnaire- the use of CS by young Moroccans in Facebook, trying to trace their attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon, and find out whether they consider it as communicative strategy or a sign of Moroccan language attrition. It also attempts to find out whether demographic variables, such as ‘age’, ‘level of education’ and ‘type of school’, are among factors

that might influence the way young Moroccan Facebook users perceive CS. Other variables are also examined through this research, mainly ‘the use of Facebook via smartphones’ and ‘daily Facebook consumption’, to figure out whether they have any significant relationship with the increasing use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users.

This research also seeks to explore - through online ethnography of Facebook comments - the CS patterns among young Moroccans mainly through studying types and functions of their code switches as well as motivations behind their choice of language. The aim behind the study of young Moroccans’ comments, after examining their attitudes towards CS through survey questionnaire, is to figure out whether these CS patterns can be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition or they are simply a communicative strategy that they adopt to make their Facebook interactions easier and more fluid.

Data gathered through survey questionnaire were coded and statistically analysed through Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 19 and Eviews. As for data gathered from online ethnographic research, they were qualitatively analysed using coding frames.

5.1. Survey Questionnaire Findings

A self-administered questionnaire was designed to collect data from young Facebook users between the age of fourteen and twenty-five years old from different regions in Morocco, mainly from *Fez, Taza, Sidi Kacem, Khenifra* and *Casablanca*. The aim behind this questionnaire is to trace CS practices as well as attitudes of young Moroccan Facebook users towards CS, and to explore the possible factors behind the

propagation of such a phenomenon among them, trying as well to study the reasons behind choosing this kind of language.

Questionnaires were developed and distributed to more than 350 respondents, of which 260 answered the questionnaire. 25 respondents did not complete the questionnaire, 19 questionnaires with a lot of missing data, 16 are either above or below the specified age groups, and 30 do not have a Facebook account which is considered among the main variables within this study. This means that 90 out of 260 questionnaires were not considered during the analysis, only the 151 remaining questionnaires that were coded and entered as variables in the computer using SPSS.

Survey questionnaire was administered both online and in paper, in three languages Arabic, French, and English (see appendices A, B, C). The questions were in general eighteen questions, comprising of close-ended and open-ended questions.

The analysis of questionnaire's findings is generally divided into two parts. The first part deals with statistical description of variables through frequency counts and percentages mainly presented in tabular as well as graphical forms. As for the second part, it is devoted to inferential analysis of the questionnaire's findings. This part mainly focused on testing hypotheses and answering research questions that are based on investigating the relationship between independent variables such as, 'age', 'level of education', 'type of school' and the dependent variables 'attitudes towards the use of CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook' and 'attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition'. There is also an attempt to determine whether other independent variables such as 'the use of Facebook via smartphones' and 'daily Facebook consumption' significantly associate with the dependent variable 'Frequency of CS use in Facebook'.

To answer research questions and find the relationship between variables, cross-tabulations and chi-square test of independence were employed using SPSS version 19. As for determining the nature of the relationship between variables, a ‘multinomial logistic regression’ test was used via EVIEWS.

5.1.1. Analysis of Questionnaire Findings through Descriptive Statistics

The questionnaire used in this research comprised of four sections, which are represented as follows:

- Demographic data
- Facebook Consumption
- Language use in Facebook
- Attitudes towards the use of code switching in Facebook.

5.1.1.1. Demographic Data

The first section of survey questionnaire deals with demographic description of respondents’ profile. It covers their age, gender, level of study and type of school. These data are statistically described in numbers and percentages using tables and graphs for more clarification.

a. Age of Respondents

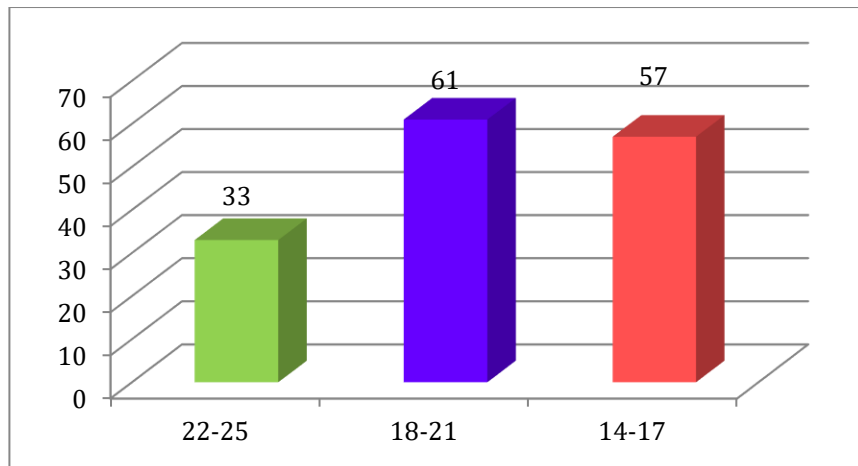


Figure 2: Graphical Representation of Respondents' Age groups

In this section respondents were first required to identify their age group, which were mainly three. The first group of respondents were between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, the second group contained respondents between the age of eighteen and twenty-one and the third one included respondents between twenty-two and twenty-five years old. As shown in Figure 1, majority of respondents 40,4 % (N= 61) were aged between eighteen and twenty one, followed by those between the age of fourteen and seventeen with a percentage 37,7 % (N= 57), and the rest of respondents fell under the age group of twenty-two and twenty-five forming the smallest group with a percentage of 21,9% (N=33) of the total number. The mean age for participants was generally 19,36 as for standard deviation, it was 3,02.

b. Gender of the Respondents

Table 5: Distribution of frequency and percentage of the respondents' gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	92	60,9 %
Female	59	39,1 %

The second demographic the respondents had to identify was their gender. The findings showed that the male respondents made the dominant gender group with a percentage of 60, 90% (N= 92) while female respondents formed 39, 10% (N=59) of the total number, as mentioned in Table. 5.

c. Respondents' level of Education

Respondents were also required to answer another question, which was related to their level of education. Since survey questionnaire was administered to young people between the age of 14 and 25, respondents were primarily from secondary and high school classes as well as from higher educational institutions. Most respondents fell under the category of higher education with a percentage of 57 % (N= 86), while 24, 5% (N= 37) of them were generally secondary school students and only few of them were high school students with a percentage of 18,5 % (N= 28).

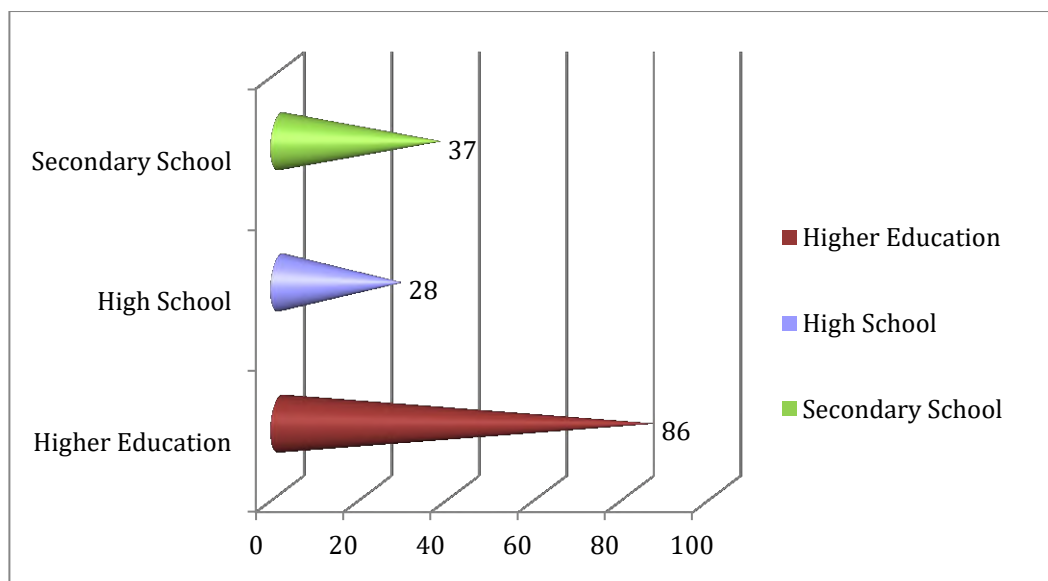


Figure3: Graphical Representation of Respondents' Level of Education

d. Type of School

Majority of respondents who answered this questionnaire are studying in public schools with a percentage of 74, 8% (N= 113) of the total number, while those who study in private schools formed 25, 2 % (N= 38)

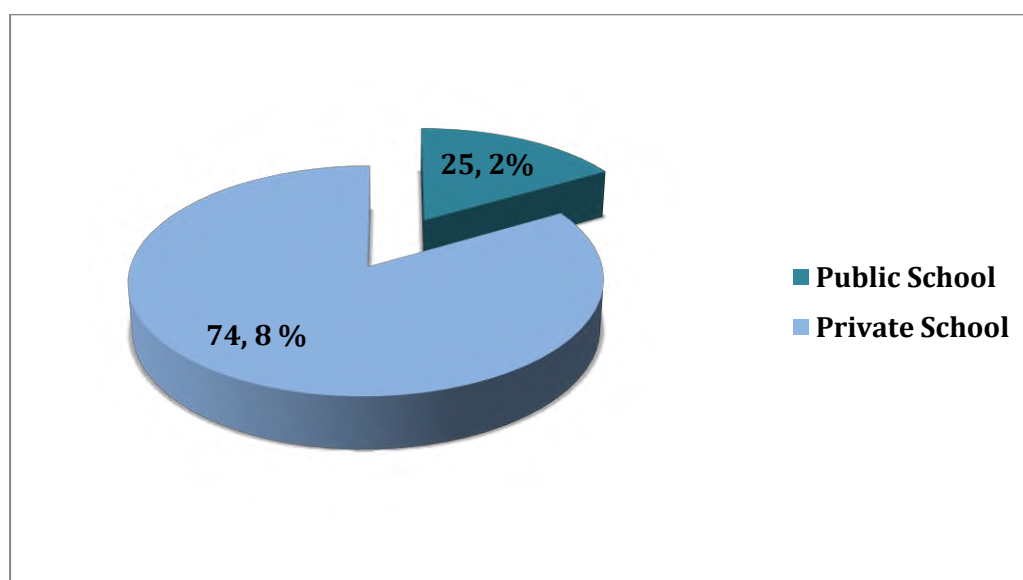


Figure 4: Graphical Representation of Type of School Respondents Attend

As a summary to this section, we can say that majority of respondents who answered this questionnaire were in general young male adults belonging to age groups of eighteen and twenty-one and studied in public higher educational institutions.

5.1.1.2. Facebook Consumption

a. Participants' Internet Accessibility

In general, majority of samples had home access the Internet with a percentage of 78, 8% (N= 119), while 21, 2 % (N= 32) do not have any access to the internet.

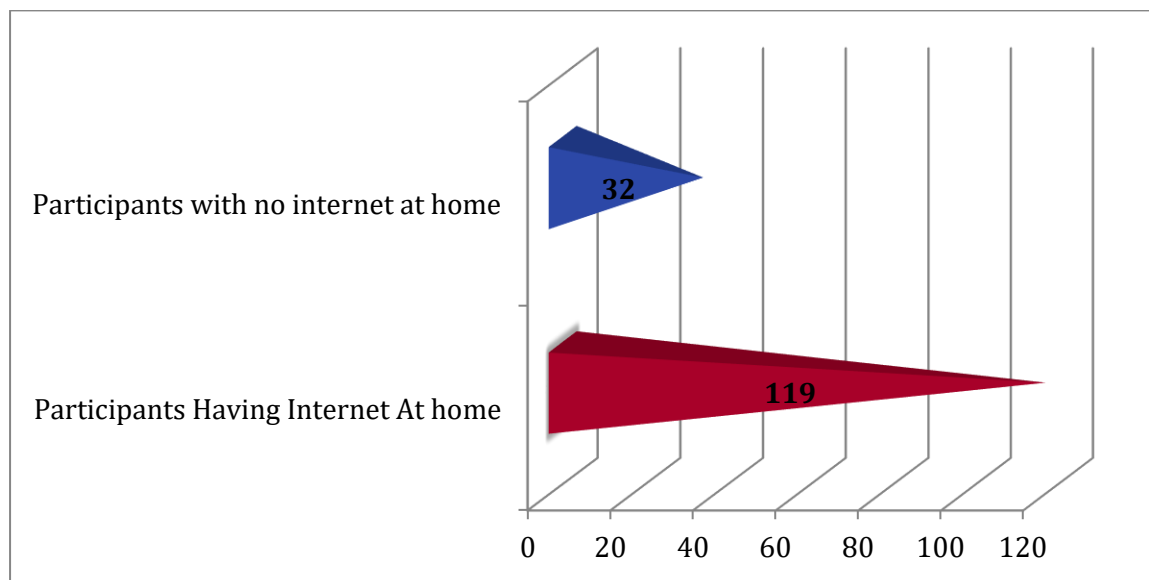


Figure5: Graphical Representation of Respondents' Home Access to Internet

b. Participants' Daily Facebook Usage

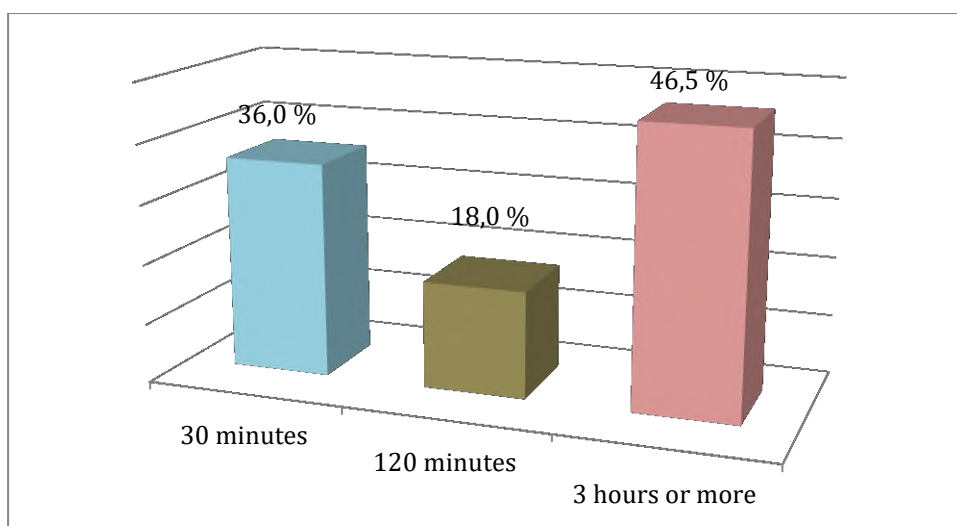


Figure 6: Graphical Representation of Respondents' Daily Facebook Consumption

As noticed from Figure 6, majority of respondents were heavy Facebook consumers forming 46% (N= 70) of the total number as they may stay logged in Facebook three hours or more per day, followed by those with a light consumption with a percentage of 36 % (N= 54) spending about 30 minutes per day in Facebook, and finally those with an average daily Facebook consumption of nearly two hours, they formed 18% (N= 27) of the total number of the respondents.

c. The Use of Facebook via Smartphones

Table 6: Distribution of Frequency and Percentage of Respondents' Access to mobile

Do you acces Facebook via your Smartphone?	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	117	77,5 %
No	34	22,5 %

Facebook

Before asking such a question, respondents had to answer first whether they had a Facebook account or not, and for respondents who did not possess one their answers were excluded from the analysis. After selecting the answers of only those who had a Facebook account, respondents were invited to answer another question, which was whether they get logged in Facebook from their smartphones. As Table. 6 shows, majority of respondents answered yes with a percentage of 77, 5 % (N=117), while only a small category forming a percentage of 22, 5 % (N=34) who did not use Facebook via their smartphones. The purpose behind asking this question is to try to figure out if there is any relationship between the constant use of CS among young Moroccans and mobile Facebook, and whether those who use Facebook via their smartphones use CS more often than those who browse Facebook from a computer. This question will be later investigated in this chapter using a statistical test.

d. The Reasons behind using Facebook

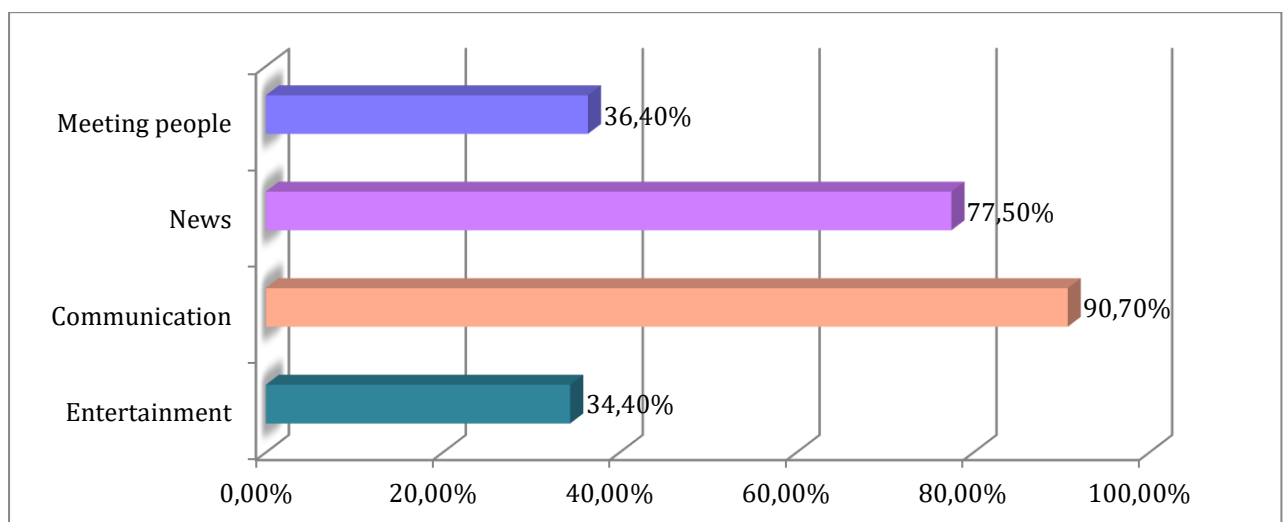


Figure7: Graphical Representation of Reasons behind using Facebook

To define the main reasons behind the use of CS by young Moroccans in Facebook, respondents had to answer a multiple-choice question. Actually there are many reasons why people use Facebook, however while conducting the pilot study, four reasons were mentioned more than the rest these four reasons were chosen to be included in the questionnaire. As it clear in the graph, 90, 7% (N= 137) of the respondents use Facebook as a platform to communicate with their friends and family members, here we assume that language is a very useful tool for this category as their main interest in Facebook is to chat with their friends and family members, followed by those who consider it a gate-away to online news and they form 77, 5%. As for the two remaining categories they nearly form equal percentages, 36,4% are those who log in Facebook to meet new people and make new relationships either friendships or dates and 34, 40% fell under the category of those who look for entertainment more than anything else, for example: social games.

To sum up, the questions included in this section sought to investigate respondents' Facebook usage habits, and the findings showed that majority of the subjects had home access to the Internet. All of them were Facebook users with the majority accessing Facebook via their smartphones, which can maybe explain their heavy Facebook consumption that is equal to or may sometimes exceed three hours per day. The main reason behind their use of Facebook was communication, in other words they get logged in Facebook to chat and get in touch with their friends and family members.

5.1.1.3. *Language Use in Facebook*

This section of questionnaire dealt with language use in Facebook and more specifically CS. As it is mentioned in previous chapters, majority of young Moroccans

today integrate a huge number of foreign words especially French ones in their daily conversations, which have become part of their daily speech; and the main reason behind conducting this research is to find out whether this language shift can be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition or not. In other words, can the increasing use of CS between MA and other foreign languages mainly French be considered as a random act made by young Moroccan Facebook users caused by their inability to well communicate in MA due to the influence of French language. Or it is a conscious act that serves many communicative functions in Facebook, with the purpose to make their interactions easier and more fluid. This section is an attempt to explore how the subjects under research communicate with each other in their real life as well as in Facebook, whether they use only their Moroccan Arabic language or they tend to insert some other foreign languages words and what are the languages that are mostly used besides Moroccan Arabic in their Facebook interactions.

Mother Tongue Language	Frequency	Percentage
Moroccan Arabic	143	94,7 %
Berber	7	4,6 %
Other	1	0,7 %

Table 7: Distribution of frequency and percentage of the respondents' mother tongue language

As demonstrated in Table.7, Moroccan Arabic is the mother tongue of almost all respondents, however not all of them use only Moroccan Arabic in their daily speech. Results in Figure. 8 showed that, besides Moroccan Arabic majority of respondents use other foreign languages. To be more specific, 91, 4 % (N= 138) of the respondents assumed that they constantly switch between Moroccan Arabic and other

foreign languages in their everyday conversations, while only 8,6 % (13) claimed that they use purely Moroccan Arabic without inserting any foreign words.

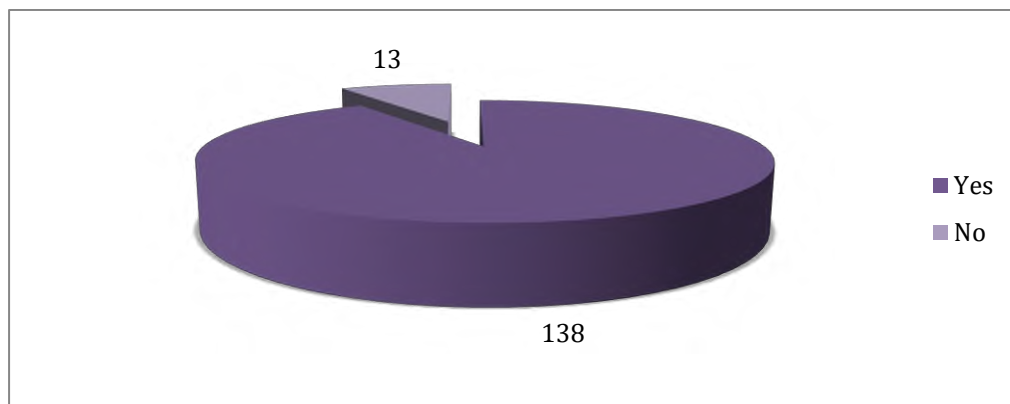


Figure 8: Graphical Representation of the Respondents' Insertion of Foreign words in their Everyday Conversations.

h. The languages used while interacting in Facebook

To answer this question, respondents were required to choose the languages they mostly use while interacting in Facebook, whether they use only Moroccan Arabic, or they tend to mix it with other foreign languages like French, English or others. The findings displayed in Figure. 9 showed that majority use both Moroccan Arabic and French to interact with each other in Facebook with a percentage of 63% (N= 95), while 16, 6 % (N= 25) use Moroccan Arabic, French, and English. 6% (N= 16) is the number of respondents whose only language of interaction in Facebook is MA, and 10 % (N= 15) chose other languages like, Spanish, German, and Italian.

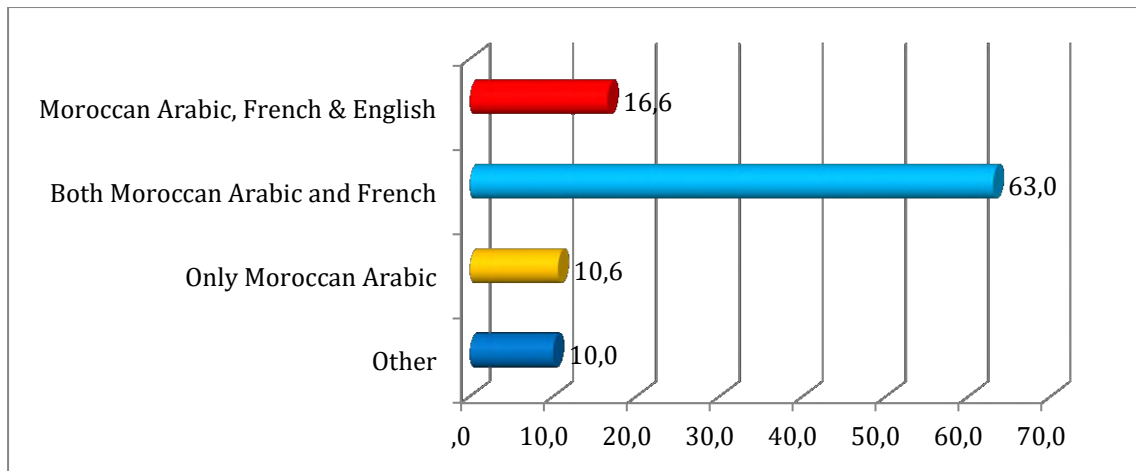


Figure 9: Graphical Representation of the languages used by Respondents in their Facebook Interactions.

i. Frequency of Code-switching use in Facebook

After determining the most commonly used types of code switching among respondents, it was then necessary to determine the frequency of using this type of code switching. According to data displayed in Figure. 10, more than half of the subjects assumed that they usually use CS with a percentage of 42,4 % (N= 64), followed by 25,2% (N= 38) who rarely switch codes, then 16,6 % (N= 25) uses it from time to time, and those who use it all the time were in general few with a percentage of 8,6 % (N= 13), as for those who never use in their Facebook interactions and who formed 7,3 % (N= 11) of the total number.

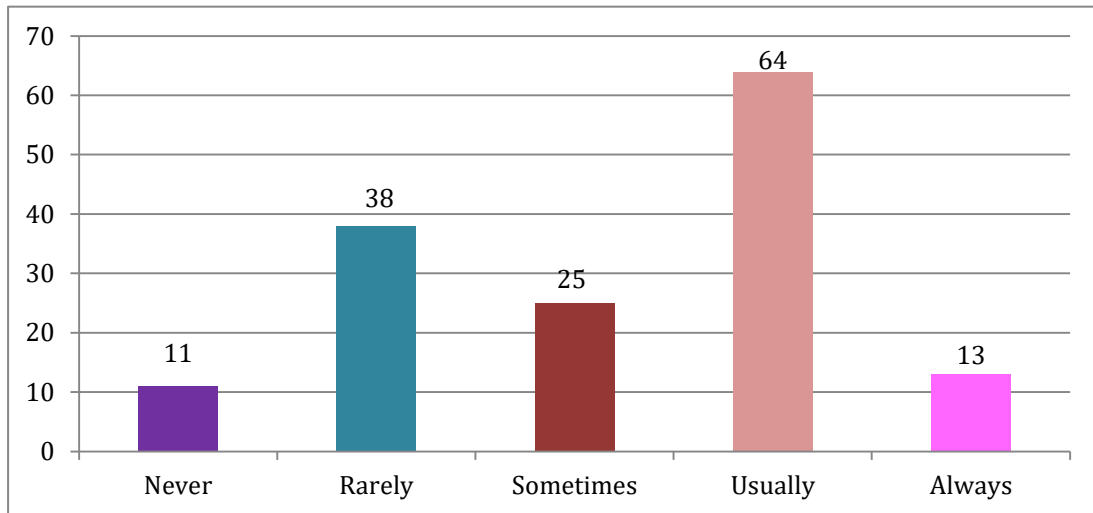


Figure 10: Graphical Representation of the Respondents' Frequency of CS Use

j. The Reasons behind the Use of Code-Switching in Facebook

This question sought to trace the main reasons why respondents may CS in Facebook. According to the answers gathered using a multiple-choice question (see Figure. 11), it was found that 53,4% (N= 79) of the respondents use CS because they feel it is easier than using only Moroccan Arabic; in other words, they find it difficult to carry on a full conversation in Moroccan Arabic without inserting some French words. 42, 6% (N= 63) of respondents claimed that they switch codes because they are used to this kind of language; it is part of their speech habits. Finally, 29,7% (N= 44) use CS when they have a difficulty to find the right word in Moroccan Arabic that could express their thoughts, so they switch to French for example in order to better express them.

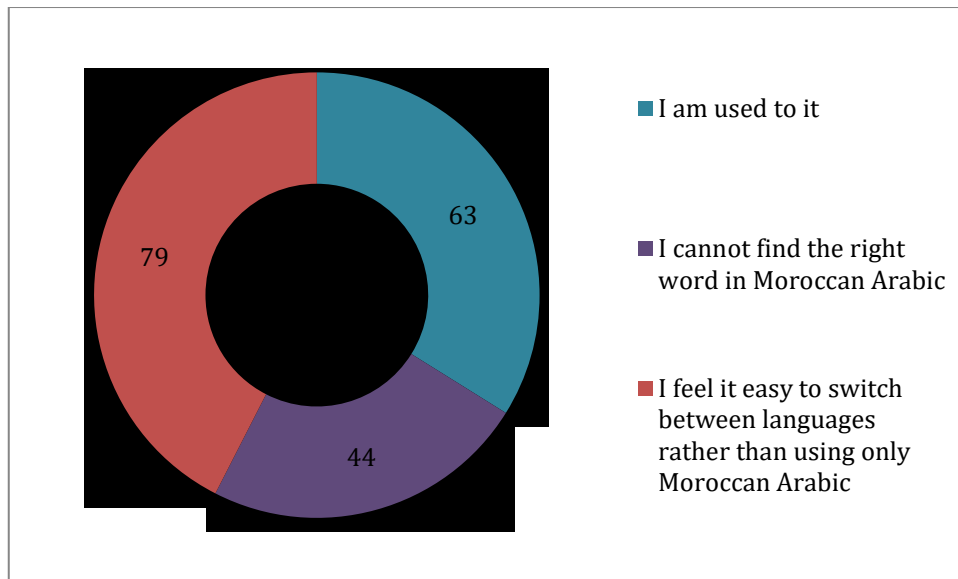


Figure 11: Graphical Representation of the main reasons behind switching between Moroccan Arabic and French

To sum up this section, results showed that all respondents were Moroccan native speakers. However not all respondents use only Moroccan Arabic either in their everyday conversations or in their Facebook interactions, as most of them confirmed that they usually use CS mainly because they feel more comfortable to switch between two languages or more in Facebook rather than using only Moroccan Arabic.

5.1.1.4. Attitudes towards the Use of Code-Switching in Facebook

The final section of survey questionnaire is an attempt to answer the first research question, which sought to investigate the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS in Facebook. It aimed to find out whether respondents held negative attitudes towards the use of CS considering it as an indication of Moroccan language attrition, or on the contrary they hold positive attitudes towards it, perceiving the use of more than one language in Facebook, besides MA, as an effective communication strategy that aims to facilitate their interactions.

a. Attitudes towards CS as an Effective Communication Strategy in Facebook

This question was in fact a mixed-mode question, as it combined both closed-ended and open-ended questions. The first part was represented through a 3-point likert scale closed-ended question, whereas the second part was an open-ended question, through which the samples were required to give more details about their positive or negative attitudes.

The reason behind choosing this question is to try to investigate the attitudes of respondents towards the use of CS as an effective communication strategy in their Facebook interactions. The findings displayed in Figure. 12 showed that majority of respondents, nearly half of the samples with a percentage of 48, 3 % (N= 73), agreed that CS in Facebook is an effective communication tool that facilitates their interactions in Facebook. On the other hand, 35, 1 % (N= 53) of respondents expressed their disagreement, and the remaining category, forming a percentage of 16,6% (N= 25), remained undecided.

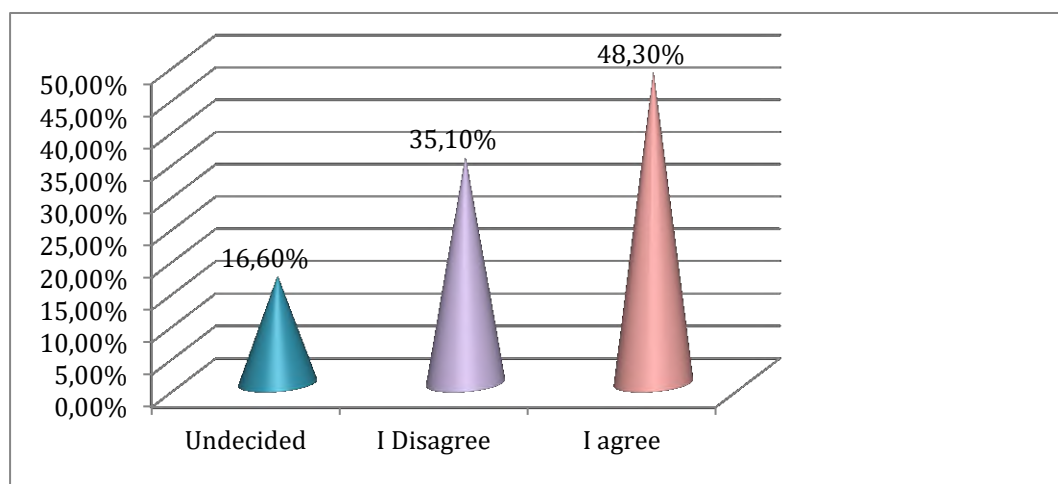


Figure 12: Graphical Representation of the Respondents' attitudes towards CS as an effective Communication Strategy in Facebook

As previously mentioned, the respondents were required to explain their answers, 100 of them did so. Their answers were qualitatively analysed using a coding frame. For those who held positive attitudes towards the use of code-switching in their Facebook interactions and consider it as a good communicative strategy that facilitates their interactions in Facebook, they nearly held the same argument which is that switching between MA and other languages is more practical than using only MA.

To further illustrate these arguments, some respondents stated that the use of CS in Facebook facilitates their typing tasks. For example, they might insert many French and English abbreviations and acronyms that are not found in MA. As one the respondents stated: “the use of other languages side by side MA in Facebook is a good strategy to minimize the typing efforts and time, as instead of writing long expressions in MA we insert only their abbreviated equivalents in French or English”.

Other respondents assumed that CS in Facebook helps them fill lexical gaps, when they cannot find the right word in MA, they resort to their French equivalents that they are more familiar with, especially in terms of CMC jargon. In light of this one of them inserted:

To use more than one language in Facebook, besides MA, is a good strategy to fill some language gaps. For example, when using words and expressions related to chat and Facebook jargon we might resort to English and French, simply because we are not familiar with these expressions in MA.

Other arguments support the fact that the use of CS gives young Moroccans the opportunity to play with words and expressions from different languages, thing that make their interactions appear more vivid and vibrant, in this vain one of respondents stated:

I usually insert French and English (even though I am not fluent in English, but I learned these words in Facebook) words and expressions in Facebook because they add more colours to my interactions than using MA alone. Especially that almost everybody uses these words now, so our generation has developed a language that is made up of words and expressions from different languages besides MA and that everybody in Facebook uses it.

