

Journal of Social Science and Human Research Studies

Volume : 02 Issue : 07 July-2026

The Weight of International Relations on Language Policy & Planning in Morocco

Dr. Fathi, Said

Hassan II University of Casablanca, Morocco, ORCID ID : <https://orcid.org/000-0003-0763-2468>

Published Date: July 08, 2026

Article DOI: 10.65150/EP-jsshrs/V2E7/2026-08

ABSTRACT: The relationship between international relations and language policy in Morocco reveals a dynamic interplay where historical legacies, geopolitical alliances, and global aspirations converge to shape linguistic planning. Morocco's colonial past under French and Spanish rule left enduring marks on administration, education, and commerce, embedding European languages into the nation's institutional fabric. French, in particular, continues to function as a de facto official language, dominating higher education, business, and diplomacy, while Spanish retains regional influence in the north. Alongside these colonial residues, Arabic—both Classical and Modern Standard—anchors Morocco's religious, cultural, and national identity, complemented by Moroccan Arabic varieties and the constitutionally recognized Standard Tamazight, which symbolizes inclusivity and indigenous heritage. The rise of English as a global lingua franca further complicates this mosaic, reflecting Morocco's strategic pursuit of integration into international networks, economic partnerships, and educational reforms. English is increasingly promoted in schools and universities, aligning with Morocco's ambition to strengthen ties with Anglo-Saxon countries and enhance competitiveness in global markets. This multilingual reality illustrates Morocco's balancing act: preserving cultural identity while embracing globalization, negotiating tensions between de jure and de facto language statuses, and leveraging linguistic diversity as a soft-power tool in Africa and the Arab world. Ultimately, Morocco's language policies embody both continuity and change, serving as instruments of identity, diplomacy, and socio-economic development in an interconnected world.

KEYWORDS: Globalization - de facto - international relations - de jure – soft power - language policies - official language - standardization

1. INTRODUCTION

Language policy and planning in Morocco represent a fascinating and multifaceted interplay of history, geopolitics, culture, and international relations. Situated at the crossroads of Africa, Europe, and the Arab world, Morocco embodies a unique linguistic diversity that reflects both its indigenous heritage and its external engagements. The country's linguistic landscape is not merely a matter of communication; it is a mirror of Morocco's identity, its colonial past, and its aspirations for global integration.

From the outset, Moroccan language policies have grappled with questions of status and function: the designation of Official Languages, the role of Languages of Instruction, and the recognition of National Languages based on demographic realities. Today, Morocco constitutionally recognizes two de jure official languages—Standard Arabic and Standard Tamazight—while also acknowledging a rich array of national languages and dialects, including Moroccan Arabic (Darija and its varieties), Tashelhit, Tamazight, Tarifit, and Hassani. Beyond these, Morocco's sociolinguistic fabric is further enriched by foreign languages such as French, Spanish, and increasingly English, alongside localized Amazigh varieties like Senhaja, Ghomara, Iznassen, Figuig Shilha, and Zenati.

This linguistic plurality is not accidental; it is the product of centuries of historical layering. The pre-colonial coexistence of Amazigh and Classical Arabic laid the foundation for Morocco's cultural identity, while colonial encounters with France and Spain institutionalized European languages in administration, education, and commerce. Post-independence reforms sought to reclaim linguistic sovereignty through Arabicization and the revival of Amazigh, yet the enduring presence of French and Spanish underscores the complexity of disentangling colonial legacies. More recently, the rise of English as a global lingua franca has introduced new dynamics, reflecting Morocco's ambition to strengthen its international partnerships and enhance competitiveness in global markets.

Thus, Morocco's language policies are not simply domestic choices; they are deeply intertwined with its international relations. Strategic alliances, economic partnerships, and cultural diplomacy continually shape the country's linguistic planning, compelling policymakers to balance heritage preservation with modernization, and national identity with global engagement. This article explores these dynamics in depth, tracing the historical roots, colonial legacies, and contemporary reforms that have defined Morocco's multilingual reality. By examining the weight of international relations on language planning, it highlights how Morocco's linguistic strategies serve as instruments of identity, development, and soft power in an increasingly interconnected world.

