A sociolinguistic investigation of language shift among Libyan Tuareg:

The case of Ghat and Barkat

Salah Adam

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in linguistics

Department of Language and Linguistics

University of Essex

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Peter Patrick for his invaluable advice, guidance, insightful comments and unlimited support from the first day I decided to work with him. Peter has been a great friend and supported me, not only academically but also throughout the difficult times and during moments of frustration and stress.

My sincere thanks, respect and appreciations also go to Prof. Enam Al-Wer for her valuable support and informative comments. Her generous comments and feedback on my work in the Arabic Research Group have been extremely helpful and intellectually stimulating.

I also would like to thank my supervisory board; Dr. Vineeta Chand and Uri Horesh for their support. I am also grateful to Prof. Phil Scholfield for his statistical advice, useful suggestions, and being patient to answer my statistical endless questions.

I must thank my parents, wife and children for their prayers, hearty support, encouragements and being patient throughout the time of my research.

I would also like to express my especial thanks to all Libyan Tuareg people, namely, Barkat and Ghatian people who participated in this study and have been very kind to me and treated me as a member of the community. I am especially thankful to my friend, Mohammed, for his hospitality and generosity and the time he spent with me during my fieldwork.

Finally, I would like to express my special thanks to all members of the Arabic Research Group for their valuable feedback on my work and help during my Ph.D journey.

ABSTRACT

This study explores a shift situation among Libyan Tuareg in the southwestern region of Libya. They are shifting from Targia (Tamaheq), an indigenous minority language, to Arabic, the predominant language in the country. The two communities under investigation are Ghat, ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous and Barkat, ethnically and linguistically homogeneous. The investigation focuses on Targia's use and transmission across generations as well as domains of language use.

A combination of quantitative and ethnographic methods was employed to collect data from 221 participants (114 from Brakat and 107 from Ghat), including 44 semi-structured interviews (23 in Ghat and 21 in Barkat). The linguistic vitality of Targia is analysed through a synergistic application of theoretical approaches such as Sasse's Gaelic-Arvanitika-Model (1992) and Batibo's "process based-perspective" (2005). Analysis reveals that the use of Targia has declined across age groups and in most domains of language use though Targia still has a symbolic value. External factors – political, cultural and socioeconomic – proved to be influential determinants in the process of shifting towards Arabic. These external forces resulted in the construction of negative attitudes and ideologies towards Targia ("lexical impoverishment, incorrect, not a codified language", etc.), particularly when assessed against Arabic, the allegedly superior language. Such beliefs, in turn, affected language practices of the Tuareg and led to disruption in intergenerational transmission.

The quantitative analysis shows that among the social variables considered in this study, age is the most marked and influential variable on language use, followed by community and the interactive effect of those two. In spite of Tuareg claiming positive attitudes to Targia, including its promotion, development, and teaching it to their children, the study suggests that these positive attitudes and the use of Targia have become progressively disconnected over the generations. The qualitative analysis reveals that the influence of Arabic is not only

confined to the functional level but also expanded to the symbolic one in a way that has promoted the Tuaregs' Libyan nationalism. The qualitative analysis indicates that Tuareg identity is multiple and hierarchical in the sense that Libyan nationalism is situated at the top, followed by the tribal and regional associations. Religion is also proved to be an effectual social factor in Tuareg linguistic behaviour and identity, either through Tuareg's perception of and attachment to Arabic as a divine language, or through the political exploitation of religion by the state to impose its Arabic-only policy and the Arab identity.

Key words: Libyan Tuareg; Targia; language shift; transmission; language policy; Libyan Arabic; Modern Standard Arabic; identity; language attitudes; language ideologies.

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

....

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The scope of the study

The current study examines a case of language shift among Libyan Tuareg communities in the towns of Ghat and Barkat, currently and gradually shifting away from their native language, Targia (Tuareg language) towards Arabic, the prevalent (and official) language in the country. The first Arabic school was founded in 1963, 12 years after Libya was established as an independent state. Both communities are in the southwestern part of Libya and they are sedentary and urbanized, though Ghat is a larger, more urbanized and heterogeneous town. Historically, Ghat and Barkat were agricultural and socially stratified communities, yet since the mid of the 20th century, they have become egalitarian.

The data was collected by mixed methodologies: qualitative (interviews supplemented with observations) and quantitative (questionnaire) approaches. Due to the lack of an in-depth study of the linguistic behaviour among Libyan Tuareg, this study employs the apparent-time model to examine patterns of language use across three generations of the two communities.

1.1.1 Aims of the study

The primary aim is to investigate the linguistic status and vitality of Targia in terms of maintenance and shift in southwestern Libya, particularly in the presence of the predominant, Libyan Arabic (LA) and the official, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) languages in the country. Answering this question requires us to firstly, examine the language use and choice patterns among Libyan Tuareg. Investigating intragroup language choice is of vital importance to understand and interpret the process of language maintenance and shift (Fase et al, 1992). Tuareg are indigenous people who live in the southwestern region of Libya. They are considered to be a branch of

Amazigh, the widely spread tribe in North Africa. Tuareg language, also known as Targia or Tamaheq, is their native or heritage language. This is in addition to the widely spoken language in the country, Libyan Arabic. The focus of this study is on two Tuareg communities; Ghat and Barkat. Ghat is more urbanized and represents the administrative centre of the area. It is ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous, composed of majority Tuareg and Arab, Hausa and other African ethnic minorities. In contrast to Ghat, Barkat is a homogeneous community as the vast majority of the individuals are of Tuareg ethnic background.

Secondly, historically speaking, Libya has witnessed dramatic political and socioeconomic changes since independence in 1951, with the discovery of oil and gas during the 1950s, the military coup in 1969 and the 2011 uprising. Special attention has been given to these factors since speech behaviour is strongly influenced by them. The study analyses the interrelations between the linguistic behaviour of Tuareg and these socio-political, cultural, and economic changes which are believed to have triggered the shift from Targia to Libyan Arabic. Analysis includes the effects of these driving forces on intergenerational transmission and explores whether passing Targia on to the younger generation has been disrupted. It also examines the influence of these forces on Tuareg linguistic behaviours in respect of domains of language use and whether there is a reduction in these.

Thirdly, the thesis examines the ideologies and attitudes Tuareg hold towards Targia and Arabic and whether changes in ideologies and beliefs influence their linguistic behaviour. Positive or negative perception of a certain language is often associated with its utilitarian and symbolic value (Batibo, 2005, p. 108). Related to this, the study looks into the role of language in demarcating Tuareg identity and whether speaking Targia constitutes a primary ingredient of their ethnic identity.

On the whole, the focus is on the sociolinguistic level from which shift often initiates, particularly when intergenerational transmission is disrupted and domains of language use are reduced (Batibo, 2005, p. 89). This study will not investigate the structural consequences or changes in linguistic structure (phonological, morphological, syntactical or lexical) that may affect Targia. Such changes are often induced by shift at the sociolinguistic level, according to Sasse's Gaelic-Arvanitika "GAM" model (Sasse, 1992). This is due to the lack of codification of Targia, limited time for study, and the author's lack of linguistic competence in Targia. Exploring changes in linguistic structure is recommended for future studies. Similarly, the study will not examine the processes of codeswitching, mixing or borrowing, but it is also advised for future studies.

Tuareg speakers of Awbari[i] were not included in this study due to the military conflict that erupted during the time of fieldwork.

The above questions will be answered in light of a combination of various theoretical approaches and models examining the ethnolinguistic vitality of Targia (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977), including causes and effects of shifting towards Arabic as well as phases through which Tuareg have abandoned their heritage language in favour of Arabic (Batibo, 2005; Sasse, 1992).

1.1.2 Filling the gaps and the significance of the study

Sociolinguistic studies and publications concerning the status of Berber languages and their maintenance and shift in the Arab or Greater Maghreb have focused on particular countries, mainly Morocco and Algeria (e.g., Benrabah, 2013; Bentahila & Davies, 1992; Boukous, 1995, 1997, 2011; Chaker, 1995, 1997; El Aissati, 2001; El

---

[i] Awbari is a Targia speaking oasis town located about 300kms north east of Ghat.

Kirat, 2004). Few linguists have turned their attention to the linguistic situation of the minority languages spoken in Libya such as Berber (Tamazight speakers), Tebou and Tuareg. Compared to the studies of Berber in Algeria and Morocco and to some extent, Tuareg in neighbouring countries, the linguistic situation of Libyan Tuareg is vague and suffers from a striking lack of linguistic research. Indeed, Tuareg need to be investigated from the perspective of different disciplines. Benkato and Pereira (2016) mention that "Tuareg in Libya is scarcely documented and the only published accounts are over a hundred years old" (p. 165). In fact, Santos (2003, p. 2) states that "the status of the Tuareg there (the economic status of Libyan Tuareg) cannot be adequately discussed, as scholarly writings are lacking greatly to the point of non-existence". In his survey on African languages and classifications of the endangered and highly endangered languages, Batibo (2005) did not refer to the status of Tuareg in Libya, yet he pointed to Tamasheq and Tamagq, Tuareg languages spoken in Mali and Niger respectively.

The shortage of published linguistic studies in Libya seems to be essentially related to the restriction on research concerning minorities which is a consequence of political, cultural and linguistic suppression exercised by the previous regime, not only on Tuareg but also on all non-Arab ethnic minorities in the country in an attempt to arabize them and forge the preferred identity under which all ethnicities can be defined, that is the slogan of "one language, one nation".

Combing the literature to find a published study exploring the linguistic vitality of Tuareg language in Libya was a hard task and unfortunately, only very few linguistic studies were conducted in the late 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. For instance, as mentioned in Benkato and Pereira (2016), Krause (1884) and Nehlil (1909) were the only published linguistic studies that explored the dialect of Ghat.

Other anthropological studies such as (Dupree, 1958) investigated, in general, non-Arab ethnic minorities such as Tuareg, Tebou, Cretans, Berbers and Negroes. Kohl's socio-anthropological studies (2010, 2013, 2014) investigate the transitional mobility of Tuareg, namely, Ishumar, a community settled across the Libyan-Nigerian border, yet her research paid scant attention to Tuareg of Ghat and Barkat. Similarly, Libyan Berber language (Tamazight) has not received much attention either and in fact, most Berber linguistic studies were conducted during the mid-20th century (Cline, 1953; Lanfry, 1972, 1973; Serra, 1968). A few recent structural studies have been conducted on Libyan Berber (Abdulaziz, 2013; Asker & Martin, 2013; Gussenhoven, 2015; Michell, 2009).

This study intends to fill a part of the huge gap of Tuareg linguistic literature by conducting a sociolinguistic study to investigate the current linguistic status of Tuareg (Targia), an indigenous language spoken in Ghat and Barkat; neighbouring towns located in the south western part of Libya. Targia[ii] is the Tuareg native language but it is gradually being displaced by Arabic. It seems that Targia is being steadily replaced by Standard Arabic, the official language in the country, the language of administration, official and public institutions, and Libyan Arabic, the widely spoken language in the country and language of inter-ethnic communication. Indeed, Libyan Arabic has progressively encroached on intra-ethnic communications in primary domains formerly reserved to Targia.