Although this may be true, there were other respondents who disagreed with the above-mentioned statements, arguing that the use of CS in Facebook is a sign of language incompetency and a bad habit, which led to the creation and spread of a wrong language, due to common use of short forms of language and informal vocabulary. Considering this, one of the respondents said:

The language we encounter in Facebook could never be considered as an effective communication strategy. On the contrary, it is inappropriate and should be avoided. Besides those who use many languages in one sentence are not competent enough to carry on a conversation in one language and this, in fact, could be considered as a problem of communication rather than an effective strategy of communication.

Another argument was highlighted, which is that CS is nothing but a matter of familiarity, something that is taken for granted. For instance, a respondent said:

We are used to this kind of language and that is all, almost everyone in social media sites uses it. It has become a jargon that everybody masters either proficient or not, once you are logged in one of the social networking sites you can easily switch between French and Moroccan Arabic without even being fluent in French.

In the same vain, other respondents believed that switching between French and Moroccan Arabic for example is not a choice or a strategy but rather an obligation to escape prejudices. To put it differently, people may switch between French and

Moroccan Arabic in Facebook just to not be considered as backward and old-fashioned, according to one of the respondents:

If you do not use this kind of language which is a language of modernity and socio-economic advancement, you will not be well received in platforms like Facebook, you will be ignored for the sole reason that you do not use the language they use, you are not modern enough to be one of them. In order to escape their prejudices and fit in, you find yourself forced to insert from time to time some French words in you Facebook posts.

b. Attitudes towards Code-Switching as an indication of Moroccan Language Attrition

Similarly, to the previous question, this is a mixed-mode question, divided in two parts, the first part is a 5-point likert scale closed-ended question, measuring the attitudes of respondents from strongly agree to strongly disagree and neutral. The second one is an open-ended one through which respondents were required to give more details about their attitudes. The reason behind designing this question is to determine the extent to which young Moroccans agree or disagree with the fact that CS in Facebook could be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition. Based on the findings illustrated in Figure. 13, majority of respondents with a percentage of 39,7% (N= 60) agreed and strongly agreed with this argument, while those who strongly agreed and those who disagreed were in fact equally distributed as both of them represented a percentage of 20,5 % (N= 31). Only a small number of respondents who strongly disagree 6 % (N= 9), and the remaining 13, 2 % (N= 20) stayed neutral.

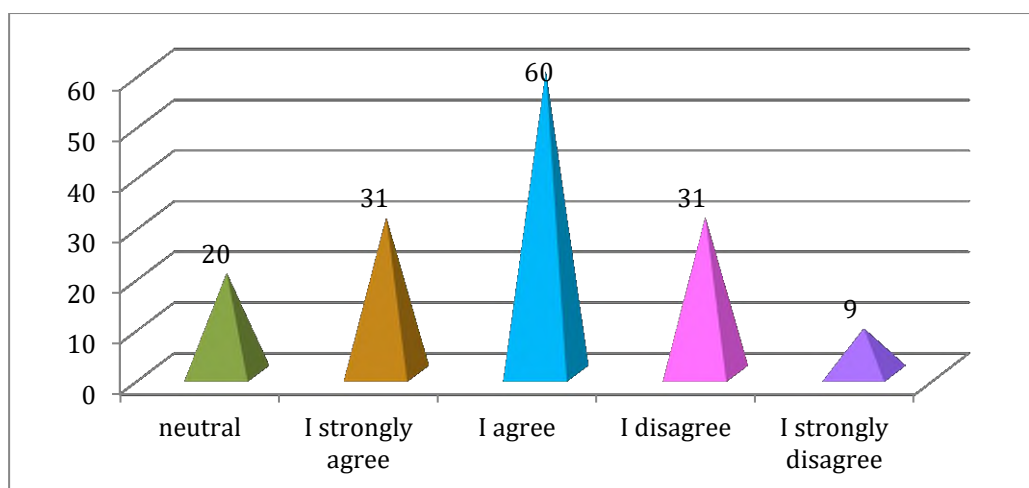


Figure 13: Graphical Representation of Respondents' Attitudes towards CS as An indication of Moroccan Language Loss.

Seventy was the number of respondents who gave more details concerning their attitudes, which were qualitatively analysed using a coding frame. As it is represented in Figure.12, only 26, 49% (N= 40) of the respondents held positive attitudes towards the use of CS and did not consider it as an indication of Moroccan language attrition, as they confirmed that the Moroccan language is used on a daily basis and it is deeply engraved in the Moroccan cultural heritage these facts make it too vulnerable to easily vanish or die. Many of their arguments were in fact similar to those who consider CS as an effective communication strategy (as mentioned in the previous section (attitudes towards CS as a communication strategy). Considering this, one of the respondents said:

I think that the use of more than one language in Facebook is not necessarily a sign of Moroccan language loss, simply because our Moroccan language is who we are, we cannot easily lose it or replace it by another foreign language like French, if we give up on it then we will give up on our history, our civilisation and consequently we will lose a whole nation we will lose the most precious thing we possess which is our identity.

Another argument was underlined by respondents who did not consider CS in Facebook as an indication of MA loss, is that the most employed language in Facebook and other social networking sites is a hybrid language which is made up of many foreign languages besides MA. This language is very common among young Moroccans and easy to write and could not be considered as an indication of Moroccan language loss as one of the respondents claimed:

I think that inserting French words or any other foreign languages words is very common among young Moroccans in Facebook, it is their way of communicating and in my opinion, it has nothing to do with language loss. It is in fact a language that everybody knows and easy in typing. French for example contains many short forms of language like 2r1 (de rien) you cannot find this kind of language in our Moroccan-Arabic that is why most of young Moroccans choose to insert these abbreviations and acronyms for the sake of saving time and nothing else, and for me it is far away to be considered as an indication of Moroccan language loss.

Majority of respondents, as it is manifested in Figure. 13 either agreed or strongly agreed with the fact that CS in Facebook is an indication of Moroccan language loss, and for them the younger Moroccans insert French and other foreign languages words in their Facebook interactions, the more they get used to these languages and the less they will use their mother tongue, which may lead to its gradual loss. In this regard, one of respondents stated that French is a sign of modernity and people may feel ashamed if they use only MA in their Facebook interactions without mixing it with French, and according to him:

We do not use our Moroccan language anymore, what we use now, either in social media sites or real-life conversations, is a mixture of both Moroccan language and French. Some French words are now part of our linguistic repertoire and you cannot

recognize whether they are Moroccan or not. Maybe soon, and due to this constant use of French side-by-side Moroccan language, French words will replace a big deal of Moroccan words, and then we would have lost a great part of our linguistic heritage.

Others linked the use of CS in Facebook to modernity and high level of education, as one respondent asserted:

Our pure Moroccan Language has long gone, what we see today is a mixture of languages, and French now has become a sign of socio-economic advancement and modernity. There are some people who consider themselves too modern to speak one sentence in Moroccan Arabic without inserting many French expressions out of a desire to show off and appear more modern and intellectual.

Some of the respondents even considered CS as another kind of ideological and cultural colonialism through which the western culture is taking over the Moroccan one, and that the constant use of French or English words and expressions in Moroccans' day-to-day speech is the best evidence on that. In this context one of the respondents said:

We are still colonized by France though we gained our independence a long time ago. When you find that a Moroccan is not fluent enough in his mother tongue language, which is Moroccan Arabic and cannot speak one full sentence without inserting a lot of French expressions then we can assume that French colonialism still exists.

As a final argument held by respondents who were against CS and considered as an indication of Moroccan language loss is that through the use of CS Moroccans are contributing to the marginalization of their language as well as culture, and the reason behind this marginalization is that Moroccan language is not considered as a

language of socio-economic advancement as their French and English counterparts, and as one of the respondents commented:

If the only language you master is Moroccan Arabic then you can eat no bread, you will have no job opportunities, and this is a direct factor behind the marginalization of not only our language but also our cultural identity. By the use of CS we are supporting such beliefs and unconsciously or consciously calling for the propagation of western culture, which may one day lead to the loss of our linguistic and cultural heritage.

The aim behind this section was to elicit the attitudes towards the use of CS in Facebook. Based on the results displayed in Figure 12 and Figure 13, it seemed that majority of respondents held contradictory attitudes towards CS as majority of them held positive attitudes towards it considering it an effective communication, however at the same time they perceive it as an indication of language attrition. To better understand this contradiction in terms of attitudes towards CS as well as to answer research questions and test hypotheses, relationship between variables will be examined by the means of statistical tests mainly chi-square test of independence and multinomial logistic regression.

5.1.2. Analysis of Findings through Inferential Statistics

This section is an attempt to answer research questions and test hypotheses by the means of statistical tests mainly chi-square test of independence and multinomial logistic regression. The aim behind this section is to find out the motivations behind young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS in Facebook, mainly through examining relationship between the dependent variables 'attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook', 'attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition' and the independent variables 'age' 'level of education' and 'type

of school'. It further investigates the possible factors behind the spread of CS, mainly through examining the relationship between the dependent variable 'frequency of CS use in Facebook' and the independent variables 'accessing Facebook via smartphones' and 'daily Facebook consumption'.

5.1.2.1. Statistical Analysis of Relationship between Attitudes towards CS as a Communication Strategy in Facebook and Socio-Demographic Variables

Q1: Do the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS in Facebook as an effective communication strategy in Facebook vary by their age, level of education and type of school they attend?

The first research question was an attempt to find out the possible factors determining the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook based on the assumption that their attitudes are determined by their age, level of education and type of school. Therefore, to answer the first research question, relationship between each independent variable (age, level of education and type of school) with the dependent variable 'attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook' will be examined by the means of cross-tabulations and chi-square test of independence.

The first alternative hypothesis (H1) postulated that there is a relationship between the dependent variable 'attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy and the dependent variable 'age'. Thus, to test this hypothesis, cross-tabulation of both variables will be designed along with chi-square test of independence

a. Relationship between Respondents' Attitudes towards CS as an Effective

Communication Strategy in Facebook and their Age

H₁: Age determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy

H₀: Age does not determine the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy.

		Age			Total
		14-17	18-21	22-25	
Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook	Undecided	7	11	7	25
	I agree	31	27	15	73
	I disagree	19	23	11	53
	Total	57	61	33	151

Table 8: Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy by Age

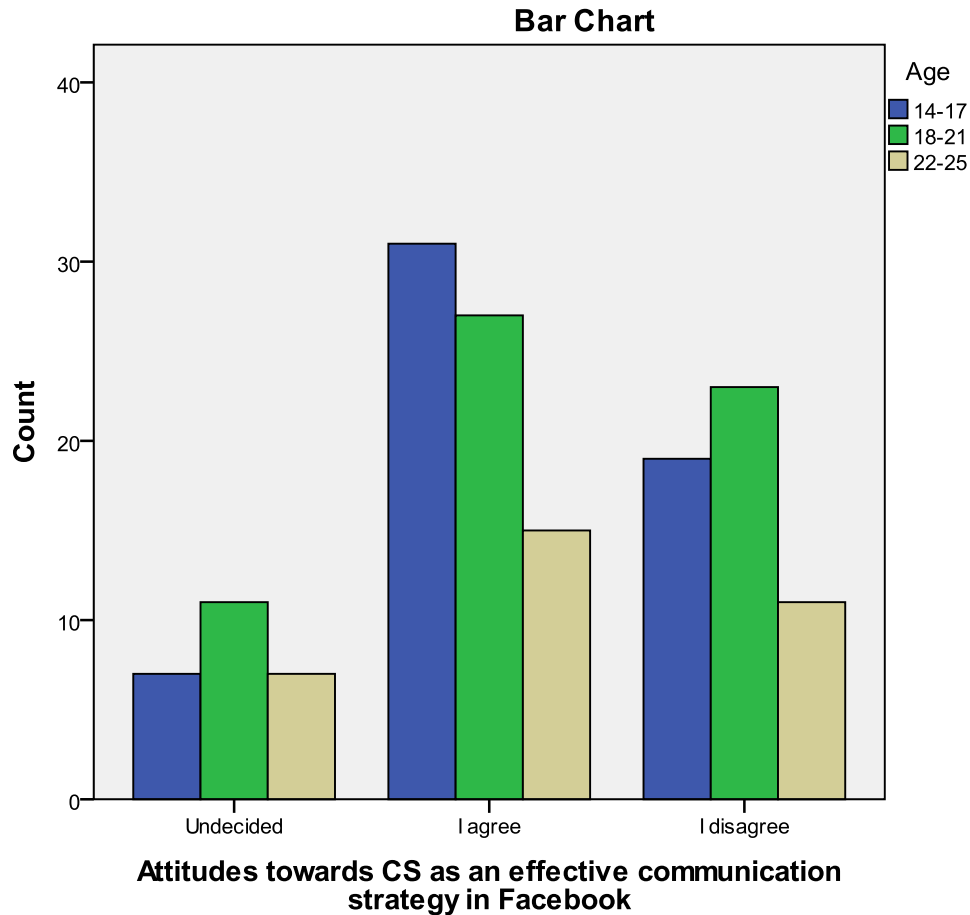


Figure 14: Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy by Age

Based on the statistical information reflected in both Table 8 and Figure 14, it is evident that there is no link between age and attitudes of respondents towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook. However if frequency distribution of each age group vis-à-vis the agreement column is to be considered, it will be noticed that majority of respondents who agreed with proposed statement (CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook) fell under the age groups 14-17 with a percentage of 42, 46% (N= 31/ 73) and 18-21 forming a percentage of 36, 98 % (N= 27/ 73). Whereas the least to agree with the proposed hypothesis were generally respondents belonging to the age group 22-25 occupying a percentage of 20, 54% (15/ 73), which

may explain that younger respondents held more positive attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy than older respondents.

Results obtained from the joint distribution of ‘attitudes towards CS as a communication strategy’ and ‘age’, were also confirmed by chi-square test of independence, and as Table. 9 shows, there is no association between the two variables given that the chi-square asymptomatic significance is higher than 0.05 (p-value= 0,729 > 0,05). Therefore, the first alternative hypothesis (H1) is to be denied whereas the null hypothesis (H0) is to be confirmed, and age of respondents does not determine their attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,037 ^a	4	,729
Likelihood Ratio	2,051	4	,726
Linear-by-Linear Association	,301	1	,583
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 9: Association between Age * Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook

- b. Relationship between Respondents’ Attitudes towards CS as an Effective Communication Strategy in Facebook and their Level of Education

H₂: Level of Education determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy

H₀: Level of Education does not determine the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy

The second alternative hypothesis suggested during this research, is that respondents' 'level of education' determines their 'attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy'. In other words, it is believed that respondents with a low level of education are the most to agree with the fact that CS is an effective communication strategy in Facebook. In order to determine whether there is any association between the two variables, cross-tabulation will be designed along with chi-square test of independence.

The results obtained from joint distribution of variables under analysis and displayed in Table10 as well as Figure 15 assumed the absence of any significant relationship between the two variables. To further evaluate the validity of this finding we will resort to chi-square test of independence, and as obvious in Table. 11 there is no association between the two variables given the fact that given that the chi-square asymptomatic significance is higher than 0.05 ($p\text{-value} = 0,270 > 0,05$). Thereupon, the second alternative hypothesis was denied as well whereas the null hypothesis was confirmed, and respondents' level of education does not determine their attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy.

		Level of education			Total
		Higher Education	High School	Secondary School	
Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook	Undecided	17	4	4	25
	I agree	39	11	23	73
	I disagree	30	13	10	53
	Total	86	28	37	151

Table 10: Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook by Level of education

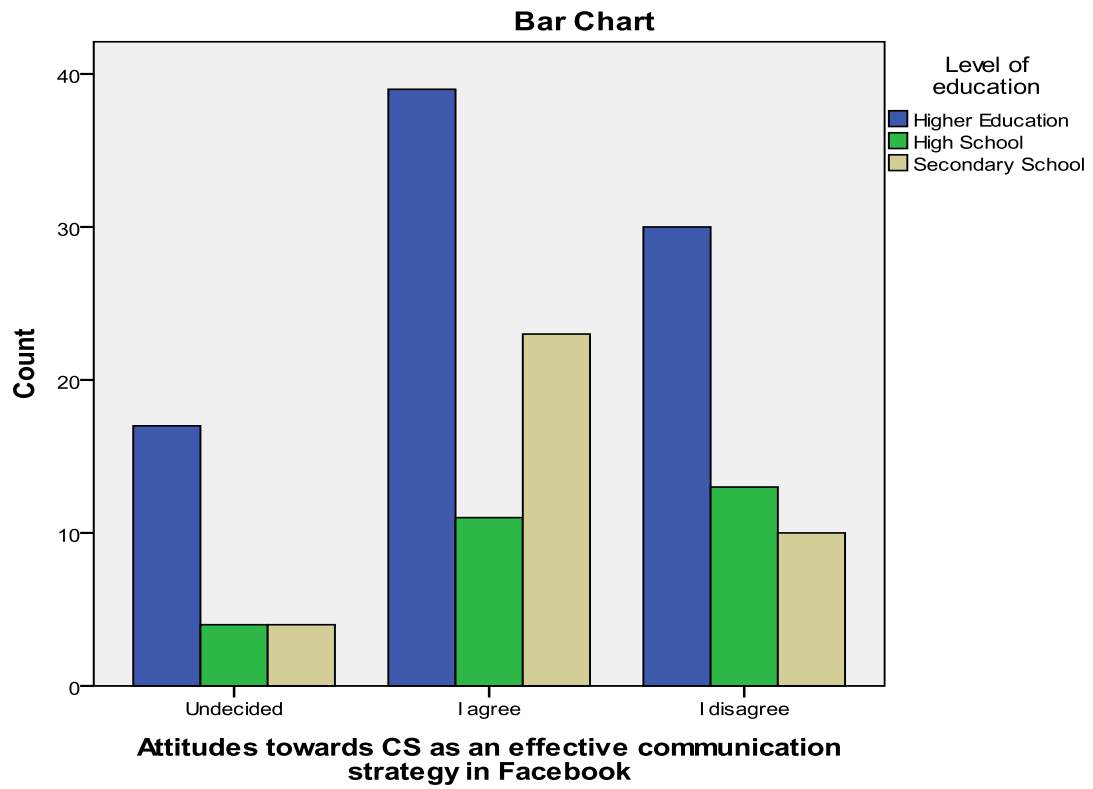


Figure 15: Attitudes towards CS as effective communication strategy by Level of education

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5,169 ^a	4	,270
Likelihood Ratio	5,124	4	,275
Linear-by-Linear Association	,084	1	,772
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 11: Association between Attitudes towards CS as effective communication strategy by Level of education

- c. Relationship between Respondents' Attitudes towards CS as an Effective Communication Strategy in Facebook and Type of School they attend

H₃: Type of school determines the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy

H₀: Type of school does not determine the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an effective communication strategy

The third hypothesis postulated that type of school young Moroccans attend determines the way they perceive CS. In other words, young Moroccans attending private schools may hold more positive attitudes towards CS and consider it as an effective communication strategy than those at public schools. This hypothesis was in fact based on the assumption that young Moroccans attending private schools use more CS between MA and French as their schools put more emphasis on the teaching of this

language thing that may explain the deep influence French exerts on their Moroccan language.

To find out whether there is any relationship between respondents' attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy and type of school they attend, cross-tabulation of both variables will be designed along with chi-square test.

Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook * Type of School Crosstabulation

Count		Type of School		Total
		Private School	Public School	
Attitudes towards CS as an effective co`mmunication strategy in Facebook	Undecided	7	18	25
	I agree	16	57	73
	I disagree	15	38	53
	Total	38	113	151

Table 12: Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy in Facebook by Type of School

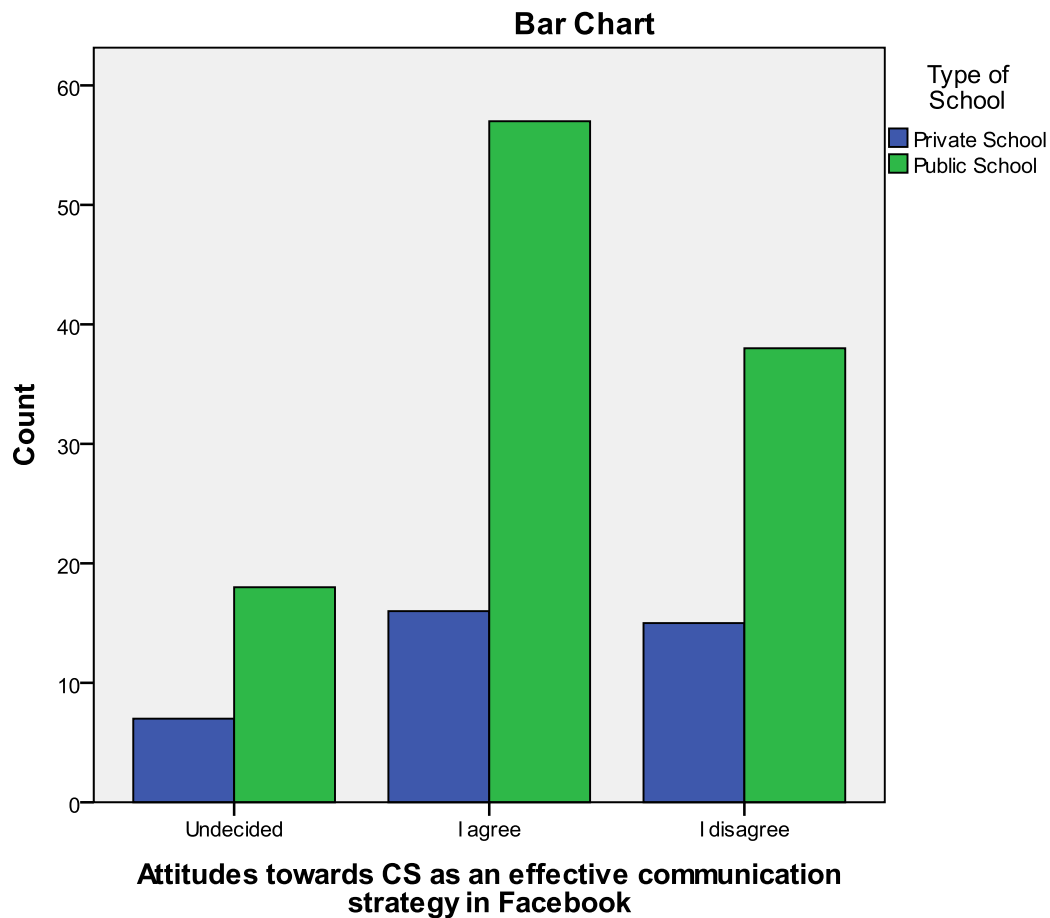


Figure 16: Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy by Type of school

The results obtained from joint distribution of variables under analysis and displayed in Tables 12 and Figure 16, assumed the absence of any significant relationship between the two variables. To further evaluate the validity of this finding we will resort to chi-square test of independence, and as obvious in Table. 13 there is no association between the two variables given that the chi-square asymptomatic significance is lower than 0.05 ($p\text{-value} = 0,270 > 0,05$) thus the third null hypothesis was confirmed, and the respondents' level of education does not determine their attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,792 ^a	2	,673
Likelihood Ratio	,795	2	,672
Linear-by-Linear Association	,066	1	,797
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 13: Association between Attitudes towards CS as an effective communication strategy & Type of school

5.1.2.2. Statistical Analysis of Relationship between Attitudes towards CS as an Indication of Moroccan Language Loss in Facebook and Socio-demographic Variables

Q2: Do the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as an indication of language attrition in Facebook vary by their age, level of education and type of school they attend?

- a. Relationship between Respondents' Attitudes towards CS as an Indication of Moroccan Language Attrition in Facebook and their Age

H₄: Age determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition

H₀: Age does not determine young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition

The second research question sought to find out whether the attitudes of respondents towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss (dependent variable) are determined by their age (independent variable). To put it differently, it is believed that respondents belonging to younger age (14-17) hold more positive attitudes towards code switching than older ones (22- 25) and do not consider it as an indication of Moroccan language attrition, and vice versa. In order to find answer to this question and test the above-mentioned hypotheses H4 and H0, it is first crucial to investigate whether there is a link between these two variables by the means of cross-tabulation and chi-square test.

Count

	Do you think that code switching in Facebook is an indication of Moroccan language loss					Total
	Neutral	I strongly agree	I agree	I disagree	I strongly disagree	
Age 14-17	10	4	12	23	8	57
Age 18-21	9	16	29	6	1	61
Age 22-25	1	11	19	2	0	33
Total	20	31	60	31	9	151

Table 14: Attitudes towards CS in Facebook as An indication of Moroccan Language by Age

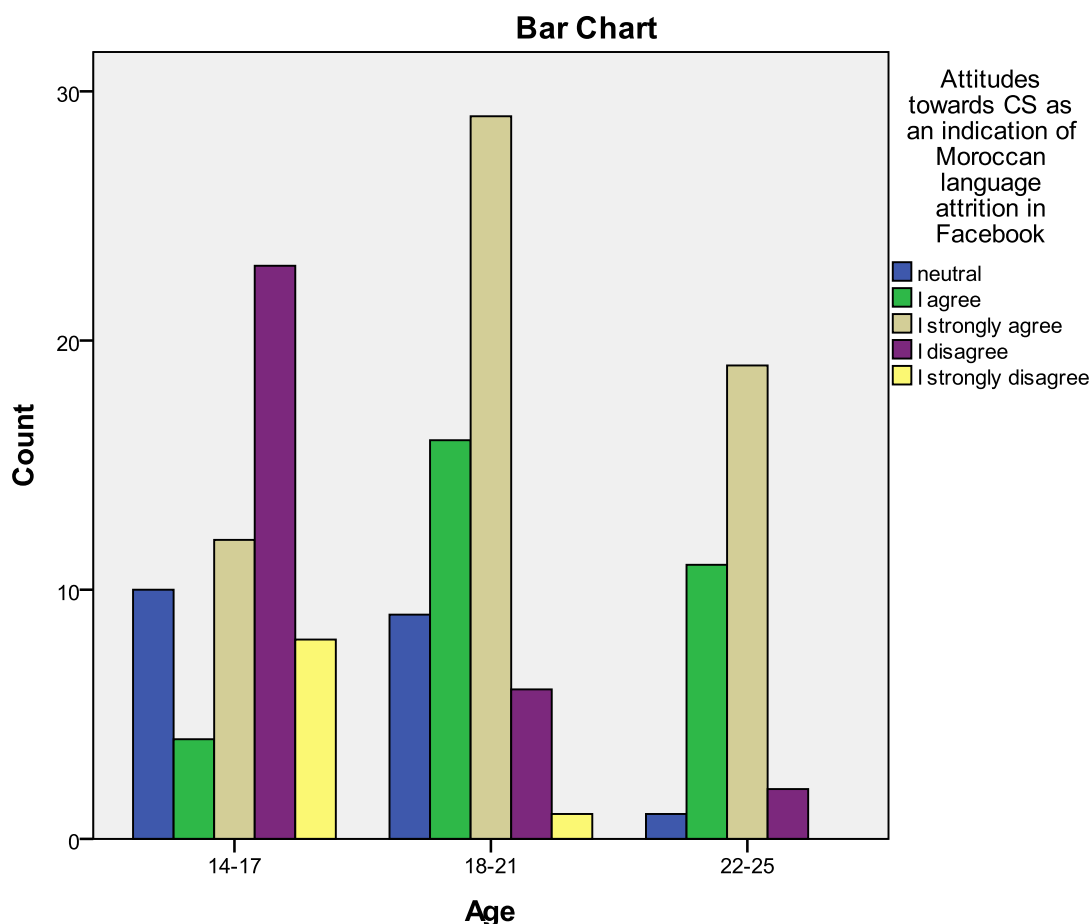


Figure 17: Attitudes towards CS in Facebook as An indication of Moroccan language attrition by Age

Based on the statistical information reflected in both Table 14 and Figure 17, it is evident that there is a link between age and attitudes of respondents. As noticed in Figure 17 the more the respondent's age increases the more s/he agrees with the statement that CS in Facebook is an indication of Moroccan language loss, and the more his/her disagreement decreases as well.

To further illustrate this idea, one can notice that a high frequency of the subjects fell under the age group of eighteen and twenty-one forming a percentage of 40,39 % (N= 61). Among this group we find that the most common attitudes of respondents were agreement and strong agreement with a percentage of 73,77 % (N= 29+ 16/ 61),

whereas only a small proportion of respondents who expressed their disagreement with the suggested statement forming a percentage 11, 47 % ($N = 6+1 / 61$), and the remaining category 14, 75 % ($N = 9 / 61$) is occupied by respondents who opted for neutrality.

As for respondents who were between the age of fourteen and seventeen, they were nearly equal in number with the previous age group of eighteen and twenty-one with a percentage of 37, 74 % ($N = 57$). Within this group we notice that the majority with a percentage of 54, 38 % ($N = 23+ 8 / 57$) expressed their disagreement and strong disagreement with the suggested hypothesis, while a small proportion strongly agreed and agreed with the suggested statement forming a percentage of 28,07 % ($N = 4+ 12 / 57$) and the remaining group 17, 54 % ($N = 10 / 57$) chose to be neutral.

The final category is occupied by respondents belonging to the age group of twenty-one and twenty-five with a percentage of 21,85 % ($N = 33$), and though they were few in number, but nearly all of them strongly agreed and agreed with the suggested hypothesis with a percentage of 90, 90 % ($N = 11+ 19 / 33$) and only 6,06 % ($N = 2 / 33$) expressed their disagreement and one 3,03 % ($N = 1 / 33$) generally remained neutral.

Correspondingly to the results of the joint distribution of the two variables, chi-square test of independence also confirms the existence of dependence between the two variables ‘age’ and ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition’. Henceforth, the link between the two variables is significant as the chi-square asymptotic significance is lower at the 5 % level.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	48,539 ^a	8	,000
Likelihood Ratio	52,275	8	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	8,663	1	,003
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 15: Association between age and attitudes towards Code-Switching as an indication of Moroccan Language Loss.

In a view of making decision about the nature of the relationship between age and attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss, it is crucial to relegate this question to the multinomial logistic regression. Table 16 provides the results of logit estimation model, which again confirmed that the variable ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss’ is really explained by ‘age’.

Dependent Variable : DISAGCODSWL

Method: ML - Ordered Logit (Newton-Raphson / Marquardt steps)

Sample: 1 151

Included observations: 151

Number of ordered indicator values: 5

Convergence achieved after 5 iterations

Coefficient covariance computed using observed Hessian

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z-Statistic	Prob.
AGE	-0.171841	0.051180	-3.357551	0.0008

Table 16: Nature of the Relationship between Age *Attitudes towards Code-Switching in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss

The results mentioned in Table. 16 are a clear indication that the variable ‘age’ acts negatively (negative coefficient: -0, 171841) on the dependent variable ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss’, noting that its coefficient is statistically significant at the 5% level (critical probability: prob=0, 0008<0, 05).

On the basis of statistical results achieved from the multinomial logistic regression test, we can safely reject the null hypothesis, and the link between the two variables under study is statistically significant, based on the fact that the more the respondents’ age decreases the more s/he disagrees with the statement that ‘CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss’ and the more his/ her agreement increases as well.

- b. Relationship between Respondents’ Attitudes towards CS as an Indication of Moroccan Language Attrition in Facebook and their Level of Education

H₅: level of education determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition

H₀: level of education does not determine young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition

The fifth hypothesis suggested that there is a relationship between respondents' attitudes towards CS as an indication of language attrition and their level of education. In other words, it is believed that Moroccan Facebook users with a low educational level hold more negative attitudes towards CS in Facebook and consider it as an indication of language attrition than respondents with a high educational level.

Before deciding which of the two hypotheses (H_5 or H_0) is correct, it is first deemed important to determine whether there exists any relationship of dependence between the two variables based on the results of cross-tabulation and chi-square test of independence.

		Attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition in Facebook					Total
		Neutral	I strongly agree	I agree	I disagree	I strongly disagree	
Level of education	Higher Education	7	28	43	7	1	86
	High School	6	1	10	11	0	28
	Secondary School	7	2	7	13	8	37
	Total	20	31	60	31	9	151

Table 17: Attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss Cross- tabulation

* by * Level of Education

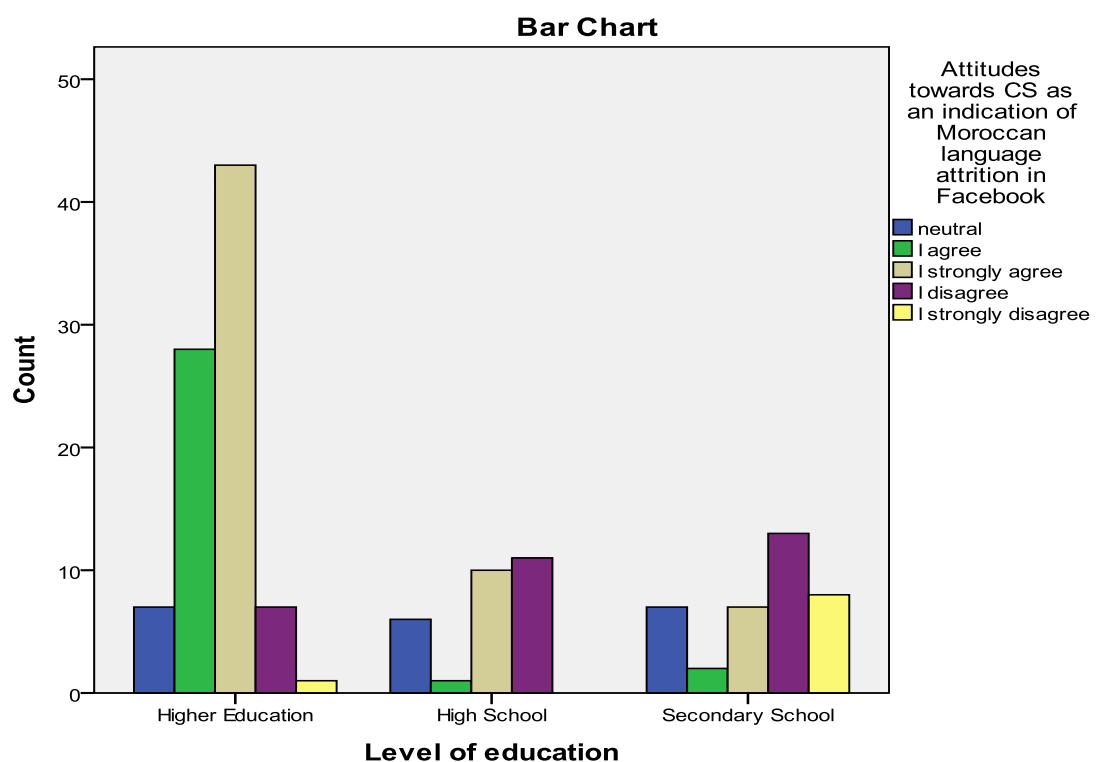


Figure 18: Association between level of education and attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss

Considering the results obtained from both Table. 17 and Figure. 18, we can presume that the more the respondent's level of education decreases, the more s/he disagrees with the statement that CS in Facebook is an indication of Moroccan language loss and the more his/her agreement increases as well.