2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The pre-colonial linguistic landscape of Morocco was characterized by the coexistence and interplay of two primary linguistic and cultural traditions—Berber languages, which have ancient roots in North Africa, and Classical Arabic, introduced through the spread of Islam.

2.1 The Berber (Amazigh) Languages

The Amazigh languages, which include variations such as Tamazight, Tarifit, and Tashelhit, among other varieties, have been spoken in the region for millennia. They represent the indigenous linguistic identity of Morocco and are deeply interwoven with the cultural and social fabric of the Amazigh people.

These languages were more than just means of communication—they were vehicles for transmitting oral traditions, folklore, poetry, and knowledge. They were essential in preserving the historical narratives and collective memory of local communities.

The Amazigh languages were widely spoken across Morocco's mountainous regions, deserts, and rural areas. Each variation adapted to the distinct local needs and environments of its speakers.

Amazigh-speaking communities often played critical roles in shaping the region's history, particularly through their resistance to foreign invasions and their contributions to the formation of early Moroccan dynasties like the Almoravids and Almohads.

2.2 The Introduction and Influence of Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic arrived in Morocco in the 7th century with the spread of Islam, fundamentally transforming the region's cultural and linguistic dynamics. While Amazigh languages remained dominant in daily life, Classical Arabic gradually gained prominence due to its religious, administrative, and literary significance.

As the language of the Quran and Islamic jurisprudence, Classical Arabic became the cornerstone of religious practice and scholarship. It unified the diverse communities of Morocco under a shared religious and linguistic framework.

Arabic served as the language of high culture, literature, and poetry. Moroccan scholars, such as Ibn Battuta and Ibn Khaldun, used Arabic to produce influential works that contributed to the Islamic Golden Age.

Arabic was used in governance and trade, solidifying its role as a lingua franca that connected Morocco with the broader Arab and Islamic world.

2.3 Symbiotic Coexistence

The linguistic relationship between Amazigh languages and Classical Arabic was not antagonistic; instead, it often reflected a form of coexistence and mutual enrichment as many Amazigh people adopted Arabic for religious and formal purposes while maintaining their native tongues for everyday communication.

Amazigh vocabulary influenced Moroccan Arabic dialects, and vice versa, leading to a unique linguistic blend that continues to be a hallmark of Moroccan identity.

2.4 Pre-Colonial Linguistic Resilience

Despite the spread of Arabic, Amazigh languages maintained their relevance and vitality, especially in rural and tribal areas. Their endurance can be attributed to strong cultural pride and the importance of oral traditions within Amazigh communities.

The pre-colonial period in Morocco was marked by a dynamic interplay between the ancient Amazigh languages and the rising prominence of Classical Arabic. These linguistic traditions together shaped Morocco's cultural identity, laying the foundation for the complex multilingual landscape the country still embodies today.

2.5 Colonial legacy

The colonial legacy in Morocco, shaped by both French and Spanish rule, has had a profound and lasting impact on its administration, education, and commerce. Under the French Protectorate (1912–1956) and the Spanish Protectorate in the north and the Western Sahara region, European languages and systems were deeply ingrained in the country's structures.

French became the language of governance and administration under the French Protectorate. This institutionalization persists today, as French is widely used in bureaucratic processes and official documents. In the regions under Spanish control, Spanish held a similar role, leaving its mark on local administration.

The French colonial system significantly influenced Morocco's educational framework. French was established as the primary language of instruction, particularly in higher education and technical fields. This policy created a dual system where Moroccan Arabic and Moroccan Berber varieties coexisted with French and Spanish, with the latter often being associated with prestige and access to higher opportunities.