It is of vital importance that Libya has undergone dramatic political, socioeconomic and cultural changes since its independence in 1951. Furthermore, the country is currently experiencing political, cultural and linguistic reforms in an attempt "to eradicate all forms of marginalization and violence" that have affected the minority

---

[ii] The term "Targia" is often used by local people to refer to their native language (Tuareg language). It is also called Tamaheq in the literature.

groups, mainly Berbers, Tebou and Tuareg (St John, 2014, p. 275). These underprivileged ethnic minorities have partly gained not only their cultural and linguistic but also political rights since these were officially recognized in the Constitutional Declaration of 2011. This unprecedented recognition gave new breath and strength to these groups in their struggle to attain their rights through the establishment of cultural and linguistic associations which concern the Tuareg and Berber cultural legacy. Accordingly, this study will help assess institutional support and whether the subordinate minorities have taken advantage of this constitutional promotion.

At the linguistic level, for instance, such official recognition appears to benefit certain minority languages such as Berber in the Nefusa Mountains, particularly in Jadu where a program to teach Berber as a subject in primary schools has been launched, though this step was based on local people's efforts and lacks governmental support. In reverse, Tuareg seem to be linguistically many steps behind, since no efforts have been made to teach Targia either with or without institutional support. In this respect, this research aims to raise speaking Targia among Libyan Tuareg as an important issue in their social life and increase their awareness of the importance of not only maintaining their native language but also the threats of its being lost. In the long run, increasing the vitality of Targia will be positively reflected in promoting its position on the linguistic hierarchical structure of the languages spoken in the area and in turn, introducing Tuareg as a more powerful group.

Broadly speaking, it is also of particular importance that this study endeavours to contribute to the understanding of the theory of language maintenance and language shift as shift may constitute a preceding stage of language death. This includes exploring the driving forces which have caused the shift and may partly have

similarities with factors that often trigger the shift in other rural African countries. It also implies causes that have led to Targia being maintained for such a long time. Fasold (1984, p. 217) points out that it could be the case that a certain community retains its language in the presence of certain impetus while another community fails to maintain its language and shifts to an incoming language in spite of the existence of the same elements and causes to the first community.

In particular, the present thesis briefly compares, where possible, the status of Libyan Tuareg with their co-ethnics in the Arab neighbouring countries, in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, in order to develop a general understanding of the process of language maintenance and shift in the Arab Maghreb and eventually support any attempts and efforts to revive and maintain those unprivileged languages.

Last but not least, this study hopes to inspire and encourage linguists in general and sociolinguists in particular to investigate the linguistic situation of the numerically minor languages as Libya seems to be a mature area for such studies.

1.2 The process of language maintenance and language shift

Sasse (1992, p. 7) mentions that half of the world's languages have died over the past 500 years. The Foundation of Endangered Languages has estimated that out of 6,500 living languages only languages 1 to 11 are used as mother tongues by 70% of the world's population. Over 50% of the remaining languages are considered endangered. Based on Crystal's (2003) and Krauss' (1992, p. 7) predictions, 650 out of 6,528 languages would be safe from death and disappearance by the turn of the 21st century. That is to say, from around 2,193 languages (30% of the world languages) spoken in Africa, 200 languages are expected to remain alive and this figure represents less than 10% of the current number of spoken languages. In other words, a small

number of the predominant languages would prevail over other languages (Batibo, 2005). Based on his survey of African languages, Batibo found that about 301 languages (14%) are extremely endangered while 8.3% of them are lost or nearly lost. Additionally, these languages lack adequate sociolinguistic information and they are subject to intensive pressures exercised by the predominant and national languages which may in turn accelerate the speed of language shift for the 1,623 remaining safe or less endangered languages by the turn of the 22nd century. Sasse (1992, p. 7) also points to around 200 languages spoken in Africa as endangered.

The spread of a few dominant languages such as English and French has led to a decrease in the use and death of many smaller minority languages (Romaine, 1989, p. 39). For instance, the dramatically increased use of English in Australia has led to a decline in the usage of minority languages, including aboriginal languages (Romaine, p. 38) with about 90% assessed as moribund (Crystal, 2003, p. 87). Colonization, the establishment of national states, urbanization, transportation development, and the media have caused the death of minority languages (Sasse, 1992). 64.3% of African countries are classified as having at least one predominant or ex-colonial language that functions as a lingua franca and often put pressure on speakers of minority languages to acquire it (Batibo, 2005, p. 24).

The loss of a language means a loss of a culture, and imposing a homogenized language and culture. The link to the speakers' history, ancestory and culture is guarded through their language (Janes, 2003; UNESCO, 2003). Ideas and views are expressed differently via languages and thus, the loss of a language is a loss of knowledge. Newman (2003, p. 2) states that knowledge of language diversity is the only way through which the understanding of the classification of languages, their structure and grammar can be attained.

A simple definition of language shift is when a community drifts away from using its first language in favour of another language(s) (Fasold, 1984, p. 213). Thus, when the dominated language disappears, it "does not merely vanish leaving a linguistic vacuum", but gives way to another language with which it is in contact (inter-ethnic communication) (Fase et al, 1992, p. 3). This definition implies that a language contact situation is often a core of language shift, particularly when the dominated group communicates with the dominant group through a dominant language. Haugen (1972, p. 334 as cited in Tandefelt, 1992, p. 150) determines three stages of individual language loss, starting from being monolingual then, becoming bilingual and ending up in a new type of monolingualism. Tandefelt (1992, p. 149) states that language shift can take different shapes as, for example, from a dialect to a standard language or from a minority to a majority language and probably in the long run, from a national to an international language.

Language shift can also be defined as a status in which language "X" is "partially or completely" replaced by language "S"; the former loses functions in one or more fields of use in favour of the latter language (Pandharipande, 1992, p. 253). That is the ongoing shift as opposed to the total shift.

Another concept associated with analysing language shift, in addition to language function, is the level of competence since the decline in language proficiency embodies a gradual cessation of its utilization as the first language which may eventually end up with language death (Brenzinger & Dimmendaal, 1992; Tandefelt, 1992, 151). Either speakers' relinquishment of their native language in favour of the more powerful languages "willingly or under pressure" (p. 87), or the weak resistance to this empowered language due to its socio-economic and political factors, would result in language shift (Batibo, 2005, p. 63). Therefore, the "pressure-resistance relationship"

surfaces as a consequence of the contact between a language, socio-economically and politically weak, with another language that enjoys a higher political and socio-economic status.

Accordingly, a language is in danger if its resistance is weaker than the majority language pressures, while the minority language is not endangered when it has greater resistance than the pressures exercised by the predominant language. The strong resistance of the weaker language can be pertinent, for instance, to religious affiliation, as is the case with Egyptian Coptic though Coptic has been shifted, or to a high degree of self-identification. A language can be perceptibly evaluated as endangered or threatened in the presence of three signs.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the first indicator, according to Batibo (2005, pp. 62-65), is individuals' attitudes towards their native language, since holding negative attitudes correlated with social, political and economic variables can affect intergenerational transmission as well as language teaching, and make the speakers less loyal to their native language. The second locator is the degree of bilingualism, particularly when the predominant language is used not only in inter-ethnic communication but also in "primary" domains reserved in advance to the minority language: the shrinkage in domains of language use. Parents' lack of concern regarding the transmission of their native language to their children in favour of the prevalent language implies a decline in the children's level of proficiency in their heritage language, and reduction in its use on a regular basis, particularly among the younger generation, and this in turn would eventually lead to a decrease in the number of its speakers. The third sign can be seen in the erosion and simplification of the linguistic structure and reduction in lexicon: to a degree language use in interaction becomes less effective and functional.

Batibo (2005, 62) states that endangered languages can be defined on a "continuum, or sliding scale" with two distinct ends where a "safe" language is located at the beginning of the scale and a "dying" language is positioned at the other extreme. In this respect, a minority language may not be only characterized by the small number of its speakers but also by its lack of a strong official status and functional load in public and official institutions (Pandharipande, 2002, p. 227; Romaine, 2013 p. 54), that is the "vertical" description (Batibo, 2005). Although it is spoken by the majority of Namibians, Rukwangali is still considered a minority language due to its socio-economic low status. English, on the other hand, is not treated as a minority language in spite of the fact that it is only spoken by 3% of the population. Such powerful status is due to its strong socio-economic existence in public and official institutions (Batibo, p. 2005). Fase et al (1992) maintain that it is political and economic changes that transfer a group to the status of a minority and push it to full integration with the dominant group.

Horizontally, the minority language is characterized by its weakness or "non-dominant position" compared with other languages in the state or region. The minority language's lack of economic, political advancements, its lack of codification, grammars, dictionaries and prestige are often reflected in the speakers' negative attitudes and ideologies towards it which may in turn cause disruption in intergenerational transmission and end up in language shift and ultimately death (Batibo, 2005, pp. 51-54).

Therefore, language death results from gradual language shift (not counting death through genocide), and the last stage takes place when the entire community abandons its native language and clings to the incoming language at the expense of the old one (Brenzinger and Dimmendaal, 1992; Fasold, 1984) or as Crystal (2003, p. 1) frames it,

"a language dies when nobody speaks it any more". Dorian (1981) points out that the steady loss of a certain language within a certain community leads to language shift and consequently to language death. However, language extinction is not an inevitable outcome of language shift as the language in the shifting process can be preserved and therefore revitalized (Brenzinger and Dimmendaal, 1992).

Campbell and Muntzel (1989, pp.182-86) list four types of language death: abrupt, radical, gradual and bottom-to-top-death. The gradual death, which represents most cases, results from a gradual shift. A clear aspect of the slow death is a status of using "an intermediate" bilingualism in which the prevalent and powerful language is widely used by the speakers of the community and increasingly encroaches on domains reserved in the past for the less powerful language. Governed by factors such as age and attitudes, the level of the speakers' competence is perceptibly variable in the sense that the younger generation are able to master the new language at a high level of proficiency yet can barely speak the old language (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989, p. 185). While a language may suddenly die when its speakers are, for instance, killed, the radical death results from political suppression frequently accompanied by genocide. The bottom-to-top language death begins from the family as friendly domain and becomes associated with ritual practices.

Contrary to language revitalization, language shift or death takes place tacitly and "just happens to speakers, community or language" (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 13). In other words, a language may undergo a shift in spite of using it in a bilingual community (Gal, 1979). Thus, language shift frequently occurs in a "slow" and "cumulative" way (Fishman, 1991, p. 40) and affects speakers of the community in variable ways and this is why, according to Crystal (2003, p. 89), the status of the threatened language is realized too late.

In contrast, stable domains of use, as well as the level of competency, number and distribution of the speakers in a speech community, are of major importance and indicate language maintenance. Related to this matter is language revival which embodies the reconstruction and recuperation of language use and its linguistic features which have been "at least partially lost" (Hornberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 13).