According to results provided in Table 17, it is noticed that more than half of the subjects fell under the category of higher education with a percentage of 56, 95 % (N= 86). Within this category, we find the majority of them with a percentage of 82, 55% (N= 43+ 28/ 86) expressing their agreement as well as strong agreement with the statement that CS in Facebook is an indication of Moroccan language loss. While only 9, 30 % (N= 7+1/ 86) disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statement, and 8, 13 % (N= 7/ 86) remained neutral.

The second category is occupied by respondents at the secondary school level forming a percentage of 24, 50 % (N=37). Unlike the first category, which is that of tertiary level students, most of respondents within this category disagreed and even strongly disagreed with the proposition forming a percentage of 54, 05 % (N= 13+ 8/ 37), while only a small proportion of them 24, 32 % (N= 2+ 7/ 37) expressed their agreement and strong agreement, and the remaining 18,9 % (N= 7 / 37) has generally opted for neutrality.

As for the third category which was represented by high school students forming a percentage of 18,54% (N= 28) of the total number, their attitudes were, by chance, equally distributed on both agreement 39,28 % (10+1/ 28) and disagreement 39, 28 % (N= 11/ 28), as and the remaining 21,42 % (N= 6/ 28) chose neutrality.

Taking into consideration the results achieved through cross-tabulation of the two variables, the respondents who mostly agreed with the fact that CS in Facebook may be considered as an indication of language loss were those at the tertiary level, and the least to agree were respondents at the secondary level, this might somehow reveal a kind of relationship of dependence between the variables ‘level of education’ and ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss’.

In order to evaluate the results achieved from the joint distribution of both ‘level of education and ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss’, chi-square test of independence is employed. As represented in Table. 18, chi-square test of independence emphasizes the existence of a relationship of dependence between the two variables. Accordingly, H_0 is rejected and the link between ‘level of education’ and ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss’ is significant, given that the chi-square asymptotic significance is lower at 5 % level.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	59,832 ^a	8	,000
Likelihood Ratio	60,821	8	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12,100	1	,001
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 18: Association between level of education * attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss

In a view of taking decision about the nature of relationship between the two variables under analysis, it is crucial to relegate this matter to the multinomial logistic regression test. The following table represents the logit estimation of the variable ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss’ and the variable « level of education’.

Dependent Variable: DISAGCODSWL

Method: ML - Ordered Logit (Newton-Raphson / Marquardt steps)

Sample: 1 151

Included observations: 151

Number of ordered indicator values: 5

Convergence achieved after 5 iterations

Coefficient covariance computed using observed Hessian

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z-Statistic	Prob.
LEVST	-0.871428	0.204173	-4.268079	0.0000

*Table 19: Nature of the Relationship between Level of Education *Attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan Language Loss*

The results displayed in Table. 19 are a clear evidence that the independent variable ‘level of education’ coded as « LEVST » acts negatively (negative coefficient: - 0,871428) on the dependent variable ‘attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss’ coded as« DISAGCODSWL », noting that its coefficient is statistically significant at the 5% level (critical probability: prob=0,0000<0,05).

To sum up, and based on to the results obtained from both the multinomial logistic regression test as well as from the chi-square test, the fifth alternative hypothesis (H5) was confirmed and that the level of education determines attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition.

- c. Relationship between Respondents' Attitudes towards CS as an Indication of Moroccan Language Attrition in Facebook and Type of School they attend

H₆: Type of school determines young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition

H₀: Type of school does not determine young Moroccans' attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language attrition

The sixth hypothesis (H₆) sought to find out whether the type of school the respondents attend determines their attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language attrition. To determine whether there exists any relationship between the two variables cross- tabulation along with chi-square test are designed.

		Attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss					Total
		Neutral	I strongly agree	I agree	I disagree	I strongly disagree	
Type of school	Private School	5	5	9	15	4	38
	Public School	15	26	51	16	5	113
Total		20	31	60	31	9	151

Table 20: Attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan Language Loss by type of school.

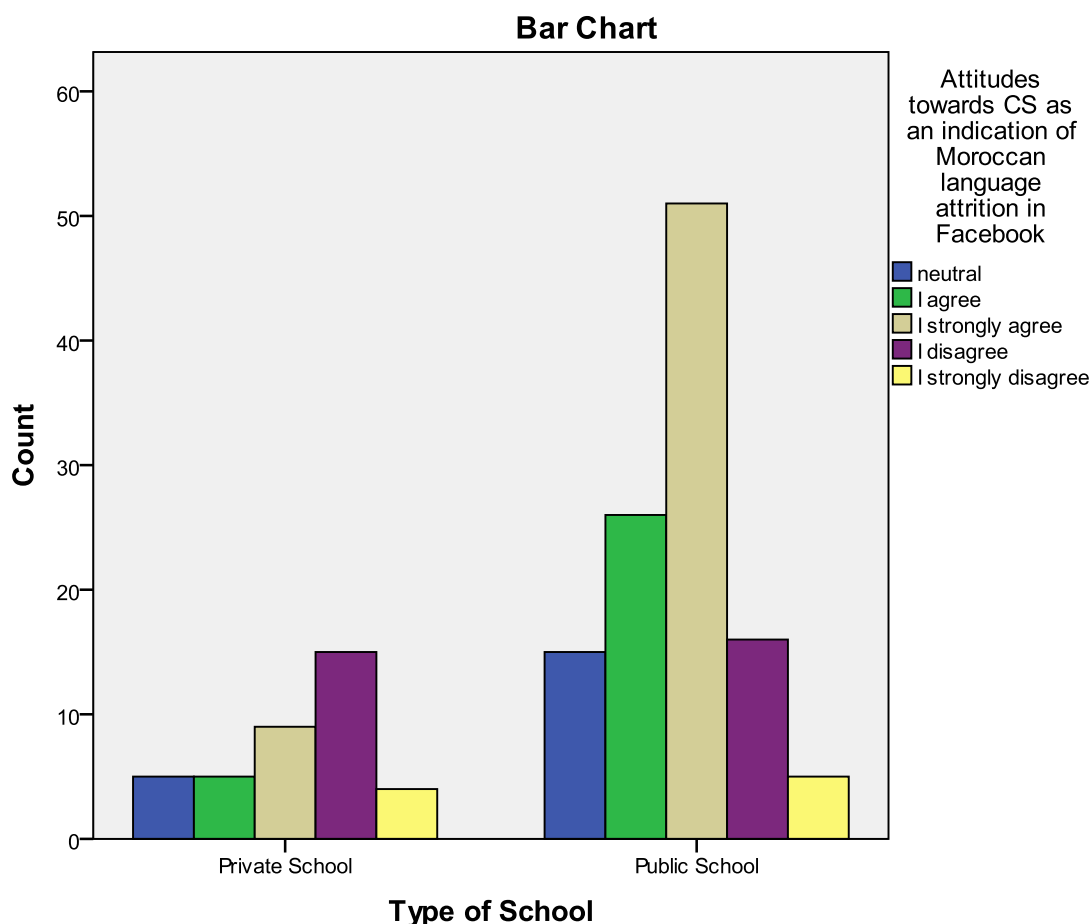


Figure 19: Type of School Respondents attend by Attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss

Based on the results of the joint frequency distribution of the two variables ‘type of school’ and ‘attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss in Facebook’, it is noticed that respondents attending public schools are the predominant category in this study as they represent a percentage of 74,83% (N= 113). However, not all of them shared the same attitudes towards CS in Facebook, given that the majority of them forming a percentage of 68,14 % (N= 51+ 26/ 113) held negative attitudes towards the use of CS in Facebook and expressed their agreement as well as strong agreement with the statement that it is indeed an indication of Moroccan language attrition. Whereas a small proportion disagreed with the statement, with a

percentage of 18, 58% (N= 16+5/ 113), while 13,27 % (N= 15/113) of them remained neutral.

As for private school students, though they were few in number, forming a percentage of 25, 16% (N= 38) of the total number, however 50 % of them (N= 15+4/ 38) held positive attitudes towards CS as an indication of Moroccan language loss in Facebook and disagreed as well as strongly disagreed with this statement. While 36, 84% (N= 9+5/ 38) of them, on the contrary, agreed with the suggested statement, and 13, 15 % (N= 5) chose to stay rather neutral.

Taking into consideration the results achieved through cross-tabulation of the two variables, it is assumed that respondents who mostly agreed with the fact that CS in Facebook is an indication of Moroccan language loss were public school students, and the least to agree were private school students. With this in mind, we will resort to chi-square test of independence to determine if there really is an association between ‘type of school’ and ‘attitudes towards CS in Facebook as a an indication of Moroccan language loss’.

In fact, the chi-square test of independence confirms the existence of dependence between the two variables. Thereupon, H_0 is to be rejected and the link between ‘type of school’ and ‘attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss’ is significant, as the chi-square asymptotic significance is lower at 5%.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15,289 ^a	4	,004
Likelihood Ratio	14,454	4	,006
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,529	1	,019
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 21: Association between Type of School the Respondents attend* Attitudes towards French- MA Code Switching as an indication of Moroccan Language Loss

To make decision concerning the nature of the relationship between the two variables, the multinomial logistic regression test will be employed. Table. 22, provides the results of logit estimation model of ‘attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss’ and ‘type of school’.

Dependent Variable: DISAGCODSWL

Method: ML - Ordered Logit (Newton-Raphson / Marquardt steps)

eSample: 1 151

Included observations: 151

Number of ordered indicator values: 5

Convergence achieved after 4 iterations

Coefficient covariance computed using observed Hessian

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z-Statistic	Prob.
PUBPRIVSC	-0.978810	0.363755	-2.690847	0.0071

Table 22: Nature of the Relationship between ‘Type of school’ * ‘Attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss’

The results displayed in Table 22 are a clear indication that the independent variable 'type of school' coded as « PUBPRIVSC » acts negatively (negative coefficient: -0,978810) on the dependent variable 'attitudes towards CS in Facebook as an indication of Moroccan language loss' coded as « DISAGCODSWL », noting that its coefficient is statistically significant at the 5% level (critical probability: $\text{prob}=0,0071<0,05$).

Therefore, and based on statistical data provided by both the chi-square test and the multinomial logistic regression, H_6 is confirmed, and the relationship between the two variables under analysis is significant, based on the fact that respondents belonging to private schools were the least to agree with the statement that 'CS in Facebook is an indication of Moroccan language loss', whereas those at high school and secondary school levels were the more to disagree with the proposed statement.

5.1.2.3. Statistical Analysis of Relationship between Technology and Frequency of CS use in Facebook

Q3: Is there any relationship between frequency of CS use and the use of technology

- a. Relationship between Frequency of CS use in Facebook and Accessing Facebook via Smartphones

H₇: There is an association between Frequency of CS use and the use of Facebook via smartphones

H₀: There is no association between Frequency of CS use and the use of Facebook via smartphones.

The third question investigated during this research sought to find out the link between Technology represented through the use of mobile Facebook and Facebook

consumption, factors that may be behind the increasing use of CS among young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions. It is hypothesized that the first factor is the use of Facebook via smartphones. Therefore, the seventh alternative hypothesis (H_7) assumed that there is an association between the use of Facebook via smartphones and frequency of CS in Facebook. Whereas the null hypothesis (H_0) assumed that there is no association between the two variables. This hypothesis assumed that respondents who access Facebook via smartphones use more CS in Facebook than respondents who may access do not access Facebook via their smartphones. To test this hypothesis, it is first important to find out whether there exists any association between the two variables under question: ‘accessing Facebook via smartphones’ and ‘frequency of CS use in Facebook’.

In order to evaluate the validity of H_7 , it was first important to design a cross-tabulation of the two variables: ‘the use of Facebook via smartphones’ and ‘frequency of CS use in Facebook’.

Count

		Frequency of CS use in Facebook					Total
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Usually	Always	
Accessing	Yes	6	32	21	50	8	117
Facebook via	No	5	6	4	14	5	34
Smartphones							
Total		11	38	25	64	13	151

Table 23: The use of Facebook via smartphones by Frequency of CS use in Facebook

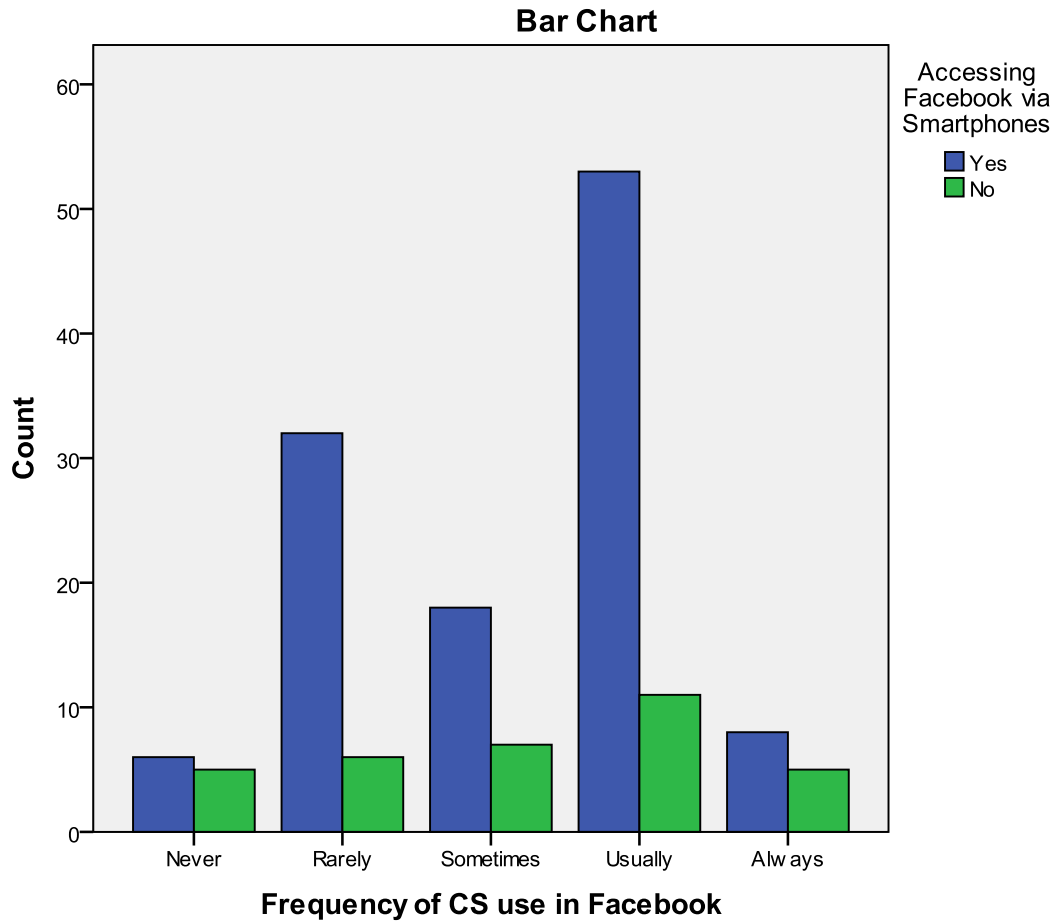


*Figure 20: The Use of Facebook via Smartphones *by* Frequency of CS in Facebook*

Considering the results obtained from Table 23 and Figure 20, it appeared that majority of respondents used Facebook via their smartphones. They formed 117 out of 151 with a percentage of 77, 48%. Among them 42, 74% (N= 50) who usually ‘code switch’, 27, 35% (N= 32) rarely ‘code switch’, 17, 95% (N= 21) sometimes ‘code switch’, 6, 84% (N=8) always ‘code Switch’, and only 5, 13% (N= 11) never code switch. In other words, among respondents who access Facebook from their smartphones, almost all respondents forming a number of 111 out of 117 with a percentage of 94, 87% use CS and only 6 respondents out of 117 with a percentage of 5, 13% who do not switch codes.

According to the results obtained from the joint frequency distribution of the two variables, it seemed that there is no association between ‘accessing Facebook via smartphones’ and ‘frequency of CS use’. To put it differently, frequency of CS use in Facebook does not depend on the use of Facebook via smartphones, since even respondents who did not access Facebook via their smartphones forming a percentage of 85,29% (N= 29 out of 34) use code-switching and only 14,71% (N= 5 out of 34) do not use it.

To assess the validity of these results, relationship between the two variables will be examined by the means of chi-square independence test. According to the results of chi-square test, displayed in Table. 24, the two variables are independent from each other. In other words, ‘the use of Facebook via smartphones’ does not significantly associate with “frequency of CS use in Facebook’. Hence, H_6 is rejected and H_0 is confirmed, given that the link between the two variables is insignificant, noting that the chi-square asymptotic significance or p-value is higher than 0.05 (p- value = 0,146 < 0.05).

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6,821 ^a	4	,146
Likelihood Ratio	6,223	4	,183
Linear-by-Linear Association	,000	1	,996
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 24: Association between the Use of Facebook via Smartphones and Frequency of CS use in Facebook.

The last hypothesis suggested during this research sought to figure out whether Facebook daily consumption might be considered as another factor behind the increasing use CS among young Moroccans in Facebook. In other words, do respondents with heavy Facebook daily consumption (more than 3 hours per day) tend to switch codes more than those with an average (approximately 2 hours) or light consumption (30 minutes or less)?

b. Relationship between Frequency of CS use in Facebook and Facebook Daily Consumption

H₈: There is an association between Facebook daily consumption (independent variable) and frequency of CS use in Facebook (dependent variable).

H₀: There is no association between Facebook daily consumption and frequency of CS use in Facebook

To find out whether there is any relationship between ‘frequency of CS use in Facebook’ and ‘daily Facebook consumption’, a cross-tabulation table was designed along with a chi-square test.

Table 25: Facebook Daily Consumption * Frequency of CS use in Facebook Cross-tabulation

		Frequency of Code switching Use					Total
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Usually	Always	
Facebook Daily Consumption	30 minutes	5	10	14	21	4	54
	120 minutes	3	9	4	9	2	27
	3 Hours or more	3	19	7	34	7	70
Total		11	38	25	64	13	151

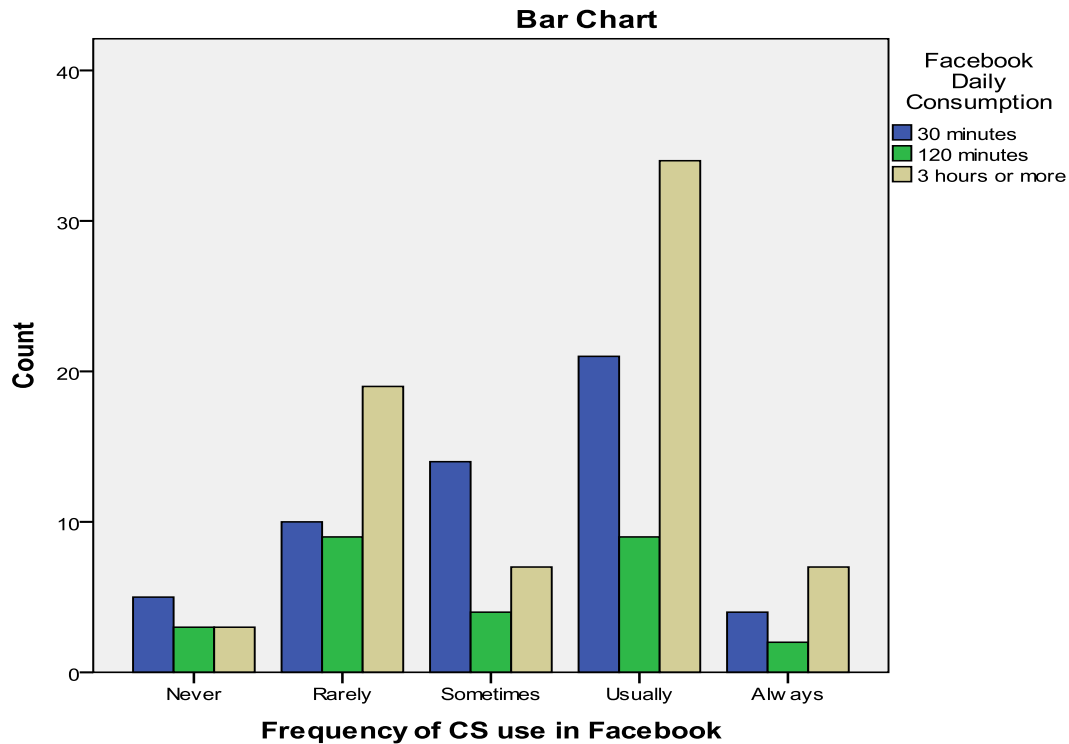


Figure 21: Facebook Daily Consumption *by* Frequency of CS use in Facebook

Based on the results of the joint frequency distribution, manifested in Table 25 and Figure 21, of the two variables ‘daily Facebook consumption’ and ‘frequency of CS use in Facebook’, it is obvious that nearly half of the subjects 46, 36% (N= 70 out of 151) were heavy Facebook consumers as they may devote more than 3 hours per day to Facebook. Among these heavy consumers, a vast majority of respondents ‘usually’ use CS in Facebook forming a percentage of 48,57% (N= 34 out of 70), and only a small proportion of them who ‘never’ code switch with a percentage of 4, 28 % (N= 3/ 70). 36 % (N= 54/ 151) was the percentage of subjects who are considered as light Facebook consumers as they may devote 30 minutes or less to Facebook. Within this category, there were a high percentage 39 % (N= 21/ 54) of respondents who ‘usually’ code switch, followed by those who ‘sometimes’ code switch forming a percentage of 26 % (N= 14/ 54), then those who rarely code switch with a percentage of 18 % (N=

10/ 54) and only a small proportion of respondents who fell under the two categories ‘never code switch’ 9,26 % (N= 5/ 54) and ‘always code switch’ 7,40 % (N= 4/ 54).

In short and based on these statistical analysis results, one can assume that majority of the subjects fell under the category of ‘heavy Facebook consumers’ who ‘usually use CS in Facebook’. As for the two remaining categories, although they may be considered as average and light Facebook consumers, most of them usually use CS in Facebook.

In order to determine whether there is an association between the two variables, chi-square test of independence will be used. As shown in Table 26, chi-square test assumes the absence of any dependence between the two variables (Facebook daily consumption) and frequency of CS use in Facebook). Therefore, H_0 is confirmed and the link between the two variables is insignificant, considering that the chi-square asymptotic significance is higher at the 5% level ($p\text{-value} = 0,348 > 0,05$).

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8,932 ^a	8	,348
Likelihood Ratio	8,785	8	,361
Linear-by-Linear Association	,127	1	,722
N of Valid Cases	151		

Table 26: Association between ‘Facebook daily consumption’ and ‘frequency of CS use in Facebook’

To have a better understanding of the attitudes of young Moroccan Facebook users towards CS, the next chapter sought to qualitative investigate –using online

ethnography methods mainly through observation and content analysis of Facebook comments- CS patterns adopted by young Moroccans in their Facebook comments and find out the possible motivations behind their code switches as well as to figure out whether their CS patterns serve any communicative functions and thus could be considered as a communication strategy or they are an indication of Moroccan language attrition.

5.2. Online Ethnography Findings

The second methodological tool adopted in this research, besides survey questionnaire, is online ethnography. The latter consists of direct observation and content analysis of Facebook comments. This study explores the CS patterns among young Moroccan Facebook users, as well as the motivations behind this choice of language, in a hope to better understand their attitudes towards its use. This chapter investigates the types, functions as well as social motivations of CS that appear in the participants' Facebook comments. The purpose behind this study is to find out whether CS patterns of young Moroccan Facebook users can be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition, or it is a communicative strategy that aims at facilitating their Facebook interactions.

The sample included 30 Moroccan Facebook users both males and females between the age of 15 and 25, selected from the researcher's friends list. As a method of investigation, a qualitative 'nethnographic study' (online ethnography is another name) of over 979 Facebook comments has been conducted to trace the common patterns of CS, mainly types, functions of CS, and social motivations behind its use.

The examples extracted from the participants' Facebook comments were kept as they are to be as faithful as possible even though they may contain grammatical, syntactical and spelling mistakes. An English version of the participants' comments was produced by the researcher and revised by some professionals. Data gathered from participants' Facebook comments were coded using Excel program and thematically analysed using content analysis method. Types and social motivations were analysed within the theoretical framework of Poplack's syntactic categorization of CS, Myers-Scotton (1993) Markedness Model for CS, while functions of CS were investigated using grounded theory. This part of the research sought to answer the following questions:

4. What are the general CS patterns among young Moroccan Facebook users?

4.1 How Frequent is CS among the participants?

4.2 What are the dominant types of CS among the participants?

4.3 Does CS used by the participants in their Facebook comments serve any functional purposes?

4.4 What are the motivations behind the use of CS by young Moroccan Facebook users?

5. Can the CS patterns adopted by young Moroccan Facebook users be considered as a sign of Moroccan language attrition?

6. To what extent do the CS patterns adopted by young Moroccan Facebook users help explain their attitudes towards CS?

5.2.1. Frequency of CS in Facebook Comments

Based on the findings displayed in Table 27, it seemed that most of the participants' comments contained CS. As 73, 54 % (N=720) of the total number of the comments under study contained more than one language especially MA and French, followed by monolingual MA comments occupying a percentage of 13, 27 % (N= 130) of the total number of the analysed comments. While 10, 72 % (N= 105) were occupied by French monolingual comments, and a small percentage of 2, 45 % (N= 24) was occupied by other languages monolingual comments mainly English and Spanish.

Types of Facebook Comments	Frequency of Occurrences	Percentage Of Occurrences
MA Monolingual Comments	130	13, 27 %
French Monolingual Comments	105	10, 72 %
Other Languages Monolingual Comments	24	2, 45 %
Comments Including CS	720	73, 54 %
Total	979	100 %

Table 27: Distribution of Frequency and Percentages of CS Occurrences in the participants' Facebook Comments.

This section generally answered the first research question concerning the frequency of CS occurrences among young Moroccan Facebook users, which according to Table 27 seemed to be high. These results confirm that CS is a common pattern among Moroccan Facebook users.

5.2.2. Types of Code- switching Employed in Facebook Comments

While observing the Facebook users' comments posted from 1st September 2017 to 1st April 2018, 979 comments were coded, extracted, analysed, and discussed. To study the CS types that are mostly used by the participants, only the comments where CS appeared were analyzed which were in general 720 comments. The types of CS found in this research are discussed within the theoretical framework of Poplack's (1980) syntactic categorization of CS: intra-sentential, inter-sentential, intra-word, and tag switching.

Type of CS	Frequency of Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrences
Inter-sentential CS	120	16, 66 %
Intra-sentential Code Switching	287	39,86 %
Intra-Word CS	63	8, 75 %
Tag Switching	250	34, 72 %
Total	720	100 %

Table 28: Distribution of frequency and percentage of the types of CS occurrences in Facebook comments

In general, all the four types of CS mentioned by Poplack (1980) appeared in the participants' Facebook comments. There was a remarkable difference in terms of the distribution of each type as shown in Table 28; the most frequent type of CS is intra-sentential code switching forming a percentage of 39, 86 % (N= 287) of the total number of comments. The second most prevalent type after intra-sentential CS was tag-switching forming a percentage of 34, 72 (N= 250) of the total number of analysed comments. Then inter-sentential CS forming a percentage of 16, 66% (N= 120) and finally intra-word switching which was the least frequent among the participants with a percentage of 8, 75 % (N= 63) of the total number of the analysed comments. This finding generally answered the second research question, which sought to investigate the most prevalent type of CS among the participants. Therefore, results confirm that intra-sentential and tag- switching were the most dominant types of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users.

Some examples were extracted from the participants' comments to further illustrate the four types of CS mentioned by Poplack (1980) and are as follows:

5.2.2.1. Intra-sentential CS:

Intra-sentential CS involves a switch from one language to another in the same utterance of speech, and this switch may come in the middle of a sentence or a clause. This type of CS, according to Poplack (1980), is the most complex of CS types as it requires bilingual speakers to be highly proficient in both languages in order to produce correct sentences.

1. *Je t'aime meilleure 3mima fl3alaaam w tw7shk trop)*

(I love you the best auntie in the world, and I miss you a lot)

2. *je te souhaite ahssen 3id milad fl3alam hit nta ahssen friend fl3alam! I love you*

(I wish the best happy birthday ever, because you are the best friend ever, I love you)

3. *malek mdemr a ucef safi oublie ne t'en fait pas ok*

(Why you are so upset Ucef, just let it go and do not worry, Ok!)

5.2.2.2. Tag-Switching

It is also referred to as emblematic CS or extra-sentential CS. According to Poplack (1980) “tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost, anywhere, in, the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical rule” (p: 589). This kind of switching is deemed to be the least problematic of the four types as it only requires the insertion of tags.

4. *waLlo al 3eZize Dyalii konet ka3eya ms Db hmd*

(Nothing my dear, I was upset but now I feel better thank God)

5. *Ziin dl3aaalammm 🤩👉 loove u*

(The most beautiful girl in the world, I love you)

6. *HHHHHH.déjà kunt kan3um mea lqirch! Lahyfdk ahbibi*

(Laughing. I was already swimming with the shark! May God keepyou Brother.)

5.2.2.3. *Inter-sentential CS*

In inter-sentential CS the switch from one language to another “can occur either at a sentence or clause boundary where each clause or sentence is in a different language” (Romaine 1989: 122). Unlike Poplack (1980), Myers-Scotton considers this type of CS as the one that involves “the most skilled production, since the speaker must produce entire, well-formed sentences”. Thus, in order for a bilingual speaker to be able to produce full correct sentences in a given bilingual interaction, s/he must have a full command of the both languages, “than only inserting EL content morphemes in an ML frame” (Myers-Scotton, 1993 a: 71 Cited in Joan Smith/ Kocamahhul, 2003: 116).

7. *Il ressemble a toii le petit ykhelilii lfonoun*

(The little boy looks like you, may God keep him.)

8. *we made history hhh 7na fchkel*

(We made history, we are so special)

9. *Tu me manques aussi hbibaa 🙄☐ thank youu so much babe*

(I miss you too darling (emoji expressing sadness) thank you so much babe

5.2.2.4. *Intra-word switching:*

Intra-word switching generally stands for switches at the word level, where a word from L2 is mixed with the grammatical system of L1.

10. *badr nsit w commetite bl face d mama*

(Badr, I forgot and commented with my mom’s Facebook account)

11. *kijatek had lpic wa3ra yak?*

(how did you find this picture, amazing isn't it?)

12. *Chefti l3iba li taguétek fiha*

(Did you see the post where I tagged your name?)

5.2.3. Functions of CS in Facebook Comments

The comments extracted from the participants' Facebook profiles were coded for CS function themes using a grounded theory method. The analysis of Facebook comments showed that CS appeared in the comments mainly to serve notions of quotation and addressee specification notions of availability, principle of economy, indicating emotions, clarification, emphasis, habitual expressions, creativity and euphemism.

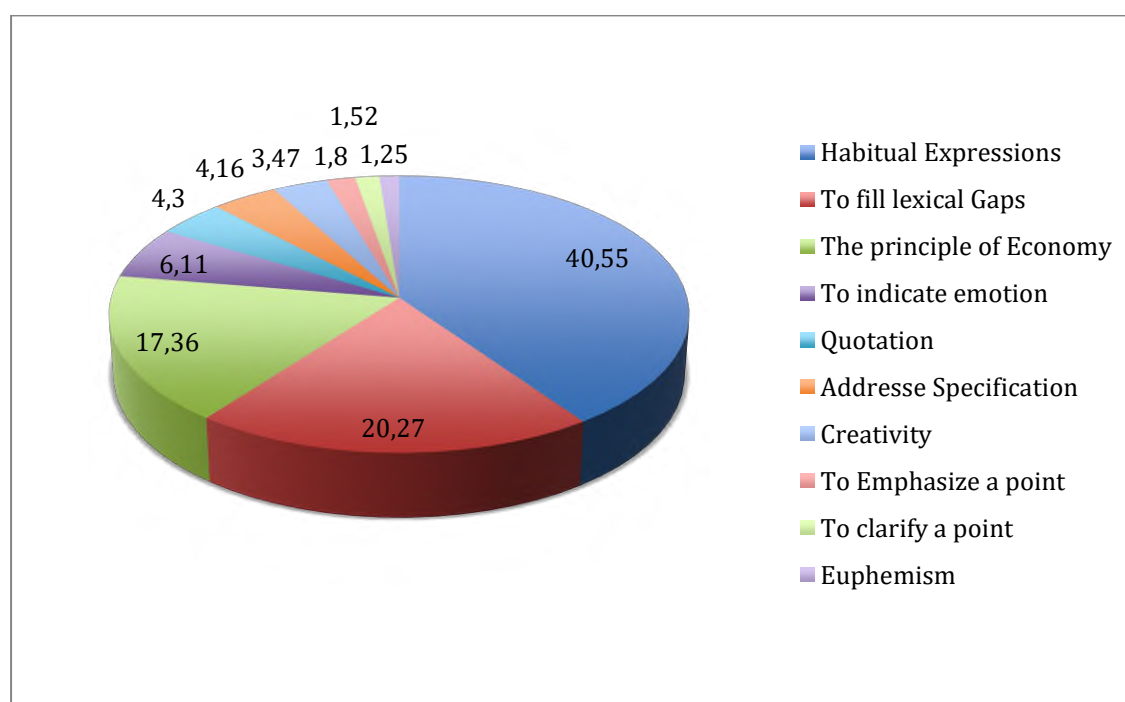


Figure 22: Graphical Representation of the Functions of CS in the Participants' Facebook Comments

As it is highlighted in Figure 22, the most frequent function of CS occupying a percentage of 40, 55% (292 comments in total) in the participants' Facebook comments served the function of habitual expressions, which were in general formulaic expressions and tags, often used by the participants to express different emotions ranging from admiration, to love, apology and even anger. CS for availability also appeared among the comments, as they might sometimes insert expressions different from their language of interaction just to fill lexical gaps; this function occupied a percentage of 20, 27 % of the total number of comments (N= 146).

Another function of CS seemed to be frequent among the participants was CS for the principle of economy, occupying a percentage of 17, 36 % (N= 125), including French and English abbreviations and acronyms, mainly in terms of CMC expressions. CS to indicate emotion is another function of CS that appeared in the participants' Facebook comments, forming a percentage of 6, 11 % (N= 44).