French and Spanish colonization also shaped the commercial landscape. French became the dominant language in business, trade, and legal contracts, fostering economic ties with Francophone countries. Spanish, though more localized, remains influential in the northern regions and in trade with Spain.

This linguistic duality reflects the enduring impact of colonization, creating a complex cultural and social dynamic in Morocco. While efforts have been made to revive and promote Standard Arabic and Standard Tamazight as official languages, French and Spanish continue to play significant roles in modern Morocco's global interactions.

2.6 Post-independence reforms

Morocco's post-independence journey to reclaim its linguistic identity is a remarkable example of cultural preservation and renewal. Following its independence in 1956, Morocco faced the challenge of dismantling the legacy of French colonial influence, particularly in language, while fostering its own national identity.

Arabic, as the official language of Morocco and deeply tied to the nation's Islamic heritage, became central to the government's efforts. Educational reforms prioritized the Arabization of schools, aiming to replace French as the primary language of instruction, especially in subjects like history, geography and religion and later philosophy. Government institutions also embraced Arabic as the language of administration, although French continued to dominate in scientific, technical, and business domains—a legacy of colonialism that persists to this day.

The Moroccan Berber varieties, spoken by Morocco's indigenous Berber communities, have played an equally significant role in reclaiming cultural identity. Historically marginalized, they experienced a resurgence in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. In 2011, Morocco's constitution recognized Standard Tamazight as an official language alongside Standard Arabic, a milestone that underscored the country's commitment to cultural inclusivity. Programs were launched to standardize and teach Standard Tamazight, incorporating it into school curricula and official signage.

While Morocco has made strides in promoting Standard Arabic and Standard Tamazight, the influence of French remains pervasive, particularly in urban areas and higher education. Many Moroccans are multilingual, navigating between Moroccan Arabic varieties, Moroccan Berber varieties, Standard Arabic, Standard Tamazight, French, and sometimes Spanish or English. This linguistic diversity presents both opportunities and challenges as Morocco seeks to balance its cultural heritage with globalization and economic demands. Morocco's efforts demonstrate the intricate process of shaping a national identity that honors its past while adapting to the complexities of the present.

3. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POST-COLONIAL LANGUAGE DYNAMICS

3.1 French influence

The French language remains a prominent force in Morocco, deeply entwined with the country's historical, economic, and diplomatic landscape. While Standard Arabic and Standard Tamazight are the nation's *de jure* official languages, French has held its place as the *de facto* official language and a vital tool for communication and education.

France is one of Morocco's largest trading partners and foreign investors, making the French language essential for business dealings. Many companies, particularly in finance, tourism, insurance and industry, operate bilingually, with French often the language of choice for professional and corporate interactions.

Morocco and France share a long history of collaboration, with close ties in diplomacy, culture, and security. French often serves as the medium for bilateral communications and international relations, strengthening its role in Moroccan public life.

The legacy of the French protectorate (1912–1956) established French as a key language of instruction, particularly in higher education. Today, many universities and specialized institutions still use French for subjects like engineering, medicine, and sciences. Moreover, French continues to be a gateway to literature, media, and global cultural exchange for many Moroccans.

Despite these deep-rooted ties, Morocco's efforts to re-center Standard Arabic and Standard Tamazight as cornerstones of its linguistic identity highlight a delicate balancing act. French remains a bridge to global opportunities, yet its prominence underscores the lingering influences of colonialism.

3.2 Arabicization policy

Morocco's Arabicization policy, introduced after independence in 1956, reflects its effort to align with the broader Arab world and assert a unified national identity. This initiative has profoundly influenced the country's language policies, particularly in promoting Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) across various domains.

Following independence, Arabicization aimed to reclaim Morocco's linguistic heritage from colonial French dominance. Modern Standard Arabic, as the *lingua franca* of the Arab world, was seen as a unifying force that reinforced cultural and religious ties with other Arab nations.

