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المواقف العربية الليبية تجاه الاعتراف الرسمي واستخدام لغات الأقليات العرقية غير العربية في المجالين الرسمي والعام في ليبيا

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المستخلص: تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى معرفة اتجاهات مواقف العرب الليبيين الذين يتحدثون العربية الليبية تجاه الاعتراف بلغات الأقليات الأخرى غير العربية، الأمازيغية والطوارق والتبو. كما تهدف هذه الورقة إلى استكشاف مدى قبول هذه اللغات كلغات رسمية في الدستور القادم من قبل العرب الليبيين الذين يمثلون الأغلبية في ليبيا وما إذا كان يمكن استخدام وتدريس هذه اللغات في المؤسسات الحكومية والعامة. تحاول هذه الورقة معرفة ما إذا كانت هذه المواقف (الإيجابية أو السلبية) تؤثر على الوضع اللغوي لهذه اللغات من حيث الحفاظ عليها أو تحولها. يشير Baker (2001، ص.82). إلى أن الوضع اللغوي قد يتأثر بدعم الرأي العام تجاه ثنائية اللغة في مجتمع ما (Choi، 2003، p. 82). كما يربط Sallabank (2013، ص 61-62) المواقف والأيديولوجيات اللغوية بالطريقة التي ينظر بها أفراد المجتمع إلى حيوية اللغة وممارساتها، وبالتالي، السياسة اللغوية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الاتجاهات، لغات الأقليات غير العربية، الاعتراف الرسمي، الأمازيغية، التارقية، التبو العربية الفصحى، العربية الليبية.

Libyan Arab Attitudes towards the official recognition and use of non-Arab ethnic minority languages in the official and public domains in Libya

Salah eabdalhamid faraj Adam, Khawalah Rashid Yunus

Abstract: This paper intends to investigate the attitudes of the Libyan Arab people who speak Libyan Arabic towards the recognition of non-Arab ethnic languages, Tamazight, Tuareg and Tubo. This paper aims to explore the acceptance of these languages as official languages in the forthcoming constitution by the Libyan Arabs who represent the majority of the country and whether these languages can be implemented in governmental institutions and public institutions. It is also to examine whether such attitudes (positive or negative) may influence the linguistic status of these languages in terms of their maintenance or shift. Baker (2001, p. 82) points out that the linguistic situation might be influenced by the support of the public opinion towards bilingualism in a certain community (Choi, 2003, p. 82). Sallabank (2013, pp. 61-62) correlates language attitudes and ideologies with the way individuals perceive language vitality and practices and accordingly, with language policy.

Keywords: Attitudes; non-Arab ethnic minority languages; official recognition, Tamazight; Targia; Tubo; Modern Standard Arabic, Libyan Arabic.

1. Introduction

The official situation of Berber or Amazigh language and its varieties have been treated in different ways in the states where these languages are spoken. For example, in countries such as Mali and Niger, the Tuareg language was treated as a national language, granted official linguistic status and did not cause a problem to the unity of these countries. However, in countries such as Libya, Morocco and Algeria, which "ideologically adhere to Arabic nationalism", Berber languages were treated as threat to the national Arab unity (Kossmann, 2013, pp. 29-30). In particular, Amazigh languages in Libya was treated as a political issue and steps to suppress these languages were taken by the previous regime. For instance, the use of these languages were banned from all public places. However, After the 2011 revolution and the role Amazigh people played in defeating the previous regime, issues such as language recognition has been raised. Nowadays local and political discussions have taken place about the official linguistic situation of the non- Arab ethnic minority languages. The debate is mainly on whether these languages should be officially recognized in the upcoming Libyan constitution besides the predominant language, Arabic, or not. It is true that the 2011 constitutional declaration considers Tamazight, Tubo and Tuareg as national languages but that was a temporary declaration and Arabic is still the only official language.

2. Literature review

According to Garrett (2010, p. 19) attitudes can be defined in different ways. Thurstone (1931) refers to attitudes as they may include positive and negative emotional responses. Allport (1954) points out that attitudes incorporate specific feeling or behaviour towards certain people or object. Sarnoff (1970, p. 279) defines

attitudes as "*a disposition to react favourably to or unfavourably to a class of object*". Accordingly, it seems that there is a sort of evaluation for the "social object" and this social object can be a language (Garrett, 2010, p. 19). He points out that the reception and production of a language can be influenced by the speakers' attitudes. Consequently, language attitudes can influence the choice of the language that people communicate with. **Language attitudes are about how individuals variably situate themselves within their social group and the way they are linked to other groups (Garrett, 2010, p. 12).**

Recent linguistic studies have raised language ideologies and language attitudes as crucial factors influencing language use patterns and the initiatives to maintain and revitalize the language (Garcia, 2005). Sallabank (2013, p. 60) states that "language attitudes, motivations and ideologies are of key importance, both when languages are declining and during attempts at language revitalization". Minority language shift might be caused by negative attitudes adopted by both the speakers of the majority and minority languages and indeed, negative attitudes are also deemed to be among the outcomes of language shift (Sallabank, 2011, 2013). Crystal (2003, p. 84) points out that these negative attitudes towards the minority are not born with the speakers but introduced and corroborated through penalties by the prevailing culture and its members and attached to the speakers of the unprivileged language and their language. Thus, associations such as 'backward', 'inadequate', 'incorrect' and 'stigmatized' are associated with it. The hierarchical linguistic relationship between the indigenous languages spoken in the Andean region (low status and stigmatized languages) and the official language Spanish (high status), for instance, is echoed in the attitudes of both groups of speakers towards these

languages. Speakers of indigenous languages avoid using their native language because of the stigma associated with using it; as Lopez (1989, p. 105 as cited in Hornberger & Molina, 2004, p. 14)) puts it, "linguistic shame or asphyxia". Fishman (1991, p. 340) points out that such evaluation reflects "the destruction of Xish self-esteem due to decades of negative comparison with Yish political power, economic advantage and modern sophistication". Language attitudes are important indicators in determining the future of bilingual education and bilingualism in a country (Baker, 2001).

3. Ethnic make-up of Libya

3.1 Libyan Arabs

The existence of Arabs in Libya dates back to the two successive tribal emigrations which set out from the Arab Peninsula. **Arabs represent the vast majority of the populace and the most authoritative and powerful group in the country. For instance, the most important positions are often assigned to Arabs. However, Amazigh, Tuaregare and Tubo represent the majority of population in their heartlands and enjoy local governmental authority, similar to Libyan Arab (Figure 3.1) .**

3.2 Libyan Amazigh (Tamazight speakers)

Another significant ethnic group is Amazigh (Berber) or speakers of Tamazight, a widespread tribe in Northern African countries. Berbers are indigenous inhabitants of North African countries and represent approximately between 8-9% of the population in Libya though ethnicities are not classified in the official **census. Libyan Berbers are bilinguals, speaking Tamazight and Western Libyan Arabic (Tripolitanian),**

and live concentrated in Nefusa Mountain towns in the north-western region of Libya. The word Tamazight also refers to the Berber variety spoken in Nefusa Mountain and Zuwara.