Other functions of CS also appeared in the participants' comments but were less dominant mainly serving addressee specification 4, 16% (N= 30), quotation 4, 30 % (N=31), creativity 3, 47 % (N= 25), emphasis 1, 80 % (N= 13), clarification 1, 52 % (N= 11), and finally euphemism 1, 25 % (N= 9).

5.2.3.1. *Habitual expressions / Formulaic Expressions:*

Habitual expressions (Malik, 1994) are often used by the participants in their Facebook interactions, usually in foreign languages (mainly French and English) different from their mother tongue language. They include formulaic expressions, and discourse markers (like shit, fuck, ptn (putain), top, nice, merci bcp (beaucoup), etc). They are often used to express different emotions ranging from admire to love, giving compliments, wish a happy birthday, thank someone, or even to express anger.

13. *Ayoub lghzal happy birthday bro*

(ayoub, my bestie, happy birthday brother)

Writing on somebody's timeline to wish his/her happy birthday is very common among young Moroccan Facebook users, as it is also common to switch to French and English for this purpose. It was noticed that even participants whose dominant language, in Facebook, is MA switch to French or English in such occasions. These expressions seem to be adopted by most Facebook users as part of their Facebook jargon.

14. *Nice bb dima top*

(nice baby, you are always the best)

Commenting on pictures in other languages than MA also appeared to be common among the participants in Facebook, as they usually insert French and English expressions in such contexts, maybe as a strategy to better express their feelings upon their friends' posted pictures.

15. *wa fuuuuuuuck, wllahila mrid*

Many French and English interjections were employed by the participants to refer to some swear words, used mainly to express anger, displeasure and other negative emotions. They are frequently used in other languages than MA as they might sound embarrassing and inappropriate if expressed in MA. CS in terms of these expressions might also be considered as euphemism.

CS for habitual expressions is widespread among the participants, especially the younger ones, between the ages fourteen and nighnteen. Normally, the insertion of such

expressions does not require a person to be highly proficient in the inserted languages, as they are most of the times formulaic expressions and discourse markers that can be added at the beginning, in the middle or even at the end of a sentence. This may somehow explain the high frequency of tag-switching among all the participants.

5.2.3.2. Availability

Switching for availability (San, 2009) or to fill a lexical gap is another function that CS served in the participants' Facebook comments. Especially in terms of words and expressions that are heavily loaded with meaning and could lose their significance if translated into another language. That is why this kind of switches frequently occurs in the participants' comments for the simple reason that they may not be familiar with these terms in another language like French or English, or they tend to keep the exact meaning of certain expressions, so they can have a strong effect on the addressee.

Young Moroccan Facebook users may also use other languages terms or expressions, because the dominant language in their Facebook interactions lacks this kind of expressions. Expressions from other languages, like French or English, are widely spread among Moroccan Facebook users, maybe because they find it easier to use them as gap-fillers. Especially in terms of CMC expressions, according to Bentahila & Davies (1995), speakers may use CS to fill a lexical gap when s/he has not the corresponding MA term at his/ her disposal at all (P: 83). In other words, speakers, in a certain bilingual interaction, may use the most available code to well transmit their ideas and feelings.

During the comments' analysis, many code-switches appeared to serve the function of availability, which were coded and classified into three categories mainly

CMC expressions and Facebook expressions, religious expressions, and youth jargon terminology.

a. CMC and Facebook Jargon

Most of the comments under analysis contained switches that served the function of availability in terms of computer-related English and French vocabulary that is generally mixed with MA grammatical system, maybe because they are more available to Moroccan Facebook users in French and English than in MA.

16. *Ana magelt Walou w mataguit hed*

(I said nothing, and I tagged no one)

17. *inboxx nssbek shwiya, hhhhh*

(Go inbox so I can insult you a little bit (laughter))

18. *le7et wa7ed Statut Ctt Wlh mab9it Netkonikta B had conte*

(I have published a status update, that's all. I no longer get logged with this account, I swear)

19. *matba9ach tcommentéli tswari*

(Stop commenting on my pictures)

This kind of expressions is frequently used by majority of young Moroccans not only in Facebook, but they have also become part of their everyday jargon. They were adapted to the MA language to the point that one cannot recognize that they are originally foreign words. In other words, they have become loan-words and integrated in the Moroccan youth jargon.

b. Moroccan Youth Jargon

All young people over the world have their own language, which is considered as an identity marker. They develop a language that meets their communicative needs and makes them distinct from the rest of the society. The following expressions are frequently used by young Moroccans, which were first created inside the SNS and then become part of their face-to-face jargon as well. These expressions are considered as peer language, or as Gumperz's (1976) referred to as "we code", the young Moroccans use them as a symbol of peer group membership (as cited in Huffaker & Calvert, 2005).

Moroccan youth jargon can also be considered as a method of self-expression that allows young Moroccans to transcend all the cultural and linguistic boundaries mainly through creating their own language. Especially in terms of phrases and words for giving compliments, young Moroccans are so creative in this field, maybe because in the Moroccan culture such expressions are considered as taboo expressions. For this reason, young Moroccans have created equivalents for this kind of expressions and integrated them in their own jargon to better express themselves without feeling ashamed or embarrassed.

Examples (20) and (21) are two different ways to say to a girl that she is beautiful 'titiza' and 'lfssoūria' is the noun of 'Fessra' which according to the Moroccan youth jargon refers to beauty or beautiful. The participants in these examples chose to switch to Moroccan youth jargon to freely express their admire maybe as a strategy to avoid feeling embarrassed or simply to identify themselves as young and cool.

In example (22), the word "ʕniba" occurred in one of the comments, which is equivalent to the English word 'gay'. Here again CS served two functions availability

and euphemism. The participant was making fun over one of his friends' pictures describing him as 'gay', and in order to mitigate the effect of this word he used an equivalent of the word which is less shocking.

20. *titiza diali, you are so cute*

(my babe, you are so cute)

21. *Lfsouria.com tjr*

(Gorgeoaus as usual)

22. *Hhhhhh you look so 3nibaaa in this picture*

(laughing) You look so gay in this picture)

c. Idiomatic Expressions

Similarly, idiomatic expressions or culturally bound expressions in Facebook interactions are often inserted in MA, simply because they are difficult to translate and sometimes lose their real meaning when translated to another language. Many idiomaic expressions are used in Facebook in MA to keep their real meaning as well as their effect on the addressee. Each community has its specific culture and uses certain specific terms to refer to certain cultural expressions, which are hard to translate into another language. For this reason, speakers usually use their native cultural terms even when interacting in other languages, as they may feel that language of interaction will not be able to convey the intended meaning. (Basudha Das, 2012:12)

In Example (23), a participant inserted the expression “*mam/a mʃak bass*” in her French-dominant sentence, which happened to be a MA idiomatic expression often used in circumstances of death, and when someone loses one of his relatives, people

often tell him/ her “*labaraka frassek*” equivalent to the English expression “please accept my condolences or I am sorry for your loss”. While an American or French native speaker would reply with a simple ‘thank you’, Moroccans reply with longer phrases like “*mam/ā mʕak bass*” or other similar expressions may be as a strategy to show more politeness and affection, and to not sound cold. Expressions like these are often used in MA since they have no equivalents in foreign languages.

23. « *Merci Zennouba mamcha m3ak bass ma chérie* »

(Thank you Zennouba darling)

24. « vraiment c'est que du *lʒiss lkappa* tu penses que si tu mets le drapeau de la france tu vas éliminé le terrorisme du monde »

(You are really a lickspittle, do you think that if you put the French flag you will eliminate terrorism from the world).

In Example (24) « *lkappa* » is a French loan word that has been borrowed from French and established as a loan word, it is derived from the French word ‘*capot*’ which means the hood or ‘car hood’. ‘*Lhiss*’, is a MA word meaning licking or to lick, the whole expression literally means ‘to lick the car hood’ it is an equivalent to the English idiom ‘to lick the spittle’ or ‘Lick-spittle’ which according to the Cambridge English Dictionary means : « a person who praises and tries to please people in authority, usually in order to get some advantage from them in the hope of promotion or a pat on the head ». (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/lickspittle>). The insertion of this idiomatic expression in a French sentence may be considered as a strategy adopted by the participant to provoke his addressee and describe him as flatter

and lick-spittle by sharing the French flag on his profile to support France during the terrorist attacks.

d. Religious Expressions :

Religious expressions are another kind of idiomatic expressions that are frequently used by young Moroccans in Facebook, especially in circumstances of death, religious ceremonies, and other similar events. These expressions are often used in MA or even Standard Arabic to express solidarity and ethnic identity.

25. *3id Moubarak, ma chérie*

(Happy 3id, my Darling)

26. *Omar Chkoune mate 🤔?*

Ouma Le grand Pere de ma meilleure Lah yra7mo 🤔:(

(Who has died? (Emoticon symbolizing surprise and shock)

(Ouma The grand-father of my best friend, may God bless his soul)

In extract (26), it seemed that Ouma's dominant language in the comment is French. The participant resorted to MA and inserted the religious expression "lāh yrahmou" equivalent to the English expression "Peace be upon him/her" an expression that is commonly used by Moroccans in such circumstances.

27. *Ça va être une catastrophe, Allah ychouf men halna*

(It will be a disaster, may God save us)

5.2.3.3. *The Principle of Economy*

The participants also employed CS for the principle of economy (cf. San, 2009), as many of them inserted some French, sometimes English abbreviations and other short forms of language in their MA Facebook interactions. In general, the MA lacks this kind of expressions that is why most of Moroccan Facebook users insert such code-switches in their interactions, as they are saving time and reducing the typing task.

28. « *chama diali lpb* »

(my Chama is the most beautiful)

This comment is basically written in MA with the insertion of French abbreviation « lpb » which stands for the expression ‘la plus belle’ equivalent to the English expression ‘the most beautiful’.

29. « *jiti wa3ra bae* » babe= attractive girl

(you look amazing babe)

30. « *a5oya Wlh ma Ana Lii kanefta7e Lfb* »

(I swear Brother I am not the one who gets connected with this facebook account.)

31. Wi *bbdyali*, tu es la meilleure

(Yes my baby, you are the best)

32. *db* ntwal *mdrr*

(I will become taller (laughing out loud))

In example (32), ‘Mdr’ is a French acronym of the expression: ‘meurt de rire’ which is the equivalent of the English acronym ‘lol’ which means ‘laughing out loud’. « *db* » refers to the MA word ‘daba’ which means right now, this expression was extracted from the comments to show that the principle of economy also applies to MA expressions, it is no longer a French or English CMC feature. Due to the constant use of French and English abbreviations, Moroccan Facebook users are now inventing MA abbreviations to serve the same function mainly economizing time and minimizing the typing efforts.

5.2.3.4. Indicating Emotions and Affection

33. « hbiba diyali tu sais deja a tel point je t'aime, ikhelik lili et on aura sûrement d'autre souvenir meilleur »

(my darling, you already know how much I love, may God always keep us together and we will certainly have other good memories to share.)

34. « Merci kbida           love you »

(Thank you, sweetheart, I love you)

35. « Hbibati mes belles allahyfdkom wynjtkom je vous aime bcp        »

(My darlings, my beautiful girls, May God bless you and keep you, I love you so much (emoticons))

Love or affection words are often expressed in MA to transmit their user's deep feelings of love and admire, usually accompanied with emoticons symbolizing love and affection. Some expressions are culturally bound, and some participants preferred to

express them in MA so they can have a strong effect on the addressee. For example, the expression “*khellik lili*” is very frequent among female participants, they often say it to their female peers to express their affection or admire. This expression is less frequent among male Facebookers who rarely use such expressions except when commenting on some of their female friends’ pictures; in such a case they prefer rather to use foreign language expressions instead of Moroccan ones as mentioned in example (36), maybe as a strategy to avoid feeling embarrassed since Moroccans are quite reserved in such subjects.

36. “*jiti lyoum hyper belle*”

(You look stunning today)

5.2.3.5. Quotation

As noticed in extract (37), one of the participants shared a comment in French but when he wanted to report the speech of another person, he switched to MA to emphasize the fact that it is quoted from another person and not his own words.

37. *Quand l’encgiste te dit « awel salaire diali hadi ykoun minimum 15 000dh »*

(When the ENCG student tells you: my first salary will be minimum 15 000 dh)

38. *Vraiment c’est du n’importe koi, comme le dit toujours nora: « he is such an asshole»*

(This really does not make any sense, as Nora always says: « he is such an asshole»)

As mentioned in example (38), the participant wrote a statement in French and reported another person’s statement in English. The reported statement is a swear word,

maybe for this reason she wanted to keep it in English as her friend says it, in order to mitigate the effect of the word “asshole”; that is, if translated to the Moroccan Arabic, it will sound embarrassing and socially inappropriate. In this example CS served two functions: quotation and euphemism.

5.2.3.6. Addressee Specification

39. *Je veux remercier mn dieu ! En quoi sa peut vs deranger !! :d Khadija (lhdra fbalek a douja)*

(I just wanted to thank my God! Why do you seem worried? :D (Symbol of laughing)
Khadija (you know what I mean douja))

To address a specific audience means also to exclude another one, and this exclusion as mentioned in (example 39) is purposefully done, and it is marked by the switch from French to MA. In this case, the participant excluded the other addressees and directed her message to only one of her friends “Douja” by tagging her name in the message and putting Douja’s message to her between brackets to emphasize more that the message is addressed to « Douja » only.

40. *Ouij: prk tu me parles de cette façon, je te connais meme pas*

Ghiz : tu es vrm orgueilleuse

Ouij: et tu es vrm bête, je vé te bloquer tt de suite

Zi: Ouijdane3mri chtk hdrti m3a chi hde haka hhhhhh

Ouij: Zineb yak hiya li 9lbat 3liha w ana makan3rfhaaach

(Ouijdane: why do you speak to me like this, I don’t even know you)

Ghiz: you are really arrogant

Ouij: and you are really stupid, I will block you right now.

Zi: Oujidane I have never seen you talking to someone like that (laughing)

Ouj: she is the one who started, and I really don't know her)

In example (40), a participant '*Ouij*' used French to show distance from one of her friends on Facebook '*Ghiz*', and as can be inferred from their conversation they are on disagreement. '*Zi*' another Friend of '*Ouij*' interfered in the conversation and addressed her in MA, '*Ouij*' did the same, so she switched to MA to show solidarity with '*Zi*' who seems to be a close friend of hers, and to distance herself from '*Ghiz*' with whom she is on fight.

As obvious in the two examples both participants used MA as “in-group” language or “we-code” (Gumperz, 1976) language to express solidarity with their close friends, and French as “they-code” or “out-group” language to exclude the others (as cited in Huffaker & Calvert, 2005).

5.2.3.7. Creativity

Another function of CS appeared in the participants' comments and appeared in the comments of different participants especially those studying at the secondary and high school levels. Especially in terms of emotion words, some new expressions emerged « to bring a dramatic effect, in order to attract the listeners' attention »: (Basudha Das, 2012: 13). This kind of expressions is inventive; they are made of a mixture of the MA grammatical system and a lexical item from another foreign language (mainly French).

41. ohhhh la titization

(Wow, what a beauty!)

In example (41), a participant used a hybrid of MA term “*titiz*” which means beautiful according to the Moroccan youth jargon and the definite French article “*la*” as well as a French suffix “*ation*” to form a new expression “*la titization*”. This expression seems to be widely spread among young Moroccan Facebook users especially those between the age of fourteen and nineteen (as it occurred in many comments of different participants belonging to this group age).

42. la beauty, vrm ma3ndi man9ol

(what a beauty, I am really charmed)

Example (42) is another invented word combining two languages: French and English.

43. jiti bogoooooss, bro

Nta abgass, 3chiri

(You look very handsome, brother)

you are more handsome, homie)

In Example (43) ‘*Abgass*’ is derived from the French expression « beau-gosse » or as most of the Moroccan Facebook users spell it ‘*bogoss*’, which refers to a very attractive man, mixed with the grammar of Modern Standard Arabic.

There are no rules governing the language used by young Moroccans in

Facebook, as there are no limits for their creativity. They create new expressions that seemed to refute the conventional rules of CS especially and most of these code switches happened at the word-level, but still, they are common among younger participants just « to make their interactions in Facebook more charming and stylish ». (Basudha Das, 2012: 13) Young Facebook users may write whatever comes to their minds and then it will spread to their entire community until it becomes an integrated part of their everyday jargon.

5.2.3.8. Emphasis

To emphasize a point is another function that CS served in the analyzed comments. Sometimes, when a speaker needs to stress a particular statement, he or she will code switch to the other language.

44. *Ettttt oui c'est vraiii!! Tu me manques aussi bcp ..(Tan9yl n9olhalek 😊:p) et jtaime mn angeeeee*

(Oh yes it is so true !!!! I miss you so bad... (I keep telling you that (emoticon)) and I love you my angel)

45. *c la dernière fois que je vais le dire: matpublili walou f l mur diali*

(This is the last time I will say it: do not share anything on my Facebook wall.)

Here again another participant wrote her comment in French and to accentuate her anger she switched to MA so that her statement could have a deeper effect on her addressee.

46. *vrn dartna chouha f lycée, Wllah que c'était un vraiiiiii scandale*

(She has really made us a scandal at school, it was a real scandal, I swear!)

CS in example (46) served two functions both emphasis and reiteration. CS for reiteration is defined in Gumperz's (1982) as: 'conversation CS', which means that a message might be written in a certain language and reiterated in another one to put more emphasis on its content. As it is obvious in example (46), a participant is telling one of her friends a story about the girl who made a scandal at their school, and to put more emphasis on this incident she reiterated her statement in French.

5.2.3.9. Clarification

47. *jiti waaa3ra (c la vérité et non pas un compliment)*

(you look gorgeous (this is the reality, I am not flattering you))

CS for clarification appeared in some Facebook comments, through which the participants tend to make their ideas clearer, and for this reason they switch to another language to mark this clarification. As in example (47), a male participant commented on one of his female friends' picture in MA, saying that she looks gorgeous, he resorted to French putting his statement between brackets to explain that he is telling the truth and not flattering her.

5.2.3.10. Euphemism

CS for euphemism was common in many Facebook comments, by which the participants tend to switch to French and English when referring to some taboo expressions such as swear words, and that most Moroccans consider as socially inappropriate. The strategy of switching to another language other than MA is adopted by most of the participants, to mitigate the effect of such expressions and avoid feeling

embarrassed. The use of foreign words may in some instances seem less offensive compared to their MA equivalents (AlKhatib & Sabbah, 2008).

48. “*sahabi li bgha y3awen wa7ed l3a2ila msaken kay3icho f chari3 w 3ndhoum wladat sghar mal9awch bach ykhlssou lkra, mabghach bahoum y3té wladou l khiriya, 9alek il a peur qu'on les viole car lui meme a subi plusieurs violes mnin kan 3ayech temma.*”

(My Friends, is there anybody who wants to help a homeless family, they have small kids and could not afford paying their home rental. The father refuses to give his kids to the orphanage out of fear of being raped as he himself said that he suffered several rapes at the orphanage where he lived when he had their age.)

In example (48), the switch from MA to French served euphemism. A participant was asking his friends on Facebook to help a homeless family in MA, and when he triggered the subject of “rape” he switched to French. Subjects like these might somehow be considered as taboo subjects or may sound hurtful, this is may be why he preferred to use French instead, to better explain the hard conditions that this family is living, and that the father preferred rather to see his children suffering in front of him than to hand them over to the orphanage and running the risk of getting raped.

In short, and based on the analysis of functions that CS serve in the participants’ Facebook comments, it appeared that almost all switches that were performed by the participants generally served certain functions; either on the linguistic level as in availability, habitual expressions, principle of economy; or on the social level as in creativity, quotation, clarification, euphemism, emphasis, addressee specification; though in some extracts different functions seemed to overlap with others, and some switches may serve more than one function. Therefore, in order to answer the research question about whether CS is a random choice of language among young Moroccan

Facebook users, or it serves some functions, it seemed that CS is, in fact, a conscious behaviour among Moroccan Facebook users that serves many communicative functions aiming at facilitating their Facebook interactions and they make them more vivid and stylish.

5.2.4. Social Motivations for CS in the Participants' Facebook Comments

This section is divided into two sub-sections: the first one deals with internal or context- bound social motivations responsible for the choice of language among Moroccan Facebook users. It is discussed within the theoretical framework of Myers- Scotton's Markedness Model (1993). While the second section sheds more light on the possible external socio-psychological motivations that may trigger CS among the participants, which were analysed according to the socio-psychological motivations for CS mentioned by Bentahila & Davies (1992) as well as Myers- Scotton (1990).

5.2.4.1. Internal Motivations for CS

This section is an attempt to investigate the internal social motivations behind the use of CS in the participants' Facebook comments, trying to explain their choices of language in light of Myers- Scotton's Markedness model (1993). As previously mentioned, CS occurred in the participants' Facebook comments to mainly serve certain functions represented through the insertion of habitual expressions, to fill lexical gaps, to serve the principle of economy, to emphasize a point, to clarify a point, to indicate emotions, to report another person's statement, to address a specific audience and to serve euphemism. However, all these functions are not triggered only by the topic of interaction, but also by other factors related to the participant's relationship

with the other Facebook users. Therefore, these functions cannot explain the real motives behind the preference of a code over another.

To better explain the social motivations behind the choice of one language over another, Myers-Scotton (1993) suggests the Markedness Model, which according to her can be considered as “a general theoretical model that can explain the socio-psychological motivations behind codeswitching in every multilingual community that makes use of codeswitching” (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 3) (cited in Blommaert, Jan. Michael Meewuis. 1994: 388). In this vain she claims that:

Languages (code) are ‘indexical’ of social relationships: they establish a speaker as a certain kind of person in relation to others. More specifically, they index a particular set of rights and obligations that will hold between participants in an interaction. A speaker will, then, select a code that indexes the rights and obligations he/ she wishes to be in force between him/her and others. Cited in (D. Graddol, D. Leith, J. Swann 1996: 334)

To put it differently, the choice of language by speakers in a certain bilingual interaction is not an arbitrary choice but it is governed by certain rules and set of rights and obligations that can change in the same interaction based on the relationships between speakers. (Myers-Scotton, 1993)

Based on the principle of ‘markedness’, Myers-Scotton identifies different patterns of CS. The first one is CS as an ‘unmarked’ choice which means an expected choice, « *one that is associated with the type of interaction in which it occurs* » (D. Graddol, D. Leith, J. Swann 1996: 334). Second, sequential unmarked choice, which is a switch from one unmarked choice to another; this switch, is normally triggered by a change in situation (Defined by Blom & Gumperz (1972) as situational CS) where the

conversation takes place. Third, code-switching as a marked choice, and it refers to a code that is not predicted in a certain conversation. Finally, CS as an exploratory choice, when no unmarked choice is obvious speakers may switch in order to establish a new code that could be acceptable as the unmarked choice by all speakers involved in the interaction. (D. Graddol, D. Leith, J. Swann 1996)

To determine whether a choice of language is marked or unmarked Myers-scotton suggests that the frequency of each code in a given bilingual interaction determines whether this language is the marked or unmarked choice in the interaction (Myers-Scotton, 2002). As she identifies the marked code as the less frequent code in the interaction, whereas the unmarked code is the most common among speakers (Myers-Scotton, 2002).

Generally speaking, and based on the definitions previously mentioned, it is obvious that markedness model explains well the social motivations behind the use of CS among Facebook Moroccan users. As it was noticed from the analysis of the participants' comments that CS, as a whole process, appeared as an unmarked choice among them, given the fact that it is highly frequent among them compared to the other forms of language (mainly MA and French monolingual comments), as it occupied 73, 54 % of the total number of the participant's analysed Facebook comments.

Within the unmarked choice of CS, some languages are considered more unmarked than others depending on the participants' dominant languages in Facebook, as some participants seemed to rely more on MA as the unmarked choice whereas others resort to French, instead, as the unmarked choice. These choices are triggered by external factors other than the relationship between Facebook users and the topic on interaction, and that will be discussed in detail in the next section. CS as a marked

choice was also noticed in the participants' Facebook comments mainly to serve some specific functions like euphemism, creativity, addressee specification, quotation, clarification, emphasis, etc.

a. CS as the Unmarked Choice

When participants are bilingual peers, the unmarked choice may be switching, but with no changes at all in setting, participants, topic, or any other situational feature. That is, for ingroup communication-especially in an informal setting-the pattern of alternating between two varieties may be unmarked. Being unmarked in the specific context for one of the identities. The overall pattern of switching is the major social message (i.e. dual identities) in this type of switching; each individual switch point need have no social significance at all (Myers-Scotton (1989) Cited in David Graddol, Dick Leith, Joan Swann, 1996: 335).

In other words, and according to Myers-Scotton's definition of CS as the unmarked choice mentioned above, we can say that CS as an unmarked choice is the most common pattern among the participants in their Facebook comments where the use of informal language is highly frequent. Besides, the fact that they are all bilingual peers and code-switching may be considered as a marker of identity. According to Myers-Scotton, the majority opted for CS as unmarked choice to index a dual identity, which, in this context, is composed of French and Moroccan ones. French on the one hand, is indexical of prestige, modernity and high level of education; and MA, on the other, symbolises in-group peer membership.

The analysis of the participants' Facebook comments showed that the use of CS as an unmarked choice mainly served the communicative functions manifested through the insertion of formulaic expressions, expressions of affection; idiomatic expressions,

Moroccan youth expressions as well as CMC expressions (see the section of the functions of CS).

b. Sequential unmarked CS:

Sequential unmarked code-switching is a choice of language that is deemed predicted in a certain interaction, however it might change from one situation to another; as some codes might be considered more unmarked than others in some situations. Similarly, Blom & Gumperz (1972) referred to this kind of CS as situational CS, which, according to them, is the switch from one language or code to another that is triggered by a change in the social context where the interaction takes place (Blom & Gumperz, 1972).

According to the Facebook comments' analysis, the choice of CS as a sequential choice is related to the participants' dominant language in their Facebook interactions. Participants resorted to CS as a strategy "to indicate their preferred code for specific topics or situations" (O. G. Nwoye 1993: 367). In other words, though CS as a communication process is considered by most of the participants as the unmarked choice, however within this unmarked choice each one of them has different choices for the unmarked language. Some of them opted for MA as the unmarked choice to talk about topics of interest; whereas, others resorted to French as the unmarked choice instead.

- *MA as the unmarked choice among Moroccan Facebook Users*

Most of the participants who opted for MA as the unmarked choice seemed to use it as the dominant language of their Facebook comments. According to Myers-Scotton (1993) the bilingual's native language is normally the dominant language, or

as she referred to it as Matrix language (ML), which is the language of more morphemes Myers-Scotton (1993), it also determines the grammatical frame of the sentence, and as a consequence, this language becomes his/her unmarked code in most of his/her bilingual interactions.

49. Adil : *hanae* « *Wakha ma3ndich m3a zwa9, mais tu es ravissaaaaante.* »

(Even though I don't like flattering, but you look stunning)

50. Adil : *youssef* « *jiti laaaa 3ala9a a sadi9i f had tof, a hir 7yedha rak D7kti 3lik l2oumma. Hhhhhhh* »

(You really look stupid in this picture; just remove it, everybody is laughing at you.)

In example (49), it is noticed that a participant, when commenting on a picture of one of his female friends on Facebook, used MA as an unmarked choice and when he wanted to make his choice more marked he switched to French, so he can express his feeling more comfortably, especially as he mentioned in his comment, he does not like to flatter people. Thus, he used French to avoid feeling uncomfortable when admitting his admiration. In this example, the switch from MA to French is used as a marked choice to serve the functions of indicating emotion and euphemism.

The same participant in example (50), while commenting on one of his male friends' pictures on Facebook, trying to make fun of it, he used only MA, which occurred as a dominant language of most of his comments. The use of MA may be considered as a communicative strategy adopted by the participant to freely express his opinion about his friend's picture who seemed to be closer to him than '*Hanae*', and this close relationship is marked by the use of MA. In this case, the switch from an

unmarked language to a marked one is mainly triggered by the relationship between Facebook users, as MA might be indexical of in-group membership used to bring out humor among peers, whereas French is used to express more serious feelings like admire.

In short, the use of MA as the unmarked choice among Moroccan Facebook users is very predicted according to the Moroccan community norms, since it is their native language as well as the dominant language in all their interactions. It is usually used among bilinguals to index solidarity and affiliation. Whereas the use of French among participants whose dominant language is MA might be considered as a marked choice, which is adopted by them to negotiate a new set RO vis-à-vis their addressees, mainly to serve certain communicative functions as mentioned in examples (49) and (50).

- *French as the unmarked choice among Moroccan Facebook Users*

While the first category of participants opted for MA as unmarked choice of language which happened to be their ML as well and French as their EL, the second category on the other hand chose French, instead, as the unmarked choice, which also appeared to be their ML, whereas MA is usually inserted as an EL in their Facebook comments.

In sequential unmarked CS, the switch from one language to another might be due to many extra-linguistic factors, like social distance between a participant and his/her addressee (as in example 49) as well as the topic of interaction (Myers-scotton, 1993). In example (50) the two participants opted for French as their unmarked choice in their Facebook comments, however, from time to time, they tend to switch to MA as

a marked choice to opt for a new set of RO.

In examples (51) and (52) a participant opted for two different choices when wishing happy birthday to her friends on Facebook. Similarly, in example (50), the participant in example (51) seemed to be addressing a close friend wishing him a happy birthday, and she chose to mark this close relationship by the switch to MA as ML with few insertions of French as EL. Here again, the choice of MA as a marked choice may be explained as a symbol of in-peer group membership, and an attempt to decrease the social distance between the participant and her addressee. Whereas in example (52) it seemed that ‘kenza’ is not a close friend of the participant and this is obvious from the way she is addressing her. In comparison with the first comment where she used intra-sentential code-switching, whereas in the second, she used no switching at all. No affection expressions were used whereas in the first she used « I love you so much ».

51: *“Ayouuuubinoou, je te souhaite ahssen 3id milad fl3alam hit nta ahssen sa7eb fl3alam! I kanbghik bjhd!”*

(Ayouuuubinoou, I wish the best happy birthday in the world, because you are the best friend in the world. I love you so much.)

52: *“Joyeux anniversaire Kenza que du bonheur et santé”*

(Happy Birthday Kenza, I wish you the best)

The switch from the unmarked choice to a marked one might also be triggered by the topic of use. As in example (53), a participant seemed to be talking about her love to someone. She is expressing, with a serious tone, her feelings of love and fear of losing her beloved and being replaced by another girl. For this reason, she used French, which appeared as the unmarked choice in her Facebook interactions. When she

changed the topic of interaction, in example (54), to talk about Football making jokes about some football players and the way a football team played during a match, she switched to MA. In this context, the use of French might be related to the discussion of serious subjects like love, whereas MA is employed to bring out humor in less serious subjects like football.

53. *“J’ai toujours envie de te parler, toujours envie de t’appeler, toujours envie de t’envoyer en message, toujours envie de te voir, toujours la peur que tu me remplaces, oui voilà, tu vois je t’aime tellement fort que j’ai peur de tout.”*

(I always want to talk to you, always want to call you, always want to send you a message, always want to see you, always have the fear that you replace me with another girl. Oh yes! You see, I love you so much that I am afraid of everything.)

54. *chouha li darou Ironaldinho sbrdila tenu ch3r rychouh hhh wakha sara7a meneiro l3bat wa3r oughir bchwiya raja ghir katsyd lbyout ou tal3a habta f terrain*

(It was really funny what they have done to Ronalidinho, the shoes, the outfit, the hair (laughing). Honestly, meneiro performed well and slowly during the match, RAJA football players were only hunting goals and kept going up and down in the football field.)

c. CS as a Marked Choice

According to the Markdeness Model, speakers may resort to CS as a marked choice mainly to change the expected set of rights and obligations and negotiate a new one (Myers-scotton, 1993). Marked choices are means of self-expression, a way to negotiate new identities and new relationships between speakers (Myers-Scotton,

2002). It may be triggered by anger or a desire to show a kind of authority and superiority over the addressee.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993), marked CS can be used to increase the social distance between speakers. One of the most common uses of marked CS is to express authority, along with anger or annoyance. All these motives aim to negotiate a change in the expected social distance between participants, either to increase or to decrease it (Myers-Scotton, 1993). According to Myers-Scotton: “the markedness model gives the implication that when people are annoyed, they switch to speaking a language that denotes their high position in the society, such as their level of education or their economic status” (Myers-Scotton, 1993:132).

To put it differently, French is considered as a prestigious language spoken by the elite and highly educated people, that why it enjoys a higher status in Morocco in comparison with the other languages, mainly MA. It is sometimes used as a means of asserting their authority over the addressee as it is illustrated in extract (55):

55. Sara : A fine a 3chirti jiti louuuuz

(Hi, my dear, you look so wonderful)

Hanae: Lah y7fdek a habibati

(Thank you my darling)

Kaoutar: Malki 7alla femek bezzaf, HHHH ghir kand7ak

(Why are you so open-mouthed, (laughing) I am just kidding.)

Sara : 7alla femmi ? t'es ki toi ?

(Open-mouthed? who are you?)

Sara : on se connaît nn ?

(Do we know each other?)

Kaoutar : kifach on se connaît ?

(why do you say this?)

Kaoutar: rah ghir kand7ak M3ak jiti zwina ghir bghit nbchek

Kaoutar: (I am just kidding, you look beautiful in the picture I just wanted to tease you)

Sara : ton commentaire ne me dit surtout rien, ce ki compte vrm c ke je te connais meme pas et tu me parles de cette façon ; tu sais koi je vx même pas continuer la discussion allez fous le camp

Sara: (your comment means nothing at all to me, what really matters is that I do not even know you and you are talking to me this way, you know what, just go away.)

Rihab: (sahbti malek m3ssba? :D)

(why are angry my friend? (symbol of laughing))

Sara: walou a hbiba ghir bnadem wlla mriiiiiid

(nothing honey , but people have become mentally-ill)

Rihab: a safi a sahbti berdi.

(Calm down and let it go darling)

The extract (55) is an illustration of CS as a marked choice to express anger and show authority over the addressee. The switch to French seemed to be a conscious

choice made by the participant to increase the social distance with her friend by excluding her from the conversation.

As obvious in example (55), the language used at the beginning of the conversation is MA, when '*Sara*' replied to a compliment made by her friend '*Hanae*' on her picture, another friend (Kaoutar) interfered and tried to make fun of Sara's picture, this latter received this comment with anger and annoyance which were highly marked by switching to French as a method of increasing the social distance with '*Kaoutar*' and showing a kind of superiority and authority over her.

This superiority over the addressee is represented by French as a language of prestige and high level of education. The best evidence on this marked choice is that when '*Rihab*' another friend interfered, '*Sara*' switched back to MA, which, in this context, is indexical of solidarity and in-peer group membership. '*Sara*' seemed to be very aware and rational about her choice of language, through which she wanted to negotiate a new RO and new social role, mainly through authority and superiority over Kaoutar.