The diversity and complexity of the factors which contribute to language maintenance, revitalization and shift make the prediction of these phenomena "elusive, if not impossible" (Horenberger & Coronel-Molina, 2004, p.13). However, taxonomies of variables and forces related to language shift have been suggested. For instance, language vitality has been proved to be influenced by cultural, educational, political, geographical, economic, religious, psychological, demographic variables as well as media (Dorian, p. 1989; Edwards, 1992; Giles et al., 1977). The imperfections of these factors in examining and perceiving the case of language shift led scholars such as Gal (1979, p. 3) to the adoption of a more expanded framework. Such a framework includes not only analysing the linguistic behaviour but also attitudes and ideologies and the linguistic capital of the language (Horenberger and Coronel-Molina, 2004, p. 14).

Investigating a case of maintenance or shift of a minority group should include, in addition to the causes that may trigger language shift, the catalyst factors or "rewards" through which the minority group remains bilingual or shifts to the predominant language (Tandefelt, 1992, p. 149).

1.3 Language maintenance and shift in the Greater Arab Maghreb

In general, the published studies that have explored the status of language maintenance and language shift in the Arab world, particularly in the Middle East, are

relatively small compared to studies examining the linguistic variation in Arabic vernaculars. This is due to a general belief that the Arab world is ethnically and linguistically homogeneous (Hassan, 2009).

Most language maintenance and shift monographs, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, have been recently conducted in North African countries, namely the Arab (Great) Maghreb, yet some countries, such as Tunisia and Libya, have not received the same attention from sociolinguists.

Having a look at the linguistic situation and language shift among Amazigh people in North Africa is of eminent importance as the process of language shift in the area is not isolated and the Arab Maghreb countries share similar historical and political events.

The linguistic situation in North African countries can be defined as bi/ multilingual as is the case with Algeria, Morocco, and Libya. It may also be described as a diglossic situation based on the expanded notion of diglossia (Fishman, 1967). It can also be characterized, as is often the case for most African countries, by the presence of ex-colonial languages; the languages that have effectively reserved their places as powerful languages in secondary domains through, for instance, the economic, social and educational systems. However, such a role has been restricted by the increased influence of, and fostering the role assigned to, the dominant language which has operated as a national language, Modern Standard Arabic; a language that has increasingly dominated not only demographically but also economically and politically (Batibo, 2005, p. 26; Brenzinger, 2007, p. 123). Thus, the use of ex-colonial languages, for example French, has been confined to higher education, technological science and international use.

In fact, the role played by the dominant language (Arabic) has expanded "downwards" and encroached upon primary domains - home, for instance, specified for the use of minority languages. This expansion, which is triggered by socio-economical, cultural and political factors, has led to the promotion and development of using the dominant language, Arabic in North Africa, to the level of being a lingua franca utilized in inter-ethnic communications. Furthermore, promoting Arabic to the status of the sole official language with full institutional support has been accompanied by the marginalization of minority languages, as with Berber and Tuareg in Northern African countries, to the extent that the functional distribution of the minority or unprivileged languages has been restricted to very limited fields.

Since the establishment of the Great Arab Maghreb states in the second half of the 20th century, Berbers have experienced political, cultural and linguistic oppression. The repressions exercised on non-Arab-ethnic minorities, particularly Berber, have perceptibly and intensively accelerated in the Arab Maghreb during the 1960s and 1970s, in countries such as Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, during the time of the spread of the great pan-Arab movement, which sparked from the eastern part of the Arab world, embracing Arabization policy and the motto of "one language, one nation". These policies targeted education and administration at the first level, but its implementation was different from one country to another, based on factors including the extent of the presence of Berbers and the French colonization's influence in these countries. From an early stage after independence, Tunisia adopted a bilingual educational policy where Arabic and French were taught in schools, yet recently more pressures have been exerted on teachers to utilize Standard Arabic in scientific subjects where French is often used even at the university level (Versteegh, 1997, p. 199). Compared with the Arab majority, Tunisian Berbers, Shilha, represent between 1% and

5% of the population concentrated in the southern region of the country and on Djerba Island. The Berber language was marginalized and lacked institutional support and just a few isolated Tunisian Berber communities still use it (Sayahi, 2014, p. 20). Other factors such as socio-cultural and economic, urbanization and a "rural exodus" have accelerated the shift towards Arabic (Gabsi, 2011, p. 137). In her study on the Ajam community in Kuwait, Hassan found that socioeconomic and political factors proved to play a major role in shifting from Eimi, Ajam's native language, to Kuwaiti Arabic (Hassan, 2009, p. 285).

Indeed, contrary to other Berber varieties spoken in neighbouring countries, the outright absence of using Shilha by Tunisian Berbers in their intra-ethnic communications and the shift towards Arabic has ended up in not only a reduction of Shilha[iii] speakers, particularly among the younger generation and the lack of monolingual speakers, but also in a clear erosion of its linguistic structure and relexification (Sayahi, 2014 p. 20).

As for Morocco, factors such as the percentage of Berbers in Morocco's population, the implementation of French in trade, higher education and international relationships and the tendency to correlate language issues with the political order are all of particular importance in demarcating linguistic situation (Versteegh, 1997, p. 199).

Moroccan Berbers are estimated at 40% of the country's population, representing the majority of Berbers in the Arab Maghreb countries (Ennaji, 1997; Sadiqi, p. 1997). Two types of Moroccan Berber speakers can be observed: monolingual and bilingual. Berber monolingual speakers are often found among elderly people, particularly women. Hoffman (2008) refers to the role women play in not only transmitting but also

---

[iii] The number of Tunisian Shilha speakers is estimated at 90,000 people (Sayahi, 2014).

maintaining Tashelhit[iv], a Berber variety spoken in the southern part of Morocco in the Anti-Atlas Mountains. The second type is bilingual speakers, who are speakers of both Berber and Arabic and are often found among more educated people.

The presence of French schools dates back to the colonization period though they were not available to the majority of Moroccans. As an effect of this colonization and due to economic and scientific purposes, teaching French in public schools has continued across the country even after the period of independence and is intensively employed in the educational system from the fifth grade up to university level, depending on the discipline. Indeed, many governmental departments still utilize French as a language of administration; this is in spite of the Arabized movement that has been launched in the country (Versteegh, 1997, p. 200).

Since its independence (1956), during the reign of Mohammed V, the monarchy was strongly associated with Islam and Arabic or as Versteegh (p. 199) frames it, the "unbreakable triad". Morocco has adopted the policy of Arabization to enucleate the traces French colonization though French is still an effective language in science and technology (Davies & Bentahila, 2013).

However, the stronger political and cultural resistances that have accompanied the Arabization policy made the re-emergence of Berber language from its shell inevitable, since it was used in the past in very limited primary domains such as the home. One of the results of this resistance is the promotion of Berber to official recognition and its treatment as a national language used in public space, in education. For instance, and according to the political and educational reforms introduced by the government in 1994 during the rule of King Hassan II and in 2001 during the reign of King Mohammed VI, Berber has been recognized in certain public and official institutions

---

[iv] There are three main Berber varieties spoken in Morocco; Tashelhit, Tamazight and Tarifit.

and media and permitted to be taught in primary schools in 2006. In fact, a program to teach Berber has been launched starting from the first three grades in primary schools (El Aissati, 2011).

In spite of these efforts to maintain Berber, a clear gradual shift can be observed among Moroccan Berbers, particularly the younger generation, as parents in urbanized areas have tended to give up transmitting Berber to their children in favour of Moroccan Arabic (Bentahila and Davies, 1992; Sayahi, 2014, p. 18). It seems that similar political, economic and cultural forces in the Arab Maghreb countries have caused the adoption of Arabic at the expense of Berber. In addition to the mentioned forces, Bentahila and Davies (1992) maintain that the negative attitudes Moroccan Berbers have towards their native language and its lack of prestige were potent and influential factors in favour of Moroccan Arabic.

The number of Algerian Berbers is estimated at eight million, which is 25% of the Algerian population. The Kabyle variety, the dialect spoken in the eastern part of Algeria, constitutes the majority of Algerian Berbers in the country, compared to the Chawia variety spoken around the Aures Mountains, and the Mzab dialect spoken in Ghardaya and Tuareg in the southern part of the country in Tamanrasset, Janet and Illizi. Earlier studies on Algerian Berber such as (Basset, 1929, 1952) and other studies conducted by French Berberist scholars by the turn of the 20th century had increased the awareness of Algerian Berbers regarding the importance of their heritage language. Such consciousness resulted in a documentation of Kabyle using Latin orthography (Chaker, 1997 as cited in Sayahi, 2014, p. 19). Indeed, teaching Berber was permitted during the French occupation but simultaneously there was a ban on the use of Classical Arabic in instruction and it was treated as a foreign language according to the 1936 French Act. French was the only official language and medium of instruction

(Versteegh, 1997, p. 200). This long period of French colonization (1830-1962) caused some hindrances to the implementation of Arabization policies after the independence such as the lack of Arabic teachers.

Since independence, the Algerian regime declared in its first constitution in 1963 that Arabic is the official language of the country, stressing the "Islamo-Arab" ideology as the primary ingredient to construct a unified national identity for all Algerians. In so doing, the government ignored the linguistic diversity in the country and presented Algeria as a monolingual country though there was a reference to French as a provisional language used beside Arabic (Benrabah, 2013, p. 54).

The strong wave of Arabization started after Boumediene's military coup where, for instance, the primary grade and other cycles of the educational system, administration, media, billboards, signs and advertisements in the street have been Arabized. Later on, the Arabization process included administrative sectors (Benrabah, 1997).

Ben Bella (the first president of Algeria after independence) prohibited the only Berber association of Algeria at that time (1962), the Chair of Berber Studies at Algiers University, a step Berbers considered, in addition to the establishment of the first Islamic Institute in Kabyle in 1964, as attempts to push Berber speakers to be linguistically assimilated with the Arab majority (Benrabah, 2013, p. 56).

It is believed that the Arabization policy in combination with other forces have negatively influenced the use of minority languages in Algeria, yet speakers of these languages have shown strong and explicit resistance to this policy via cultural uprisings to gain their linguistic rights. In fact, speakers of Kabyle engaged in strikes and clashes with police during the 1980s and 1990s.

As a consequence of their struggle, the High Committee Amazighity and the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture was established in 1995 to promote and support Berber

culture and teaching Tamazight (Benrabah, 2013, p. 69). The amendments of the 2002 constitution raised Berber to the national level; this was followed by the foundation of the National Centre for Berber Language Planning and the National Pedagogic and Linguistic Centre for the Teaching of Berber. Today, Berber has been implemented as a subject in the middle school curriculum in areas where Amazigh people are concentrated, with more efforts to teach it at the university level.

Despite authoritarian dictatorship Maghreb countries have undergone and the marginalization of the Berber language for decades, it seems that it is still alive and has "ethnolinguistic vitality" as Shaaban puts it (2007, 704).

Tuareg languages spoken in the Sahel countries, in Niger and Mali, seem to have a better linguistic status as their languages were raised to the national levels yet these groups have been involved in a military conflict against their central governments to gain their political rights (Maddy-Witzman, 2011).

In contrast to their co-ethnics in neighbouring countries, there was no overt resistance to the Arabization policy either by Berbers or Tuareg speakers, at least inside Libya, though some cultural Berber activists in the diaspora showed a little resistance to Qaddafi's regime. Further discussions on the linguistic and political situation of Libyan Berber are demonstrated in Chapter 2.