The Arabicization policy prioritized the integration of MSA into education and government. French, once the dominant language, was gradually replaced with Arabic in schools, particularly in subjects like humanities, Islamic studies, and law. Arabic became the primary language for administration and legal proceedings, symbolizing sovereignty and independence.

Morocco's linguistic policy was also influenced by its alignment with the Arab world's pan-Arabist movements. Promoting Standard Arabic reflected solidarity with Arab nations and reinforced Morocco's membership in organizations such as the Arab League. This alignment allowed Morocco to strengthen political, economic, and cultural ties with Arab countries.

Despite the successes of Arabicization, challenges persist. French continues to dominate in higher education, scientific research, and business, reflecting colonial residue and global economic pressures. The simultaneous promotion of Standard Tamazight, recognized as an official language in 2011, has added a layer of complexity to Morocco's linguistic landscape.

The Arabicization policy illustrates Morocco's balancing act between reclaiming its identity, honoring its Arab and Islamic heritage, and addressing the practicalities of multilingualism in a globalized world.

3.3 Recognition of Standard Tamazight

The recognition of Standard Tamazight as a second official language in Morocco is a significant step toward embracing cultural and linguistic diversity. Historically, the Amazigh people, indigenous to North Africa, faced marginalization, with their language and identity often overshadowed by Arabicization policies. However, in recent years, Morocco has made strides in acknowledging Amazigh heritage as a core part of its national identity.

In 2011, Morocco amended its constitution to recognize Standard Tamazight as an official language alongside Standard Arabic, marking a milestone in the fight for minority rights. This decision was influenced by both domestic advocacy and international recognition of the importance of protecting indigenous cultures. The move has fostered greater inclusion, with efforts to integrate Standard Tamazight into education, media, and public life.

Despite these advancements, challenges remain. Implementation of language policies has been slow, and many Amazigh communities still face socio-economic disparities. The journey toward full inclusion continues, but the recognition of Standard Tamazight is a testament to the power of cultural preservation and minority rights advocacy.

4. MODERN-DAY GLOBALIZATION AND MULTILINGUALISM

4.1 Role of English

English plays an increasingly significant role in Morocco, particularly in education and business. This trend is shaped by the forces of globalization and the country's efforts to strengthen partnerships with English-speaking nations.

Many universities in Morocco, especially in fields like science, technology, and business, are offering programs in English to align with global academic and professional standards. Numerous private schools are incorporating English into their curricula, recognizing its importance as a global language. There are initiatives to boost English language education within public schools, aiming to equip students with the skills needed for the global workforce. The teaching of English will be further expanded in the 2024-2025 academic year, with a coverage rate of up to 50% in seventh grade and 100% in eighth grade. Eventually, in the 2025-2026 academic year, English language teaching will be fully implemented in the first year of middle school, leading to the complete integration of English language instruction at all levels of middle school.

As Morocco partners with international companies, especially from English-speaking regions such as the US and the UK, English has become a key language for communication in corporate settings. English is crucial in Morocco's thriving tourism industry, as it enables professionals to interact with a diverse international clientele. Proficiency in English helps position Morocco as an attractive destination for foreign investments and business ventures. Young Moroccans, driven by the accessibility of the internet and global media, are increasingly keen to learn English.

The country's expanding trade networks and cultural exchanges amplify the demand for English proficiency. This shift towards English does not overshadow Morocco's linguistic heritage—it complements Standard Arabic, Standard Tamazight, together with Moroccan Arabic varieties and Moroccan Berber varieties, and French, allowing Moroccans to navigate multilingual contexts with ease.

4.2 Economic partnerships

Morocco's strategic location as a gateway between Europe, Africa, and the broader world places it in a unique position for fostering economic partnerships. Strategic language planning plays a critical role in strengthening these relationships by improving communication, fostering trust, and creating opportunities in both trade and tourism.