The use of intra-sentential CS even among the most fluent participants can be considered as a discourse strategy, adopted by the participants to index in-group identity. As it might be the case in example (56), where a participant used inter-sentential code-switching with one of his female friends, and in another comment, he opted for intra-sentential CS instead with MA as ML to decrease the social distance with one of his male friends, as well as to express in-peer group membership using terms like '*ba*' which, according to the Moroccan youth jargon, might be equivalent to the English expressions '*dude*' or '*mate*'.

56. *Bra: Salwa si tu comptes consacrer ta vie à un chat, saches que le chat vivra 6 autres vies sans toi. Iwa daba hantina 3la bal :D*

« If you intend to devote your life to cat, you have to keep in your mind that she will live six other lives without. Now you know (laughing) »

Brahim: N3ewdouuuuha A ba jaafar. Ba9a liyam amon frère.

(We shall do it again my dude Jaafar. We will surely have other occasions my brother.)

For the most part, CS among Moroccan Facebook users is considered an unmarked choice of language, considering the high frequency of its occurrences among them. This common pattern is considered by Myers-Scotton (1993) as a desire to show dual identities, where each identity is indexical of a certain social role. While MA is indexical of solidarity, affiliation to a certain social group as well as in-peer group membership, French, on the other hand, is considered as a symbol of prestige and high level of education. Within the unmarked choice of CS, some participants opted for MA as the unmarked choice in most of their comments, whereas others resorted to French instead. This difference in terms of language preferences seemed to be triggered by the participants' relationships with others, as well as the topic of conversation.

5.2.4.2. External Motivations for CS

This section sought to further investigate the external motivations that might be responsible for the spread of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users in addition to the functional motivations previously discussed, and the use of CS as an unmarked, sequential or marked choice among the participants. In a study conducted by Bentahila & Davies (1992), investigating the CS patterns between two groups of Moroccan

bilinguals, where they came up with the conclusion that the use of CS by bilingual speakers is controlled by extra-linguistic factors, such as age of the subjects under study, their level of education, as well as language proficiency.

Therefore, in order to find out whether there is any link between socio-demographic variables mainly participants' age, level of education, level of language proficiency and linguistic variables, represented through 'frequency of CS occurrences' 'language dominance' 'types of CS', the relationship between these variables will be studied within the theoretical framework of both Bentahila and Davies (1992) and Myers-Scotton (1990).

a. Age

- *The link between Age and Frequency of CS Occurrences*

Age	Frequency of CS Occurrences	Percentage of CS Occurrences
14-17	76	10, 55 %

18-21	445	61, 80 %
22-25	199	27, 63 %
Total	720	100 %

Table 29: *Distribution of Frequency of CS Occurences by Age*

According to Table 29, it seemed that frequency of CS varies in terms of age of the participants, as it appeared that CS is highly frequent among participants belonging to the age group between eighteen and twenty-one, and less frequent among older participants, who were primarily between the age of fourteen and seventeen, while the youngest participants mainly those between the age fourteen and seventeen were the least to use CS.

- *Relationship between Age and Dominance of languages*

Age	Frequency of occurrences of French as a DL	Frequency of occurrences of MA as a DL	Frequency of occurrences of other languages as DL	Total of Occurrences
14-17	10	320	2	332
18-21	54	414	9	477

22-25	150	7	13	170
Total	214	741	24	979

Table 30: Distribution of Frequency of Occurrences of the Dominant languages by the Participants' Age Groups

According to Table 30, two languages appeared to be dominant in the participants' comments mainly French and MA. The dominance of the two languages differed from one age group to another. In an attempt to find out the most dominant languages among the participants, the analysis included even monolingual comments where no CS occurred. The participants who used MA as the dominant language of their Facebook comments were those belonging to the age groups of fourteen - seventeen and eighteen – twenty-one; whereas the participants, who resorted to French as a dominant language of their Facebook interactions, were belonging to the age group twenty-two and twenty-five.

As shown in Table 30, remarkable differences were noticed at the level of language use among younger participants (14-17) and (18-21). MA appeared to be more dominant in their comments than French. While analyzing Facebook comments of participants belonging to these two age groups, French items or sometimes English ones appeared as habitual expressions; for example: *Happy birthday, Nice, Merci bcp, etc* that generally played the role of gap-fillers, especially in terms of internet and Facebook jargon as in example (57):

Example 57:

Piratawli lcompte diali, w kayhdrou m3a les contacts diawli kamlin w kaykhsroulhoum lhdra.

(they hacked my facebook account, and they talk to my Facebook friends and say bad things to them)

It is clear from example (57) that the dominant language is MA, since MA determines the grammatical framework of the sentence. French words were inserted as EL items to fill real lexical gaps in terms of CMC jargon. The participants are generally more familiar with this terminology in French and English than in MA. Besides, CS here is at the word level since the French lexical item “pirater” is mixed with the MA grammatical system. This kind of switching is more common among this category than the other age groups.

- *Relationship between Age and Types of CS employed in Facebook:*

Age	14-17	18-21	22-25	Total
Inter-sentential CS	X	35	85	120
Intra-sentential CS	30	190	67	287
Intra-word CS	13	42	8	63
Tag Switching	33	178	39	250

Total of Occurrences	76	445	199	720
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Table 31: Distribution of Frequency of Types of CS Occurrences in the Participants Facebook Comments by Age.

Based on data displayed in Table 31, participants between the age of twenty and twenty-five had different patterns in terms of types of CS than the other groups; as most of them used inter-sentential CS, a type that was less common among participants belonging to the age group (18-21) and generally uncommon among younger participants (14-17).

The overall results displayed in Tables 29, 30 and 31 confirmed the existence of a relationship between the independent variable age and the other variables frequency of CS occurrences, language dominance and types CS used by participants. It seems that the older participants are, the more they switch between MA and other languages especially French which occurred as their dominant language and the more they opt for inter-sentential CS.

b. Educational Background

The participants' educational background is another variable that is considered among the external motivations behind the different language choices adopted by the participants. The samples participated in the present study had different educational backgrounds, as they were from secondary, high school, and tertiary levels. Remarkable differences (as shown in Tables 32, 33 and 34) were noticed in terms of frequency of CS, language dominance and type of CS used in the analysed Facebook comments.

- *Relationship between Level of Education and Frequency of CS occurrences in Facebook comments*

Level of Education	Frequency of CS occurrences	Percentage of CS occurrences
Tertiary	290	40, 28%
High School	388	53, 89 %
Secondary School	42	5, 84 %
Total	720	100%

Table 32: Distribution of Frequency of Occurrences and percentages of CS by Level of Education

According to Table 32, it seems that participants who used CS the most were those at high school level, followed by participants at tertiary level, and the least to code switch between languages were basically participants with a low level mainly secondary school level.

- *Relationship between Level of Education and Language Dominance*

Level of Education	Frequency of Occurrences of French as ML	Frequency of Occurrences of MA as ML	Frequency of Occurrences of Other Languages as ML	Total

Tertiary Level	170	73	17	260
High School Level	40	386	6	432
Secondary School Level	4	282	1	287
Total	214	741	24	979

Table 33: Distribution of Frequency of Occurrences of the participants' Matrix language in their Facebook Comments by their Level of Education

Table 33 represents the distribution of frequency of occurrences of the dominant languages in the participants' Facebook comments according to their level of education. It included even comments that do not contain CS seeking to find out the main language of interaction among the participants. According to Table 33, French appeared as the dominant language or matrix language among participants at the tertiary level where 69,95 % (N= 170/ 243) of the total number of their comments French occurred as a ML, whereas 30, 04 % (73/ 243) of the total number of their comments was occupied by comments where MA occurred as the ML.

As for participants at high school level, they generally used more MA in their Facebook comments than French, which seemed to be their EL, as only a small number of comments 1, 39% (N= 4/ 286) were dominated by French. The least category to use French as ML included participants at the secondary school level where only 4 of their comments include French as ML forming a percentage of the total number of their analysed Facebook comments.

- *Relationship between Level of Education and Types of CS employed in Facebook*

	Inter-Sentential CS	Intra-sentential CS	Intra-word CS	Tag-switching	Total
Tertiary Level	110	90	16	74	290
High School Level	10	189	40	149	388
Secondary School Level	X	8	7	27	42
Total	120	287	63	250	720

Table 34: Distribution of frequency of occurrences of the types of CS by the participants' level of education

Besides, the significant relationship between the participants' level of education and language dominance, another significant relationship also appeared between the participants' level of education and the types of CS used in their Facebook comments. As demonstrated in Table 34, participants who frequently used inter-sentential CS were at the tertiary level, as 37, 93 % (N= 110/ 290) of their comments included inter-sentential CS. However, there was not any significant difference between their inter-sentential and intra-sentential code switches, as 31,03% (N= 90/ 290) of their code-switches occurred intra-sententially, and 25, 51 % of their comments also included tag-switching, while only 5, 51 % (N= 16/ 290) of their comments included intra-word

switches.

Participants at the high school level generally used more intra-sentential code switching than inter-sentential code switching. 39, 21 % (N= 20/ 51) of their code-switches were intra-sentential, where participants studying at private schools performed majority of these code-switches. Only 9, 80 % (N= 5/ 51) of their code-switches occurred inter-sententially. A high frequency of tag switches also occurred in this category's Facebook comments forming 31, 37 % (N= 16/ 51) of the total number of code switches, and 17, 64 % (N= 9/51) was occupied by code-switches at the word level.

Concerning the last category, which included participants at the secondary school level, it seemed that inter-sentential CS was absent from their code switches. As mentioned in Table 34, most of this category's code switches were mainly tag switches forming a percentage of 71, 42 % (N= 30/42). These tags mainly served habitual expressions and formulaic expressions (as mentioned in the section of CS functions).

- *The relationship between Language Proficiency and Language Choice in Facebook Comments*

The third variable, that is believed to be among the external motivations for the use of CS among the participants in their Facebook comments, is language proficiency. Bentahila & Davies (1992) in their article "CS and language Dominance" claimed that the types of CS they use the most determine their subjects' level of proficiency besides the dominant language in their interactions. As they discovered that the most proficient subjects in French used inter-sentential CS opting for French as the dominant language in their conversations; whereas the less proficient ones used intra-sentential code switching or even intra-word switching, and their dominant language is MA.

As previously mentioned in Table 31, most participants who used French as the DL or ML in their Facebook comments were at the tertiary level. It also showed that the use of French as a matrix language is explained by the participants' educational background, given the fact that the more the participants' level of education is high, the more they opt for French as ML and MA as an Embedded language (EL). Table 32 provides evidence on the correlation between the participants' level of education and types of CS they used the most in their Facebook comments. The more their level of education is high, the more they opt for inter-sentential CS, thing that is considered by Myers-Scotton (1990) as a sign of high proficiency and equal command of both L1 and L2; and the more their level of education is low the more they opt for the other types of CS mainly tag-switching and intra-word switching, which require the least syntactic and grammatical skills.

Giving these points, it seemed that there is a significant correlation between language proficiency and types of CS used by participants in their Facebook comments since most of the participants who used inter-sentential CS appeared to be proficient in French based on the dominance of French in their Facebook comments; whereas those who used MA as their ML generally opted for the other kinds of CS mainly intra-sentential and tag switching.

This section generally aimed to find out, as stated research question (4.4), the social motivations behind the use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users. According to Myers-Scotton's Markdness Model (1993), CS can be considered as a general pattern among young Moroccan Facebook users, as it appeared to be their unmarked choice of language, given its high frequency of occurrences among them. However, within this unmarked choice each participant had a different choice for the

unmarked language, which is referred to as sequential unmarked CS; while some participants opted for French as the unmarked choice, others, on the other hand, preferred MA. CS also appeared as a marked choice among the participants, by which they tend to renegotiate a new RO set (Myers-Scotton, 1993) vis-à-vis their addressee on Facebook. The different motivations governing the use of CS among the participants in Facebook are related not only to the relationship between interactors in Facebook and the topic of their interactions, but also triggered by external factors mainly represented through the participants' age, level of education and level of proficiency.

5.2.5. Signs of Language Attrition Based on CS patterns of Young Moroccans in

Facebook

This section is generally an attempt to investigate the link between CS patterns adopted by young Moroccans in their Facebook comments and Moroccan language attrition, by answering the question whether these patterns can be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition.

Based on the functions of CS as well as the motivations behind its use discussed in sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4, it seemed that CS among the participants is considered a communicative strategy, that serves many functions, such as availability, principle of economy, in-peer group membership, etc. These findings may, to some extent, refute the assumption that the use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users can be considered as an indication of Moroccan language attrition. However, to be more concrete, a study of the signs of language attrition is conducted in light of Myers-Scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis (1998), which assumes that factors, such as second language dominance, unbalanced bilingualism and CS as a marked choice might be considered among the signs of a gradual loss of the speakers' first language.

5.2.5.1. Second language dominance

According to Myers-Scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis (1998), when bilingual speakers shift from the use of their mother tongue as the dominant language of their interactions to a second language as the dominant instead, a gradual loss of the speakers' first language is expected due to the reduction of its use. To further investigate the link between language attrition and language dominance, we will base our inquiry on the findings previously displayed in Tables 29 and 31.

Generally speaking, and considering the findings obtained from the study of the languages dominating the participants' Facebook comments demonstrated in Tables 29 and 31, it seemed that MA is the dominant or matrix language in the majority of their comments with a percentage of 75, 68 % (N= 741 out of 979) of the total number of the analysed comments. However, if we look at the distribution of frequency of occurrences of each language, it will be noticed that, French is the dominant language of majority of participants belonging to the age group twenty-one and twenty-five with a percentage of 88, 23 % (150 out of 170), and those studying at the tertiary level with a percentage of 65, 38% (170 out 260) of the total number of their analysed comments. Based on these findings, we may divide the participants into two categories attriters and maintainers. Attriters according to Myers- Scotton (1998) can be considered those whose dominant language in their ordinary interactions is another language than their mother tongue, who seemed here to be the participants between the ages twenty-two and twenty-five and those at the tertiary level. Whereas maintainers are those whose dominant language in most of their interactions is their native language, which is here is MA, which is especially highly frequent among participants at the secondary and high school levels between the ages seventeen and twenty.

Although this may be true, it cannot be proved that second language dominance alone can be considered as a sign of language attrition given the fact that, in other studies mainly Bentahila & Davies (1992) found that the use of French as a dominant language instead of MA in their subjects' bilingual interactions is a sign of high proficiency in French, and they linked this to their subjects' educational background, as most of them got a French-based education. This finding seemed to apply to this study as well, since majority of the participants whose dominant language is French are highly educated, studying in tertiary institutions (e.g. Faculty of Medicine, ENCG, ect) where French is the major language of instruction. The dominance of French may be regarded, as previously mentioned, as a strategy adopted by Facebook users to display their high level of education, besides the fact that, they are more familiar to write in French than MA, and since the medium of communication in Facebook is written, they find it easier to write in French than in MA.

5.2.5.2. *Unbalanced Bilingualism*

Another sign of language attrition due to CS is according to Myers-Scotton (1998) the unbalanced bilingualism, which refers to bilingual speakers who do not have a full command of either language. This unbalanced bilingualism is manifested by intra-sentential CS (Myers-Scotton, 1998). As previously mentioned, intra-sentential CS is far less to be considered as an indication of unbalanced bilingualism, given that even the participants who appeared to be proficient in French use this type of CS, as shown in Table 24. The use of intra-sentential CS seemed to serve certain communicative functions, such as to decrease the social distance between Facebook users, and express in-peer group membership as shown in example (57).

Table 35 is another evidence that the use of intra-sentential CS by the participants is not necessarily an indication of language attrition, since a vast majority of comments that included intra-sentential CS were dominated by MA as ML, where few lexical items were inserted from other languages, mainly French. Therefore, the high frequency of intra-sentential CS occurrences in the young Moroccans' Facebook comments could not necessarily be considered as a sign of Moroccan language attrition.

Intra-sentential CS with French as an ML	Intra-sentential CS with MA as an ML	Total
50	237	287

Table 35: Distribution of Frequency of Occurrences of the dominant languages in Intra-sentential CS

5.2.5.3. CS as an unexpected or marked choice

The third sign that is believed to be among the factors leading to language attrition due to CS is CS as an expected or a marked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993). To further elucidate this idea, Myers-Scotton (1998) does not consider the unmarked CS as a sign or a threat of language attrition. In this regard, she claims that if CS is the unmarked choice among bilinguals, that would denote that “there is some stability in the codes available to speakers” and that it is a neutral code choice among bilinguals by which they try to exhibit dual memberships within one interaction to “index those memberships simultaneously” (p: 130)

As previously mentioned, CS is generally perceived as the unmarked choice among the participants, given the high frequency of its occurrences. Therefore, and as an answer to the fifth question, which aimed to find out whether CS patterns adopted by young Moroccans in Facebook can be considered as a sign of Moroccan language attrition, one can assume that the use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users is far less to be considered as a sign of Moroccan language attrition, but rather a conscious behaviour that is governed by a set of rules and fulfill participants communicative needs. It can also be considered as a social behaviour that is indexical of a 'dual identity' as Myers-scotton (1993) refers to, which is composed of French and Moroccan ones. The use of French, on the one hand, is indexical of prestige, modernity and high level of education; and MA on the other is of a symbol of solidarity and in-group peer membership.

5.2.6. The link between the CS patterns adopted by Young Moroccan Facebook Users and their Attitudes towards CS

This section sought to answer the last research question, which is a mixed methods question, aiming at finding out whether there is any correlation between the questionnaire's findings and the results achieved from the analysis of young Moroccans' Facebook comments. The correlation between the results achieved from both methods is manifested as follows:

In terms of frequency of CS, the questionnaire's respondents assumed that they usually switch between MA and other foreign languages with a percentage of 42, 4 % (N= 64) in addition French-MA CS is considered the most common type of CS among them. This finding may explain the high frequency of CS among the participants from

the ethnographic study of Facebook comments as CS occupied 54% of the total number of their analysed comments.

In terms of the reasons behind CS, it was found that most respondents switch between Moroccan Arabic and other foreign languages because they feel it is easier than using only Moroccan Arabic and because they are used to this kind of language. In other words, they find it difficult to carry on a full conversation in Moroccan Arabic without inserting words and expressions from other languages. This may, somehow, explain the spread of CS among the participants in their Facebook comments, to serve the functions of habitual expressions and availability. Therefore, and based on findings achieved from both methods CS can be considered as a natural phenomenon, and as the unmarked choice (Myers-Scotton, 1993) among young Moroccans in their Facebook interactions.

However, in terms of attitudes, the results obtained from the analysis of Facebook comments seemed to, partially, divert from those of the questionnaire. First, in terms of age, questionnaire's findings showed that the older the respondent is, the more s/he holds negative attitudes towards CS and considers it as an indicator of language loss and vice versa. However, the study of Facebook comments showed the opposite, as it seemed that CS was highly frequent, more specifically, among older (18-25) respondents than younger ones (14-17) (Table 29). Second, in terms of level of education, it appeared that, during the analysis of Facebook comments, a high frequency of CS occurrences appeared in the comments of participants at tertiary level (Table 31) who seemed, according to questionnaire's findings, to hold the most negative attitudes towards CS and do not consider it as a communication strategy. However, type of school did not have any significant relationship with CS patterns

adopted in Facebook by young Moroccans as it had with their attitudes investigated through survey questionnaire, given that both public and private school students are using CS with nearly the same frequency. This contradiction between attitudes and practices of CS may explain the deep influence that this phenomenon has on young Moroccans; in the sense that, even though they hold negative attitudes towards CS they still employ it on a daily basis in their online interactions.

Conclusion

This part of research sought to investigate the use of CS by young Moroccan Facebook users, mainly through quantitatively examining their attitudes towards this phenomenon as well as their CS patterns and the possible motivations behind their use of this kind of language. Results obtained from descriptive analysis of respondents' answers showed that they held contradictory attitudes towards CS, given that majority of them held positive attitudes towards both 'CS as an effective communication strategy' and 'CS as an indication of language attrition'. Inferential statistical analysis, on the other hand, showed that the motivations behind this contradiction is related to respondents' 'age' 'level of education' and 'type of school' they attend. Statistical tests also showed the use of Facebook via smartphones and daily Facebook consumption have no relationship with frequency of CS use in Facebook, and therefore could not be considered as factors behind the increasing use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users.

In addition, the ethnographic study of Facebook comments also established that CS is considered as a natural phenomenon in Facebook. It is generally regarded by most of them as the unmarked or the most expected choice in their Facebook interactions that is triggered by some social motivations. It appeared also that their choice of CS is

a conscious act that mainly served communicative functions, by which they aimed to enhance their Facebook interactions, and make them easier and more fluid, and is not necessarily an indication of language attrition.

6. Discussion and Implications of the Findings

This chapter portrays a summary of the findings along with their link with results achieved from previous studies, as well as their implications in the field of socio-linguistics and CMC research. As mentioned in the introduction section, the aim of this research is to explore the use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users, trying to trace their attitudes towards such a phenomenon as well as to investigate common patterns of CS in their Facebook comments and motivations behind such a choice of language. The primary goal behind conducting this study is to find out whether the increasing use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users be can considered as a communication strategy that serves many functional intents, aiming at facilitating their Facebook interactions, or it is an indication of Moroccan language incompetency and could eventually lead to language attrition. It is a mixed methods research, where both quantitative and qualitative methods were combined to answer research questions and test hypotheses.

Quantitative research was conducted by the means of survey questionnaire through which respondents were invited to answer questions related to their code-switching practices in Facebook, along with their attitudes towards this kind of language. During this phase of research, eight hypotheses were postulated, which had for purpose to identify, through statistical analysis of relationship between dependent and independent variables, attitudes of young Moroccans towards the use of CS in their Facebook interactions, and whether they consider it as an effective communication strategy that enhances their interactions in Facebook, or as an indication of Moroccan language attrition. It also sought to find out whether variables, such as the use of Facebook via smartphones and daily Facebook consumption, could be considered as factors behind the increasing use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users.

The analysis of questionnaire's answers revealed that CS is common pattern among young Moroccans, as majority of them reported to frequently switch between MA and other foreign languages, mainly French, in their Facebook interactions. The results also showed that among the common reasons behind using CS in Facebook is that because respondents find it easier and more practical to use MA besides other languages like French and English than using only MA.

The study also gives light about attitudes of young Moroccans towards the use of CS in Facebook. Respondents were invited to give their attitudes (either positive or negative) towards two statements related to their perception vis-à-vis the use of CS in Facebook. The first statement suggested that, CS is a communication strategy that eases the flow of conversation in Facebook. Whereas, the second statement assumed that CS is a lack of competency in Moroccan language, and therefore could be considered as a sign of language attrition. According to findings, it seemed that respondents held

positive attitudes towards both statements, which means that they hold contradictory feelings towards CS in Facebook. In other words, even though they consider CS as a communication strategy that facilitates their interactions in Facebook, they still believe that it is an indication of Moroccan language attrition, and that those who use this kind of language are unable to fully express themselves in Moroccan language, or even unable to show a proper pride of their Moroccan language.

Similar findings in terms of contradictory attitudes towards CS were found in a study conducted by Mahbub-ul-Alam & Quyyum (2016) of CS among Bangladeshi young people towards CS, as results showed that although majority of participants held positive attitudes toward CS and practice it on a daily basis, however, they showed strong positive attitude towards the statement that CS is destroying their mother tongue, which was explained by the fact that “speakers are destroying their mother tongue at a conscious level of mind” (Mahbub-ul-Alam & Quyyum, 2016). In the present study, these contradictory attitudes towards CS might be related to the status that each language occupies in Morocco. For example, while MA is a symbol of national identity and ethnic belonging, foreign languages like French, on the other hand, are indexical of modernity and prestige; therefore, the use of both languages by young Moroccans in Facebook might be interpreted as a desire to preserve their Moroccanity, and at the same time keep up with modernity, which is represented through the use of French and other foreign languages.

The study further examined the role of socio-demographic variables, such as age, level of education and type of school respondents attend, in determining young Moroccan Facebook users’ attitudes towards CS. Previous studies on the attitudes towards CS in offline conversations suggested that these variables were found to have

a significant effect on the attitudes of the studied subjects towards CS. For example Gardner-Chloros, McEntee-Atalianis, and Finnis (2005), in their study of the attitudes towards CS of the London Greek Cypriots, found that younger respondents mainly between fourteen and nineteen showed more positive attitudes towards CS, considering it more advantageous and fashionable than the older ones. These findings are found to be also applicable to CMC contexts as well. Based on statistical analysis of relationship between variables, it was revealed that younger respondents between the ages fourteen and eighteen held the most favourable attitudes towards CS in Facebook and do not consider it as an indication of Moroccan language attrition but rather a communication strategy; whereas the least favourable attitudes towards CS were common among older respondents between the ages twenty-one and twenty-five.

Level of education appeared to have a significant relationship with attitudes towards CS, as it was reported in Dewaele and Li (2013) that highly educated participants showed more positive attitudes towards CS than less educated ones and assumed their constant use of such a language at a daily basis. Although level of education seemed to have a significant effect on the attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS, however, the results seemed to contradict with those of Dewaele and Li (2013). To more clarify this idea, questionnaire's findings showed that respondents with low education, primarily secondary and high school students, held more positive attitudes towards CS and do not consider it as a sign of language attrition than those with high levels of education mainly university students.

Besides age and level of education, school type also appeared to have a significant effect on the attitudes of respondents towards CS as well, given that majority of respondents, who held positive attitudes towards CS and did not consider it as an

indication of language loss, were primarily young teenagers attending private schools. This finding agrees with the results of Abdullah Mustafa (2011), in a study of CS in SMS among teenagers in Jordan, where he found that among his respondents, the ones who showed more positive attitudes towards the use of English-Arabic CS in text-messaging were private school teenager students. He relates this finding to the fact that this category of teenagers is more proficient in English than public school teenager students, and this explains their constant insertion of English words and expressions in their text-messages more than Arabic ones. In Morocco, most of private schools are putting more emphasis on the teaching of French, thing that makes students, attending those schools, more eager to speak French and use it on a daily basis either in face-to-face conversations or CMC contexts, which may explain the more positive attitudes towards CS in Facebook among respondents attending private schools than those studying in public ones.

In addition to examining practices as well as attitudes of young Moroccan Facebook users vis-à-vis CS, this study also aimed to investigate the role of technology in the spread of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users, mainly through the use of Facebook via smartphones and heavy Facebook consumption.

It was believed that the use of Facebook via smartphones might have a significant effect on the high frequency of CS among them. This hypothesis assumed that young Moroccans who use Facebook via their smartphones may switch between MA and other foreign languages more than those who access Facebook via their computers. Their ability to access Facebook anytime and anywhere allows them to use more CS than the others, who wait until they get home to get logged in Facebook. Although this was proved to be true in previous studies (cf. Kongkerd, 2015), findings

of the present research denied any significant relationship between the two variables ‘accessing Facebook via smartphones’ and ‘frequency of CS’, based on the fact that even those who do not access Facebook via their smartphones use CS at a regular basis in their Facebook interactions. Therefore, the use of Facebook via smartphones by young Moroccans cannot be considered as a factor behind the increasing use of CS among them.

During this research, it was also hypothesized that the spread of CS among young Moroccans in Facebook might be blamed on their heavy Facebook consumption, based on the assumption that the more they stay logged in Facebook, the more they get used to its language, which is mainly characterized by heavy use of CS. Results obtained from chi-square test of independence also confirmed the absence of any relationship between Facebook consumption and frequency of CS. Similar results achieved from previous studies are in the same line with this finding. For example, a study conducted by Anurit et al.’s (2011) investigating the influence of SNS mainly Facebook on the way young Thai Facebook users employ CS between English and Thai, found that even though Facebook is an important part of these young people’s life, however it has no influence on their language practices in Facebook, because the language used in Facebook is but an imitation of the way these people are interacting with each in their real life conversations.

In short, the overall results achieved from quantitative research indicates that CS is an accepted behaviour among young Moroccan Facebook users, as majority of respondents assumed their regular switching between MA and other foreign languages, mainly French, in their Facebook interactions. Age, level of education, and type of

school the respondents attend appeared to be responsible for the different attitudes they hold towards CS.

To ensure reliability of survey questionnaire' findings and have a better understanding of young Moroccans' CS practices as well as attitudes towards such a phenomenon, a qualitative online ethnography of Facebook comments was conducted as a follow-up phase. The study aimed to investigate CS patterns, mainly types and functions of CS, among young Moroccan Facebookers, as well as the motivations behind their choice of language. It attempted, as well, to figure out whether these CS patterns could be considered, as a communicative strategy that enhances their interactions in Facebook, or as a lack of competency in Moroccan language, and thus could be perceived as a sign of language attrition.

The analysis of Facebook comments using content analysis method showed that CS is highly frequent among participants, which may explain the spread of this phenomenon among young Moroccans in majority of SNS mainly Facebook. This finding is in agreement with many previous studies on CS among young Facebook users around the world (cf. San, 2009; Halim & Maros, 2014; Khadim, 2014; Setiawan, 2016), which found that CS is highly frequent among the subjects as well. Such findings may support Blommaert's hypothesis (1998) that "CS could be considered as a code of its own for particular groups" (Cited in B. Smieja, 1999: 9). In other words, CS is no more considered as the process of switching between languages in the same utterance of speech, but rather a "language in its own right" (Schmid, 2005: 139), and sometimes young Moroccan Facebook users could not even be aware of the fact that they are switching between codes or languages, simply because this kind of language has become their new own jargon on Facebook.

The second finding achieved through online ethnography of Facebook comments showed that the most prevalent type of CS among young Moroccans, in light of Poplack's categorization of CS types (1980), was intra-sentential CS. The same finding was confirmed throughout many previous studies concerned with the study of CS among young Facebook users (cf. Hidayat, 2012, Rahman& Mishra, 2013; Parveen, 2013; Khan Khadim, 2014). For example, in a study of CS in Facebook by Bangladeshi Facebook users conducted by Khan, Khadim (2014), it appeared that intra-sentential CS was very frequent among participants, especially when engaging in informal ordinary conversations with their friends, however when discussing serious topics, they rather prefer inter-sentential CS or no switching at all. In the same vain, Myers-scotton (1993) claimed that intra-sentential CS is very common among bilingual speakers who are peers, engaging in informal conversations; therefore, the use of CS becomes a neutral choice in such interactions. In light of these findings, this research implied that the prevalence of intra-sentential CS in Facebook is, in fact, a communication strategy adopted by young Moroccans in their Facebook comments which, most of the times, employ informal language, to index in-peer group membership, as well as to decrease social distance between each other.

Another remarkable finding achieved through the analysis of functions of CS in Facebook, showed that CS is a conscious behaviour among young Moroccans that served many functional intents, either on the social or linguistic levels. For example, on the social level, it appeared that many switches occurred to serve certain social purposes mainly the exclusion of other speakers by specifying a certain addressee (example 37), increasing the social distance between Facebook users by showing a kind of authority and superiority over the addressee through switching from MA to French (example 55), CS for euphemism was also common among the participants where for

example participants tend to switch to a foreign language as a strategy to mitigate the effect of some swear words and make them sound less shocking (examples 15 and 48).

On the linguistic level, some switches served the function of availability, through which the participants use the most available code in certain interactions. For example, religious and idiomatic expressions are used in MA even among French-dominant bilingual participants, which happened to be the expected choice for this kind of expressions. The same case for CMC jargon that is used by most participants in French and English, simply because these foreign words are more available in French and English than in MA, as they are commonly used in their Facebook community more than their equivalents in MA. Other switches also appeared to be common among the participants, notably, CS for the principle of economy where most of the inserted foreign expressions, in MA comments, included French and English abbreviations and acronyms that are considered as a common feature of CMC. Expressions like lpb (la plus belle/ le plus beau: the most beautiful), bae (Babe), lol (laugh out loud) are very widespread among Moroccan Facebook users, and as suggested by San (2009), by the use of these short forms of language, bilinguals tend to use “the least effort in their language production and select the less intricate forms of the two languages as opposed to the ones that are more cumbersome” (Cited in Nur, Syazwani & Maros, 2014).

These findings give credence to results from previous studies on the use of CS among young Facebook users (Nur, Syazwani & Maros, 2014; Khan Khadim, 2014) where CS appeared as a communicative strategy to enhance Facebook users’ interactions. In the same regard, Alfonzetti (2014) argues that the use of CS among young people, especially in social media, helps them break the conventional rules of language which allows them to employ “whatever linguistic features are at their

disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best as they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages” and “without regard to norms of linguistic purity” (Jørgensen et al. 2011, pp.32, 34 Cited in Alfonzetti, 2014: 10).

These findings are also in the same line with results from previous studies on the functions of CS in face-to-face verbal interactions. Crystal (1987), for example, found that bilingual speakers use CS in their everyday conversations as a communication strategy, to index solidarity and affiliation to a specific social group, claiming that CS should be regarded as an effective tool of communication, rather than an obstacle to communication or an indication of language incompetency. This finding may explain the prevalence of French-dominant code switches among participants in their Facebook comments; especially those who attend high-level tertiary institutions (e.g ENCG, Faculty of medicine, INSEA, ect.) may be as a strategy to mark their high level of education and make it more obvious to their Facebook community.

In light of these findings, and according to the multiple functions CS serves in the analysed Facebook comments, the present research implied that CS is a conscious act made by young Moroccan Facebook users, by which they tend to break all linguistic and social norms, and create a new language of their own that fulfills their communicative intents; rather than a random choice that may be considered as a sign of language incompetency or language attrition.

The social motivations behind CS in Facebook were analysed within the theoretical framework of Myers-Scotton’s (1993) markedness model, this latter proved to be applicable to the present research. In light of the principle of markedness, it seemed that CS is a the unmarked choice of such a kind of interactions, given the high frequency of its occurrences among participants compared to the other employed forms

of language (mainly MA and French monolingual comments). The use of CS as a common pattern among almost all participants, according to Myers-Scotton (1993), is a desire to show dual identities where each identity is indexical of a certain social role. For example, while the use of MA, in some comments, serves as an index of solidarity and in-group peer membership among young Moroccan Facebook users, foreign languages, mainly French, are considered as a symbol of prestige and high level of education.