3.3 Libyan Tuareg

Tuareg are traditionally nomads or semi-nomadic tribes. They live in groups or confederations of tribes, occupy a large area in North Africa, and inhabit five countries: Algeria, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso and Libya; most of them live in internally

hierarchically stratified societies (Prasse 1995; Rasmussen, 1998, p. 154; Rodd, 1926, p. **29). Libyan Tuareg live concentrated in Awbari, Ghat, Barakat and Al-?weinat, towns located in the extreme south-west of Libya, very close to the Algerian border. Tuareg also inhabit the Oasis of Ghadames in an adjacent village called Daraj, situated to the west of the capital Tripoli. Tuareg are deemed to be a part of Amazigh, a widespread tribe in North Africa, though this claim is questioned by some Tuareg.**

3.4 Tibu, a.k.a. Tubo (Teda)

Tibu is a sub-group speaking Teda, a Nilo Saharan language, living scattered in four

countries, Libya, Chad, Sudan and Niger as a result of establishing these countries and the demarcation of their boundaries during the 1950s and 60s. Libyan Tibu live in the south and south-western part of the Libyan Desert in Al-Kufra, Rebiana, Tazerbou, Murzeq, Qatrun and around Sebha, the capital of the southern province.

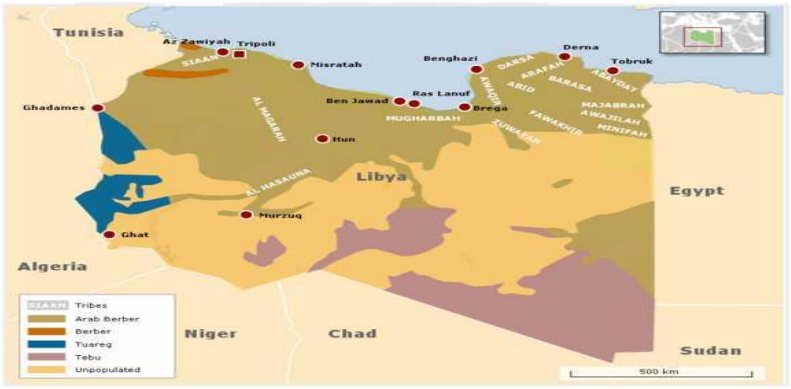

Figure 3.1 **:The ethnic composition of Libya**

4. Linguistic profile of Libya

4.1 Arabic

4.1.1 Classical and/ or Modern Standard Arabic (CA, MSA)

Classical, Modern Standard Arabic and *fusʿħa:* are terms used to refer to the formal form of Arabic. Although many linguists differentiate between Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, mainly in the lexicon and grammatical structure, Ryding (2005: 4) asserts that there is a "high degree of similarity between CA and MSA". Such an issue is not within the scope of this study yet in this article, "MSA" sometimes refers to what others call CA and sometimes to what others term "MSA". In Libya, Modern Standard Arabic has been the official language since the establishment of the kingdom in 1951. It is the language of the Holy Quran, written media: newspapers, magazines, journals and books. It is the medium of instruction in schools and language of street signs even in the non-Arab-minority areas. MSA can be used as a lingua franca with intellectuals or literate Arabs whose vernaculars are not completely mutually intelligible. Modern Standard Arabic, in many cases, is tied to religion, functions as a vital ingredient of a shared identity among most Arab countries. Indeed, for some non-Arab speakers, MSA is considered as their mother tongue for its association with religion. **Modern Standard Arabic** (MSA) is characterized as high "H" language

compared to Libyan Arabic (LA) and non-Arab ethnic languages which are treated as Low "L".

4.1.2 Colloquial Libyan Arabic (LA) (Darja)

Colloquial Libyan Arabic is the first language acquired by the majority of Libyans

at home and other informal domains such as the street, and it is the language of everyday conversation. It is not a codified language though it is used, as a written language, by many Libyans in electronic media and social communication networks such as Face book and Whats App. The acquisition of Libyan Arabic among non-Arab ethnicities is varied and subject to several factors yet in general, Libyan Arabic seems to be the first language the younger generation of non-Arab speakers acquire and plays an important role in forging their identity.

In Libya, LA is employed as a regional lingua franca in areas where non-Arab minorities live. For example, Western Libyan Arabic is used among Tamazight speakers of Nefusa Mountain and Zuwara in their contact with Arabic speakers. Similarly, Tuareg and Tubo Tspeakers utilize the Transitional Libyan Arabic variety, Fezzanian Arabic, in their contact with Libyan Arabic speakers but often at variable levels of competence. Boukous (1997, p. 49) maintains that Moroccan Arabic is used as a lingua franca with Berber speakers of other varieties which are not mutually understandable. Libyan Arabic is also implemented in Tuareg and Tubo intra-ethnic communications in certain domains.

4.1.3 Amazigh language (Tamazight)

Amazigh varieties are defined as a tight-knit language group, part of the Afroasiatic language family, also known as "Hamito-Semitic" (Dupree, 1958, 33; Kossmann, 2013, p. 14). It is the autochthonous language in Northern African countries including Libya.

Based on geographical and linguistic grounds, Cline (1953, p. 268) states that Berber in northwest Africa is classified into two main groups: Zenatiya and Sanhaja-Masmuda. Sanhaja variety includes Tamazight in the Middle Atlas and the eastern High Atlas Mountains in Morocco. Libyan Berber varieties (Tamazight) are categorized to several linguistic blocks. The Dejebel Nefusa dialect, for instance, comes under a separate linguistic entity distinguished from the Zenata variety, yet the Nefusa dialect has linguistic commonalities with the Zenatic block as well as the Ghadames and Libyan-Egyptian Oases varieties.

The Zuwara dialect is the only Libyan Berber variety that is related to the eastern Zenatic group which is, according to Kossmann, different from the Nefusa block.

4.1.4 Targia

Tuareg language is categorized under the umbrella of Amazigh or Southern Berber. The language spoken by Tuareg people is widely known in anglophone literature as Tamasheq/k and it has alternatives names, depending on the way it is pronounced in the area or the country where it is spoken (Kossmann, 2013). For example, Tuareg dialect spoken in Libya and Algeria is called "Tamahek" and it is also called Targia. The term "Targia" is often used by Libyan local people to refer to their native language (Tuareg language).