Morocco already embraces its linguistic diversity with Standard Arabic, Standard Tamazight, together with Moroccan Arabic and Moroccan Berber varieties, and French widely spoken. Enhancing proficiency in additional languages such as English and Spanish can further solidify connections with international markets, particularly in Europe and North America and South America.

By tailoring language services to key tourism markets (e.g., German, Chinese, Italian, Russian), Morocco can attract a broader range of visitors. Language-specific guides, translated materials, and hospitality training would enhance tourist experiences and encourage repeat visits.

Language training for professionals in sectors like agriculture, manufacturing, and renewable energy could facilitate stronger trade ties with partners in Sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and beyond. Specialized courses in business English or other regional languages would be equally important.

Promoting Moroccan culture globally through language-focused cultural programs, like exchange partnerships, sports events and international events, could foster goodwill and curiosity about the country's products and services.

A modernized approach to language education, incorporating tech-driven tools and online platforms, can prepare future generations for global interaction. This could also attract international companies seeking a linguistically capable workforce.

4.3 Educational reforms

Morocco has been actively working on educational reforms, including the introduction of trilingual education policies. These reforms aim to equip students with the skills needed for a globalized workforce by emphasizing proficiency in Arabic, French, and English. This approach not only preserves Morocco's cultural and linguistic heritage but also enhances students' competitiveness in international markets.

The trilingual policy reflects Morocco's broader efforts to modernize its education system, addressing challenges such as high dropout rates and the mismatch between education and labor market needs. By fostering multilingualism, the country hopes to create a generation of globally competent individuals.

5. CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

5.1 Policy tensions

Morocco's linguistic landscape is a fascinating tapestry woven from Moroccan Arabic varieties, Moroccan Berber varieties, Standard Arabic, Standard Tamazight, French, and increasingly English. Each language carries its own historical, cultural, and socio-political significance, creating both opportunities and tensions in policy-making.

As the official language, Standard Arabic is central to national identity and governance. However, debates around its promotion and use in education persist. Recognized as an official language in 2011, Standard Tamazight represents Morocco's indigenous heritage. Efforts to promote it include its integration into schools and media, but challenges remain in ensuring its widespread adoption.

A legacy of colonialism, French dominates business, higher education, and diplomacy. While it offers global connectivity, its prominence overshadows local languages. This situation reinforces its position as the de facto official language of Morocco. It is adopted as the language of communication by many ministries, except the Ministry of Religious Affairs & Endowments, the Ministry of Justice and to some extent the Ministry of Education.

Seen as the language of modernity and international opportunity, English is gaining traction, especially among younger generations. Its rise sparks discussions about its role in Morocco's multilingual framework. Balancing these languages involves addressing issues of identity, accessibility, and practicality.

However, the results of the third edition of the 2023 National Survey on Social Cohesion – Civil Pole, conducted by the Royal Institute for Strategic Studies (IRES), revealed that Classical Arabic remains the most preferred language for education in Morocco, with 73% of participants expressing a desire to adopt it as their first language of instruction.

The figures show that, despite growing interest in Darija since 2016, its preference in education did not exceed 11% in 2023. As for Amazigh, its preference as a language of instruction remained stable at 5% between 2016 and 2023, indicating, according to the study, that demands for its widespread use remain limited and constitute an "elitist issue." Regarding foreign languages, French has seen a notable decline in Moroccan preferences, falling from 63.5% in 2016 to 36.9% in 2023. In contrast, the preference for English has increased significantly, almost doubling to reach 22% in 2023, thus reflecting, according to the study, the impact of the growing openness to the Anglo-Saxon world.

5.2 Identity and internationalism

Morocco stands at a fascinating crossroads when it comes to identity and internationalism. The country's rich cultural heritage, deeply rooted in Berber, Arab, and Andalusian influences, creates a vibrant tapestry of identity. At the same time, Morocco's strategic position as a bridge between Africa, Europe, and the Arab world thrusts it into the heart of global linguistic and cultural exchanges.