Within the unmarked choice of CS, some languages are considered more unmarked than others, and this kind of switching is referred to as sequential CS. For example, some of the participants opted for MA as the unmarked choice, where MA constitutes the dominant language of nearly all their comments, whereas others resorted to French instead. This difference in terms of language preferences seemed to be triggered by some social factors mainly the participants' relationship with other Facebook users (ordinary friends versus special ones), as well as the topic of their interaction (serious topics versus less serious ones) (see examples 51, 52, 53, 54). CS as a marked choice, the unexpected choice in a given interaction, also appeared in the participants' Facebook comments to serve certain functions, for example to address a specific audience as suggested in Gumperz (1982) or increase social distance with the addressee and show power and authority over him/her (Myers-Scotton, 1993) mainly through switching to a more powerful language like French (Extract 55).

While the first category of participants opted for MA as unmarked choice of language, which happened to be their ML as well and French as their EL, the second category chose rather French as the unmarked choice, which occurred to be their ML with the insertion EL items from MA in their Facebook comments. According to

Myers-Scotton (1993), the use of French as unmarked choice would be presumed to be motivated by its role as the language of prestige and socio-economic advancement and therefore as an index of status. This finding, generally, contradicts with Myers-Scotton's claim that the unmarked language is the speaker's ML, which is normally considered as their unmarked choice, in most of their bilingual interactions. As it seemed from the comments' analysis, that French for some participants is considered their unmarked code, given the fact that it is their ML in most of their comments. Alvarez (1989) conducted a study on CS among Puerto-Ricans in New York and found that Spanish is considered the "majority code" and is regarded as the prestige variety (As cited in Halmari & Smith, 1994). This function of CS serves "to offer the bilingual a chance to increase his or her status by using the 'prestige' code in conversations with other bilinguals" (Alvarez, 1989 as cited in Halmari & Smith, 1994: 428).

In short, the study of social motivations, in light of Myers-Scotton's markedness model (1993), implied that CS is a socially-motivated common behaviour among young Moroccan Facebook users, and that they are rationale about the consequences of their choices, as they may favor one language over another depending on the context where the conversation takes place, as well as their relationship with their addressees. When Moroccan Facebook users choose the unmarked codes, they generally answer what is expected and predictable in the norms of their Facebook community; however, when their choice of codes becomes marked, they rather tend to violate the norms of their community, by resorting to an unexpected language choice.

In addition to Myers-scotton's social motivations (1993) for CS, some studies showed that the use of CS might also be related to socio-demographic factors, such as age, level of education and level of proficiency. For example, in a study conducted by

Bentahila & Davies (1992), aimed to investigate the CS patterns between two groups of Moroccan bilinguals, brought them to the conclusion that the use of CS by bilingual speakers is controlled by extra-linguistic factors, such as age of the subjects under study, their level of education, and level of proficiency in foreign languages, mainly French, which was measured by its dominance in their interactions as well as the type of CS used. Their findings indicated that older participants with a high level of education and high level of proficiency in French used more CS than younger ones, and that most of their code switches happened inter-sententially. Whereas, younger respondents produced less CS, most of the times intra-sententially, opting for MA as a dominant language.

Bentahila & Davies' (1992) findings appeared to be consistent with results obtained from the current research, as it seemed that socio-demographic variables, mainly age, educational background, and language proficiency, have a significant effect on variations at the level of CS patterns, mainly frequency and types of CS used by participants as well as the languages dominating their Facebook comments.

In terms of age, results showed that there is a relationship between the socio-demographic variable age and the participants' language behavior, mainly represented through frequency of CS occurrences, language dominance and types of CS used by participants. It seems that the older participants are, the more they switch between MA and other languages especially French, which occurred as their dominant language, and the more they opt for inter-sentential CS. This finding correlates with Brigit Smieja's (1999) results, achieved from his study of CS between Setswana and English in Botswana, suggesting that these variations could be explained by the lower proficiency in terms of foreign languages among participants of younger age, that is why, they use

less CS than older participants, and that most of their code switches happens intra-sententially or even at the word level.

In terms of level of education, findings (see Tables 32, 33 and 34) also showed that the participants' educational background have a significant effect on their choice of language, mainly at the level of types of CS they use, and their choice of dominant languages. It appears that participants with a high level of education (tertiary level) used more inter-sentential CS than participants with a lower level, even though intra-sentential CS and tag-switching seemed to be prevalent among them as well, and very few instances of intra-word switching were noticed in this category's comments. Whereas, participants with a low level of education (mainly secondary school and high school levels) resorted more to intra-sentential and tag switching, with few occurrences of inter-sentential CS. Striking differences were also noticed between level of education and frequency of occurrences of French and MA as dominant languages. As MA was highly frequent among participants with a lower level of education (secondary and high school levels) than participants with a higher educational level (secondary and high school levels) who opted more for French as a dominant language.

Another remarkable difference was also noticed at the level of the use of tag-switching, which seemed to be the second most prevalent type of CS after intra-sentential CS. Many scholars define this type of CS as the least complex type of CS that requires the least linguistic skills. In this regard, Appel and Muysken (1987) use the term 'tag-switching' "to account for the fact that discourse markers are subject to the least syntactic rules and are therefore sometimes easily used in CS" (p: 48). In the same vein, Poplack inserts: "tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost, anywhere, in, the sentence without fear of violating any grammatical

rule” Poplack (1980: 589). These definitions of tag-switching may explain its prevalence among younger participants, especially, those studying at the secondary school level, since it requires the least linguistic skills, and thus, deemed the easiest and the safest choice that may be adopted by bilingual Facebook users.

Given these points, it can be assumed that the link between the participants’ level of education and the types of CS, as well as the dominant languages, correlates with Bentahila & Davies’s (1992) finding, which assumes that the more the speaker’s level of education is high the more s/he code switches inter-sententially, and the more s/he uses French as a dominant language. These findings suggest that CS (opting for French as an ML) can be considered as a strategy adopted by Moroccan Facebook users to make their high level of education obvious to their Facebook community, as well as to show off their proficiency in French as a language of prestige and socio-economic advancement. While the use of native languages, in a given bilingual interaction, might be a symbol of solidarity and ethnic identity, French, in this case, could also be considered as a symbol of solidarity among highly educated people. According to Myers-Scotton (1993) “a foreign language might also be indexical of solidarity and in-group membership in the group of educated persons having positions of authority and/or high status” (Cited in Kingsley Bolton, Braj B. Kachru, 2006: 229).

Remarkable differences were also noticed at the level of degree of proficiency in foreign languages, mainly French, which seemed to be determined by frequency of CS occurrences, the types of CS used by the participants as well as the languages dominating their Facebook comments. For example, in terms of CS frequency of occurrences, participants who seemed to have a high level of proficiency in French exhibited more instances of bilingual code-switches, and French seemed to be more

dominant in their comments than MA. On the other hand, participants who have, perhaps, the lower level of proficiency in French demonstrated the least number of bilingual switches.

In terms of types of CS, differences were also noticed at the level of inter-sentential code switches, as it seemed that participants who apparently have a high proficiency in French were the ones who produced a large amount of inter-sentential code switches. This finding is in the same line with Bentahila & Davies (1992)'s results, assuming that the more proficient bilingual speakers are, the more they switch codes inter-sententially. The same finding was supported by Myers-scotton (2002) as well, as she refers to this kind of CS as classic CS. She generally classifies two kinds of CS according to the speaker's level of proficiency. In this regard she states: "If the speaker is proficient enough to make a sufficient grammatical structure in the ML, it is called classical CS. On the other hand, "when speakers do not have full access to the grammatical frame of the intended ML, part of the abstract structure comes from one variety and part from another" referring to this kind of CS as composite CS. (Myers-Scotton& Jake, 2000:2).

A striking remark was noticed at the level of the use of intra-sentential CS, since it occurred as the most prevalent type of CS among all participants even those who seemed to be highly proficient in French. This finding seems to be in disagreement with many previous studies' results (Myers-scotton, 1990; Bentahila & Davies, 1992), which suggest that intra-sentential CS is a sign of language incompetency. For example, Myers-Scotton (1990) considered the prevalence of intra-sentential CS among bilingual speakers as an indication of language incompetency, based on the fact that bilingual

speakers engaging in such forms of language are unable to produce full correct sentences in the languages involved and therefore use CS to hide their incompetency.

According to the analysis of intra-sentential codes switches, it seemed that they are used even by the most proficient Facebook users; they can be regarded as a “discourse strategy” (Myers-Scotton, 1990) adopted by participants in Facebook to serve certain communicative intents, for example, to index solidarity and in-peer group membership (see examples 51-54), or to decrease social distance with a close friend (see example 56). Therefore, it can be inferred from this finding that, the use of intra-sentential CS is far less to be considered as an indication of language incompetency (Myers-Scotton, 1990; Bentahila & Davies (1992) but rather a communicative strategy that is employed to index solidarity, and in-peer group membership.

All in all, findings achieved from content analysis of CS patterns in relationship with language choice among young Facebook users showed that socio-demographic variables mainly age, level of education, and level of proficiency in foreign languages, more particular French, have a significant effect on the different CS patterns adopted by young Moroccans, represented through types of CS and language dominance.

In addition to investigating the CS patterns of young Moroccans in Facebook comments, as well as motivations behind their choice of language, this research also sought to find out whether these patterns could be considered as a sign of Moroccan language attrition. As far as this research is concerned, no prior studies investigated the link between CS in digital written discourse, mainly Facebook, and language attrition, this study will be the first in its kind, and findings can be used as evidence in future research like this one.

The study of relationship between CS patterns of young Moroccans in Facebook and Moroccan language attrition were analysed, using a sociolinguistic approach, within the theoretical Framework of Myers-scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis (1998). Her theory suggests that CS becomes an indication of language attrition due to many factors mainly bilinguals' second language dominance, unbalanced bilingualism, and the use of CS as a marked choice. In terms of language dominance, findings showed that French is more dominant in Facebook comments produced by older participants (22-25) with a high level of education (tertiary level) than MA. This finding is, according to Myers-scotton (1998), the last stage in the way from CS to language attrition. In this regard, she claims that when bilingual speakers move from the use of L1 monolingual utterances to L1 as a dominant language in bilingual utterances to L2 as a dominant language and finally to L2 monolingual utterances, we would expect the attrition of L1.

Based on Myers-scotton's (1998) findings, vis-à-vis L2 dominance as a sign of language attrition, participants of the current research can be divided into two categories maintainers and attriters. Maintainers are notably those who produced MA monolingual or dominant Facebook comments, and attriters are obviously those who produced French monolingual or dominant Facebook comments. Although this maybe true, it is hard to maintain that French dominance is a sign of Moroccan language attrition, as it seemed, according to previous studies (Bentahila & Davies, 1992), to be a sign of high level of competency in French among highly educated bilingual speakers. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that, given the nature of Facebook interactions (as written discourse), participants who showed a great tendency towards the use of French as a dominant language are, in fact, attending high-level tertiary schools and faculties (Faculty of medicine and pharmacy (Fes & Marrakesh, INSEA, UPF, etc), where

French is a primary language of instruction of majority of subjects. This category of young Moroccans are more used to write in French than in MA, which may explain that the dominance of French in their digital media discourse is but an imitation of their everyday writing practices at school.

The second sign of language attrition, based on Myers-Scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis, is unbalanced bilingualism mainly in intra-sentential CS. As previously mentioned, Myers-Scotton (1998) links the use of intra-sentential CS to unbalanced bilingualism and considers it as a threat of language attrition. She assumes that, unlike intra-sentential CS, speakers engaging in inter-sentential CS have notably the ability to produce correct clauses in both languages, should be equally able to produce a series of monolingual clauses and eventually a monolingual discourse in both languages (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 73 Cited in Joan Smith/ Kocamahhul, 2003: 124). If this is the case, their CS is 'classic' CS where the speakers are proficient in both languages (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 297). In other words, the only type of code-switching that is deemed as problematic according to Myers-Scotton, and may eventually lead to language attrition is the composite CS or intra-sentential CS; based on the fact that, speakers engaging in classic CS, represented through the use of predominantly inter-sentential code switches, are balanced bilinguals, and can produce correct utterances in either language, as they have equal command of both languages.

However, if frequency of occurrences of intra-sentential CS in Facebook is to be considered, it will be found that all participants produced an important amount of intra-sentential code switches, even among participants who are considered as balanced bilinguals. Therefore, this finding may generally refute the hypothesis that intra-sentential CS is a sign of imperfect bilingualism (Myers-Scotton: 1993), simply

because it seemed to be a communication strategy adopted by young Moroccans to index solidarity, ethnic identity and affiliation to the group of young generation. For example, the analysis of functions of CS showed that most of intra-sentential code switches served certain functions, such as availability and principle of economy, especially, when it has to do with CMC jargon that is more available for them in French and English than in MA.

Another indication of language attrition due to CS according to Myers-scotton (1998) is the use of CS as a marked and unexpected choice by speakers. In this study and based on the high frequency of CS occurrences among the participants, it appeared that CS is an unmarked choice in their Facebook interactions is not a threat of language attrition. In this vain, Myers- Scotton (1998) claims that if CS is the unmarked choice among bilinguals that would denote that “there is some stability in the codes available to speakers” and that it is a neutral code choice among bilinguals by which they try to exhibit dual memberships within one interaction to “index those memberships simultaneously.” (Joan Smith/ Kocamahhul, 2003: 92-93) This argument may, to some extent, correlate with Bloomaert’s hypothesis, that CS for some particular groups of bilingual speakers may be considered as a language of its own right. (Cited in B. Smieja, 1999: 9) Thus, we can assume that CS can be considered as a new language created by Moroccan young Facebook users to fulfill their communicative needs in CMC mainly Facebook.

Given all these points, this research implicates that the use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users is not necessarily an indication of language attrition but simply a socially-motivated phenomenon, by which the participants tend to play certain social roles vis-à-vis their Facebook community, as well as to fulfill their

communicative needs and make their Facebook interactions more fluid and vivid.

Based on the overall findings achieved from qualitative and quantitative methods, it seemed that the triangulation of both methods was significant at many levels. At the level of frequency of CS, results achieved from both survey questionnaire and online ethnography confirmed that CS is a common pattern among young Moroccan Facebook users, given the high frequency of its occurrences in their Facebook comments.

At the level of reasons and motivations behind the use of CS among young Moroccans in Facebook, results achieved from both quantitative and qualitative methods showed that CS is conceived as a natural phenomenon among this category, and that they are used to this kind of language. Furthermore, the alternation between their Moroccan language and other languages, particularly languages that they are familiar with, makes their interactions in Facebook easier and more fluid. This finding may explain the spread of CS in their Facebook comments as an unmarked choice; to mainly serve the functions of habitual expressions and availability, where they tend to use the most available language will it be MA, French, English or a mixture of all these languages.

However, at the level of attitudes, the results obtained from of the analysis of Facebook comments seemed to, partialy, divert from those of the questionnaire's findings. First, in terms of age, questionnaire's findnings showed that the older the respondent is, the more s/he holds negative attitudes towards CS and considers it as an indication of language loss and vice versa. The study of Facebook comments, generally, showed the opposite, as it seemed that CS was highly frequent among older (18-25) respondents than younger ones (14-17) (see Table 30). Second, in terms of level of

education, it seemed that, during the analysis of Facebook comments, a high frequency of CS occurrences appeared in the comments of participants at tertiary level (see Table 31), who appeared, according to questionnaire's findings, to hold the most negative attitudes towards CS and do not consider it as a communication strategy, but an indication of Moroccan language attrition.

Third, in terms of 'type of school', it seemed that this latter had a significant effect on both attitudes and practices of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users but in different ways. To be more precise, results achieved from survey questionnaire maintained that respondents who attend private schools held more positive attitudes towards CS than those going to public schools, considering it as an effective communication strategy that eases the flow of their Facebook interactions. However, at the level of Facebook comments, the type of school, as private or public, the participants attend did not seem to affect their CS patterns as both categories used CS at an equal level. The only difference noticed based on the relationship between type of school and the different CS patterns of young Moroccans is related to the level of proficiency in foreign languages mainly in French. Although this variable was not investigated during the quantitative phase of research, but it seemed to have a significant effect on the different CS patterns adopted by young Moroccans in Facebook, given that, participants who seemed to be more proficient in French, based on the dominance of French in their Facebook comments, produced more instances of inter-sentential CS than those with a lower proficiency.

General Conclusion

This study has sought to examine CS practices of young Moroccan Facebook users; more particularly their attitudes towards CS as well as patterns and motivations behind the spread of this phenomenon. It is a mixed-methods approach that combines both survey questionnaire and online ethnography of young Moroccans' Facebook comments.

The overall results achieved from statistical analysis of questionnaire's answers indicate that CS is perceived as a normal behaviour among respondents, since most of them assumed their regular switching in their Facebook interactions between MA and other foreign languages, mainly French. The results also revealed that regardless the constant use of CS respondents, however they still hold contradictory attitudes towards this behaviour, as they consider it both an effective communication strategy in Facebook, and an indication of Moroccan language loss. The contradiction in terms of attitudes seems to be explained by differences at the level of some socio-demographic variables mainly age, the level of education and type of school (the same variables seemed also to have a significant effect on young Moroccans' CS patterns analysed through online ethnography of their Facebook comments).

The contradiction in terms of attitudes of young Moroccan Facebook users towards CS can also be explained in terms of the current linguistic situation in Morocco as it is characterized by complexity. This complexity is manifested through the existence of many languages; some languages have a higher status (mainly French) while others are relegated to a lower position (Moroccan- Arabic). This gap between languages makes the Moroccan youth in a very confusing situation, as they are torn between two conflicting desires. Their desire to keep up with modernity and Westernization, which is manifested through the adoption of French and its cultural

components, while still eager to preserve their *Moroccanity* with all its cultural and religious aspects.

Apart from tracing the attitudes of young Moroccan Facebook users towards CS and the socio-demographic variables responsible for determining such attitudes, the quantitative study also aims to define the role of technology in increasing the use of CS among young Moroccan Facebook users, especially through the use of Facebook via Smartphones and heavy Facebook consumption. The results revealed no relationship between the variables frequency of CS use and the use of Facebook via smartphones, based on the fact that even respondents who do not access via their smartphones are using CS at a regular basis. They also denied any significant relationship between frequency of CS use and Facebook consumption. Therefore, this study confirms that there is no relationship between the increasing use of CS by young Moroccans in Facebook and technology.

To have a better understanding of attitudes of young Moroccans towards CS as well as their CS practices, a qualitative online ethnography of young Moroccans' Facebook comments was conducted as a follow up phase. The study aims to trace the CS patterns of participants, mainly types and functions of CS, as well as motivations behind the use of this kind of language. Results achieved from content analysis of Facebook comments establish that CS is perceived as a common phenomenon in Facebook. It is generally perceived by most of them as the unmarked and the most expected choice in their Facebook interactions that is triggered some social motivations.

The study of CS types also reveals that the prevalence of intra-sentential CS which can be considered as a communication strategy adopted by young Moroccan Facebook users, most of the times, employ informal language, to symbolize in-group

membership, as well as to decrease social distance between each other. It also appears that their choice of CS is a conscious act that mainly serves communicative functions, through which they aim to enhance their Facebook interactions and make them easier and more fluid, and is not necessarily an indicator of language attrition.

The online ethnography of Facebook comments also aimed to study the social motivations behind the use of CS by young Moroccans in light of Myers-Scotton's Markedness model (1993). Findings imply that CS is a socially-motivated common behaviour among young Moroccan Facebook users, and that they are rationale about the consequences of their choices, as they may favour one language over another depending on the context where the conversation takes place, as well as their relationship with the addressee. Besides the use of CS that is motivated by the context of use as well as social distance between participants and other Facebook users, CS also seemed to be triggered by some external motivations mainly age, level of education and level of proficiency in foreign languages (French in particular); these variables should have a significant effect on variations at the level of CS patterns, more particularly, frequency and types of CS used by participants as well as the languages dominating their Facebook comments.

In addition, the qualitative study aimed to shed light on the relationship between CS and language attrition based on the theoretical framework of Myers-scotton's matrix language turnover hypothesis (1998), which assumes that CS may be considered as an indication of language attrition due to many factors mainly bilinguals' second language dominance, unbalanced bilingualism, and the use of CS as a marked choice. Findings showed that CS cannot necessarily be considered as an indication of language attrition but simply a socially-motivated behaviour, through which participants tend to play certain social roles vis-à-vis their Facebook community, as they also tend to fulfill their

communicative needs and make their Facebook interactions more fluid and vibrant.

Thanks to CMC platforms such as Facebook, young Moroccans have now the ability to freely and creatively express themselves by creating a language of their own, via which they have transcended all the linguistic and social rules, a language that they can manipulate, and play with as they wish. They can create new expressions, make new combinations, and the process of code-switching is only part of this game.

To ensure the reliability and validity of results, a triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative methods was employed, which seemed to be significant at many levels. First, both questionnaire's and online ethnography results confirmed that CS is a common behaviour among young Moroccan Facebook users. It is very frequent among them, and considered as the unmarked and the most expected choice in their Facebook interactions. Second, respondents' attitudes towards CS traced through questionnaires, as well as participants' CS patterns extracted from the analysed Facebook comments, seemed to be influenced by the same socio-demographic variables mainly age, level of education and type of school.

Limitations

Even though this study has reached its objective and all research questions and hypotheses were answered, some limitations were faced during the research process. Some of these limitations are obvious at the level of sampling. For example, participants who took part in both questionnaire and online ethnography were mainly students, and university students were the dominating number in the survey, it could have been beneficial to study CS among even those who dropped out from school and make comparisons between the two categories to have an in-depth understanding of CS among different categories of young Moroccans in Facebook.

Another limitation was faced during the sampling phase, more particularly at the level of online ethnography sample. Participants were non-randomly selected and only participants who were available and accepted to share their personal comments on Facebook took part in this study, and they were extracted from the researcher's list of friends in Facebook. Therefore, the findings achieved from online ethnography in this study may have low external validity, and cannot represent all young Facebook users in Morocco, except the ones who took part in this study.

At the level of online ethnography data, as most of the collected comments were over pictures posted by participants in their Facebook timeline. It is hard to determine whether the language choice in these shared posts is motivated by the context of use, which is used to comment on their friends' posts and pictures, or it is prevalent among the participants in all types of interactions (for example private messages). Thus, patterns and motivations of CS in Facebook found in this study may not apply for all forms of Facebook content rather than comments on pictures or posts.

Recommendations for Future Research

As previously mentioned, this study focused more on the analysis of CS patterns in Facebook comments and most of them were comments on pictures and the language used was highly informal. Other possible future researches can study code-switching in discussions of some Facebook groups who are using Facebook in educational contexts.

While studying CS, differences are among young Moroccans belonging to different age groups, and with different educational backgrounds, the social class to which they belong was not taken into consideration, thus future researchers can study CS practices among different social classes.

This study in fact focused more on French-MA code-switching; further research can include other languages mainly English, as many instances of English-MA CS occurrences were noticed in the analysed Facebook comments.

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Appendices:

Appendix A

Survey Questionnaire

Please fill in the questionnaire below. I would like to inform you that the data you will provide will be kept confidential and will be used only for research purpose. Thank you in advance. The purpose of this study is to answer some questions related to sociolinguistics and media studies.

***Obligatory**

1. **Age ***

Only one answer is possible

- ☐ 14-17
- ☐ 18-21
- ☐ 22-25

2. **Gender**

☐ Female

☐ Male

3. **Level of Study ***

☐ Secondary School

☐ High School

☐ Higher Education

4. **Are you studying in a: *** *Only one answer is possible*

☐ Private School

☐ Public School

5. **Please specify the name of your school**

6. **How many languages do you speak?** *You can choose more than one answer*

☐ Moroccan Arabic

☐ Arabic

☐ Berber

☐ French

☐ English

☐ Other:

7. **What is your mother tongue language?** *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Moroccan Arabic
- ☐ Berber
- ☐ Other :

8. **Do you have Internet at home?** *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

9. **Do you have a Facebook account?** * *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

10. **Do you access Facebook from your smartphone?** * *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

11. **Why do you use Facebook?** *You can choose more than one answer*

- ☐ Entertainment
- ☐ Communication (e.g: talking with friends and family members)
- ☐ News
- ☐ Meeting people

12. **How many hours per day you devote to Facebook? *** *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Approximately 1 hour
- ☐ Approximately 2 hours
- ☐ 3 hours or more

13. **While using Facebook do you use: *** *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Only Moroccan Arabic
- ☐ Both Moroccan Arabic and French
- ☐ Moroccan Arabic, French, and English
- ☐ Other: _____

14. **How often do you insert Foreign expressions in Facebook? *** *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Usually
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

15. **Do you use some Foreign language (ex: French, English) words or expressions in your everyday conversations?** *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

16. **Why do you use French or other foreign languages in Facebook conversations, walls or comments? because: ***

You can choose more than one answer

- ☐ I am used to it (unconsciously or subconsciously)
- ☐ I cannot find the right word in Moroccan Arabic so
- ☐ I feel it is easy to communicate in Moroccan Arabic and inserting French expressions while chatting in Facebook.

17. **Do you think that using more than one language in Facebook is an effective communication strategy that facilitates your interactions with your friends? *** *Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I disagree
- ☐ Undecided

Please give more details about your answer

18. **Do you think that the constant switching between Moroccan Arabic and other foreign languages like French in Facebook may lead to the erosion of many Moroccan words and expressions?**

**.Only one answer is possible*

- ☐ I strongly agree
- ☐ I agree
- ☐ I disagree
- ☐ I strongly disagree
- ☐ Neutral

Please give more details about your answer

Appendix B

Formulaire

Veuillez s'il vous plait remplir le questionnaire ci-dessous. Le but derrière ce questionnaire est tout simplement de savoir les avis des jeunes Marocains surtout ceux qui ont un compte Facebook et qui emploient plusieurs langues lors de leurs interactions Facebook (Exemple : Français, Arabe dialectal et parfois l'Anglais) concernant un phénomène sociolinguistique qui s'appelle "l'Alternance Codique" (l'emploi de plus d'une langue dans une seule conversation, comme mentionné précédemment) et son impact sur la culture Marocaine. L'objectif de ce questionnaire est totalement académique, et je souhaite vous informer que les informations que vous allez communiquer à travers ce questionnaire resteront confidentielles. Merci d'avance.

***Obligatoire ;**

1. **Age ***

Une seule réponse est possible.

- ☐ 14-17
- ☐ 18-21
- ☐ 22-25

2. **Sexe ***

Une seule réponse est possible.

- ☐ Feminin
- ☐ Masculin

3. **Niveau d'Etudes *** *Une seule réponse est possible.*

- ☐ College
- ☐ Lycée
- ☐ Université

4. **Vous poursuivez vos études dans un établissement : *** *Une seule réponse est possible.*

- ☐ Publique
- ☐ Privé

5. **Veillez s'il vous plait précisez le nom de votre établissement et la ville. ***

.....

6. **Combien de langues maitrisez-vous ? vous pouvez cochez plusieurs options.**

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- ☐ Arabe Dialectal
- ☐ Arabe Standard (Fus'ha)
- ☐ Berbère
- ☐ Français
- ☐ Anglais
- ☐ Autre : _____

7. **Qu'elle est votre langue maternelle ? vous pouvez cochez plusieurs options. ***

Plusieurs réponses possibles.

- ☐ Arabe Dialectal
☐ Berbère
☐ Autre :

8. **Est-ce que vous avez internet chez vous à la maison ? *** *Une seule réponse possible.*

- ☐ Oui
☐ Non

9. **Est-ce que vous avez un compte Facebook ? *** *Une seule réponse possible.*

- ☐ Oui
☐ Non

10. **Est-ce que vous avez l'application Facebook installée sur votre Smartphone ? ***

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Oui
☐ Non

11. **Qu'elle est la raison derrière votre utilisation du Facebook ? *** *Une seule réponse possible.*

- ☐ Divertissement
☐ Communication (exemple : restez en contact avec vos amis et vos proches.
☐ Etre au courant des dernières actualités
☐ Etablir de nouvelles relations (amitié, amour)

12. **Qu'elle est la moyenne d'heures que vous consacrez au Facebook par jour?**

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ 30 min ou moins
- ☐ Entre une heure et deux heures
- ☐ 3 Heures ou plus

13. Une fois sur Facebook, quelles langues utilisez-vous? * *Une seule réponse possible.*

- ☐ L'Arabe Dialectal (uniquement)
- ☐ L'Arabe Dialectal et le Français (simultanément)
- ☐ L'Arabe Dialectal, le Français et l'Anglais (simultanément)
- ☐ Autre : _____

14. Est ce que vous le faites * *Une seule réponse possible.*

- ☐ Toujours
- ☐ Souvent
- ☐ De temps en temps
- ☐ Rarement
- ☐ Jamais

15. Est ce que vous introduisez des mots ou expressions étrangères dans vos conversations quotidiennes aussi ? *Une seule réponse possible.*

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

16. Pourquoi vous utilisez des mots ou expressions en Français (ou une autre langue étrangère) dans vos interactions Facebook ? * *Plusieurs réponses possibles.*

- ☐ Je le fais inconsciemment car j'ai l'habitude de le faire aussi lors des mes conversations habituelles.
- ☐ Je le fais toujours quand je n'arrive pas à trouver le mot exact enArabeDialectal.
- ☐ Je le trouve plus facile et pratique de communiquer en Arabe Dialectal avec l'insertion des mots et expressions en Français qu'à parler en Arabe Dialectal seule.

17. Pensez-vous que l'utilisation de plusieurs langues est une bonne stratégie de communication qui sert à Facilité vos interactions sur Facebook ? * *Une seule réponse possible.*

- ☐ Je suis d'accord
- ☐ Je ne suis pas d'accord
- ☐ Je ne sais pas

Veillez s'il vous plait donner plus de details concernant votre réponse.

18. Pensez- vous que l'utilisation le mélange entre l'Arabe dialectal et d'autres langues étrangères sur Facebook peut être considéré comme un signe de perte de la langue Marocaine. *

Une seule réponse possible.

- ☐ Je suis tout à fait d'accord
- ☐ Je suis d'accord
- ☐ Je suis fortement en désaccord
- ☐ Je suis en désaccord
- ☐ Je suis neutre

Veillez s'il vous plait donner plus de details concernant votre réponse.

Appendix C :

نموذج استبيان

يهدف هذا النموذج إلى استطلاع إجاباتك حول أسئلة متعلقة بالدراسات السوسيو لسانية، المرجو الإجابة عن الأسئلة أدناه وللتذكير فإن هذه المعلومات سوف تبقى في طي الكتمان وسوف تستعمل لأغراض تتعلق بالبحث العلمي فقط

*Obligatoire

1. السن

14-17 ☐

18-21 ☐

22-25 ☐

2. الجنس

ذكر ☐
أنثى ☐

3. المستوى الدراسي

الإعدادي ☐
الثانوي ☐
التعليم العالي ☐

4. هل تدرس ب مؤسسة

عمومية ☐
خاصة ☐

5. ما اسم المؤسسة او الجامعة التي تنتمي اليها؟ *

6. ما هي لغتك الأم؟

الدارجة المغربية ☐
الأمازيغية ☐
Autre ☐

7. هل لديك حساب على "فيسبوك"؟

نعم ☐
لا ☐

8. هل لديك تطبيق "فيسبوك" على هاتفك المحمول؟

نعم ☐
لا ☐

9. ما هي الغاية من استخدامك الفيسبوك؟ (يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة واحدة)

- ☐ بهدف التسلية
- ☐ بهدف التواصل (مثلا: التواصل مع الأصدقاء وأفراد العائلة)
- ☐ الاطلاع على آخر الأخبار والمستجدات
- ☐ بهدف التعرف

10. كم عدد الساعات التي تمضيها أمام الفيسبوك خلال

اليوم (تقريبا)؟

- ☐ دقيقة 30
- ☐ من ساعة إلى ساعتين
- ☐ ثلاث ساعات أو أكثر

11. ما هي اللغات التي تستعملها خلال تواصلك على الفيسبوك؟ (يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة)

- ☐ الدارجة المغربية فقط
- ☐ الدارجة المغربية والفرنسية معا
- ☐ الدارجة المغربية، الفرنسية والإنجليزية
- ☐ Autre _____

12. ما مدى استعمالك لهذه

الكلمات؟

- ☐ دائما
- ☐ أحيانا
- ☐ من وقت لآخر
- ☐ نادرا
- ☐ أبدا

13. هل توظف هذه الكلمات أو العبارات في حياتك اليومية أيضا؟

نعم ☐

لا ☐

14. لماذا تدرج عبارات من لغات أجنبية مثل الفرنسية في محادثاتك الفيسبوكية؟ (يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة واحدة)

☐ أنا معتاد (ة) على ذلك (بدون شعور)

☐ لا أستطيع العثور على الكلمة المناسبة باللغة الدارجة

☐ أجد سهولة في التواصل باللغة الدارجة المغربية مستعينا بكلمات وعبارات أجنبية عند الحاجة)

15. هل تعتقد أن استعمال لغات متعددة إلى جانب اللغة العربية الدارجة وسيلة فعالة تسهل تواصلك على فيسبوك؟

☐ أنا موافق (ة)

☐ أن غير موافق (ة)

☐ لا أعرف

16. المرجو تعليل إجابتك

17. هل تعتقد أن توظيف الشباب لغات أجنبية إلى جانب لغتهم الأم على فيسبوك دليلا على بداية فقدانهم للغتهم المغربية (باعتبارهم غير مؤهلين لاستعمال لغة مغربية سليمة وبالتالي يمزجون بينها وبين لغات أخرى لإخفاء هذا النقص)

☐ أنا موافق (ة)

☐ أن غير موافق (ة)

☐ لا أعرف

18. المرجو تعليل إجابتك

Appendix D:

Comments Extracted from Facebook:

1. Je t'aime meilleure 3mima fl3alaaam w tw7shk trop)
2. je te souhaite ahssen 3id milad fl3alam hit nta ahssen friend fl3alam! I love you
3. malek mdemr a ucef safi oublie ne t'en fait pas ok
4. waLlo al 3eZize Dyalii konet ka3eya ms Db hmd
5. Ziiin dl3aaalammm 🥰👉 loove u
6. HHHHHH. déjà kunt kan3um mea lqirch! Lahyfdk ahbibi
7. Il ressemble a toi le petit ykhelilii lfonoun
8. we made history hhh 7na fchkel
9. tu me manques aussi hbibaa 🥰👉 thank youu so much babe
10. badr nsit w commetite bl face d mama

11. kijatek had lpic wa3ra yak?
12. Chefti l3iba li taguétek fiha
13. Ayoub lghzal happy birthday bro
14. Nice bb dima top
15. wa fuuuuuuuck, wllahila mrid
16. Ana magelt Walou w mataguit hed
17. inboxx nssbek shwiya, hhhhh
18. le7et wa7ed Statut Ctt Wlh mab9it Netkonikta B had conte
19. matba9ach tcommentéli tswari
20. titiza diali, you are so cute
21. Lfsouria com tjr
22. Hhhhhh you look so 3nibaaa in this picture
23. « Merci Zennouba mamcha m3ak bass ma chérie »
24. « vraiment c'est que du l7iss lkappa tu penses que si tu mets le drapeau de la france tu vas éliminé le terrorisme du monde »
25. 3id Moubarak, ma chérie
26. Omar Chkoune mate 🤔 ?
- Ouma Le grand Pere de ma meilleure Lah yra7mo 🤔:(
27. Ça va être une catastrophe, Allah ychouf men halna
28. « chama diali lpb »
29. « jiti wa3ra bae » babe= attractive girl
30. « a5oya Wlh ma Ana Lii kanef7e Lfb »
31. Wi bb dyali, tu es la meilleure
32. db ntwal mdr
33. « hbiba diyali tu sais deja a tel point je t'aime, ikhelik lili et on aura sûrement d'autre souvenir meilleur »
34. Merci kbida ❤️🖤❤️🖤❤️🖤❤️🖤❤️🖤love you
35. « Hbibati mes belles allahyfdkom wynjhkom je vous aime bcp 🤔🖤🤔🖤❤️
 🖤❤️🖤 »
36. “jiti lyoum hyper belle”
37. Quand l’ encgiste te dit « awel salaire diali hadi ykoun minimum 15 000dh
38. Vraiment c’est du n’importe koi, comme le dit toujours nora: « he is such an asshole»

39. Je veux remercier mn dieu ! En quoi sa peut vs deranger !! :dKhadija (lhdra fbalek a douja)
40. Oujidane: prk tu me parles de cette façon, je te connais meme pas
41. Ghizlane : tu es vrm orgeuilleuse
42. Oujidane: et tu es vrm bête, je vé te bloquer tt de suite
43. Zineb: Oujidane 3mri chtk hdrti m3a chi hde haka hhhhhhh
44. Oujidane: Zineb yak hiya li 9lbat 3liha w ana makan3rfhaaach
45. ohhhh la titization
46. la beauty, vrm ma3ndi man9ol
47. jiti bogoooooss, bro
48. Nta abgass, 3chiri
49. Ettttt oui c'est vraiii!! Tu me manques aussi bcp .. (Tan9yl n9olhalek 🤪:p) et jtaime mn angeeeee
50. c la dernière fois que je vais le dire: matpublili walou f l mur diali
51. vrm dartna chouha f lycée, Wllah que C'était un vraiiiiii scandale
52. jiti waaa3ra (c la vérité et non pas un compliment)
53. "sahabi li bgha y3awen wa7ed l3a2ila msaken kay3icho f chari3 w 3ndhoum wladat sghar mal9awch bach ykhlssou lkra, mabghach bahoum y3té wladou l khiriya, 9alek il a peur qu'on les viole car lui meme a subi plusieurs violes mnin kan 3ayech temma."
54. Adil : hanae « Wakha ma3ndich m3a zwa9, mais tu es ravissaaaaante. »
55. Adil : youssef « jiti laaaa 3ala9a a sadi9i f had tof, a hir 7yedha rak D7kti 3lik l2oumma. Hhhhhhh »
56. "Ayouuuubino, je te souhaite ahssen 3id milad fl3alam hit nta ahssen sa7eb fl3alam! I kanbghik bjhd!"
57. (Ayouuuubino, I wish the best happy birthday in the world, because you are the best friend in the world. I love you so much.)
58. "Joyeux anniversaire Kenza que du bonheur et santé"
59. "J'ai toujours envie de te parler, toujours envie de t'appeler, toujours envie de t'envoyer en message, toujours envie de te voir, toujours la peur que tu me remplaces, oui voilà, tu vois je t'aime tellement fort que j'ai peur de tout."