Tuareg have their writing system and script, which is called ''Tifinagh. Although Tuareg have prolific literature, poems, riddles, fairy tales, and

proverbs, Targia is still orally transmitted across generations (Prasse, 1995). Tuareg's knowledge of the Tifinagh is very limited, where it exists at all. The majority of Libyan Tuareg people have no command of Tifinagh script despite their positive attitudes towards learning it.

5. The official Linguistic status of non-Arab ethnic Languages in Libya.

For the following decade after independence (1951), Libya became "the most Arab of the Arab states" (Golino, 1970, p. 344). After the establishment of the state, Libya had a different linguistic situation compared with Northern African countries (Maghreb countries) which experienced the cultural duality of French and Arabic. Despite the existence of other non-Arab ethnicities such as Berber, Tuareg and Tebou, the general and official discourse during the post-independence era referred to Libya as an Arab state and the Arabic language as the most important ingredient in the construction of the Libyan national identity. The establishment of the educational system during the monarchy period aimed to maintain and intensify Arab culture and resolve the dilemma of national identity or "Arab national amour-propre" (Golino, 1970, p. 350).

Although the 1951 constitution did explicitly recognize the other ethnic minority

languages, article (24) of the same constitution secured the linguistic rights for all the

inhabitants in the state. Umadi, an exiled Libyan Amazigh activist, said, "Arabic was

not forced on us" during the monarchy era (Al-Rumi, 2009, p. 4).

Article(24)

لكل شخص الحرية في استعمال أية لغة في المعاملات الخاصة أو الأمور الدينية أو الثقافية أو" الصحافية أو مطبوعات أخرى أو في الاجتماعات العامة".

"Everyone shall be free to use any language in his private transactions or religious or cultural matters or in the Press or any other publications or in public meetings."

Since the 1969 coup, Libya has undergone a dramatic socio-political and economic transformation. As a consequence of this uprising and the emergence of a new military regime influenced by Pan-Arabism widespread in the Arab world, the Arabization movement accelerated to include the denial of, not only the ethnic but also the linguistic existence of non-Arab ethnic minorities. The 1969 Constitutional Declaration described Libya and Libyan people in its preamble and article (1) as "Arab" and a part of the Arab nation whereas article (2) stipulated that Arabic is the official language of the state. From the 1969 coup to the 2011 uprising, the previous regime exercised political, cultural and linguistic repression of non-Arab ethnic minorities.

A linguistic ban was imposed on those minorities (Berber, Tuareg and Tebou) over 42 years. The system of public education remained faithful to Pan-Arab practices and was utilized to elevate the status of Arabic, to serve the regime's ideology, and to homogenize the population under the banner of one, one state, one religion (Islam), (Arabic) (Almasude, 1999). The first Prime Minister of the Libyan Republic in 1969, Mahmud Al-Maghribi, prioritized Arabic in the educational process claiming that "Arabic is our language and our legacy is Arab" and criticized teaching English as a second language at the primary level (Golino, 1970, p. 350). Schools have been introduced with an Arabic Islamic orientation, and Standard Arabic has been the sole medium language of instruction in schools. Teaching minority languages in state or even private schools was prohibited and in fact, in 1986, this prohibition included foreign languages such as English and French as they were considered languages of the regime's enemy, yet English was restored in 1992. The veto was also imposed on using minority languages in other public and official institutions though Kohl (2014, p. 429) maintains that "Tuareg during the Qaddafi era never were prohibited from using their language because the government considered Tamaheq/Tamasheq as a dialect of Arabic". The previous regime indeed treated Tuareg as "Arabs of the desert" but the use of Targia (Tuareg language) was not

officially allowed in public institutions, particularly in certain settings. In other words, the regime was able to erase all linguistic and ethnic difference through the containment policy in a process defined by Irvine (2001, p. 42) as the process of "erasure".

6. Methodology

6.1 Quantitative Method

6.1.1 Questionnaires

According to Chamber (1994), the employment of questionnaires is an efficient method in which data can be collected from a large number of participants in a short time (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 52). The questionnaire can be easily distributed and collected (Romaine, 1995, p. 302). In the current study, the questionnaires were constructed to elicit language attitudes (Garrett et al, 2003, p. 25). The questionnaires were distributed on participants by hand or through emails to save the time. The questions were written in English and translated into Modern standard Arabic. This is due to the participants lack of competency in English as well as their desire to present their attitudes effectively in Arabic rather than English. The questionnaire in the current study was based on reviewing and exploring previous studies focusing on language identity, attitudes and ideologies, particularly on minority and endangered languages that may still function in the presence of a predominant language (Bentahila & Davies, 1992; Choi, 2003; Detaramani & Lock, 2003; Fishman, 1966, 1991; Hassan, 2009; Koufogiorgou, 2003). The questionnaire in this study was designed to include various types of questions, response formats and techniques such as rating scales and yes/no questions. Closed questions, for instance, have the

advantage of coding the responses easily on a computer and hence save time. This type of questions can be employed to obtain attitudes (Garrett et al, 2003).

The Questionnaires were divided thematically into two parts: the first was designed to elicit demographic information about the respondents such as age, gender, and occupation, and was numbered from 1-5. Many of our questionnaire items (6 to 14) seek information about the Libyan Arab attitudes towards the non-Arab ethnic minority languages spoken in Libya, Tamazight, Tuareg and Tubo, and its recognition in the forthcoming constitution. The questionnaires end with an open-ended question to give the respondents more space to reflect their opinions, and in case adequate information might not be captured from the closed questions (Newell, 1993, p. 100; Simmons 2001, p. 94). The quantitative data was codified in excel ans analysed using a Pivot Table.

Two letters were attached to the questionnaire: the first gives an idea about the study and invites the participants to take part in it and the second is the consent form to obtain the participants' consent for their involvement in the research.

6.1.2 The sample description

The three common sampling methods employed in sociolinguistic or social studies are: random sampling, judgement sampling and stratified random sampling.

The implementation of a stratified sampling method is based on the differences between social groups. Hence, social factors such as age group, gender, and the proportion of informants need to be determined in advance for the study. Stratified sampling was applied in this study. Eckert (1997, p. 55) identifies two ways of grouping individuals: the etic approach in which speakers are divided into equal age

spans such as decades. In the second method, speakers are identified emically, based on shared experience or history.