1.4 A brief review of some theoretical models

Several theoretical models and approaches such as Giles et al.'s framework (1977), GIDS (Fishman, 1991), Krauss's model (1997), and UNESCO (2003) have been proposed and applied to examine the ethnolinguistic vitality of minority and endangered languages. However, Sallabank (2011, p. 501) refers to the shortage of data obtained from the questions asked in these frameworks. Alternatively, she points

to the productivity of implementing "context-specific information on language attitudes and patterns of use" based on ethnographic research to clearly answer the questions in such frameworks.

Other models such as GAM (Sasse, 1992) and the "process based-perspective" (Batibo, 1997, 2005) have been employed to explain what trigger the process of language shift, why and how it occurs. In this chapter, we review some of the approaches and models applied in this study to measure the ethnolinguistic vitality of Libyan Tuareg and understand the process and causes of shifting towards Arabic.

Giles et al. (1977, p. 308) postulate a social psychological approach represented in three influential factors or "structural variables" to assess and chart the ethnolinguistic vitality of a given group, from very high to very low, and maintain that the vitality of this group functions as a "distinctive and active collective entity" in its intergroup relations. The first is the status factor which includes the economic, social, sociohistorical and language status. A group can have more vitality as long as it has economic control of its surrounding which in turn tends to give its language status. Another variable associated with economic status is social status which is about the extent of the respect a linguistic group grants itself. The history of an ethnolinguistic group may positively or negatively affect the vitality of the group. A bright history of a given group's ancestors to retain their presence, for instance, the struggle against colonization or repressions of different types a group encountered in the past, encourages the members of the group to maintain such instances as glorious symbols to preserve their linguistic identity and voice their solidarity. The absence of such esteemed history, on the other hand, would adversely influence the linguistic vitality of this group. The status of the language is an important variable in determining the group's vitality as the higher the status a language has, the prestige – for instance

English as international language or even Arabic as a regionally dominant language –
will afford the group more vitality to survive.

The distribution of the group is one of the demographic "group distributional
factors" which entails the national territory, the concentration of the ethnolinguistic
group and the ratio of the speakers of the ethnolinguistic group. As for the national
territory, historical events such as wars may lead to the establishment of new states in
which many of the ancestors' homelands of ethnolinguistic groups would have been
split. Such a situation often ends up with the redrawing of a new linguistic map of
these groups and the forging of new linguistic minorities, which consequently may lose
their linguistic vitality within the boundary of the new states. The percentage of the
speakers of a given ethnolinguistic group and its linguistic enclave are of vital
importance to its survival as a distinctive linguistic entity. Being concentrated in a
particular geographic location would create a typical environment for intragroup verbal
communications and thus establish and retain the sense of solidarity.

Other demographic factors such as birth rate, immigration and emigration and
mixed-marriage are included in this approach and are of capital importance; special
attention has been given to mixed marriage, as demonstrated in Chapter 2.

The language's institutional support, either informal or formal, seems to constitute
an influential element to secure the survival for ethnolinguistic minorities. The
informal institutional support is manifested in well-organized linguistic groups, which
can serve the desires, and interests of their members and more importantly exercise
more pressures on the predominant group to gain their political, cultural and linguistic
rights. As far as the formal level is concerned, the vitality of a linguistic minority is to
a great degree reliant on the level of its presence and recognition in public, official and
governmental institutions. Finally, Giles et al (1977) refer to the importance of the

group's self-assessment (speakers and non-speakers of a given language) and perception of their ethnic identity and the group's vitality, the subjectivity vitality. Although this framework was criticized for neglecting the influence of concepts such as ideology and identity (Williams, 1992; Atkinson, 2000 as cited in Sebba, 2011) and for being focused on the economic and institutional support and neglecting the social value of the language (Sallabank 2011, p. 500), we found that it can be applied to measure some aspects of Tuareg ethnolinguistic vitality.

In his answer to the question "why does language shift occur?" Fishman (1991) suggests three forces, physical/demographic, social and cultural dislocations. Physical and demographic dislocations refer to the transfer of the population and "voluntary or involuntary out-migration" where such phenomena may become historically continuous across the following generations (Fishman, 1991, p. 57). Such demographic dislocations as might be caused by natural disasters such as drought, flood, earthquakes or by human intervention as in the case of warfare and genocide which may consequently weaken the migrants demographically, economically and culturally, often end up with language dislocation and the disruption of intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue. The new environment, neighbourhood, work, school, create more chances for the newcomers to assimilate into the more powerful community. In other words, these physical and demographic dislocations are "translatable into cultural dislocation" (p. 58). Therefore, language shift takes place due to the contact between languages of "unequal power" (p. 59).

Social dislocation indicates the socially marginalized status of an ethnolinguistic minority group which results from its lack of control over the economic, educational and political institutions. Accordingly, the aim to have access to social mobility and economic advancement cannot be achieved until the peripheral ethnolinguistic group

takes a decision of assimilating into the more powerful group and under the "auspices of Y men and Y ish society" that is the dominant group (Fishman, 1991. p. 59). As a consequence, the mastery of the prevailing language becomes a prerequisite not only for the older generation but also particularly for their offspring.

Cultural dislocations point to political, cultural and linguistic oppression of ethnolinguistic minorities which may include arresting or even executing cultural and language activists and imposing bans on minority languages in public spaces. Fishman also refers to the fact that language shift which may result from cultural dislocation occurs even with the existence of democratic governments, where cultural rights of the ethnolinguistic minorities might be consciously or unconsciously repressed and violated. Such "cultural genocide" can be committed through the governments' "most central and most prized and admired social, economic and political processes" (pp. 62-63). Thus, reversing language shift in this situation becomes a difficult task.

Fishman associates modernization and democratization with more reliance on and participation in the same political parties, media, education and economy – "the greater general good". This in turn leads to more mixed-marriage, "de- or re-ethnification", more communications with the other culture, the predominant one which becomes "endemic and omnipresent" and more legitimized, and eventually, the ethnolinguistic minority may lose its legitimate existence as a distinctive identity (p. 63).

Sasse (1992, p. 9) states that two interrelated levels should be considered when investigating the process of language death, which often encompasses language shift: the socioeconomic and linguistic levels. Based on two early and detailed case studies, the East Sutherland Gaelic and Arvanitika languages, Sasse suggests the GAM, Gaelic-Arvanitika-Model to examine the process of language shift and death. He points out that the process of language death experiences three phenomena: the first is referred to

as "ES" or External Setting, which indicates external linguistic factors such as the socioeconomic, cultural and political. These forces are of great importance as they represent a source of different types of pressure (economic, social, political etc.) and are considered as the trigger of language shift and eventually death. In other words, this level gives an historical analysis of the external forces. Speech Behaviour (SB), motivated by social factors, constitutes the second type of data and is concerned with language use patterns, in bi-multilingual settings, domains of language use, attitudes towards language use and issues related to language, ethnicity and identity. That is the sociolinguistic level. Here, it is crucial to state that this phenomenon is strongly influenced by the first one (ES). For instance, attitudes towards a certain language can emerge and develop as a result of the external factors.

The third set of phenomena involves the study of Structural Consequences "SC" or the linguistic decline, which entails phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical changes, that is the "Structural Description". Sasse places more emphasis on the importance of covering the three mentioned areas synergistically in investigating language death and describes the study that restricts its attention to the ES and SB as "defective". However, other scholars such as Rottland and Duncan (1992, p. 273) make it clear that the term "defective" can be only accepted in the sense of "incomplete" and they state that the use of data based only on the ES and SB does not make them invalid. According to Sasse (1992, p. 12), the three sets of data represent an "implication chain" where the appearance of the external factors results in a particular SB which in turn ends up with changes in the linguistic structure of the abandoned language, yet it is worth mentioning that the elements of every phase are in action all over the process. This process, the chain of cause-effect, occurs in a bilingual situation where the "*abandoned*" language gradually gives way to the "*target*" language.

Based on this model, *primary language shift* starts when a given community decides not to transmit their language to successive generations. Such a decision ends up with disruption in language transmission (LT) and thus affects *language transmission strategy* since, for example, children will have limited exposure to the abandoned language via only occasionally hearing it in their surroundings, and thus the abandoned language becomes secondary while the incoming or *target* language becomes primary. Such adventitious exposure to the recessive language would negatively affect the children's language competence and therefore they acquire an imperfect or distorted language. According to Sasse, the interruption of language transmission is triggered by the socioeconomic, political and/or socio-psychological pressures, which create a situation of "an uneven distribution of languages" in a bi-multilingual setting. This situation is often accompanied by accumulated negative attitudes individuals have towards the abandoned language. The attached stigmatization of the abandoned language leads its speakers to question its functions and benefits and their feeling of being loyal to it. However, Sasse refers to the possibility of evaluating the language both positively and negatively for some reasons. He cites Arvanitika in Greece as an example of a language that is positively evaluated because it retains the sense of the group's identity but is also negatively valued as it is useless.

It is the influence of a planned language policy, which favours the dominant language and, in contrast, attenuates and dampens the language of the minority via particular procedures and leads to the construction of negative attitudes, which in turn encourage the abandonment of the minority language.

The disruption of language transmission, particularly at intergenerational level, and the discouragement of children from acquiring the abandoned language through the lack of strategy of language transmission would result in what is known as "*semi-*

speakers" who are "characterized by an imperfect knowledge" at different linguistic levels such as phonological, morphological and syntactical. Indeed, Sasse (1992) points out that because of their awareness of their low competence of speaking the abandoned language, this type of speakers, semi-speakers, struggle not only linguistically but also psychologically when they speak the recessive language and become reluctant, particularly in the presence of proficient speakers of this language. Such *pathological* cases can be treated by accelerating language death when semi-speakers try to avoid using the abandoned language, which is conceived by them as "not a language".

Reaching this point marks, according to Sasse, the entrance to a new stage called language decay which is a vital phase of the process of language death. However, investigating linguistic disintegration is beyond the scope of this study but strongly recommended for incoming studies concerned Tuareg language.

The process based-perspective or "marked bilingualism" is the other model postulated by Batibo (1997, 2005). He assumes three elements on which his model is based. The first is the existence of a bilingual state in order to claim that there is a case of language shift. Second, one of the two languages should have a higher status and be considered as prestigious to attract speakers of the other language and thus grant them more promotion in their communication. That is why this model is also called "*marked bilingualism*", vertical contact or "*superordinate language contact*". This type of contact is different from unmarked bilingualism, termed also horizontal or *"coordinate language contact"*, which embodies contact between two languages of the same status. A bilingual situation may emerge as a result of the interaction between the speakers of two languages, yet without shifting to any at the expense of the other. The third

element is the dominant language's degree of pressure or attraction and, by contrast, the minority's language resistance strongly influence the ratio of language shift.