60. chouha li darou Ironaldinho sbrdila tenu ch3r rychouh hhh wakha sara7a meneiro l3bat wa3r oughir bchwiya raja ghir katsyd lbyout ou tal3a habta f terrain
61. Sara : A fine a 3chirti jiti louuuz
62. Hanae : Lah y7dek a habibati
63. Kaoutar : Malki 7alla femek bezzaf, HHHH ghir kand7ak
64. Sara : 7alla femmi ? t'es ki toi ?
65. Sara : on se connaît nn ?
66. Kaoutar : kifach on se connaît ?
67. Kaoutar: rah ghir kand7ak M3ak jiti zwina ghir bghit nbchek
68. Sara : ton commentaire ne me dit surtout rien, ce ki compte vrm c ke je te connais meme pas et tu me parles de cette façon; tu sais koi je vx même pas continuer la discussion allez fous le camp
69. Rihab : (sahbti malek m3ssba ?:D)
70. Sara : walou a hbiba ghir bnadem wlla mriiiid
71. Rihab : a safi a sahbti berdi.
72. hadchi bassel bezzaf w 3ad zaydinha b lhdra lkhayba men lfou9
73. Tbrklh 3la wald mdiinti khoya diiima ljadii
74. Le nom dial had lmessra7iya svp ?
75. Hta 3g dyal tiscalat kant makhadamaxi
76. Bit nbdl mdp dlwifi ot3ks lya 3sbni had zmr
77. Hhhhhhhhhh 3ade chateha dba wtf
78. Yasmina Abakri Amiine Mrigal 9raaa nass li kat3rf fin dwz les vacances
79. Nada Elharrami Nourelhouda Eljaafari yak kan9iyel ngoul likoum rah taza makayn ra zin
- 80.
81. A Tbarkllah 3la weld khalti lhenina,
Allah y7fdeek a hbib
82. Ana be3da hadchi kayjini 7aaaamed bezzaf bedlou chwiya had l7jaya.
83. Lah yakhoud fik lha9, dima kantfekker nhar dial moul l7mouss l3ajib kannkrah raaaaasi :D
84. Chno z3ma had lbhlan, mat3awdech thder m3aya gaaaa3
85. Dir niya w bat m3a l7eyya, tmout nta w tb9a hiya 😁

86. Chou ki jiti b7al chi chwiyech d lham
87. A 9raaaa 3la rassek a ba hicham, la3la wa 3assa dir chi tayla
88. 3ssebtini a sa7bti wach makatfehmich rah dik bnadema mrida khasseha hir fin tchabt
89. iwa safi tantina siri m3a 3La lkhat w 9olileha li bghya tsma3
90. 3afakoum chwiya d l7tiram had group dernah bach koulchi ystafed machi bach n3mrouh b alfad sou9iya
91. nti dima jaya m3tla, ana nkhli mona t3awedle chno wa9a3 yallah hana tla7it.
92. Ki jatek dik l3iba li séftlek cheftek majawbtinich gaaaaa3
93. Ch7ala b9alek w tkemli l9raya f nouba ?
94. Iwa goul wa7ed chehyeer mjiiiiibed
95. A jiti waaaaa3ra a titiz
96. Wlahila noukatek hadou yakhhhh     
97. Abdel Samad hhhhh iwa akhoya hit mrbyat wmachi li ja thdr m3ah wmachi ay whda mabratch thdr m3ak safi raha mtkbra non
98. Chkoun li mcha ghalet b7ali! Is7abo hadik meli hatkbar hatwali chi wa7ed akhor    
99. Okatgolya lflos machi chihaja   
- 100.njbd tswirtk fach knt ghleda ?    
- 101.joyeux anniversaire kbida diali, love uuuuuuu
- 102.titization. Com
- 103.rak dima mnwer ghazali, keep shining sweety
- 104.I've never seen u like that, u've rally shocked me.
- 105.La vrm 3jbtini, aji wach nta dima dayer hakka
- 106.C koi ce bordel, aji t9der mat3awedch tktabli ta7aj f le mur diali, ☺ wa chokran
- 107.L3yaaaa9a hadi, wa tala7 tla7
- 108.Je suis vrm emue,
- 109.Tu es toujours splendide, veux-tu sortir avec moi? :p :p
- 110.Bibich, j'oublierais jamais nos moments ensemble, tu es la meilleure ma belle
- 111.Tu déchiire 3miyer diali
- 112.Je ne sais pas vrm de koi vous parlez sauf que vo
- 113.Merci à tous ceux qui aiment et partagent notre page chaque jour
- 114.LA7wela wa la9ouwta illa billah, ina lillah w inna ilyaehi raji3ou

- 115.3zaouna wa 3azaoukoum wa7id, lba9a lillah, lah ybdel m7btou b sbar
- 116.Fin 3mrek jebti chi khbar zin, dima katjib hir lkawrit b7al wjhek
- 117.yaaaak a chniwla, iwa nchoufek wnwrrrik lkarita ki dayra
- 118.wa ghaaaa je rigole a s7aybti, 3arfani tanmout 3lik □ □ □ □
- 119.rester célibataire mieux que faire une relation made in china!!
- 120.ronaldinho ! askri b9a ghi taychouf pfffff 1/1
- 121.raja ❤️<3 . c po grave mhm t2hlna lfinal , ou raja l3bat mzn walakine maktabch wakha chtaibi ou mitwali dy3ou lmo7awala , ou ta 2-0 m3a byern mziara , wila maknach m3a raja flkhassara manstahlouch nkounou des rajaouis ila rb7at .
- 122.bien dit ma chérie desole ghadia ndirha fi statut diali
- 123.khoudihaa alhoub Khouuudiha 😂□ kolchi dyalkkkkkkk
- 124.ùmercii hbiba diali jatni 3la 9albi
- 125.hhhhhh alah yawdi jbiro dyaal wazzan l3arbi lmherchi rah me3rouf howa raiss lmajliss i9limi dyaal ouazane hta bento nejhat f lberlaman hiya asghar barlaminiya f lmaghrib daba hh kolhom dyaal l PAM ...walakin m3a laassaf tbedlo w sokna sebhat f salé w hta lahja tbedelt hhh al mohim lah ynejina menhom hhh
- 126.hhhhhhhhhh Ah d'acc Hta freht 😂□ lmohim B3daa l'accent hadra chWia hhhh
- 127.Daba rak 3ajbni 😂□
- 128.Nta 3arf w ana 3arf ...hahahah
- 129.Il ressemble a toi le petit ykhelelii lfonoun
- 130.Avec lehbaaaab
- 131.Bla biya wakha fikoum Love u all guys ♡♡
- 132.Banli twahachti lalman wchi Pizza dial taliani retour maa hakim fl Porsche
- 133.haaaappy late birthday soriiii 🙄:(bzaf d lhouub
- 134.Hahahaahaha no prob habibiiii better late than never a looooot of love 🥰□
🥰
- 135.joyeux anniversaire lalla fatma zakouri du bonheur et santé je t'embrasse très for
- 136.Je t'aime meilleure 3mima fl3alaaam
- 137.Le réveillon hram Pisser dans la rue hlal.
- 138.Hhhhhh sat i'm out safii drtili k.o
- 139.li warake 3la had sit ... jari tahmile l veruce ... loadinge

140. tamat 3amaliat l pératage bi naja7 😊;))
141. j connais pas la chanson mais tkhayelt
142. Winouuuu, the best 🤩👍❤️👍
143. You are the best sghiwra diali
- 144.
145. Oh, jamiil 🤩👍
146. Shukran ya ajmal wahed 🤲
147. j'adore ta tenue fattoumti trop belle gros bisous ❤️<3
148. Tu me maaaaanques baaaaaarcha barcha ❤️
149. Salam. En attendant you have me, a friend who reads books. :\$
150. yalah knt lbareh f casa arti offff ! oua aji nti my friend who reads books *,*
151. 3jbatni bezaf, i am sharing this. ❤️<3
152. Of course hat3jbk cause you have a beautiful mind 🤩
153. Hahahahhahahahah hmed lah li mazal mabdit ntlef f smiyat 🤡👍🤡👍🤡👍🤡👍
154. hanti jaya ldak niveau
155. Baraka frasskoum kniza !! Inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji3oun !!
156. albaqae lilah soeurette
157. Hamdoulah znouba , mamcha m3ak bas
158. Zaki wla "big boy" hahaha dakchi diyal tofola w ma3rft chno , mouhim je tiens à te remercier pour la troisième fois hta ana , w lah ykhelik lili pour toute une vie pour avoir ainsi beaucoup plus de souvenirs
159. Kbida diyali tu sais deja a tel point je t'aime , ikhelik lili et on aura sûrement d'autre souvenir meilleur 🤩👍🤩👍
160. Amine hbiba tu nous manques, gros bisous ♡ !
161. Hbibati mes belles allahyfdkom wynjtkom je vous aime bcp 🤡👍🤡👍❤️👍❤️👍
162. Mamiiii allah ykhlik lina, je t'aaaaime mamiii lhbibaaa ♡
163. caanon la saaarouu 🤡👍🤡👍
164. Lwilaaa ♡♡♡
165. thalaw lia f B.C, c'est mon cousin. Hana mkhalih likoum amana !

- 166.J'espere que tu vas bien !Twhchnak ! Haha matkhafch ra7na mhelyin fih yak a
sidi Bassam Chahid goulh goulh
- 167.Merci khalti hbiba, twhchnakoum ♡ !
- 168.Khaaltou hahah wlahila hadchi lli khass !
- 169.Ykhlili lhbib diali supporting us ♡
- 170.That's mahboy
- 171.That's mahboy 2 ❤️
- 172.Looking further bro ❤️🖐️🖐️ hania wakha rassi m9ete3
- 173.BD w SI , sauf que hna jebna la première note w la deuxième hhhhhhhhhhhhhh
🐱
- 174.we made history hhh 7na fchkel
- 175.Mes amis ,mes frères vous m'avez changer de vie , j'ai jamais aimé le rap
français et vous cest votre préféré wlit tayana mbli bih , mab9inach kan9dou
nkhrijou mn Ghir binatna , wlina kantfahmou ghi bchoufa , ya dak l ftou9a
ohiboukoum
- 176.Wa araw Chi 100 dh hta l tali d cher 😊☐❤️
- 177.Have fun tatiii Nineuuub....enjoy ma chérie
- 178.Merci kbida ❤️🖐️❤️🖐️❤️🖐️❤️🖐️❤️🖐️love you
- 179.La meilleure😍☐ t m manques 😍☐
- 180.Toi aussi cherie
- 181.👉☐👉☐👉☐ she still My sister right?
- 182.Haha! La base, by the way you are my sister too rachek en force 😊
- 183.Rbbi y7afdak 😍☐😍☐😍☐
- 184.Rbi ykhlik liliiii 🥰☐🥰☐
- 185.Zennouba ramadan kareem sweety
- 186.Merci cheriiiie 3lina w 3lik i miss you
- 187.non non ca me dérange pas remercie Dieu autant que tu veux mon commentaire
raki 3arfa 3lash 😊
- 188.La première et la dernieeeeeeeere !!! Je te souhaite le plus beau de tous les
anniversaires .. Je te souhaite tout le bonheur du monde , une vie pleine de joie
de réussite et d'amour ! Tu me manques énormément ..😭:(Je t'aime fort
- 189.Joyeux annif ma puce avec tout le bonheur du monde wnchaelah nchoufouk

- docteur 2adi douniya. bizou
190. Merci ma belle j'espère nchoufouk prochainement 3arossaa mitmakhtara :d'nchlah
191. je suis vraiment désolé ma belle .. :S ! Joyeux Anniversaire !! Tous mes vœux de joie et de bonheur pour mon adorable amie d'enfance qui me manque énormément .. Et par la même occasion , bon courage pour Samedi , Tout ira bien !
192. ma puce adorée , merci c'est vraiment gentil de part! c pas grave hbiba ! tu me manques aussi et bon courage pr ton régional ;)(k)(l)(l) j'taime
193. That's goals a sat I swear..❤️
194. Ja cute 😂😂😂😂😂 khsso gha red cheeks
195. Je suis le danger 😍😍😍😍 withk withk
196. More than just a berrad d'Atay.
197. m3a t9iwtat la7abada chi omlette bl khli3
198. Mon papa d'amour, allah ye7fedek linna
199. 9 ans que sur facebook...😍😍😍 mais nous c'est bien avant ça et inchaallah pour très longtemps 🥰🥰 love you and love my princesses
200. Winou trop choux , allah y7fedkoum 😍😍😍
201. Ya rebi amiin , w ye7fedleek tes enfants
202. Ça va être une catastrophe, Allah ychouf men halna
203. je viens de voir les félicitations donc je deduie que le petit ange est arrivé !!!!! toutes mes felicitations ma chérie lhamdoullah ala slamtek hbiba Dieu vous protège tous les deux
204. Merci bcp ma chérie . W 3e9ba l3endek inchaalaah
205. lghzal happy birthday bro
206. Lahyhfdk abaya nta likayn.
207. **r Ab** Wld 3amti bogooooos 😎😄
208. Khoyaaaaa Ayoubb , je te souhaite un très joyeux anniversaire et je te souhaite une vie remplie de joies , bonheur et santé w chi Mercedes Class E ..
209. merci mon frere , hadik mn daruriyat lahyhfdk
210. 3id mbrok a vous tout bs7é7a wsalama w koul ma tmnitou
211. Hhhhhh déjà kunt kan3um mea lqirch! Lahyhfdk ahhibi
212. hahahah inboxx N9oliikshteemaa

- 213.Hhhh ok pass prive arajol zen
- 214.Yussf passe inbox alhmar
- 215.Ana mkabri
- 216.Je taimee le fils de boulhyaa
- 217.tsiftlii soldee ahbiibaa yaaq mercii, je vais venir le plus tot possible ❤️
- 218.NiCe Broo
- 219.Sm3 sm3 glik 1ans whna amis
- 220.Hhhhhh 3nibaaa
- 221.. Bb simo jiti boogos
- 222.Nice kho
- 223.Mrc bb
- 224.Hay hay 3la titiz cute
- 225.mrc 3wintak li 4ziwlin
- 226.tooope wbla stooope 🕒
- 227.Nice bb dima top
- 228.NiCe Broo
- 229.Le bogose de mamahe
- 230.Hhhh 3WiNaTk KhoYa
- 231.Me3ä Lewa9teee 🕒 □ Fréro 🧑 □ TeFhame Beaucoup 🙌 🙌 🙌 🙌 De Chosës
- 232.Hhhhh Tt AuSsi weLde 3emi Hhh
- 233.waLlo al 3eZize Dyalii konet ka3eya ms Db hmd tefajate Hhhh
- 234.Mes koul whad 3amliah kima ty3mlak
- 235.je penSe pas 5oya Wlh
- 236.Db Netii 5sak TemdGhii feLhdra Hade Sa3a maraxe9axe Liya wax Cv wela
Cv pas Hadi Gejmti magolthax ta ana li kaneett 3endi fal fb dyali le9dime anti
3arfa gejami wlfy dayro puplice kolo xofe 9era ketabe lo7e Ctt alala
- 237.a5oya Wlh ma Ana Lii kanefta7e Lfb Raha 5etii Ana Feta7too Gha Db le7et
wa7ed Statut Ctt Wlh mab9it Netkonikta Bihe
- 238.kalbi ndirlou 9ima ncodéh b schema
- 239.Kolchi kayfoot bb dyali Madirich fbalk
- 240.B1 Sur Plus mab9axe 3eLa Balihi
- 241.yak s3datk nkamlo prive

- li beti m3aya ou m3a 12h dl lil khrejna le3bou m3a lkelba hhh mhm bla mantouwel 3lik profite au max bb de ta journée
- 269.Hbila ana kenza fdewar Hhhh merci ma vie
- 270.C'est pas moi
- 271.hhhh🤔👉w lach mcomentya al7mara
- 272.Miss you too ma chérie
- 273.Hhhhaaappppppyyy birthayyy hbibbbaaa meilleurs vœux j ss i'm late désolé tu me manques d + ❤️🖤❤️
- 274.Tu me manques aussi hbibaa 🤔👉 thank youu so much babe ❤️🖤❤️
- 275.My baaaaabylove , twhshteeek wlah 🤔👉:(twwaliti shuia b3da? hh ok je la boucle ! Je te souhaite un joyeux anniversaire mon amour ♡ wshi 18 f regio ,je t aime
- 276.Imanaa wlh twhshtek aussi hbibaa 🤔👉:(en faite mazal las9a fl2ard hh mais bon db ntwal mdr Mercii bebe ❤️🖤❤️
- 277.Dertlk ta chanson preferee yaaaaaalah, hbet lmoustawa diyal cheb Benchenet bach nfkrk f yamat l3ezz🤔👉🤔👉 JOYEUX ANNIVERSAIRE ZIZOUUU, avec plein de joie, de bonheur et de la reussite w chi n9ita fssra fljihawi, et touuut ce que tu veux(men tali ra je sais ce que tu veux hh hi ta9it fik lah), bon safi frehti daba? Non surement, depuis loooongtemps w nti tu attends ce jour la, w tu attends le texte w dakchiii, men tali rak 3zizaa a khti kandoussi, bon je suis sure que tu vas me fa...
- 278.Wili wili ptnn ptn 🤔👉 chdouni 3liha akhouti hhhh ptn ton choix de la sic est juste WOW HHHHHHHHHH 🤔👉 bah oui hna on est pas comme tlm (sir 3lya chmen photograph hh) Putain Miraa wlah c trop pour moi ❤️🖤❤️🖤🖤 ca me fait plaisir de voir toute cette merde hh w lire tes phrases si douces qui me réchauffent le coeur dans cette SAD night 🤔👉(a7 j'ai pas de copain hh) Izza rak tem 🤔👉 hadshi zwen wlah 🤔👉 Bon ma cherie mon amour mon fantôme (yasmina) je sais tu vas me tuer hh hit tu pourras plus tdkhel ltoilette a ton aise dorénavant avc cette put de yasmina hhhh Hbibba tchitini yak ? Twhshtini yak ? Yalah aji nbous l9amar hh hmadit 3awd yak ? Mhm khti titiza Ma mira ma raison de vivre (c cyut) mon amour mon bonheur ma hamda de merde mon tout safe , MERCI pour touut wlh merci merci vrmt ❤️🖤❤️🖤🖤

- je t'aime. Alle by bb a demain hh gros bisous 🍷🍷🍷 w tkii fski maa benchtet hhh
- 279.Soubouta chouha maak fiha fiha HHH 😂😂😂 khti khlitlkoum l39l w la maturité mhm khti lhoudouda mercii bcp bcpp t'es une personne formidable wlh hhhhhh ptn ghi kantfkrk kandhk jtmm bcp bcp bb ❤️🖤❤️
- 280.Zizii kandoushi kbrat ou dart 16 ans enfin. je te souhaite un joyeux anniversaire plein de joie et de prospérité♡♡ et d amour et sache que tu compte énormément pour moi en plus machi 9lil li dwzna hhh kanfkrk f lmrhoum hhhh l garaga d hiba ou l pc d had l3chya ... je t aime mon amouuuur ❤️🍷❤️🍷❤️🍷❤️🍷
- 281.Winouu Mercii hbiba ❤️🖤❤️🖤 c gentil wakha
- 282.chwhtini 🍷🍷 merci pour tt bb lhamd ❤️🖤❤️🖤 jtm pqtt
- 283.la fin d'année dial dik l3am po comme celui la . 3a9la? 😊;) an3awdouha lazem
284. Avec khouya la3ziz lbachir
- 285.Mrc zin
- 286.Ziini dl3aaalammm 🍷🍷 loove u
- 287.Yhfdeek 3chiirii
- 288.Khoya rajuuul
- 289.Lpb chama dialy
- 290.hhhh 😂😂😂 mrc khoo jtdr 🍷🍷
- 291.hhh badr nsit w commetite bl face d mama
- 292.mrc ma topite 🍷🍷 miss u too
- 293.happy New Year khouti
- 294.Nice tof bogoss tmar
- 295.La beauté ❤️🖤❤️🖤
- 296.Y khelik lili ma belle 🍷🍷
- 297.Deja hbiba 🍷🍷
- 298.Jiti zwina nti et ta maman
- 299.You could have big mussels and drink
- 300.Yeeah, probably right
- 301.Moumkin reprise
- 302.Ah moumkin pass private

- 303.Thank u so much for sharing this pics with me, and thank you for being in my life
- 304.C'est ici qu'à commencé l'histoire de mon enfance, à moi et beaucoup d'autres personnes
- 305.I can imagine, but always with even good memories there is a bit of sadness
- 306.Big Like ! 😊☐😊☐
- 307.Dak tchallenge#
- 308.Ana rah drni rassi 9louli c qui se pass
- 309.Nissan hssen men kia shiha 3liha o f l consummation rahom t9riban b7al b7al
- 310.Bien dit, c la vérité
- 311.Where do you fin all these hotties?
- 312.C'est quoi ça, j'ai pas compris ?
- 313.bhdlouuuuha mskina daro fiha 7ala kolchi wla labsha faj2atan
- 314.Wow master chef, u're sooo good
- 315.Why do you laugh ?
- 316.yakma salime begha intaher hitach tfara9ti m3ah
- 317.Ps jani kaichbah lih 😂☐
- 318.I neeeeeed to talk to you switch on ur phone
- 319.Daba aymchiiw lbnat y9albou 3la nemra dial mol bateau 🤔:'(
- 320.F7al zoubir ta houwa rass malou hdera o Iphone 6 medla fih carte mere
- 321.Hhhhhhhh nn machii ana ms nediirha 😂☐
- 322.3arfaaak tdiirha hahahhh mais wellah hta kichbah l sawetk bzzzzzzzzF sobhana llah
- 323.3arfaaaaak tdirhaa hhhh mais wellah hta soutou kaychbhlak meme troooop
- 324.9lat maydar s3iiiiiba loool
- 325.hada houwa moull bateau pas mon frère
- 326.you look radiant, sweetheart, I'm gonna miss u ☹
- 327.I miss u sooo bad already :'(
- 328.Pleeeeeease don't go, stay with for the summer
- 329.I wish I could, I really need to go far (w rak 3arfa 3lach)
- 330.I know honey, go and try to free you mind from aaaaall shit (w khousousan dak shit)
- 331.I will poussinette, don't worry

- 332.Had nwéta zwina wakha rwntiwha f tali
- 333.Joyeux anniversaire ma chérie un simple statut ne peut pas décrire ce que tu représente pour moi tu es un bout de moi je t'aime tellement soeurette💕💕☐
- 334.Que ce nouvel anniversaire apporte du bonheur, de la santé et de la joie
- 335.Merci!!! ma chérie je t'adore ana 🥳☐🥳☐💕☐
- 336.Tjrs rayonnante ma chérie
- 337.Eew la classe, u rock baby
- 338.Machaa allah 3alik wa khalass (Dine.....zouina) hhhhhhh **bisous**
- 339.hahahahaa merci tati 🥳☐
- 340.joyeux anniversaire meilleurs voeux de bonheur et de santé achrefiti abent bakabour 😊:)
- 341.A sidi merci 🥳
- 342.A khay ana ndi ghi salade fruit hhhhh
- 343.Hey 😊:) ! Time for a new P.P
- 344.hada hamza?? hahaha je deconne khassek tji nchoufouk asahbi 😊;) nice tof a ssat
- 345.houwaaa hada Hamza nchallah daba nji a khoya
- 346.lproteen dar lmf 3ouul a lmskhout hhhhhhh
- 347.merci bcp hbiba a vous aussi 3id mobarak a la plus belle maman du monde
- 348.Merci bcp hbiba a vous aussi 3id moubarak a la plus belle maman du monde
- 349.Joyeux anniversaire Yasmine💜☐ un avenir radieux Inxaallah 🎧☐😊☐
- 350.Z3ma mac9itich t7chmi menni, la prchaine fois je te casserais la gueule hhh
- 351.Que des paroooooles, 3rfak katmouut 3liya :p
- 352.Joyeux anniversaire ma chérie ❤️🖤☐❤️🖤☐❤️🖤☐ je te souhaite tout le bonheur du monde hbibaa. Ca fait pas longtemps qu'on est proches et tu comptes déjà trop pour moi pas la peine de trop parler tu sais déjà tout 🥳☐. Profites de tes 19 ans je t'adore 🎆☐🎆☐❤️☐❤️☐
- 353.Merci beaucoup ma chérie , c'est tellement réciproque , je t'aime 🥳☐🥳☐🥳☐☐
- 354.Lah Y3ana wjahak tu parles comme çï rien ne c'été passé
- 355.Happiest of birthdays tiger, hope you get everything you deserve in life

- 356.Zin dyaaali les photos beroujoula f disque dur externe w ma9aadch hhhhhhhh
happy happy to the best lissandra ever !!
- 357.joyeux anniversaire a si lbellote plein de bonheur succès et santé ❤️<3
- 358.Happy birthday lhbib diali. Wish you all the best 🎉👤❤️🖤🍰🎈👉
- 359.Merci ma soeur chérie
- 360.Joyeux anniversaire lfsser
- 361.Joyeux anniversaire azaaki , dorénavant khsek tbqa t..wardi😂😂👉
- 362.Je te souhaite tout le bonheur et le succès ❤️🖤
- 363.WE FLYYYY
- 364.Tu es manifique ma chérie
- 365.Merci 3mitou chérie
- 366.Trées joli look ma belle, tu es manifique avec
- 367.Rak tjrs zaz
- 368.Khalikoum lili yalfenat👑👉 Dieu vous garde 🎉👉🎉👉
- 369.Tte belle ma chérie rabi yhafdak
- 370.La titization. Com
- 371.Bess7a w l3afiya
- 372.Lah y3tek s7a
- 373.Ana jay, diri blassa 7dak :D
- 374.Srbi srbi
- 375.Mami chérie bslaamtek ❤️
- 376.Z 3Ma dayra fiha bete, wllah tankhrajlek men l'écran
- 377.Wa sa7bti bla farcha, ça rste entre nous, pass inbox je te donne plus de details
- 378.Adorala lalla moulati
- 379.Hay hay zin w tbata, tu es la meilleure, reste tjrs comme tu es
- 380.Toute belle machallah
- 381.Masd9tiiiich a lkha2ina, bla biya, je suis fachée
- 382.Nn ma belle wllah ke j'étais meme pas au courant sur l'heure du départ, c pour
ça je t'ai rien dit la prochaine on part ensemble, promis mouah
- 383.N'amouuuuugh
- 384.Hbiba, je te love trop
385. Twiiita, titiza, louuuuuuz
386. hhhhhh merci bibicha

388.en ce jour exceptionnel,tu fêtes un an de plus 🧡❤️👉 Que tous les moments heureux de ta vie t'appartiennent aujourd'hui, demain et toujours. En te souhaitant tout le bonheur possible pour ton Anniversaire 📺🍰👉🎈👉🎉👉

413. iwa bssa7tek hbiba, lmohim houwa ke tu sois bien reposée

- 414.oui oui amplement, safi je suis tombée amoureuse des maldives, prochain séjour je resterais plus longtemps
- 415.They said "oww soo red..." 🍷💖🍷💖🍷💖
- 416.And I say OWWW so red, je t'aime hbiba
417. Bss7a la plus belle des amranis
- 418.lah y3tek s7a, merci mon oncle chéri
419. chouha everywhere
420. iwa that's sooooo Morocco
421. 9aydi 9aydi hier kounti karaghbini
- 422.iwa li fat mat, safi oubli
423. yaaak a chniwla, iwa choufi chkoun ydber 3lik demain f ticket
- 424.hhh je parts meme, ghir bess7a
425. joyeux anniversaire, dsl pour le retard
- 426.merci c pa grave
427. joyeux anniversaire a bou rass
- 428.merci a hmida lflague
429. Tbarkllah 3lik mon frère
- 430.merci soeurette
- 431.ne m'oubli pas pour demain, rani n9tlak
432. t'en faits pas, ch7al 3ndi mennek
433. hhh c notre slogan déjà
- 434.Tab3aan 🍷🍷
435. C koi ce niveau, ghda ndik lkhourdistan nchrilekk l7awyej makayen ghi signé
lmak flous ski rouz
436. w malha machi rajel
- 437.Pfff b9at fiya ok bb imta mabghiti nmchiw nt9do liha chno bghat la7awla
438. La hbiba chokran maki3jbnich do9 dyalkoum
- 439.ok nchriw lik bdo9ek a bb ms hta db jiti fena rah hy ghrna mnek hh
- 440.machi sou9i w ana aslan neutre f hadchi kamel majaya mnin jiht hed kandir li
kayslkni f had lblaad l3ajiba
441. lhouub amuses toi bien
442. merci baby

- 443.titiz
- 444.lhbiba nti
445. la classe, a beauté le tout
446. merci 7oubinou, wakha 3arfak z3ayti hhh
- 447.hhh ilaaa m3ak, mon cœur qui parle
- 448.iwa n9oulou tay9t
449. you don't even know Barney Stinson
- 450.and ?
- 451.and what ?
- 452.bghiti ngoul wnta malek
453. mamalich, hir bntili 3wiy9a chwiya w bghit n9rdek
454. ana mat9edch 3liya, n7m9ak
455. iwa pass inbox nchoufou had L7ma9
- 456.laaa a sidi khlina hna wla khafti ana li Nçrdek
- 457.safi lah ysame7, je te pardonne cette fois çi
- 458.hhhh tu me pardonnes ???`
459. Wnsaw koun makanoch douk lklab maykounoch dok lkharfan wbli lklab
tkhlaw 3la dak lw9t dra7a bach y7diw dok lkjrfan wnas mn chfara wzid wzid
Allah ynzal 3lina ra7ma wlbaraka fkol w9t
460. lahawla miskina bikatni ob9at fiya bezaff 3lach taydiro hakak iwahmo lbnat
bzwaj wisamho fihom ra lbnat machi kamlin mamezyaninch
- 461.Kayn lhob okayn liyyday3 bnt nas oftali may3qalch 3liha oysmah fiha oydi
whda khra mais makandanch twsal hta lhmaq .olah ynajina oynaji jmi3
lmoslimin ajma3in
462. Lah ychfi kol mrid 3la wajah lkora ardiya
463. amine ya rebi, Dieu est grand
- 464.Tbark Allah 3la Moulay Shriff, comme Toujours Magnifique 🙏🙏
- 465.Le vrai Bullshit c'est finalement la justice dans ce pays...
- 466.Khlik nti m9abla dik gaya 🤪
- 467.Ana nchreh lik tout à l'heure à sophia nti w gaya
468. La justice et le patriotisme ne sont que pour les faibles et les pauvres .
- 469.Quand on soutient une équipe, on la soutient pendant la victoire et surtout
pendant la défaite. Ce sont des choses qui arrivent dans le foot...dommage