A clear generalization can be drawn even in the case of strict representativeness. Because linguistic behaviour is "more homogeneous" relative to other types of behaviours explored by surveys, a large sample in linguistic surveys is not a prerequisite (Milroy, 1987, p. 21, Sankoff, 1980). Labov (1966, p. 180) states that the linguistic behaviour produced from a larger sample can also result from a smaller one. Milroy (1987, p. 20) asserts that "it is by no means clear that strict representativeness would necessarily give greater insights into sociolinguistic structure". The sample size in social science often requires, at least, 4 participants for every cell, but for the reasons above, sociolinguists sometimes use a smaller number.

The study consists of 33 informants, 16 Males and 17 Females. They are deliberately distributed in quite a balanced way across different age groups. The participants of this study live in Al-byda city and are stratified eticly, 27-37, 37-47. 47-57, 57-67. They are all Libyans of Arab origin.

6.2 Data Analysis

6.2.1 Attitudes towards preserving non-Arab ethnic minority languages

The analysis of the data utilized in this section is mainly based on the data captured from the questionnaire. We begin the analysis by giving a general picture of the participants' attitudes towards the vitality of preserving the non-Arab languages spoken in Libya, and then using selected items from the questionnaire: participants' evaluation of Tamazight, Tuareg, Tubo (compared to Modern Standard and Libyan Arabic), respondents' attitudes towards teaching these languages in private and public

schools, the official recognition and using these languages in public domains and finally the institutional support.

When asked, whether non-Arab ethnic minority languages should be preserved or not, the majority of participants (92%) showed favourable attitudes towards preserving these languages (Figure 6.1).

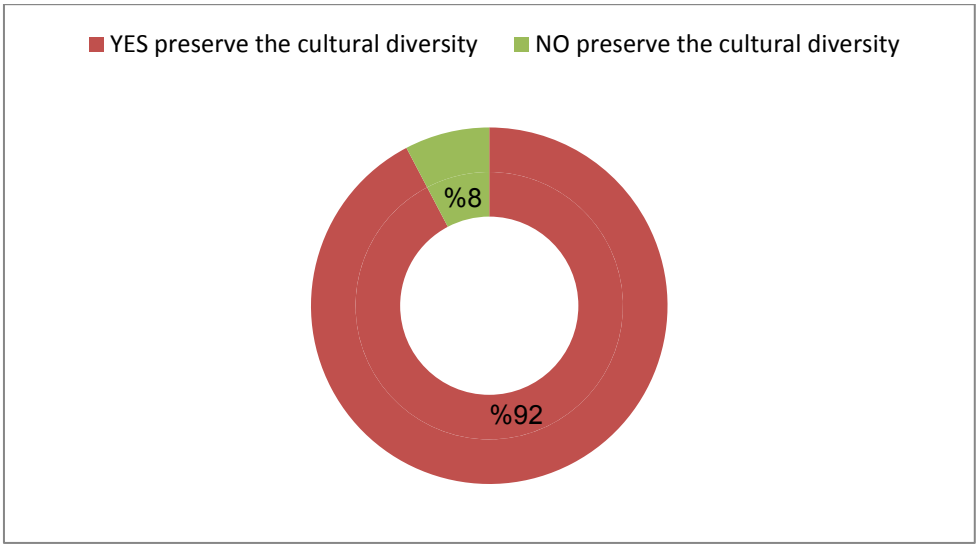

***Figure 6.1*: Q Do you think that it is vital to preserve the cultural and linguistic diversity in Libya?**

According to our informants, preserving minority languages is important as this reflects the cultural diversity in the country and gives a good impression about Libya as a country of freedom, a country that tolerates all other minorities. One of our respondents commented:

"I believe that every Libyan has the right to speak his/her own language without affecting the Arabic language, the predominant language" (Sal, male, age: 38)

For some respondents, these languages represent the cultural identity of their speakers and their heritage languages, so they should be preserved.

When the above figure split into age groups, it is interesting to observe that the middle and older-aged groups (from 37 to 67) showed more inclination to preserve the non-

Arab languages compared with the younger age groups (from 17 to 37) (Figure 6.2). This possibly reflects the middle and older-aged groups' awareness of the salience of preserving the cultural and linguistic diversity in Libya.

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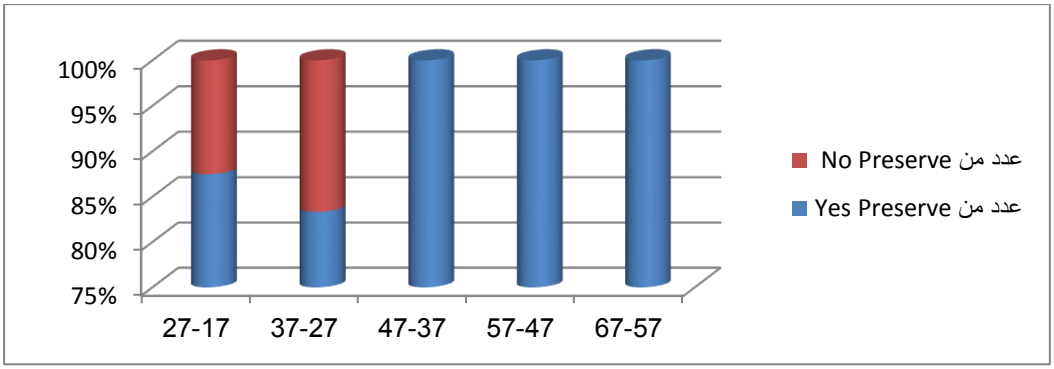

***Figure 6.2*: Q6 Do you think that it is vital to preserve the cultural and linguistic diversity in Libya? By age groups**

Connecting to question (7), which is about evaluating the languages spoken in Libya, including Arabic, it seems that most of the respondents, as shown in Figures 6.3, 6.4, assessed Modern Standard and Libyan Arabic as important or very important languages. The reasons mentioned by the respondents to justify the salience of Libyan Arabic included:

- It is the means of communication with all Libyans;
- The easiest and the most understandable;
- Libyan identity;
- The mother tongue;
- Language spoken on a daily basis;
- Language spoken at schools and work;
- Used within the Libyan borders "territorial nationalism"; and
- Street language.

Whereas the reasons given by the informants to justify their positive evaluation of Modern Standard Arabic includes:

- Language of the Holy Quran;
- It is the language of Islam and Muslims;
- Official language and language of administration;
- Language of reading and writing;
- The mother tongue;
- Language of Libyan and Arab identity.