Morocco has long placed importance on its traditions and languages. The inclusion of Standard Tamazight as an official language alongside Standard Arabic is a testament to efforts to protect indigenous culture and identity. Through its architecture, cuisine, music, and crafts, Morocco showcases its deep historical ties and unique character. For many Moroccans, these are not just cultural markers but a foundation of their national and personal identity.

Meanwhile, Morocco's embrace of French, Spanish, and increasingly English reflects its openness to global interaction. French, a legacy of colonial history, dominates business, education, and diplomacy. Spanish has historical roots in northern regions, and English is rapidly gaining traction as the language of opportunity in global markets. This multilingualism allows Morocco to play an influential role on the international stage, building bridges across regions and cultures.

The challenge lies in balancing the preservation of cultural identity with the demands of globalization. The push toward teaching English in schools, for example, raises questions about the dominance of French and Standard Arabic, potentially shifting cultural priorities. Similarly, the adoption of globalized lifestyles, media, and practices can sometimes be perceived as overshadowing Morocco's traditional values.

Yet, many Moroccans view this interplay as an opportunity rather than a conflict. By fostering coexistence among languages and cultures, Morocco shows that it is possible to stay true to its roots while embracing the benefits of internationalism. Initiatives like promoting Moroccan art, cinema, and literature globally help to project its identity while engaging with the world.

5.3 Regional leadership

Morocco has strategically positioned itself as a regional leader by employing language policy as an effective soft-power instrument in both Africa and the Arab world. Its unique linguistic heritage—comprising Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Standard Tamazight, Moroccan Arabic varieties, Moroccan Berber varieties, French, Spanish, and increasingly English—offers Morocco an advantage in fostering cross-cultural connections and influence.

Morocco's multilingual identity allows it to navigate African and Arab cultural spheres adeptly. For example, its use of French solidifies its ties with Francophone Africa, while Arabic strengthens its position in the Arab League. Hopefully, advances in teaching English will also open up Morocco to English-speaking Africa.

Morocco attracts students from sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab world through its higher education institutions, many of which offer programs in multiple languages. Scholarships for African students are part of Morocco's effort to build enduring ties.

Morocco's Arabic-language media channels target the broader Arab world, while French-speaking platforms reach out to African audiences. This helps amplify its voice on regional issues. Morocco promotes itself as a beacon of moderate Islam, with King Mohammed VI often emphasizing the country's role as a religious leader. Initiatives like training imams from African nations in Arabic and French bolster this narrative and reinforce Morocco leadership in Africa.

The increasing emphasis on English reflects Morocco's bid to engage with the globalized world and strengthen ties with Anglophone Africa. English is gaining prominence in education and business, broadening Morocco's diplomatic reach. Morocco's proactive language strategy complements its broader economic and political ambitions, making it an influential player in Africa and the Arab world.

6. CONCLUSION

Morocco's language policies are not isolated domestic decisions but rather the outcome of a long historical trajectory and a continuous negotiation with international relations. The country's multilingual reality—anchored in Standard Arabic and Standard Tamazight, enriched by Moroccan Arabic varieties and Amazigh dialects, and shaped by the enduring presence of French and Spanish—illustrates the profound weight of colonial legacies and global alliances. The growing prominence of English further signals Morocco's determination to align itself with global economic, educational, and diplomatic networks, positioning language as both a tool of modernization and a gateway to international opportunity.

This complex linguistic mosaic reflects Morocco's balancing act between preserving cultural heritage and embracing globalization. On one hand, policies such as Arabicization and the constitutional recognition of Tamazight underscore the nation's commitment to identity, inclusivity, and cultural pride. On the other, the pragmatic reliance on French in higher education, business, and diplomacy, alongside the strategic promotion of English, highlights the necessity of global competitiveness and international engagement. These tensions reveal that language planning in Morocco is not simply about communication—it is about sovereignty, development, and soft power.