Batibo's perspective suggests five stages, presented randomly along a continuum from one extreme to the other, through which a given group gradually drifts away from and eventually abandons their first language "L1" in favour of a more prestigious, incoming language, "L2".[v]

The first phase of the process is *relative monolingualism* which encompasses a setting where L1 and L2 are in contact but the majority of L1 speakers are monolingual but with some bilingual. Most if not all of the fields are dominated by L1 and speakers of this language are rural and lack education and urbanization and often settle in isolated areas.

Phase two, *bilingualism with L1 predominance*, involves a diglossic situation in which, on one hand, L1, with a low status, is used in more intimate domains and in intra-ethnic interactions. On the other hand, L2, with high status, is used in public places, official institutions and inter-ethnic communication i.e., it is used as a *lingua franca*. Although at this stage L2 has invaded domains specified for L1, the latter is still a widely utilized language in most domains. Few instances of code-switching and borrowing from L2 are expected to be seen at this phase and most languages are assessed as safe.

As for stage three, *bilingualism with L2 predominance*, it is characterized by progressive increase of using L2 in domains previously restricted to L1 and therefore L2 becomes the *primary language*. Its encroachment upon L1, the secondary language in this phase, is due to the L2's prestige and status, that is, the unstable or shaky diglossic situation. Accordingly, L2 becomes the prevalent and the most preferable

---

[v] At later stages of shift, L1 is not an individual's mother tongue anymore, but a community's original language.

language since it is employed in most domains including intra-ethnic communication, while the use of L1 is often confined to the home domain and activities of cultural heritage. Code-switching and borrowing from L2 are intensive when L1 is used. Due to the influence of the dominant language, L2 in this case, languages at this stage are evaluated as highly endangered (Batibo, 2005).

Regarding phase four, *restricted use of/competence in L1*, it implies a great reduction in the functional distribution of L1 since its utilization will be confined to, for instance, the opening of festivities and liturgical practices. This stage also encompasses a clear diminishing in the proficiency and mastering of L1 due to the lack of probably acquiring it from its native source. Thus, L1 suffers from contraction in the competence of its style and structural disintegration at different linguistic levels such as phonological, syntactical, morphological and lexical, in other words, language simplification. L1 in this stage is described as *dying,* yet its speakers may claim affiliation with it as a part of their ethnic identity. Often concurred with simplification is cultural erosion. Unless stigmatization has been developed about L1 as a symbol of ethnic identity, ethnic and personal names are the last to be given up by L1 speakers.

The final stage, *L1 as substratum*, involves a total replacement of L1 by the dominant L2, yet some linguistic remnants, lexical, phonetic, semantic, from L1 might be maintained in L2 and this process is called substratum. A language reaching this phase would be characterised as *dead*. Batibo (2005, p. 92) refers to the importance of applying the GAM synergistically with his model, *marked bilingualism*, since the former involves the causes and consequences of language shift when a language dominates another, while the latter embodies the process initiated at the time a language "L1" is predominant to the time it is overwhelmed by another "L2".

1.5 Brief review of the RQ

The current research is concerned with answering the following questions:

1. What are the determinants and factors that promote the process of language shift among Libyan Tuareg in Ghat and Barkat in southwestern Libya?

2. How do these forces influence the intergenerational transmission, patterns and domains of language use across the two communities over time?

3. How do attitudes and ideologies Tuareg hold towards their linguistic repertoires (Targia and Arabic) influence the utilization of Targia and the construction of their identity?

The order of these questions reflects the order of the investigation: questions 1 and 2 are answered in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, while question 3 is detailed in Chapter 5.

1.6 The organization of the chapters

This thesis consists of six chapters, organized as follows. Chapter 1 described the aims and the significance of the study, as well as showing the importance of investigating the linguistic vitality of endangered languages. Particular attention has been given to the status of Berber language in North African countries.

Chapter 2 is devoted to the geographical, demographic, and linguistic background of Libya and Tuareg in particular. This chapter also covers the historical, socio-political and economic changes and developments Libya has witnessed and how such transformation has affected the social and linguistic situation of Libyan Tuareg.

Chapter 3 discusses briefly the results obtained from the pilot study conducted in 2014 which focused on the Barkat community and the idea behind expanding the study to include Ghat. This chapter explains how the data was collected, presents in details the methods employed in the study, justifies the use of mixed methods, qualitative and

quantitative, and gives information about the sample's stratification, my access to both communities and the conduct of the sociolinguistic interviews. The chapter ends with the main social variables that have influenced the linguistic behaviour of Tuareg.

Chapter 4 demonstrates the results and the findings regarding the use of Targia, inter- and intra-generational transmission, Tuaregs' levels of proficiency and frequency in both Targia and Arabic. Results and findings related to the domains of Targia and Arabic use are also presented and discussed in this chapter.

Attitudes Tuareg attain towards preserving, acquiring and transmitting Targia, as well as towards its official recognition either in the Constitutional Declaration or the forthcoming constitution, are presented and discussed in the first part of Chapter 5. The second half of Chapter 5 is devoted to the discussion of the articulation of Tuareg's ideologies and how such ideologies influence the construction of identities. The data in this part shows how these ideologies offer a deep understanding of the values and beliefs which have influenced the use of Targia and Arabic.

The thesis ends with Chapter 6, which provides brief reviews of theoretical models and approaches that have been employed to explore the linguistic vitality of Targia and the process of language shift. This chapter briefly presents the main findings of this study, the contribution it makes to this field and avenues for future studies.

Chapter 2: SOCIO-HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS

2.1 Location and population of Libya

Libya is located in North Africa and surrounded by six countries: Egypt from the east, Sudan, Chad, Niger from the south and Algeria, Tunisia from the west (Map 1.). The overwhelming majority of the population is Arab and there are non-Arab ethnic minorities such as Amazigh (Berber, Tuareg) and Tebou.

Dupree (1958, p. 33) mentions that the 1954 census classified the Libyan population according to ethnic background. Arabs represented the majority of about 961,830 people whereas other non-Arab ethnicities were about 130,000. Those non-Arab ethnic groups included Berber (Tamazight speakers), Negroes, Tuareg, Cretans and Tebou. According to the census issued in 2006 by the General Peoples' Committee, the population of Libya is approximately 5,673 million. It is believed that Arabs still represent the majority of the population whereas other ethnic groups are minorities (Map 1.).
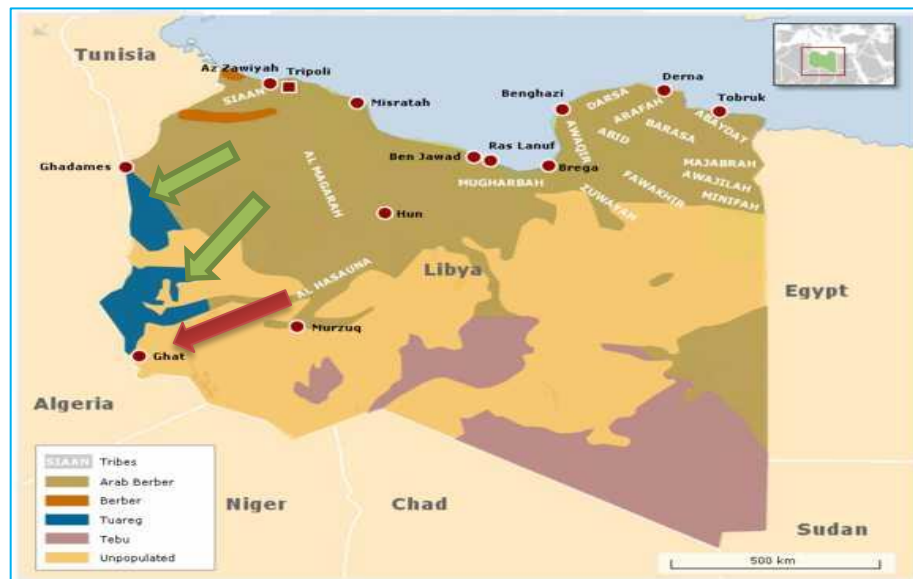
Figure 2.1: The ethnic composition of Libya

(Source: https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=ethnicities+in+Libya)

2.2 Ethnic composition of Libya

2.2.1 Arabs

The existence of Arabs in Libya dates back to the two successive tribal emigrations which set out from the Arab Peninsula. The first wave of migrants arrived in North Africa in the 7th century and as a result, many North African provinces became Islamic, yet the Arab settlement at this time was not systematic and there was no widespread Arabization. The second influx was in the 11th century (1050) with the arrival of the two Arab Bedouin tribes: Banu Hilal and Banu Sulaym who migrated from Najed, the Arab peninsula. Regarding Banu Sulaym, they settled in Cyrenaica in the eastern part of Libya whereas Banu Hilal dwelt in the western region, namely in Tripolitania. This stage witnessed an intensive movement of what is called Arabization (Pereira, 2007b). Prasse (1995) mentions that the emigration of the two Arab tribes in the eleventh century made the presence of Arabs very intensive whereas many Amazigh tribes were driven out to the mountainous areas where the majority of them still live.

Thus, Arabs represent the vast majority of the populace and the most authoritative and powerful group in the country. For instance, most important positions are assigned to Arabs. However, Tuareg are the majority in Ghat and the surrounding towns and enjoy local governmental authority, similar to other minority groups.

2.2.2 Libyan Amazigh (Tamazight speakers)

Another significant ethnic group is Amazigh (Berber) or speakers of Tamazight, a wide-spread tribe in Northern African countries. Berbers are indigenous inhabitants of North African countries and represent approximately between 8-9% (Maddy-Witzman, 2011) of the population in Libya though ethnicities are not classified in the official

census[i]. For Amazigh people, "Berber" is an insult or a pejorative term (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 2), given by the Greeks and the Romans; alternatively, they favour the term Amazigh, which means "the free man" (Migdalovitz 1989, Maddy-Weitzman 2011, p. 2); pl. Imazighen; fem. Tamazight.

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. Yefern, Nalut, Jado, and Kabao represent the main settlements of Berber in "Dejabl Nafusa" (Nefusa Mountain). Tamazight speakers also settled in Zuwara, 150kms to the west of Tripoli, and in other Cyrenaican towns in the eastern region of Libya such as Awjila and Jalu. The word Tamazight also refers to the Berber variety spoken in Nefusa Mountain and Zuwara.

Al-Rumi (2009, p. 3) mentions that the majority of Berbers are Muslims of the Ibadi sect, yet due to the previous regime's policy, the lack of knowledge of the principles of this sect, and consistent with the majority of Sunni Muslims in the country, Berbers like most Libyans perceive themselves as Sunni of the Maliki sect[ii]. The Ibadi Berbers do not have their own mosques, but some tried to establish bonds with Omani Ibadis concerning the teaching of Ibadi principles.

The existence of Berber identity was denied during the previous dictatorship regime (from the 1969 coup to the 2011 uprising), not only linguistically but also ethnically. All non-Arab ethnic minorities were sheltered under the umbrella of the Arab identity and described as Arab tribes (Kohl, 2014, Al-Rumi, 2009; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 141). The denial of Berber identity was based, according to Qaddafi's regime, on linking the call for forging a separate Berber identity with colonialist intervention and western imperialism (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). On his speech in celebrating the Al-

---

[i] Such percentages are not based on scientific estimates; they are just personal judgements.

[ii] Ibadi is different from Shia and Sunni in terms of theology and political philosophy.