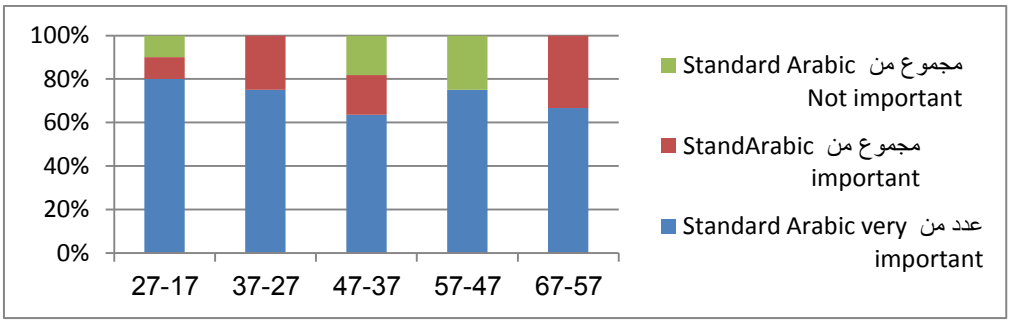

Figure 6.3: **How do you rate the importance of using the following languages in our daily life: Modern Standard Arabic? By age groups**

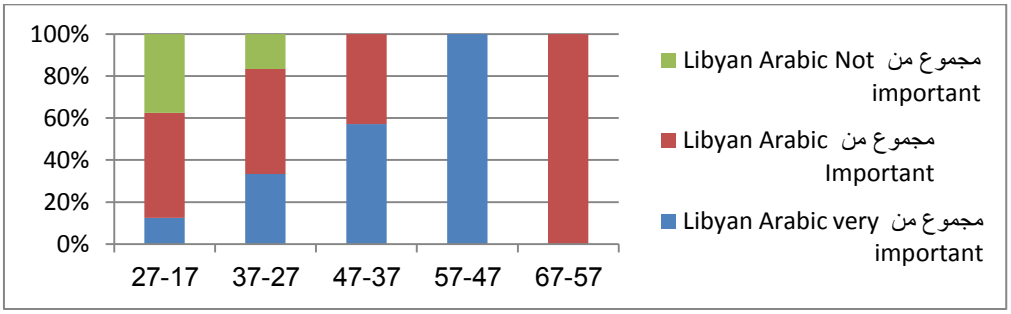

Figure 6.4: **How do you rate the importance of using the following languages in our daily life: Libyan Arabic? By age groups**

Respondents who rated Modern Standard and Libyan Arabic as not important claimed that the former language is not used and the latter is a dialect and not codified i.e., not written and has no grammar.

Contrary to the vigorous favourable attitudes towards Modern Standard and Libyan Arabic, the participants expressed less interest and enthusiasm towards non-Arab ethnic languages, Tamazight, Targia and Tubo (Figures 6.5, 6.6, 6.7). Those who downgraded non-Arab languages as (not important) claimed that those languages are dialects, spoken by minorities in specific areas and most Libyans cannot speak them. In fact, participants reported that those languages are not even spoken by Amazigh, Tuareg and Tubo speakers.

However, it can be observed that the older age groups evaluated these languages positively compared to the younger age groups. This probably reflects the older age groups' awareness of the saliency of the cultural heritage and linguistic diversity. The following reasons were given by respondents to justify their positive evaluation:

- The languages spoken in their heartlands;
- The languages that represent speakers' identity;
- The languages used in their intra-ethnic interaction;
- Reflect the cultural and linguistic diversity of Libya

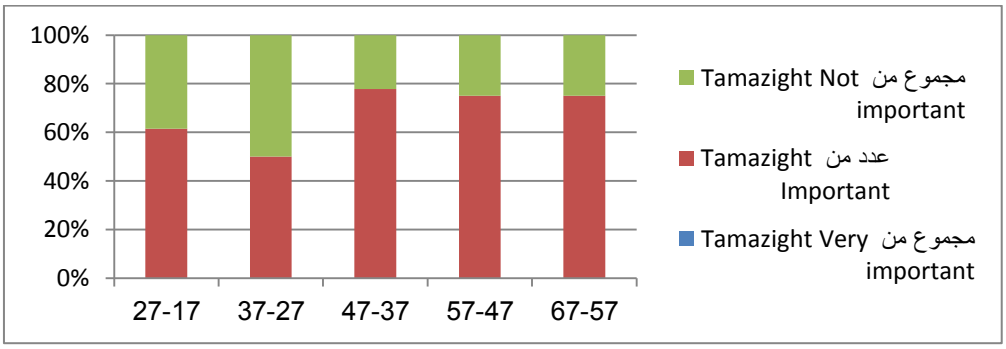

Figure 6.5: **How do you rate the importance of using the following languages in our daily life: Tamazight? By age groups**

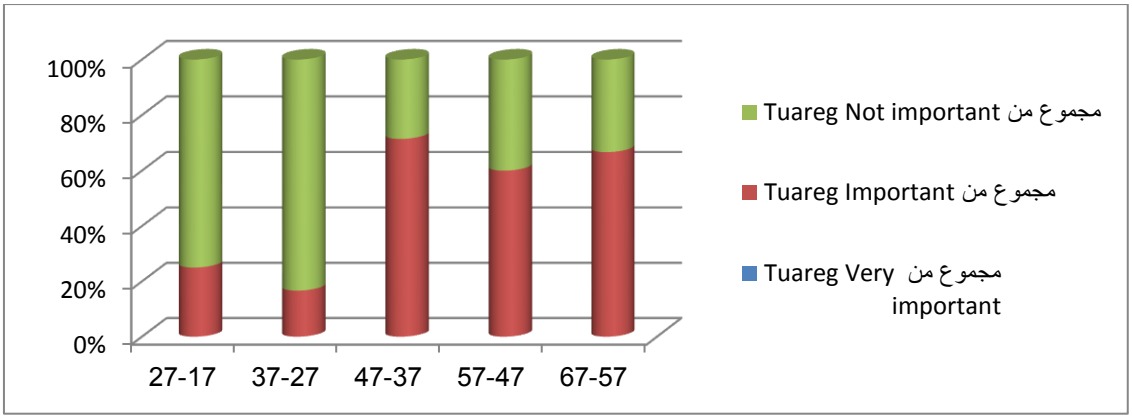

Figure 6.6: **How do you rate the importance of using the following languages in our daily life: Tuareg? By age groups**