470. Tout a fait d'accord. Ms akhoya les choix du coach sont pas logiques
471. Ça reste ton point de vue, qui aurait été le contraire si on avait gagné...moi je suis loin d'être capable de juger les choix d'un tel coach...
472. j'étais pas satisfait des 11 de départ avant le coup d'envoi saraha
473. Sco, y3ni la beau-gossétude !!
474. Nta houwa l beaugoss
475. Daba rak 3ajbni 😂👍
476. Nta 3arf w ana 3arf ...hahahah
477. Tres classe ibra
478. Thalaw li f l7alwi
479. Aaaaa fi9o fi9oo 😂👍😂👍😂👍😂👍
480. Touahchnak a sahbi !
481. La beautilla
482. Nnoon mais comment ?
483. Noon mais comma 😂👍😂👍😂👍
484. Sir sir 9lab 3la bak nta ???
485. Il paraît très mûre pour son âge
486. Oui il est un génie
487. Joyeux anniversaire Im bousli sghiwer
488. Merci bcp hbibi
489. Sana sa3ida Im
490. Merci bcp, wtantina bach tmniti
491. Merci beaucoup Mouncef. Mes salutations à toute la famille
492. La pauvre wllah ke tu me fais de la peine, N9der N3awnek si tu vx
493. Nn mat7tajich ana 9dda brassi, merci a titiza
494. De rien a chkilita
495. Black mirror 100% mosst9bal
496. Orange bsif bach 9dit nsali saison 1, t9ila bzf ila nfs style ri nba3ed 3la had vis
497. Bla matferej f vis a vis 😂👍 kijini b7al shi 7emam d l3yalat dek l7ebs endhom
498. Oui mzzal lbnat i3jabhom bzzf hitach aktaria kolo ghi bnat ana bdito ondamt
499. Lien français pour vis a vis svp
500. vis a vis 7amda chft ga3 seasons na9sa bzeef

- 501.Black mirror tu peux regardé juste 5 voir 6 episode qui sont ouf , de toute façon aucun episodes n'as lien avec les autres episode , chaque episode new casting et new history
- 502.black mirror harba bzaaaf chi 7aja top du top, machi Kolchi i9dar ifhamha o 7choma t9arnha b vis à vis wakha 7ta hya 3ndha un message o chi adwar tl3bo fiha rien à dire, ms BM katb9a chi 7aja haarba bzaaaf 😊☐
- 503.Uii t9riban c le mm style hii howa hada kola 7al9a bo7dha ta 3ala9a m3a l7al9a li 9bel
- 504.adi maxi xi histoire f xkel yallah bdito
- 505.walo 3yiiiit manqlleb hhhh ila 3ndek chi site passelya plllz
- 506.Oui zwin makntch kanzglo fhadik lperiode
- 507.l3tou lia fss7ti. Fin ma mchit had nou3 kihdro la rajl la lwil . WA LBOUQUINEUR RECOMMANDE UN BOUQUIN PARTAGE UNE CITATION WLA SKOUT T....
- 508.Wlah yla 3ay9o kola kaymard lina rassna b n importe quoi
- 509.Top vrai, wllah
- 510.Hanti bdit tla3bi mzyane, meme si tu es un peu lente
- 511.So true, et toi comment tu la trouves
- 512.Oui elle a raison
- 513.Top bb, keep shining
- 514.3alama ntaya wllah, ma3mer chi 7ad 9alek rak vrm balid
- 515.je ne pense pas qu'on peut fixer 'l'amour' comme but d'une relation même si'il est basique car l'amour est qlq chose instable dans le temps
- 516.Quand on aime vraiment , rien n'empêche d'être heureux ! ❤️💡
- 517.OR C'EST UNE CONFIRMATION NON RÉVERSIBLE .
- 518.Ga3 hada zhar andd ssi lafkih
- 519.oui mon frere ; je souis daccord avic toi
- 520.Citotafi vghy
- 521.kifach francais mn azbal loghat..... rak ralat a5ouya..... ga3 loghat zwinin o 3andhom nafs lmakana.... en plus francais bzzzf litayt3almoha mn kol an7a2 l3alam hit zwina fsam3 o lhadra.
- 522.ghir hint l3arabiya s3ab abba morad 😊☐ makaymeyzouch aghlat wal akhtae
😊☐

- 523.Oui! Des complexes, ni plus ni moins!
- 524.Kayan li kaysa3doh darhom ya9ra wayat3alam loghat wkayan li makay9ariwahch mochkiltna anana cha3b hagar ghi kayt3alam chi haja kaybda yban 3lik waydhak 3lik .hna falhayat
- 525.ma3andnach nafs dorof wanafs lwalidin bach na9raw want3almo kamlin bnafs lhodod wakha rah hta lwalidin kay9ariw chi wkaykhaliw chi lah yahdi makhla9
- 526.9ray gher la conclusion
- 527.ana jani fhalla 7es b l humiliation o galha hakkak 9bel matji mnha
- 528.u absolutely have to read that 😂
- 529.Nari manal 3ziz 3lik had lpolycopate twal
- 530.Svp kikadiro tqraw hadchi kaml ????
- 531.Hahahahaha wlah hta c'est assez drole
- 532.Raison de plus pour ne JAMAIS letting down our standards
- 533.Oui c est vrai, hit mabghalhach lmachakil m3a ses parents w deja hia 3arfa bli son niveau de vie bhal dyalha
534. Laah yrehmouu 😞
535. Kifach faute medicale? Plus d'informations stp
- 536.Coucou les filles,l9it had la pub fwahed le groupe lakountou kat3erfou chi 7ed fih cancer weriwehalou.. Lah yechafi ljami3
- 537.You look beutiful Mashaallah
- 538.Nice pic
- 539.Toute belle sweety
- 540.C vrai ?chnu w9e3lu
- 541.Hhh tu rigoles, katfernass ?
- 542.Y khelik lili .I love u too
Allez les filles staghfro llah b dakchi li nwit
- 543.Coucou je suis làaaaaa
- 544.Les filles svp vos avis a propos de l'upf pour la filière des énergies? Wach ils acceptent li ydkhlha men 2 eme année ou non?
- 545.Le titiiz marocain
- 546.U look gorgeous, B7al dima a twita diali
547. zine
548. nti ahbibba rak l fen en personne

- 549.Khlik lili sara merci ma belle
- 550.Ana je t'aime bcp
- 551.Lvrai , w l'imitation
- 552.Bnitaaat help me plss c urgeent!!! , la bonne filière d apres vous?
553. ca serait tres gentil de sa part !
- 554.sOS !! aidez-moi SVp
- 555.Fais moi signe prive urgent
- 556.J'aiime trop
- 557.Regardez ce que le fameux challenge cause..
- 558.Awiilii la pauvre
- 559.Hmd tout va bien
- 560.Happy birthday hbiba
- 561.Mrc sweetheart .c gentil
- 562.hhh TELLEMENT VRAI ke mab9itch 7ssa brassi fin ana
- 563.Ana l3ksse kan kun f l9issm lm9aad
- 564.Redémarres ton téléphone et ça va marcher
- 565.Happy birthday ! wish u all the best ma chérie
- 566.Déjà 17 ans, ma meilleure enfance
- 567.Lah ykhlikum lbaedkum
- 568.Ah ca marche hbiba
- 569.Up, uppiw le maximum 3afakoum
- 570.Merci!!! bcp les filles c bon, vous etes des amours
- 571.Pratique, jari bih l3amal lol
- 572.Je confirme, 3andek l7a9 100 %
- 573.I agree ! c pas logique
574. tu saais de qui je parle hahah w khlaass kayen li aywselou lkhbaar tayaran
hahaha
- 575.ouiii 3liha taggitak
- 576.safi rani déjà abonnée
- 577.So funny !
- 578.Hhhhhh haltek s3iba alors!!!
- 579.That's a good one, zwina hadi a sat
580. wa qasamn bilaaah ila the same akhuya
- 581.safi rani déjà abonnée

582. Makayn bas dir rask blasthom lila odayza
583. Moi je me rappelle de ma petite, kanet b7al hakka bedabt
584. Hada machine vidéo machi dial intihar bozbal
585. i chafhad lvideo howa li deye3 nisf dial hyatou
586. kulshi 3la parkour khuya amine
587. walakin t9dar tbi3 mamak tahiya hit nta motana9id oghniya zwina bzaf wlh
3jbatni bzaaf oghanb9a ntsanat liha wakha nta makatswach
588. C'est la vraie question.... certains sont peut être mort mais je doute que la
totalité de ces jeunes n'aient plus de parents... C'est très facile de faire des
enfants mais il faut les élever ,s'en occuper correctement et ne pas les mettre
dehors à la première occasion !!! Autrement il y a la contraception
589. Leurs parents sont morts
590. Leurs parents ils sont entrain de péter d'autre enfants pour les envoyer vers
l'Europe après 5 ans ils vont retourner en vacances pour frimer et se
moquaient etc etc etc....
591. les jeunes marocains on un seul problème c'est de parler en ayons confiance
en eux!!! ils ne savent pas partager et donner leurs avis devant une camera
592. il est magnifique Mash'Allah
593. Léwél 3anouba mén darajat 9a2id lkatiba l7arbiya xd
594. MDRR Khouna 3aalaaaaaaaaaam
595. sakhfni bda7k had sat oullah hhhhhhhhhhhh
596. L'français Katakol Tbawéte Lay3tina wjahkom [R.I.P JaCk Chirac :'(]
597. sga3 dak sat Deratni kerchi bedahk welah :D
598. chapeau pour le premier garçon ms fsaraha hta draré lakhrén 3andéhoom sa7
kayéniiin chy deryat mn had noo3 ms dery li dwa mn 2:44 ach ghada ngool
lék akhouya rak haméééd bzzzzzzzzzf
599. za3ma cheb3ana francais hhhh
600. mrd!! la pauvre question je connaissais déjà les réponses des gens.
601. hh ana kandowaz l'été f darna zher w safii
602. e remarque que les femmes musulmanes ne se couvrent ni les épaules, ni la
tête !! mais des qu'elles vont en France, c'est tout un truc pour se découvrir
!!!
603. Lah y 3tek sa7a ela la video
604. Salam Nouha ! Ta video à bcp de sens ... □□□□□Merci pour le partage

605. je suis totalement d'accord vc toi vraiment c de la réalité
606. mafhamt menak walo wax nti men france wela !!! I don't understand
anything from you
- 607.ana b3da barah mgribi
- 608.Haduk li galu bghau ajnabi.. wach ntuma 9ad ajnabi? Ichufukum ihrbu ullah,
a3udubilah minachitan irrajim
- 609.aslan ilaaaaaaaaa hacha lik chi maghribi 3aaaaaaaaaad gouli manakhdouch
610. "Parce que c'est la mode" z3ma la7wla wala 9ouwata illa billah--"
- 611.Humour de merde au moins quand tu tacle fait le.bien ne recopie pas cette
phrase que tout le monde connait mon pauvre ami
- 612.prends des cours stp sinon on peut t aider a t exprimer
613. vrai, hadi 3ndek
- 614.dayer fiha batal a 3niba wnta la3ala9a hhh
- 615.yak a moustacha wnti za3ma li 3la9a hhh
616. bouzebal pliiiiiiiz
- 617.moustacha walakin :D
- 618.tu es magnifique ma belle, sur cette tof, jiti fenna ya lalla wllah
619. lfssouria w tboguésa za3m wllahila kahlti walda zin
620. a che had lmerd, c koi ce bordel jm3ou had sujet 3afakoum
621. nahi, miss u hbiba
- 622.khlik lili, pousinette
- 623.j'aiime, je partage m3a l7bab
624. rien à dire, tu es une princesse
- 625.ta3noubiyet bdat 3awtani, ila taftrih ha wejhi a 3niba
- 626.chno dayra f rassek ntiya, enlève cette tof jiti la3ala9a
- 627.toutes mes condoléances ma chéri, lah ybdek m7btou b sbar
- 628.amine ma chéri, mamcha m3ak bass
629. happy 3id les amis, w ntouma bach katmnaw kaaaamlin
630. 3id mbarek ms3oud 3la ljami3
- 631.c ke du tberhich, vrm vous etes des gamins
- 632.arretez SVP sinn je vous bloques tout les 2
633. 2amar, ya habibti, wllahi 2amar :D /D
- 634.lah yn3al chitan, arrêtez vos conneries SVP
635. z3ma nta fchek, lwa7ed ga3 mayti9 fik, tu px jamais garder un secret

636. je réve n'est ce pas, mat0derich diriha yak ?
637. je suis emu, wllaaaah
638. drari on part demain à la piscine ?
639. moi nn je dois garder mon petit frère
640. winouuuu, hhhhh tu es la nounou
641. je suis la mamak :D
642. et toi lou, tu parts wla tanta 3Ndek mat9abel
643. ah khtek :D
644. vous êtes des salops wllah
645. douz douz privé bghit ngouleka wa7ed nwéta
646. ok ça marche
647. sa7bti mouta2ali9a da2ima
648. a lah y7fdeek a 3chirti
649. je vis la vie en rose avec moi même, g besoin de personne pour être heureuse
650. hadchi mriiia a sat mnin ntl9a on part voir un spécialiste, ok ?
651. sublime, comme dab hbiba
652. ykhlili lfounoun, je kif tro la tof
653. joyozanimoversaiiiiiire hhhh
654. 3wichiti jiti 9artaaaaassa, une vraie bombe nucléaire
655. 3afwan, man antoum ? :D
656. happy birthday, nounou, with the best wishes w zyada f L39al :p
657. amiiiiine liya w lik
658. siri siri private
659. don't disturb, kan7chi f wejhi :D
660. fi3lan mar2a w ni3ma lmar2a
661. chti je te le dit, elle est magnifique a sa7bti
662. dac on part la voir la semaine prochaine
663. dac, deal
664. 3andou zin, 3andou ghita dayrha fi darou :p
665. khlik lili, nounoussa
666. sir dir dodo, demain on se catch up
667. of, bis
668. mrd, c de la vraie honte
669. ouuuuuf, bientôt les vacances wa twaaaaal had l3am

670. wayeeeeeh, lah y3fou w khlass w m3a had sahd, c la vrai galère
671. vous parlez de ki là ?
672. ne me dites pas jad, pck lui c'est une mec de génial,
673. ma3ndouch m3a had l7ma9 kamel
674. coucou, t'ai la toff sur laquelle je té tagué ?
675. nn pas encore,
676. iwa vas y kes tu attend ya rass lma9la
677. a baaa3douna 3La siyassa a7mbakoum, khliwna f ti9ar
678. wllahila 3niba, à chake fois tu me la confirme
679. bye, je te vois demain hbiba
680. These cuties will slowly win your heart   
681. t3éllmi bach twélli takdini en photo comme une star lol machi b7al tswér dial
Marrakech li lkétba fiha inclinée hhhhh
682. Oui j vu
683. Bogossa deyalii tebarekallh 3likk
684. La chaine dyalhom svp ???
685. oui pourquoi pas ! it' easy
686. Et servir les non musulmans c est possible ou c est une vraie dictature ?????
687. Attention ! 3endak tdirha
688. Be prepared!! Mab9a walo la naissance de ta fille
689. Dima l'ambiance ! vive le Maroc
690. That's about as funny as a migraine headache.
691. Que dieu la garde ! machaallah
692. Still waiting on va venir
693. Don't worry , be happy hbiba
694. Merci Bcp CocaCola Aussi kont mn rab7in o 39ba l Quatar2022 et 2026 ana
mreservé blasti mn db
695. dsl mais dhkatni
696. Elle a une belle taille et une mentalité de merde hchuuuma
697. le nom de la chanson please
698. Ça dépend de la personne
699. Ça dépend alayach kaybki , w ça dépend de la personne même , si c'est à
cause de chihaja très grave oui nbki 9bel mayfker ybki w si c about something
700. Oui la plus pars du temps surtout ila kan 3ziz 3liya bzf

701. Happy birthday to my sweet little Angel 3e9bal 100 ans inshaallah
702. je mexcuse pr les filles li hakka meana fle groupe
703. si vous êtes intéressées je vous les donne à une seule condition thalaw
fihoum
- 704.Chhal cute
- 705.Hadi 3ad tseft msg il est marié qu'elle change d'adresse..
- 706.Il faut séparer ou bezerbaaa 9baal matw93 une catastrophe
- 707.notre plan kayn li sb9na fih 😂☐😂☐😂☐
- 708.Howa dans tt les cas kaykhoun gher koni hania
- 709.La faculté bash tjibi fiha khssek double effort ela les autres ecoles ga3 les
branches s3ab et les profs sont tous exigeants
- 710.ouii c se que j'ai voulue dire tahaja ma sahla 😊☐
- 711.Kant zwina ta bantli dik l faute d orthographe w ana nt3sb
- 712.Banli l'age diyali hh 😂
- 713.Nchalah ghir z3am surtt que C. difficile après l accouchement
- 714.Bravo, I did the same last year To attend a certain body image I'm very happy
with Hamdoulah, khas hi la volonté et l3gzz izoul
- 715.bravoooo se3datkkk
- 716.Ana a chaque fois kn9oo nbda w jarrive pas
- 717.Lhla ykhtik c est gentil
- 718.Winuu ! jiti fenna comme tjr
- 719.Ma princesse ! I love u to the moon and back
- 720.Les filles li bghat dire lkhir 🙏☐
- 721.Aidez nous bachma kan haja 9lila peut faire la différence et sauver une vie
- 722.Exactement hadchi li bghit n9ol
- 723.C'est chiaaaaaaant wllaaah
- 724.leila D3afiti c'est koi ta recette stp
- 725.Nti ghzala c sur🌿
- 726.Sublime comme toujours chère zineub
- 727.Olala ca fai plaisir, félicitations
- 728.Joyeux anniv pleins de bonheur
- 729.C ou ca, magnifique endroit
- 730.Profite bien et surtout pren bien soin de toi

- 731.Très bien dit Mr je peu partager
- 732.Félicitations
- 733.Merci pour le tag together forever
- 734.De très bon moment souvenirs souvenirs souvenirs
- 735.Du calme bro ca merite pa tu ca
- 736.Ca fai bail cher oussama, vivement k on se voi prochainement
- 737.Toujours belle sœurette
- 738.C ki le mec a coté marwan, ne me di pa ke c bennani !!!!
- 739.Top top. le professionnalisme ☐
- 740.Attention on a toujours besoin de toi ☐
- 741.Tu le mé ds le :D
- 742.Ca te va a merveille bsehtek
- 743.Oooh la class très belle ma chérie
- 744.Il manque que moi, bien dommage ☹
- 745.A ta place je me cach, vrmt jarriv pa a comprendre commen tu pense mdr
- 746.J lé di et ke le di t un ange girl
- 747.C pas vrai
- 748.Le vrai sens du terme
- 749.Genieeee vous êtes vraiment les meilleures
- 750.Mais ça existe vraiment ça ? c'est bizarre que personnes d'autre en parle.
- 751.Quelqu'un a déjà écouté l'album de ADELE ?
- 752.C'est assez inexact, vous parlez dans votre article traitant de l'espace, de la réaction des fluides électrorhéologiques alors que ces études ne sont habituellement pas menées dans ce cadre.
- 753.Ça me rappelle une fois à la maison.
- 754.Profite bien de tes vacances cher cousin
- 755.Allez les lions vous êtes les meilleurs.
- 756.Souvenirs souvenirs, ca me rappel des choses ☐
- 757.Dommage que tu fumes sinon t'es parfaite ☹
- 758.Ca suffira amplement pour commencer...
- 759.T'es supra bonne sur la photo, en plus avec la clope à la bouche tu fais femme fatale!!!!
- 760.Salut jeune secrétaire de direction , tes magnifique ! j'adore
- 761.t'es un beau gosse

762.j'aimerais mettre 100 fois j'aime a cette photo tellement tu ma émerveiller

763.bravo j'ai mis sa aussi et sa a fait des merveille

764.*Tu me tues. Tu me fais du bien.*

765.*Tes yeux sont si profonds que j'y perds la mémoire.*

766.*Quand je lève les yeux vers vous on dirait que le monde tremble.*

767.Ohh ! Tu arrives à me faire rire même dans les pires situations ! Comment fais-tu ?

768.Les parfums aspirent à rivaliser avec ton odeur.

769.On devrait donner ton nom à une glace.

770.J'ai des papillons dans le ventre dès que je te vois.

771.Je suis totalement désarçonné par ton intelligence.

772.Un rien te va.

773.À cette soirée, on ne voyait que toi.

774.Tu as un don pour choisir les vêtements à porter.

775.Comment fais-tu ? Ton teint est toujours éclatant.

776.Mais bon, c'est mignon d'être autant à côté de la plaque.

777.on porte tous un masque pour ne pas montré aux autres nos réels sentiments □

778.c'est trop vrai, ouééé j'aime

779.je confirme Mme c'est ce qu'il faut faire

780.ne me dis pas que c'est tva la mdr □

781.ce te va a merveille la robe jolie photo

782.j'en ai une comme celle-ci mais je ne sais pas comment ça marche ☹

783.c'est ou ça cousine, profite bien de tes vacances

784.très belle bagnole mais l'ancienne me rappelle des choses lol

785.ta pa pensé avant de mettre cette photo, je croi que tété out hhhh

786.je te donne la mienne si tu as besoin

787.il n'a rien fait on l'aime pas

788.Document très intéressant

789.merci beaucoup ! cela nous aide à mieux comprendre la vie !

790.Je l'ai adoré! Ça me servira quand j'arrive vous voir

791.que de souvenirs c'est géniale j'adore

792.MERCI pour le partage

793.C'est dommage de dégrader la beauté du sujet avec une photo pareil

- 794.rien là dedans n'est "méconnu" ...pas terrible.
- 795.Et la fin ??
- 796.Bien dit dr hammou .les apparences sont trompeuses
- 797.Lah yechafik khouya
- 798.Zidha wahd 2 wla 3 cafés zidha bzaf dial hwayj peut être
- 799.Allah ydir tawil lkher moi aussi malheureusement suis un bon fumeur et je
gaspille plus de 60 dhs de cigarettes par jour ntelbo llah asbab lhidaya
- 800.Très belles réalisations ! Décors plus vrais que nature
- 801.Mardi lwalidin, que dieu la protège
- 802.A bess7to ya rajol nta howa lm3aleem
- 803.Li classe ra classe
- 804.Lah ykhalikom lba3dyatkom wyba3ad 3likom char lkhal9 lah y7jabkom
- 805.Lahe ytaWikom waykhalikom ba3diatkom
- 806.Félicitations ma chérie bcp de succès nchaa lah
- 807.L outsad dyalna tbarklah 3lih
- 808.Amazing ... injoy
- 809.hada lfal lowal hhhhh
- 810.Wawwww barbecue 🍖 et piscine 🏊 yammy yammy
- 811.Il faut reconnaître que 70% de ce qu' il dit est vrai
- 812.Most interesting facts. Thank you
- 813.Wlito ghy katkharb9o
- 814.Merci beaucoup Lehla ykhatikom Hbabii 🥰👍🥰
- 815.Tbraklah ala mehdii
- 816.Combien svp l'I 3 pièce la rouge la bleu
- 817.wach had chi lk kenna natfarjo lih hhhh
- 818.il faut de l argent pour mieux vivre
- 819.Bien dit merci
- 820.chr7ti dak (Rat) mskin b kol boroudat dam hhhh ! Bravo bon travail 🙌🙌🙌
- 821.Safi ghadi nbadal ra2yi choufi chal zwina khyar mn l9toute hhhh
- 822.C'est grâce à Dieu et aux jeunes comme vous qu'on peut défendre les droits
des pauvres.Merci à vous.
- 823.J aime bcp vos vidéos j suis fan j aimeras voir autant de vidéos sur ce fameux
boycott pour vous dire je suis un simple citoyen qui aime son pays merci bcp

824. Je te souhaite très bon courage!! Soit forte il reste pas beaucoup même si le programme est très chargé mais mab9a walouu
825. Bonjour, je comprends parfaitement votre réaction tout à fait humaine.
826. Donne lui une deuxième chance, avec le temps t'es sentiments vont changé ❤️
♥️🙏
827. 'estime que ce dont tu manques cher ami n'est d'autre que la persévérance
828. Ton bonheur ne doit jamais dépendre d'une autre personne 🧟
829. C anormal .. mazal katssewli fallait pas douter rah il est malade a 100%
830. Alors je vous explique une chose.
831. faut que tu fais attention mnu u tgliha l ta mere ula chi haja ..muhim matbqaych sakta rah tu vas regretter..
832. khesara fateni hd barnmaj hit ana fa9da ti9a f nefessii 😞
833. Mazal madazch a khti. Ghadi idouz mora ramdan inchalah. Ghadi ncher rabbit diyal lvideo f la page inchalah.
834. J'estime que vous parlez tous les deux de la même chose, c'est juste un malentendu.
835. Te9der t9oli fin hadchi jiti fan tbarkellah alik
836. Déconseillé pour les enfants 🧸☐ pas de mesures de sécurité
837. Tberkllah 3la la famille Bennouna nour 3la nour wllah y7efdkoum 😊
838. Le vieux port à moula nouba 😊
839. Beauté ajouté à la vertu c comme du miel qui sert de sauce à du sucre ❤️
840. serie mashi film fih 3ep smmyto And Then There Were None .. zwin
841. dayer khedmtto 😊 m3allam
842. zwina o tat7amma9 allah hafdak a zin diali
843. ach ban lik fhad twichia ya akhi
844. Hahahahaha wchkon galikom ana lmar2a 3aycha ri bch tha9a9lik holmak 😊☐
😊☐ holmha
845. Hadi moulat qatii3 brat terkab 3la chi haja o safi.
846. A khouya clio 4 puissance design moteur dyalha kayjeri f tri9 zuin w fiable fiesta stabilité les options qualité dyal les matériaux confort
847. Sanaa kadab o ttam3a
848. Fin kayena
849. Wach simple wla palma slime

- 850.kan 3lih idirha man charjam d tomobil machi ldaaaakhal iwalli ijma3
fihom,hhhhh bsahtoooo
- 851.Brit dyal 19 wana fes
- 852.Mash'Allah ❤️
- 853.Wach kynna chi fanta f had lyoun hadak ra maji max
- 854.Rojala dayl bsah dawhom 3yalat dyal bsah 🍷
- 855.Machi mochkil ykhd 3la 4 mochkil wach dok 4 mafhmin radin bla khira bla
hasad. bhal zman 😊
- 856.Khod hotel f taksime bach kolchi kaykon 9rib lik
- 857.Je préfère tmchiw bohditkom mauvaise affaire l agences
- 858.Daba hada hafaaaad
- 859.Kheliha liil tkoun l9adia mbrda 😊
- 860.Dini m3ak akhay ?
- 861.Fayen akhti neddi ke l.jebl
- 862.F la forme oui f autre chose non je suis désolé
- 863.Makatfakch hhhh
- 864.Safi akhay saliti mn chamak
- 865.Jitoo feniin 🍷🍷
- 866.Look at moi look at moi!
- 867.Fissaaaaaaa twehechteek
- 868.Miss you too sara 🍷🍷
- 869.Tbarkallah 3lik ahhbi 🍷🍷 lance toi ! T'as tout pour percer 😊
- 870.Mes félicitations zanouba et bonne chance 😊
- 871.li bank ga3 kef kef 😊🍷 gher kola wahed kifash kayhatlek plan dyall e9teta3
fi tali katelgahom kef kef
- 872.Ta hiyati nas li hadra dima
- 873.Had sa7bek li kaysewrek matferetch fih
- 874.Je sui fiere de toi
- 875.Bessaha habibi
- 876.Top mais il n'est pas confortable, rat3yaa bih à mon avis
- 877.Et en parlant de la vidéo, oui mazala 3endi lah yawedi hadik hiya koulchi
- 878.je t'aime encoooore pluuuuuus bb 🍷🍷🍷🍷
- 879.Chems Ouzina lbanat ya5ty ناضرة حاضرة chems be like:aji n3awd lik majda

- be like:5min je t'appelle ahhh alyaaam
- 880.rah 9alo la meilleur qualité
- 881.Tataakli les frites blama n3i9
- 882.Très serviaaable you're always here for me babe 🐾🐾
- 883.Patiente très très patiente avec moi et tu partages de la bonne humeur avec ton
entourage li houwa ana 😊
- 884.Koulchi a part dehka li dima mchewhana hahhahaha
- 885.😂😂ana wlah hta sber m3aya o 2fois machi ghi wehda zher llkayb
- 886.Et pour les filles li radi y9ololha dkhlo l islam , comment elle doit faire 🙏
🙏
- 887.Hhh wach houwa ingénieur f paris non ??
- 888.Ouii machi bzf mais connaissance
- 889.kulchi 3la la barbe 😂😂
- 890.f7ali m3a khoya lan sakne m3aya c'était Top comme les amis mais mcha 3lya
😭
- 891.Hh khti j'ai pas de frère mais j'ai mon cousin si tu veux on s'échange 🤔🤔
- 892.I agree, j'ai adoré la forêt-noire c'était très bon et de très bonne qualité !
- 893.Wa9ila ça concerne dik lbnita li mn Fes
- 894.Ouiiiiiii maaat mskiiin crise cardiaque 🚑🚑
- 895.Wyh me too makanb9ach 7amla rassi
- 896.Non katkhrej chaque mercredi soir
- 897.Mais f la pub dayrin mardi soir
- 898.je te conseille لا تترك . C tooop . Tlhaay bih
- 899.Prend ton temps
- 900.Sorry mais une phrase correcte makat3rfch tgholha hta b 3rbya !zine zwina w
zher 3ndha C'EST TOUT contrairement à l'autre 🤔🤔🤔
- 901.Les filles afakoum signalew had l compte 🤔
- 902.Yaaaak diiima kanqolkoom dirou live bltaaam ????
- 903.Sber sber illa hdrti atsmay khayba et tu attaques
- 904.J ai rien compris pcq j ai pas vu le live, chnou waqe3?
- 905.C méchant nariiiiiii hram elihom

- 906.hhhh wakl sberdilaaa
- 907.Tadiri l parrainage
- 908.Ils me disent imposs d'accepter la conversation 😂 j'ai bien reçu le cv
demain matin maximum ndfe3lik
- 909.Les filles tabdit nakol 3ad swert je vous le recommande vivement c est bon
- 910.Hahahahahahaha les gens li mwsloouch l hajja daruri critiqyew
- 911.Ouiii déjà hklt zuiiina hbiba bsa7tkk <2
- 912.Cest ou afak??
- 913.bsseha o raha profite bien
- 914.Hahah t' imagine mes cousins kebrou biha f reda3aa ?
- 915.comment nous suicider bla mant3edbo ?
- 916.Svp les filles chkoun karya f Eljadida pour le mois août et elle a besoin d'une
colocataire ? Svp upew c'est très urgeeeeeeeent
- 917.Vraiment makdbouche ! 😞
- 918.Tomate conservé hhhh w limoun mer9ed 😂😂😂😂 manflthoumch
- 919.Lma dial lcornichon tayejbni nchrbou
- 920.HHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHHH ad fhmt 😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂
tu parles zeema tatklihom together? 😂😂😂😂 sorry sorry 😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂😂
😂😂😂😂
- 921.Khti qalo bizarre 😂😂😂😂😂
- 922.wa au meme temps yakma 3ndkoum hadchi 3adi fdarkoum 😂
- 923.Serviable w l9lb lkbir the best sister ever ❤️
- 924.chouf lwl bach tfkr l video li kna drna f Bologna 😂☐😂☐😂☐
925. fr7ii hadi mashi saison 3 mais 3ad swbou had the final episode sooo exciting
- 926.j'adore cette serie, vivement la saison 3
927. Wa3eeer ollah 🙏☐🙏☐🙏☐🙏☐
- 928.khassék tfrji
929. Hdchy jaaamiil
930. tferjti f les saisons li 9bel
- 931.Comment appelé cette série ?
- 932.khassna ntfarjo fiha 😂☐😂☐😂☐😂☐

933. 😂☐ vas-y frère
934. hadaaa aykoun zuin
- 935.do u remember?
- 936.wach tat3jbk had page
- 937.wliti chtini? Non 😂☐😂☐😂☐😂☐😂☐😂☐
938. Hhhhhhhhhh mzl kat9oliha hrebtli brz9i ch7al w ana njma3 fiha jiti ditiha w ghberty
- 939.On a tous cette page Web qui cherche à faire de la "Pub" à n'importe quel prix 😏☐
- Kayna ? 😏☐
- 940.au moins, moi je ne disparaissais pas 😎☐😎☐
941. j'en connais plusieurs meme
- 942.sahbek la bghiti ttellfou sellfou
943. twahachnak a sahbi 😂☐😂☐😂☐
- 944.Non makaynach
- 945.3rfti chkun 😂☐😂☐
- 946.Je devais le faire ! XD
- 947.Votre pub fait mal au yeux.
- 948.Hhhhhh fhmtini 3laman knhdar 😂☐😏☐😂☐😂☐
- 949.Benatiyah flossiii 😱:
- 950.ba9i kanssalek 1dh 😏☐rak 7daya z3ma 😂☐
951. yassine khouya rdli floussi rak 3yqt 😏☐
- 952.tu sais surement à qui je pense 😂☐😂☐
- 953.mli slftek 50dh
- 954.redili floussiii 😏☐😏☐
- 955.Mais c quoi cette couleur de merde, 3inia droni 😏☐
- 956.Mdrrrr ptn j'suis une merde
- 957.c'est toi ça faypi
- 958.18 ans et je sais toujours pas quoi répondre
- 959.kulshi hamdoulaah 😂☐😂☐
960. c'est moi 🧑☐♀☐🧑☐♀☐
961. j suis pa la seule hein 😏☐😂☐
962. les 3 premières maa mamak lbarh 😂☐😏☐😏☐😏☐

963.yakhtii c'est moi 😂☐😂☐

964. nhder wla blach 😂☐😂☐😂☐

965.c'est ton délire non ? Kakakakakakak

966.And you with your « swab » smile not cuuute at aaall 😂☐😂☐😂☐😂☐

967.hanta forsa makaynch bhalha STAGE f ahsen support médiatique f lmghrib

968.hadia bhal dik l9raya li ch3rha 7rech li knt gtlk hahah bhaal haka 😂

☐ ghaliban smiytha oumaima 🤔☐🤔☐😂☐

969.dertha l baba wahed lmarra nari chal dial 3sa klit ahahahahahahahah

970.I cant stand this meme anymore 😂☐

971.

972. 😊:) 😊:) 😊:) 😊:) maerftch elaach tfekrt chi heed 😂

973.im dead hahahahaha le genre de trucs qu'on aurait facilement pu faire en étant petites

974.I will never forget the day you told one of my friends " galik makaynch" 😂☐

😂☐😂☐

975.ch7al mn mera kliti l 3sa 3la had l 9adiya b saraha 😂☐🤔☐🤔☐

976. w chhal mn 9tla klit 3la had ljomla 😂☐

977.je te vois tellement faire ça berwala 😂☐

978. blati nrj3 nswlha fin mchat hhhhh

979. 39elty khalti fech galt lia goli makaynach hhhh