Jamahiriya anniversary on 2nd March 2007, Qaddafi maintained that "Berbers are the Arabs that came via land (al-bar in Arabic)… then colonialism arrived and said that Berbers are a different people from the Arabs" (Al-Rumi, 2009, p. 3)[iii].

2.2.3 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). Some tribes have been settled for a long time, however.

Libyan Tuareg live concentrated in Awbari, Ghat and Barakat, 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.

It has been claimed that Tuareg are originally a part of the "Libyans", a term used first by Herodotus, to refer to the population of North Africa, and to the west of the Nile basin (Rodd 1926, p. 27). Prasse (1995) claims the name of Tuareg is derived from Targa, a valley located in Fezzan in the southern part of Libya. The term "Tuareg or Twarek" is first used by the Arabs. Rodd (1926, p. 27) states that the term Tuareg is probably the name of a certain section or group of Tuareg given by the Arabs and adopted by Europeans. Rasmussen (1992, p. 353) points out that the term Tuareg is originally used to refer to slaves and clients as a different class origin. Alternatively, Tuareg preferred using the term Imajeghen or Imohagh which means the "nobles" to

---

[iii] www.akhbarlibya.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5149&itemid=51

refer to themselves apart from the class they are related to. These days Tuareg use the term Tuareg though the researcher was asked to emphasize the term Imohagh.

Tuareg are deemed to be a part of Amazigh, a widespread tribe in North Africa, though this claim is questioned by some Tuareg. Such a belief may reflect different ideologies and political attitudes Tuareg hold towards certain historical events. The Garament tribe is believed to be the origin of the Tuareg and it was predominant in the south-west of Libya some time before 1000 BC (Migdalovitz, 1989).

According to Prasse (1995) the population of Libyan Tuareg is approximately 10,000 Ajjer Tuareg. About 8,000 Ajjer people live along the Algerian border while the rest (2,000) settled in the Oasis of Ghat in the extreme south-west of Libya. According to the official statistics the researcher has obtained from the Civil Registry Office in Barakat, the population of Ghat and Barkat is about 30,000 people. However, people are not categorized according to their ethnic backgrounds. Kossmann (2013, p. 1) mentions that about 10,000 Berbers live in Ghadames, yet not all of the inhabitants are Tuareg.

2.2.4 Maghaweers (maɣa:wi:r) or returnees

Another classification of Tuareg who live in Libya are the Maghaweers (literally meaning: braves) who originally migrated from Mali and Niger in response to Qaddafi's call to inhabit their own country, (Kohl, 2014, p. 429; Ronen, 2013, p. 544) and settled in Libya, mainly in Awbari but also in Ghat on a campus called the Chinese Camp after the French intervention in Mali. Malian and Nigerian migration to Libya came across in various waves starting in the 1980s but the main influx was in 2005 (Kohl, 2013, p. 249).

They were welcomed by the previous regime to live in Libya and to look for a better life. Such an invitation intended to serve Qaddafi's political ambitions in the area, particularly in his international relationships with the southern neighbouring states, and to guarantee Tuareg's loyalties in the case of contingencies and threats. For instance, Maghaweers were recruited to serve in Qaddafi's army (Qaddafi's militias) as commandos, furthering his political agenda (Kohl, 2013). They were used not only to defend Qaddafi's regime during the 2011 uprising but also in other military operations in Africa, in Uganda during the 1970s and in Chad during the 1980s (Ronen, 2013, p. 550).

During his reign, Qaddafi used many slogans to define Tuareg such as the "Arabs of the south" and "the Lions and Eagles of the Desert" in order to gain these groups' support and loyalties, though in reality they did not gain even Libyan citizenship. They lack the Libyan National Number, i.e., the evidence of legal residence. These groups speak different Tuareg varieties; Tamasheq, a variety largely spoken in Mali, or Tamajeq, a variety largely used in Niger.

2.2.5 Ishumar

Another Tuareg minority, originally from Mali and Niger, moving across the Libyan-Nigerian and Algerian borders in a "zigzag" way is Ishumar. The term Ishumar is transmuted from the French word "chômeur", meaning unemployed person. According to Kohl (2010, 2013, 2014) Tuareg Ishumar, who are often from the younger generation, abandoned their nomadic traditional life "regular cyclic nomadic movement, aggal" and adopted a new strategy in dealing with the situational borders across the three countries: "a generation of border crossers". Ishumar gave up their nomadic life due to climatic (severe drought during the 1970s and 80s), economic

(unemployment), and political (marginalization) factors. It also refrers to Ishumar's ideologies to break up their nomadic life and head to Libya and Algeria looking for casual jobs and pursuing better employment and life.

2.2.6 Tuareg in neighbouring countries

Tuareg live also in Libya's neighbouring countries in several confederations signified by the word "Kel", meaning 'of people'. These confederations are as follows: the Kel Haggar confederation extending from southern Algeria to the North of Niger; Kel Ajjer: extending from south-west of Libya to south-east of Algeria and represented in the Ghatian and Barkat communities (the focus of this study). Other confederations are situated in Niger (Kel Geres in southern Niger, Iwllimmedan Kel Dennek in western Niger, Iwllimmedan Kel Ataram in the south-western part of Niger). The last confederation is Kel Tademaket situated in Mali (Lecocq, 2002 as cited in Schmidt, 2009, p. 9).

2.2.7 Tibu, a.k.a. Tebou (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. Their number is estimated at 15,000 yet others such as the representatives of Tibu estimate Tibu stateless at 200,000 people (Belalimat, 2010, p. 157; Kohl, 2014, p. 426). Tibu are Muslims of the Maliki sect.

2.3 The locality of the research

The focus of this study will be on two sedentary Tuareg communities settled in Ghat and Barkat towns and other adjacent villages, located in the southern region of Libya.

2.3.1 Ghat

Ghat is a town situated 60kms from the Algerian border and surrounded by Tassili Mountains on the Algerian side and Acacus Mountains or Tadrart Acacus in the east. It is a part of Fezzan, the southern province of Libya. In the past, Ghat was a part of the Ajjer Confederation which extends to Djanet and Illizi on the Algerian side. Indeed, affinity relationships connect Tuareg tribes of this confederation in both countries since this affiliation is conspicuously mirrored in the mutual visits, social events such as marriages and also in the similarities in their native language, Tamaheq (Targia). Historically, Tuareg in the Libyan Oases in Ghat and adjacent villages were the settled peasants of Haratin, Haratani or Izaggaghan origin[iv] (Dupree, 1958, p. 33; Prasse, 1995, p. 20).

They lived in socially stratified tribes and worked as tenants of the arable lands under a contract with the nobles and vassals' social classes (see section 3.6.4. for more information about Tuareg social classes). Several factors such as the emergence of new states during the second half of the last century, which resulted in Tuareg dispersing into five countries, and the droughts that hit the area in the 1970s and the beginning of 1980s, resulted in the majority of Libyan Tuareg abandoning agriculture as their main means. They have since relied on state salaried jobs or office jobs. Cultivating the land and working in the palm groves have become a subsidiary work for some Tuareg.

[iv] According to Prasse (1995), Tuareg were driven out from the north, southern Morocco, Cyrenaica and Fezzan in Libya, by Arab between the 8th and 11th century.

Until the mid-20th century (before Libya's independence in 1951), Fezzan was under French colonization. In fact, Ghat, in addition to Djanet and Illizi on the Algerian borders, were run by the French administration. Nowadays Ghat represents the administrative centre of the area where most official and public institutions are located. It is a more modernized and urbanized area compared with Barkat and other adjacent villages. Most of the local state schools, colleges, the main hospital and the airport are situated in Ghat. More importantly, Ghat is internationally famous for its traditional, cultural and tourist events since many archaeological sites such as the Old Town and the Castle are located there.

Ghat is ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous, being mainly composed of Tuareg, Hausa, Arab and other African ethnicities. Although there is no official census classifying the population according to their ethnic backgrounds, tribal leaders recounted that Tuareg in Ghat are the majority and the culturally dominant group whereas other ethnicities such as Libyan Arab and Hausa are minorities. Libyan Tuareg have become egalitarian tribes and the current estimation of Tuareg Ghatian population is 15,000 people, according to community leaders.

Ghatian Tuareg are bilinguals since they speak Southern Libyan Arabic and Tamahek/q or Targia, yet at different levels of competence. Tuareg is a sub-classification of Sanhaja which is in turn a branch of the Amazigh language (Cline, 1953). Targia is the local name of the Tuareg language and it will be employed in this research as an alternative to the terms "Tuareg language, Tamaheq". In fact, "Tamaheq", the term used in the literature for the Tuareg language, is not used or even known by many of the local people.

Another ethnic group settled in Ghat are the Libyan Arabs who represent the major ethnic group in the country but are a numerical minority in Ghat. The majority of

Libyan Arabs live in the Northern, Eastern and middle regions of the country. Libyan Arabic is the predominant language in the country. Standard Arabic is the language of administration and medium of instruction in schools. Libyan Arabic with its varieties is the most widely used language on a daily basis in most of the country's regions. Southern Libyan Arabic is the means by which the majority of Ghatian ethnic groups can easily and effectively communicate with each other[v].

Although "Hausa is the largest lingua franca in West Africa – both geographically and numerically" (McIntyre, 1991, p. 11), it represents a small ethnic and linguistic enclave in Libya, particularly in Ghat. Hausa speakers migrated from the neighbouring countries, particularly from Niger and settled in Ghat during the time it was a trade centre that connected the Sub-Saharan region with northern cities such as Tripoli and Ghadames. Hausa people speak a transitional Libyan Arabic in addition to their native language.

Other Malian and Nigerian refugees live in Ghat in what is called the "Chinese Company", unfinished houses left by a Chinese company after the 2011 uprising. Other African minorities such as Sudanese and Nigerians inhabit Ghat and work in different jobs such as building and trading. One of the interviewees described Ghat as 'an international town' Kan (Age: 52, male, Barkat).

2.3.2 Barkat

Barkat is the second focus of this investigation, a town located about 8 kilometres south of Ghat and around 50 kilometres from Djanet (on the Algerian side, west of Barkat).[vi] Barakat consists of several residential quarters such as Agram (the old town), Intiseemit, Tighejemeen, Isoul, Adara and Joufari. Some of these names were replaced

---

[v] Southern Libyan Arabic is classified in the linguistic encyclopaedia within the languages spoken in the transitional area, yet Southern Libyan Arabic has particular linguistic features.
[vi] http://encyclopedieberbere.revues.org/1921

by Arabic names during the previous regime's era yet people still use Tuareg heritage names. On the way to an adjacent village called Feiwat, around 15kms from Ghat, the researcher noticed that the Arabic word "al-ʕuru:ba" meaning 'Arabism', on a street sign was crossed out and replaced by the word "Tomast" meaning culture which also refers to the Tuareg TV channel broadcast from France (Figure 2.2). It is believed that such an incident may reflect attitudes and ideologies of some non-Libyan Tuareg who recently settled in the area and are proponents of this TV channel.