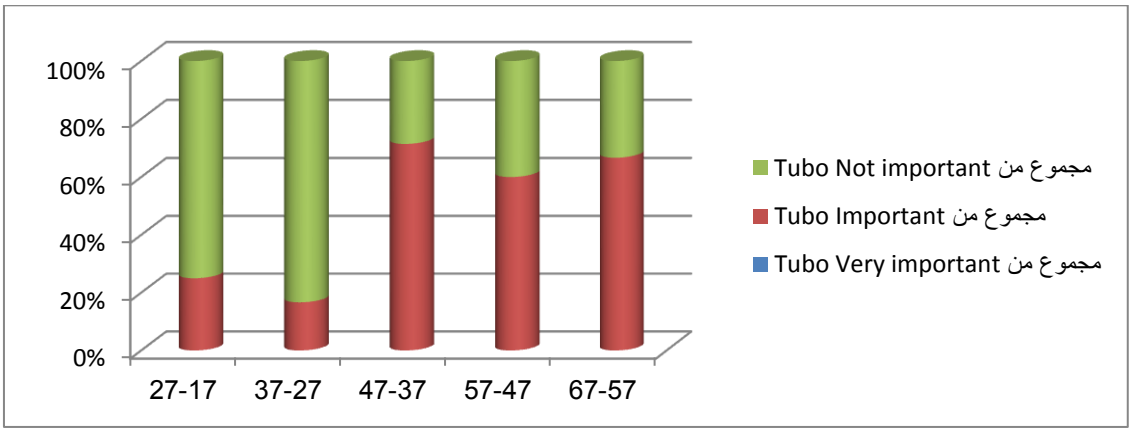

Figure 6.7: **How do you rate the importance of using the following languages in our daily life: Tubo? By age groups**

6.2.2 Attitudes towards the official recognition and teaching of non-Arab minority languages

All attempts to promote non-Arab ethnic minority languages to the status of official or even national languages were suppressed in the past in a country that recognized Arabic as the single official language. In fact, the existence of Amazigh people in Libya was completely denied and they were treated as being of Arab origin. After the 2011 uprising, Libya experienced political reforms, which resulted in the announcement of the 2011 Constitutional Declaration. Based on this declaration, the linguistic and cultural rights of the minority groups have been officially guaranteed.

Although the linguistic and cultural rights of this recognition have not been obtained in reality and interpreted in practical actions on the ground, such initial recognition has probably increased the awareness of the importance of the constitutional recognition of these languages.

In this vein, participants were asked (questions from 8 to 12) about the official recognition of Tamazight, Tuareg, and Tubo languages in the forthcoming constitution as well as teaching and using them in official and public institutions. It can be seen, as illustrated in Figure 6.8, that the majority of respondents expressed less preference (27%) to raise these languages to the official status. Informants emphasized that Arabic is the mother tongue of all citizens, the official language of the state and it is the language spoken by the majority. One of the informants comments:

"Some countries struggle to find a shared language, yet Libya has a shared language, Arabic, so why we divide the country!" (Ala, female, Age: 39).

The reason for the participants disinclination towards the official recognition of these languages is due to the influence of Arabic, the powerful language – the language of economy, politics, religion and the sole official language and the foremost symbol of the unity of this country, Libya.

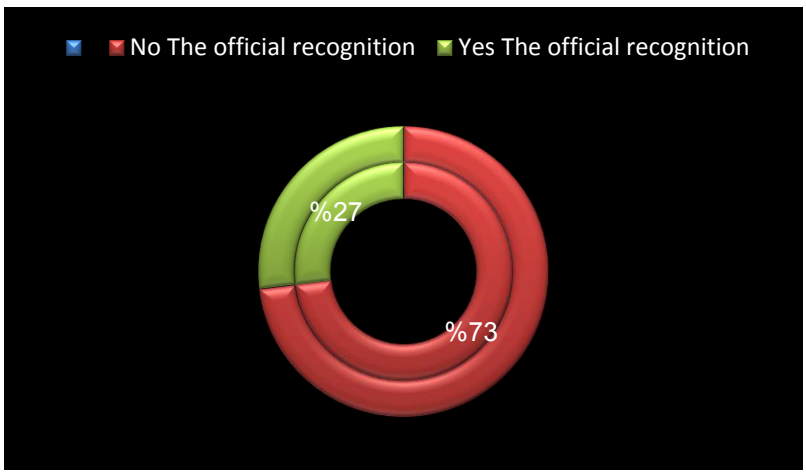

Figure 6.8: **Q Do you think that non-Arab ethnic minority languages should be officially recognized in the forthcoming constitution? Yes- No**

Following up on that connection, participants were asked about the linguistic and administrative difficulties Tamazight, Targia and Tubo may encounter, and the results showed that a low proportion of the participants believe that these languages can be promoted to official status without encountering linguistic and administrative difficulties (See Figure 6.9). These languages are passed on as dialects with no written grammatical rules or dictionaries and not codified or standardised. Such pitfalls flag crucial questions and issues concerning language intervention, the management or language policy. For instance, how many languages or varieties of Amazigh languages should be officially recognized? Which is the one to be implemented at the administrative level and in governmental affairs? Which is the one to be proceeded within schools? Then, should these languages be taught at primary, secondary or university level or at which level? In other words, planners have to consider the function of language "status planning" as well as "corpus planning" when designating these languages as being official languages (Spolsky, 2004, p. 6).

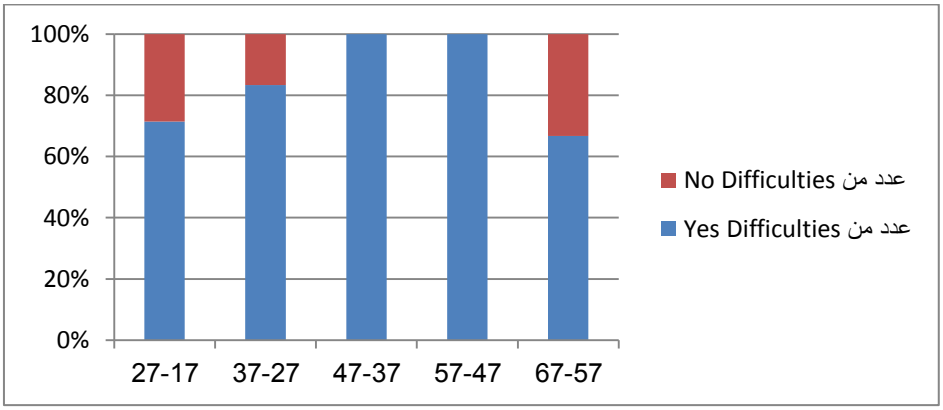

Figure 6.9**: Q Do you think that the official recognition of non-Arab ethnic minority languages in the forthcoming constitution may encounter linguistic or administrative difficulties?**

The negative attitude towards the official recognition seem to be congruent with answers to the question, "*Do you think that speakers of non-Arab ethnic minority languages have the right to use their languages in courts and official institutions?*". Only 21% of the respondents expressed favourable attitudes towards using non-Arab ethnic minority languages in public and official domains, Figure 6.10. A similar pattern can be observed when informants divided into age groups, Figure 6.11.