The challenges remain significant. Policy tensions between *de jure* and *de facto* languages, uneven implementation of Tamazight, and debates over the role of Darija in education all point to the difficulty of reconciling identity with practicality. Yet, these challenges also present opportunities. Morocco's multilingualism equips it to act as a regional leader, bridging Francophone Africa, the Arab world, and increasingly Anglophone networks. By leveraging its linguistic diversity, Morocco strengthens its cultural diplomacy, attracts international students, and fosters economic partnerships that extend its influence beyond its borders.

Ultimately, Morocco's language policies embody both continuity and change. They are rooted in centuries of coexistence between Amazigh and Arabic, reshaped by colonial encounters, and redefined by globalization. As Morocco continues to assert itself on the global stage, language will

remain a vital reflection of its strategic aspirations and cultural resilience. The future of Moroccan language planning lies in embracing multilingualism not as a burden but as a resource—one that empowers identity, fosters inclusivity, and enhances Morocco's role as a dynamic actor in international relations.

REFERENCES

- 1) ABBASSI, A. (1977). A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Multilingualism in Morocco. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin,
- 2) AGER, D. (2001) Motivation in Language Planning & Language Policy. Multilingual Matters Ltd
- 3) Bulletin Officiel N° 5964 bis, July 30th, 2001. P. 1904
- 4) COOPER, R.L. (1989) Language Planning & Social Change. CUP
- 5) ENEVER, J. (2020) "Global language policies: Moving English up the educational escalator", in Language Teaching for Young Learners, Vol. 2, N° 2, p. 162 - 191
- 6) ENNAJI, M. (2005) Multilingualism, Cultural Identity and Education in Morocco. Springer Publishing
- 7) FATHI, S. (2002) "Who needs a second official language?", unpublished paper delivered in a round-table organized in Fez, Morocco on Planning Languages: Planning Equity on February 15th-17th, 2002
- 8) FATHI, S. (2017) "An overview of the Moroccan sociolinguistic situation" in Sciences, langage et communication Vol. 1, N° 3, pp 1-8
- 9) FATHI, S. (2023) "Official or National Language", in Jadir, M. (ed.) (2023) Recherches en Littérature, Traductologie & Linguistique. Editions Universitaires Européennes
- 10) FATHI, S. (2024) "Dual Diglossia in Morocco: A new sociolinguistic phenomenon", in International Journal of Language, Linguistics, Literature & Culture, Vol. 3, N° 4, pp. 1-9.
- 11) FATHI, S. (2025) Discovering Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics & Discourse Analysis, World Copy Younes, ISBN: 978-9920-29-723-3
- 12) FERGUSON, C. A. (1959) "Diglossia" in Word Vol. 15, N° 2, pp. 325-40.
- 13) FERGUSON, G. (2006) Language Planning & Education. Edinburgh University Press.
- 14) FISHMAN, J. (1974) Advances in Language Planning. Mouton
- 15) GUMPERZ, J.J. (ed.) (1982) Language & Social Identity. CUP
- 16) HAUGEN, E. (1972) "Dialect, language & nation" in Pride, J.B. & J. Holmes (eds.) Sociolinguistics. Penguin, pp. 97-111.
- 17) HITCHING, H. (2011) The Language Wars. Farrar, Straus & Giroux
- 18) JOSEPH, J.E. (2004) Language and Identity. National, Ethnic and Religious. Palgrave Macmillan
- 19) Xhemaili, M. (2022) "The importance of the English language in public diplomacy & international relations", in Journal of Liberty and International Affairs, Vol. 8, N° 1, pp. 322-39.
- 20) WRIGHT, S. (2016) Language Planning & Language Policy: From Nationalism to Globalization. Palgrave Macmillan
- 21) www.hcp.ma
- 22) www.ires.ma
- 23) www.moroccoworldnews.com