Unlike to other Berber areas, Barkat and Ghat are geographically isolated from the Arab areas of Libya: the nearest Arabic-speaking city is Sebha, the capital of the region which is about 600kms from Ghat. Such a geographical location has alleviated, to some extent, the influence of Arabic contact on Tuareg speakers and constructed a Tuareg linguistic enclave.

The population of Barkat is estimated at 15,000 people according to the official census provided from the Office of the Civil Registry in Ghat. It can be noticed that the majority of Barkat dwellers are Tuareg. That is to say, unlike Ghat, Barkat is ethnically and linguistically a more homogenous town than Ghat. Attached to Ghat and Barkat are adjacent Tuareg villages such as Isyan, Tahala and Feiwat.

Libyan Tuareg have a close-knit network through a large proportion of contacts and various capacities: relatives, tribal affiliation, neighbourhood, friendship and workplace, yet compared to Ghat, Barkat's community seems to maintain a higher density Tuareg social network. For example, while conducting fieldwork in Barkat, it was obvious that very many people on the street knew each other personally, as I observed through their morning greetings; and in the evening, many people met to drink tea and discuss the day. In such meetings, on the whole, people in Barkat were more likely to speak Targia. Such meetings and language use patterns were distinctly

less common in Ghat. In fact, this tight-knit network extended to communication and intermarriage with their co-ethnics in Algeria, mainly in Janet and Illizi. This gave the Barkat community the advantage to maintain and use Targia more than Ghat; for further discussion, see Chapter 4.

Barkat individuals are also bilinguals. Barkat is less urbanized and modernized compared to Ghat: the primary and secondary schools located in Barkat are some of the few public institutions located there. Despite the depletion that has hit the area, some farms still exist around the centre of Barkat as well as in the adjacent villages, Tahala and Isyan. The Tuareg of Barkat and Ghat seem to be physically different from those of the adjacent villages, Isyan and Tahala. Basically, it is the colour of the face since the Tuareg of Ghat and Barkat have darker faces whereas the latter have lighter ones. It may well be that such physical differences run through family inheritance, and contrasts between groups may be related to other social contrasts, such as inheritance of land, farming traditions – it should be noted that land is inherited through the mother among these Tuareg, unlike the rest of Libyan society – and tribal origin since Tuareg were formally socially classified into four classes. However, this social stratification entirely disappeared after the 1969 coup and the establishment of the so called "parity principle"[vii].

[vii] In fact, the arrival of the French colonization was the start point of the gradual disappearance of slavery among Tuareg.

Figure 2.2: **Street sign shows the crossing out of the "al-ʕuru:ba" word (Arabism), (Photograph taken in Ghat)**

2.4 Linguistic profile of Libya

2.4.1 Diglossia and bilingualism

The term diglossia (Fr. diglossie) was introduced by Marcais who applied it to the linguistic situation in Greece and was then generalized by Ferguson in 1959 (Ferguson, 1959, p. 325; Versteegh, 1997, p. 189). According to Ferguson (1959, p. 325), diglossia refers to the existence of two languages or varieties "side by side" within a community yet playing clearly different roles with slight to no functional overlapping. He differentiates between the two coexisting linguistic systems by utilizing the references "H" for a High variety (superposed language), which is learned after acquiring the native language but not spoken at home, and "L" assigned for a Low variety which is the mother tongue acquired at home. This distinction is based on the power differentials and prestige and the power attached to each language by the prevalent culture (Nercissians, 2001, p. 60). The institutional support attached to H and L languages is based on the domain in which they are acquired (Romaine, 1989, p. 33).

Ferguson (1959) suggests certain aspects of the diglossic situation such as function, prestige, acquisition, literary heritage, and standardization distinguish the two varieties. For instance, H language is often grammatically intricate, learned through formal education such as school and used in a formal setting, whereas L language is appropriate in informal settings such as home.

Ferguson cites Cairo Arabic, in addition to other languages such as Greek, as an example of diglossia in which Standard Arabic, also known as *fusˤħa:*, represents a High variety and is used in certain fields whereas Colloquial Arabic, also known as çammijah, dariʒah or dialect, embodies a Low variety and has its own markets. Simply, diglossia is a linguistic correlation between *fusˤħa:* and ʕa:mmiijah (Versteegh, 1997). One of the important features that resulted in the diglossic situation in the Arabic

language is the existence of a highly appreciated past and continuous written literature. The glorious history of Arabic language and literature, as perceived by its speakers, has legitimized the utilization of lexical items and phrases from the 12th century in Modern Standard Arabic (Ferguson, 1959, p. 331). Moreover, Arabic has been considered an essential component of Arab identity. In this vein, religion in some cases has also been implemented in this esteemed history and become a vital ingredient of unifying Arab and non-Arabic speakers.

However, Ferguson's notion of classical diglossia concerning the use of Arabic and other languages has been redefined (Versteegh, 1997, p. 190). For instance, Ferguson's model was confined to two distinct languages or varieties "genetically" (the relatedness criterion) and historically associated with each other in a particular manner. However, later studies, following Fishman's proposal (1967), argued that "extended diglossia" is based on the distribution of the linguistic functions of any languages, dialects or registers which may not be structurally related but have complementary distribution. That is, each language or variety has not only its own separate and restricted function (compartmentalization) but also restricted access (Fishman, 2003; Romaine, 1989). Such rigid functional distributions between languages or varieties are bolstered by norms, attitudes and values that are "fully accepted as culturally legitimate" but within the light of linguistic hierarchy where "H" variety is used, for example, for religious and educational purposes while "L" variety is used in daily or informal interaction (Fishman, 1967, p. 30). Nercissians (2001, p. 60) asserts that diglossia can result from the availability of a set of factors supporting the usage of one language or variety, as the most appropriate one, over another in certain markets and occasions.

In the light of the extended notion of diglossia, Holes (2004, p. 48) points to the creation of intermediate Arabic varieties between standard Arabic and Arabic dialects.

Romaine (1989, p. 35) maintains that the emergence of middle language results from the intensity of contact between the H and L language. Holes states that regardless of the "frozen" form, written or spoken, most interactions are conducted in an intermediate language between "pure" Modern Standard Arabic and a "pure" regional variety. Terms such as Educated Spoken Arabic, Middle Arabic, urban cultivated Arabic, interregional Standard, elevated colloquial and language of the educated have been used by some linguists to describe the concept of intermediateness or intermediate Arabic varieties (Boussofara-Omar, 2006, pp. 631-633). In fact, Ferguson (2003, p. 351) points to the intermediate language, in Arabic al-luɣah l-wustˤaː, as a solution to overcome a problematic contact situation which might emerge from a diglossic situation.

Boussofara-Omar (2006) adopts the idea of "Arabic diglossic switching", an approach applied by Walters (1996) in analysing the "middle varieties" or alternating between Modern Standard Arabic and dialects. Boussafara-Omar (2006, p. 634) states that "there is no conventionalized variety known as "third language" or Educated Spoken Arabic", yet what exists is a switching process – "diglossic switching" – where the dialect functions as the matrix language. She adds that such a process is also influenced by morphophonological and grammatical constraints.

Eckert (1980, p. 1054) points to the idealized model of diglossia as a stable phenomenon which can render stabilized bilingualism. Fishman (1967, p. 29) argues that the stability and maintenance of various languages or variety across a speech community is based on the distinction of the function of these linguistic codes. Eckert proposes that diglossia can be perceived as a "democratic" process in which two languages can co-exist, yet she questions if the task distributions are equitable among these co-existing languages (H and L). In this respect, she postulates that diglossia may

end with language shift and affect social solidarity. This shift can take place when a language gradually encroaches on domains usually reserved for another variety. Fishman (1967, p. 31) points out that the recognition of H language as the language of governmental affairs, religion and medium of instruction in schools in a diglossic setting such as the case of Spanish in Paraguay threatens the L variety, the use of Guarani in intimate fields, and makes it less stable and acceptable.

According to Eckert (1980, p. 1056), "diglossia does not arise; it is imposed from above" through the presence of a standard language; the language of administration, politics, economy and liturgical practices. Accordingly, having access to social mobility, economic advancement and power has become closely tied up with this language. Thus, according to Eckert, diglossia cannot be neutral and leads to the elimination of the vernacular in a process where the standard functions as a trigger of language shift. Eckert (1980) indicates speakers of Gascon, a Romance variety spoken in the southwestern region of France (Occitania), as a case of shift in extended diglossia; shifting from Gascon, the "L", stigmatized and modest vernacular, to French, the "H" language, language of loftier connotation, economy, education and politics.

According to Sayahi (2014), the H language invasion of domains specified to the L variety is impossible as the former language cannot be passed on through the natural environment and it is often transmitted through formal education. Fasold (1984, p. 54) maintains that the change in the diglossic distribution is signalled by the "leakage in function", citing the case of diglossia in Greek where Demotic has invaded domains booked for Katharevusa. In fact, he proposes that such leaking can be considered as "the earliest sign" of language shift (p. 240).

On the grounds of Ferguson's original concept regarding diglossia, the linguistic situation in Northern African countries is characterized as bilingual with the presence

of former colonial languages such as French, yet such a situation (the existence of two unrelated languages, French and Arabic) can be considered as a case of diglossia based on the redefined versions of diglossia (Fishman, 1967, 2003; Versteegh, 1997, p. 198). Romaine (1989, p. 34) proposes the term "tridiglossia" to describe the linguistic situation of Tunisia where three languages have varying functional tasks. For instance, Standard Arabic and French behave as H while Tunisian Arabic operates as L.

Romaine (2013, p. 447) states that "the active" utilization of two languages or more may not be the sole indicator of defining the membership of bilingual community. Passive or receptive competence and sharing sociolinguistic norms can be used as criteria to categorize individuals as members of a bilingual community. She cites an example from Dorian (1982) who found in her study on Gaelic English bilingual communities in Scotland that in spite of the poor productive competence of some of the Scottish Gaelic speakers, their superb receptive skills made them able to participate normally in all types of communication. However, this is a classic case of approaching language death, while passive receptivity occurs in a wider range of bilingual situations.

Fishman (1967, 2003, p. 36) and Romaine (2013, p. 454) state that bilingualism may exist with or without diglossia. In the case of bilingualism with diglossia, individuals are able to master two languages but every language has its own function and is utilized in distinct domains with "functional specificity" (Fishman, 2003, p. 36).

He cites Spanish and Guarani in Paraguay as an example of using two languages in various social domains but without a clear functional separation or compartmentalization (overlapping between domains of use) – i.e. bilingualism without diglossia. Compared to bilingualism with diglossia, bilingualism without diglossia or "leaky diglossia" as Fasold puts it, lacks stability and ends up in shift since

"without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain task separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)" (Fisham, 1967, p. 36).