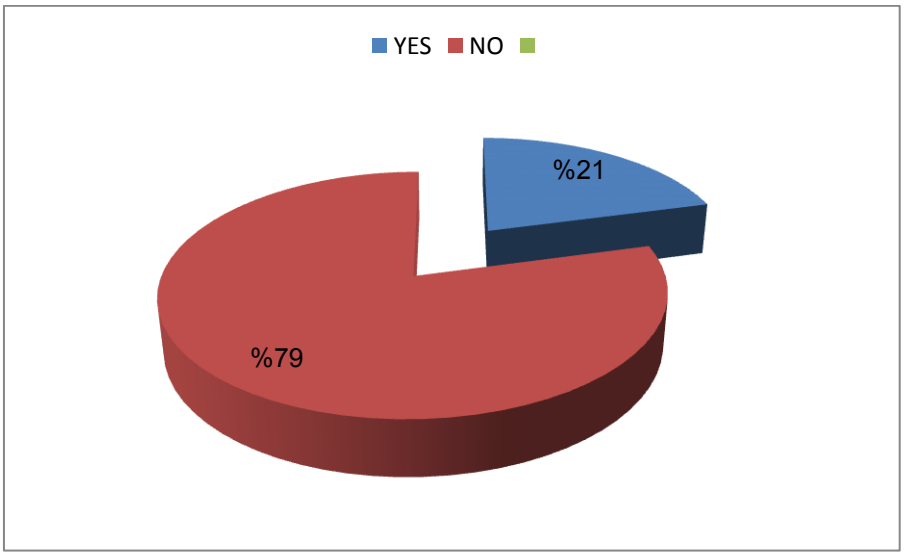

***Figure 6.10*: Q Do you think that speakers of non-Arab ethnic minority languages have the right to use their languages in courts and official institutions?**

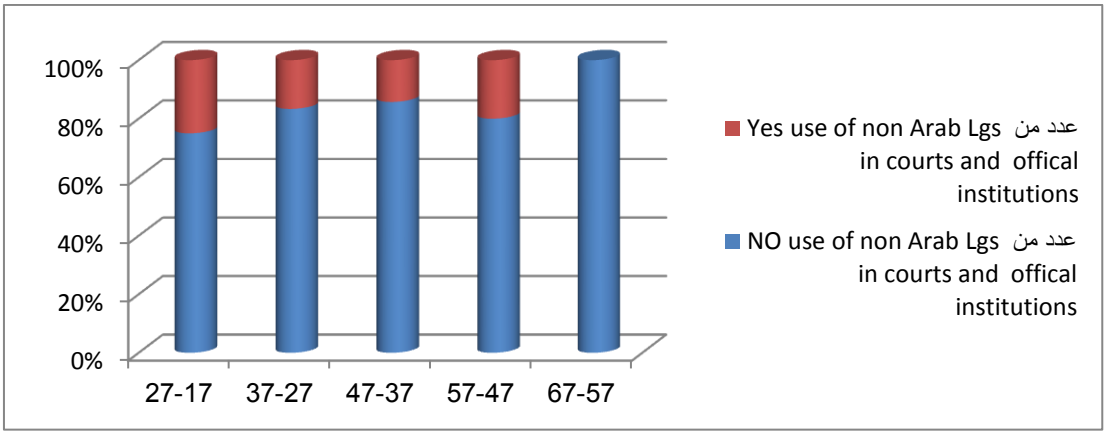

***Figure 6.11*: Q Do you think that speakers of non-Arab ethnic minority languages have the right to use their languages in courts and official institutions? By age groups**

Having said that, however, a considerable proportion of the informants (62%) claimed that these languages can be taught in the speakers' heartlands though such promotion would encounter some hindrances (Figure. 6.12). Lambert (1999, p. 14) points to the complexity of language policy in mosaic societies with "low level of development". He states that the lack of a standardised and written language and the shortage of teaching materials, trained teachers and written literature complicate the process of language policy. In this vein, Tamazight spoken in Libya, Tubo, and Targia are undeveloped languages though they have their own script (Tifinagh). They lack adequate written literature, qualified teachers, and a developed curriculum. This may also reflect a belief that the school is the domain that is only reserved to Arabic, the legitimate language.

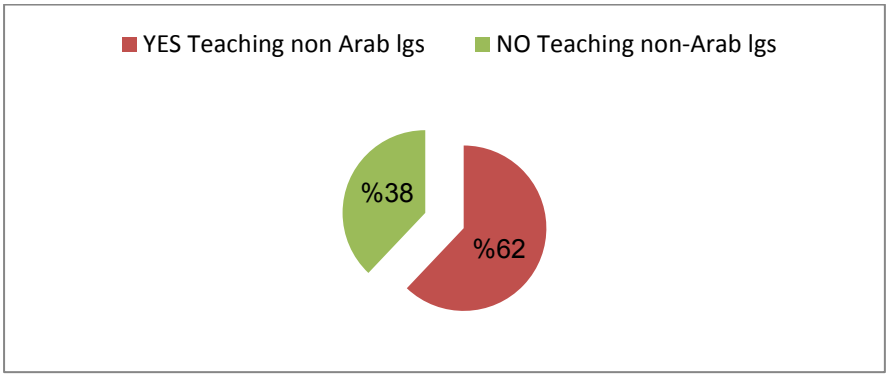

Figure 6.12: **Q Do you think that non-Arab ethnic minority languages should be taught in their speakers' heart lands?**

The unfavourable attitudes Libyan Arabs have towards the official recognition of non-Arab ethnic languages and their implementation in public domains reflect a linguistic hierarchical relationship with the presence of the most widely spoken language in the country, Libyan Arabic or even Modern Standard Arabic, the medium

of instruction at schools and administrative language. These beliefs also mirror the challenges Tamazight, Targia and Tubo may confront in the case of raising them to that of official status in a developing country.

Questions 13 to 14 were devoted to eliciting Libyan Arab attitudes towards the establishment and the institutional support of non-Arab TV and radio channels. It seems, as shown in Figure 6.13, that our participants expressed their interest and enthusiasm (92%) towards Amazigh, Tuareg and Tubo's linguistic rights and using their native languages in media. A quick looking at Figure 6.14 reveals that a significant proportion of the respondents showed more inclination towards the governmental support for the establishment of non-Arab ethnic minority TV and radio channels. Participants claimed that establishing TV channels is a constitutional right and of capital importance to maintain their heritage language.

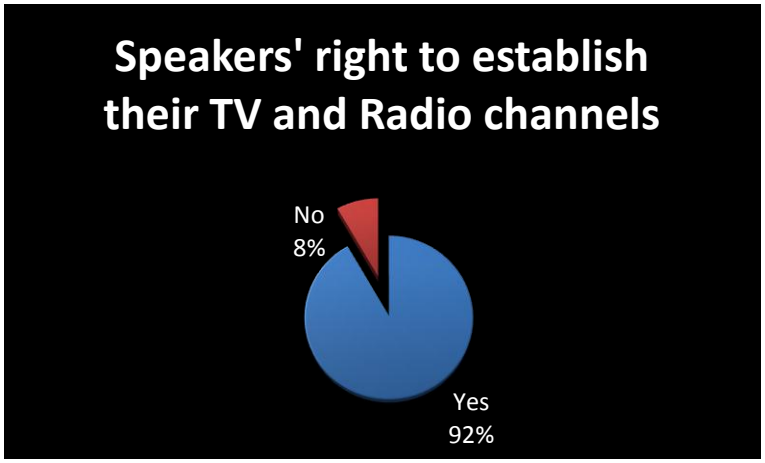

Figure 6.13: ***Q*** **Do you think that speakers of Non-Arab ethnic minority languages have the right to establish their TV and radio channels?**

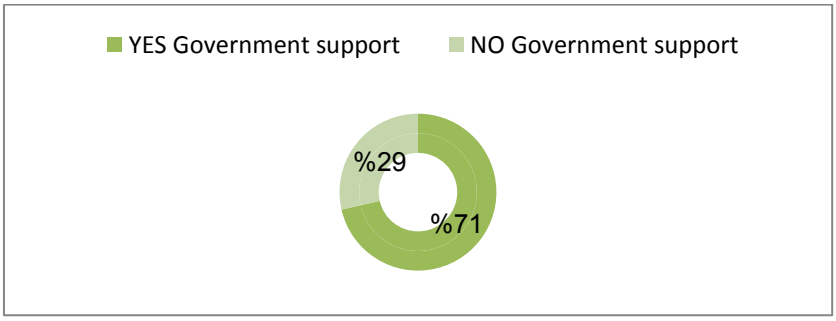

Figure 6.14: **Q: Do you think that the Libyan government should contribute the establishment of TV and radio channels of non-Arab ethnic languages?**

7. Conclusion and recommendations

One can conclude that in general, Libyan Arabs expressed their enthusiasm towards preserving and teaching non-Arab ethnic minority languages in their heartlands. However, these positive attitudes might be relegated when compared to the

dominant and official language, Arabic. The data also revealed that Arabic should be prioritized as the sole official language in the country. It is a diglossic situation in which Arabic has the upper hand and enjoys a higher status as the language of administration, education and religion, as well as the authoritative, legitimate and correct language, while non-Arab ethnic languages are downgraded to the status of non-legitimate and problem language. This study revealed that these beliefs mirror the hierarchical linguistic relationship between non-Arab ethnic minority languages as stigmatized languages, particularly when assessed against Arabic and Arabic as the most powerful and prestigious language. Indeed, these attitudes echo the "ideology of contempt" and the "belief in a linguistic survival of the fittest" which reflect the inherited superiority of the predominant, standardised and most expressive language (Dorian, 1998, p. 10, 12), Arabic and the inferiority of the non-codified and unprivileged language.

Gender differences are important to be investigated, but in this study, this social variable turned to be insignificant. Although the current study is a short scale study, it does uncover Libyan Arab attitudes towards non-Arab ethnic minority languages in Libya. Further studies on these minorities, which were under political and cultural repressions, are strongly recommended to examine their linguistic situation.

Expanding the study to include attitudes and ideologies of Libyan Arab citizens inhabiting other cities is also recommended. Qualitative methods, interviews, and statistical analysis would be employed in the incoming studies.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A:

An invitation letter

You are invited to take part in a study examining Libyan Arab attitudes towards non-Arab ethnic minority languages. All personal information given will be confidential. Names of the participants will be known only by the researchers and remain anonymous otherwise. Your participation and corporation is really appreciated

to achieve the aim of this study. Please feel free to ask whatever question you have before filling in the questionnaire.

Researcher: Salah Adam
Email: salahadam2013@yahoo.com

Research assistance: Khawla

Appendix B:

Participants' consent forms Please tick the appropriate:

- I have read and understood the information given about the project.

Yes/No

- I have been given the opportunity to discuss about the project and my involvement in it.

Yes/No

- I agree to participate in this research.

Yes/No

- I understand that my participation is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time

and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part in. Yes/No

Participant's Full name**:……..**
Signature:……
Participant's contact details:……

Appendix C:

Questinnaires

Demographic information

1-Gender: Male – Female

2-Age

17-27 , 27-37- , 37-47 , 47-57 , 57-67

3-What is your educational level:

Primary – Preparatory – Secondary – University – Higher studies Other.....
.

4-Occupation:
……..

5-What are other ethnicities that speak languages different from Arabic in Libya?
.....
..

Attitudes

6-Do you think that it is vital to preserve the cultural and linguistic diversity in Libya? Yes - No
Why:

7-How would you rate the following languages that are spoken in Libya:

Modern Standard Arabic (*fusʿħa*): Very important- important- not important.
Why……

Libyan Arabic (darja): Very important- important- not important.
Why:……

Tamazight: Very important- important- not important.
Why:……

Targia: Very important- important- not important.
Why:…….

Tubo: Very important- important- not important.
Why:…….

8- Do you think that non-Arab ethnic minority languages should be officially recognized in the forthcoming constitution??
Yes – No
Why:……

9- Do you think the official recognition of non-Arab ethnic minority languages in the forthcoming constitution may encounter linguistic or administrative difficulties?
Yes – No –
Why:……

10-Do you think that non-Arab ethnic minority languages should be taught in public and private schools in the areas where these languages spoken?

Yes- No
Why:…….

11 -Do you think that speakers of the non-Arab ethnic minority languages have the right to use their languages in courts and official institutions?
Yes – No
Why:……...

12-Do you think that non-Arab ethnic minority languages should be used in the public domains, streets' signs, media, advertisements, air and land ports all over the country?
Yes – No
Why:…….

13-Do you think that speakers of the non-Arab ethnic minority languages have the right to establish their own TV and radio channels?
Yes – No
Why:……

14-Do you think that the Libyan government should support the establishment of non-Arab language TV and radio channels?
Yes – No
Why:…….

15-Would you like to add any comments?
Comments.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....