Such a theoretical model, i.e., bilingualism without diglossia, cannot adequately mirror and analyse the linguistic situation of North Africa and Libya in particular. According to Romaine (1989, p. 39, 2013, p. 455) language shift or death might result from bilingualism (as a transitional stage) frequently accompanied by diglossia, then end up in a monolingual situation though this should not be always the case since in some situations language maintenance is upheld by diglossia. Such a distinction, i.e., between bilingualism with or without diglossia requires us to recall Lewis and Simons's (2009) evaluative framework of endangered languages EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disrupted Scale) in which a language spoken in a stable diglossic situation with a conspicuous distinction between H for written functions and L for oral tasks is evaluated at level 6a (vigorous). On the contrary, the unstable diglossic status in which the oral functions of a language are being invaded by another is characterized at level 6b (threatened).[i]

Extended diglossia or triglossia is employed in the present study to investigate the triglossic distribution i.e., the linguistic change among Libyan Tuareg through including the three languages; Modern Standard Arabic, Libyan Arabic and Targia since they have separate communicational functions. The first language (MSA) is characterized as an "H" language compared to the latter languages (LA and Targia) which are treated as Low. Libyan Arabic vernacular has gradually infringed upon low domains booked for Targia and this leakage appears to be related, as will be

---

[i] The EGIDS is an elaboration of the model originally introduced by Fishman (1991) as GIDS to determine language vitality, then developed by comparison with the UNESCO framework (2003) with its 6-level scale of endangerment.

demonstrated in this study, to several factors: historical, economic, political and religious. In fact, the connectedness of Libyan Arabic vernacular with H Arabic through a diglossic situation has empowered it in face of Targia's "layers of diglossia". For instance, Hoffman (2008, p. 23) maintains that the Arabic language, even in its dialectal form, has affiliation with religious sacredness. Such genetic relatedness i.e., between Standard and Libyan Arabic of which Tuareg speakers are aware has influenced Tuareg's attitudes and ideologies toward these languages and in turn the intergenerational transmission within their community. The role played by "H", Standard Arabic as the language of writing has impacted not only the related variety, Libyan Arabic but also the unrelated languages, Targia. In fact, Libyan Arabic has crept into high domains exclusively reserved for Standard Arabic such as the mosque (See 4.5.8). It seems that southwestern Libya is a case of double over-lapping diglossia, similar to Fasold's (1984) model, where LA has increasingly become H with respect to Targia, but L with respect to MSA Arabic (Figure 2.3).

Classic/Modern Standard Arabic (H)	
(H) Libyan Arabic	(L)
(L) Targia	
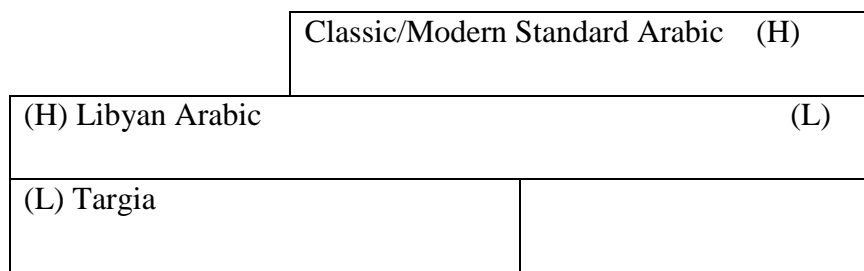
Figure 2.3: **Double overlapping diglossia in Libya**

2.4.2 Arabic

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

Classical, Standard Arabic and *fusˤħa:* 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, p. 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 thesis, "MSA" sometimes refers to what others call CA and sometimes to what others term "MSA".

In Libya, Standard Arabic has been the official language since the establishment of the kingdom in 1951. It is the language of the Holy Quran[ii], 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. Standard Arabic, in many cases is tied to religion, functions as a vital ingredient of a shared identity among most of the Arab countries. Indeed, for some Tuareg, SA is considered as their mother tongue for its association with religion (See section 5.5.4).

2.4.2.2 Colloquial Libyan Arabic (LA)

Libyan Arabic, also known as "lahʒa", "ʕa:mmijjah", "dariʒah" or "dialect" is related to Western Bedouin Arabic dialects, Hilali dialects, spoken in North Africa and originating from the Arab Peninsula by Arabs who migrated and settled in North Africa (Versteegh 1997, p. 165). In particular, Libyan Arabic is linked to the Maghrebi language group which is distinguished from other linguistic groups such as

---

[ii] "in a more classical register" (Pereira, 2007a, p. 56)

Levantine by the prefix "n" for the 1st person singular and the prefix "n" and the suffix

"u" for the 1st person plural in the imperfect form of the verb (Pereira, 2007a, p. 53).

Libyan Arabic has some Bedouin linguistic features (phonetic, syntactical,

morphological, lexical). For instance, the sound /q/ which is typically pronounced in

Libyan Arabic as [g] reflects its Bedouin type (Pereira, 2007a).

Geographically, Libyan Arabic can be stratified into three dialects: the first variety

is spoken in the western region of Libya in Tripolitania and other western towns,

including Berber-speaking areas in Zuwara and Nefusa Mountain. The second dialect

is spoken in the east of Libya in Cyrenaica and includes the second main city in Libya,

Benghazi, and other cities and towns in the Al-Jabal Al-Akhdar Mountains close to the

Egyptian border. The third variety is spoken in the transitional area in Misrata, Sirt,

Jufra region in Hun, Sokana and Waddan Oases and in Fezzan region where Tuareg

live (Owens, 1983).

Eastern Libyan Arabic is clearly distinguished from Western Libyan Arabic in

certain linguistic features. The varieties spoken in the transitional zone, for instance, in

Sebha, the capital of Fezzan province and in Ghat and Barkat have some common

lexical and phonological features, respectively, with Western and Eastern Libyan

varieties though the vernaculars of the transitional zone also have their own distinctive

features (Owens, 1984, 242). Indeed, linguistic differences can be also found within

each dialect. For example, within the eastern dialects, the mountainous towns and cities

(Al-Byda, Tobrok) have the interdental fricative sounds [θ] and [ð] whereas in

Benghazi these sounds are merged with dental sounds [t] and [d] respectively.

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 Facebook and Viber. 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 younger Libyan Tuareg acquire and plays an important role in forging Libyan Tuareg identity.

2.4.2.3 Libyan Arabic as a lingua franca

Vehicular language or lingua franca is defined as a medium of "interethnic communication in a multilingual setting" but it might be used in intra-ethnic interactions. It can be in the oral form yet it can also be written and standardized. The development of a lingua franca is often based on historical, cultural, political and socioeconomic factors (Pereira, 2007a, p. 58).

In Libya, LA, which has expanded as a result of the spread of Islam and Arab trade, is employed as a regional lingua franca in areas where non-Arab minorities live. For example, Western Libyan Arabic is used among Berber speakers of Nefusa Mountain and Zuwara in their contact with Arabic speakers. Similarly, Tuareg speakers utilize the Transitional Libyan Arabic variety, Fezzanian Arabic, in their contact with Libyan Arabic speakers but often at variable levels of competence. The use of a lingua franca can increase the amount of code-switching or mixing among the younger people in more urbanized areas (Pereira, 2008). 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 intra-ethnic communications in certain domains (See Chapter 4).

2.4.3 Amazigh (Berber) language

During the period of colonialism, Berber (Amazigh) was treated by some scholars as a unified language and this belief was affiliated with the assumption of "unitary Berber identity" (Kossmann, 2013, p. 16).[iii] This unity emerged from an argument stating that it is difficult to differentiate between Berber varieties due to the great similarities between them. Sayahi (2014) mentions that some linguists have described Berber and its varieties as one language despite the internal linguistic variation. Kossmann (2013, p. 16) refers to the perceptibility of the Berber dialectal continuum despite the geographical and demographic impediments that disrupt the dialectal continuum of Berber varieties and make sub-classification of Berber "problematic".

Amazigh varieties are defined as a tight-knit language group[iv], part of the Afro-Asiatic 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 north-west Africa is classified into two main groups: Zenatiya and Sanhaja-Masmuda. According to some Arab historians from the medieval time, the terms, Zenatiya or Zenata, and Sanhaja stemmed from the names of particular Berber tribes.

Zenatiya is the dominant and most widespread group in North Africa and includes a number of varieties spoken in the Rif Mountains of northern Morocco, the Middle Atlas Mountains, the Island of Jerba in Tunis, the eastern part of Aures district in Algeria and the highlands of Djebel Nefusa and Zuwara in western Tripolitania in Libya.

[iii] Berber scholars stress the aspect of sharing grammar among all Berber dialects and consider the linguistic differences as "superficial and of little importance" (Kossmann, 2013, p. 16).

[iv] According to Kossmann (2013), the differences between Berber varieties do not surpass, for example, the ones that exist in the Germanic language family.

Sanhaja variety includes Tamazight in the Middle Atlas and the eastern High Atlas Mountains in Morocco, the Shluh or Tashelhit variety in the High Atlas and south-western Morocco, Kabyle in northern Algeria and in the western part of Aures region, and finally Tuareg dialects (South Berber), e.g. Tamashaq which is spoken in a scattered number of the Sahara oases. Irrespective of Kabyle speakers who are concentrated on the Mediterranean Coast, more often than not, Sanhaja speakers are clustered in the south whereas Zenata varieties are spread in the north.

Like Cline (1953), Kossmann (2013, p. 17) classifies Berber varieties on geographical and linguistic grounds.He separates the Tuareg language, in addition to Zenaga (Mauritania) and Tetserret (Niger), in different blocks and maintains that it should be treated as a different language from other Berber varieties presented on the linguistic continuum. Other 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 communalities 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, yet the Ethnologue (2017) describes the Zuwara Berber dialect as a Nefusa variety. The term /at ˈwil.lul/ or /ajt ˈwil.lul/ is used to refer to Zuwarian speakers whereas their variety is defined as /t.ˈwil.lult/ or the language of Willul (Gussenhoven, 2015, p. 1). Again, the Zuwara variety shares some linguistic features with the Nefusa dialect and the varieties of the Libyan-Egyptian Oases. The number of Zuwarian Berber speakers is estimated at 50,000 whereas the number of Nefusa speakers is 100,000.

The other separate block, Libyan-Egyptian Oases, is composed of three dialects spoken in the south-eastern part of Libya in Sokna and El-Fogha and Siwa in Egypt. It is believed that the Sokna and El-Fogha varieties have died out (Kossmann, 2013).

The fourth linguistic entity is the dialect of Ghadames spoken in the western part of Libya, very close to the Algerian border and not far away from the Nefusa variety. Ghadames Berber vernacular is greatly different from other Berber varieties, but has some linguistic similarities with the Nefusa dialect (Kossmann, 2013).

Awjila represents another distinctive Berber variety spoken in Awjila town in the eastern region though it shares some common features with the Ghadames variety.

In this study, the term "Berber" will be used to refer to Berber speakers in general including those of Nefusa Mountain, Zuwara, Awjila, Sokna, El-Fogha and Ghadames, the dialects spoken in Libya.

2.4.4 The Tuareg language

Tuareg language is categorized under the umbrella of Amazigh or Southern Berber. Tuareg live in a geographic and linguistic enclave separated from their co-ethnics, Berbers, across the Sahara and Sahel of North African countries. 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, the dialect spoken in Libya and part of Algeria is called Tamaheq whereas the varieties spoken in Mali and Niger are called, respectively, Tamasheq, and Tamajeq/k[v] (Cline, 1953, p. 269; Dupree, 1958, p. 38; Rasmussen 1992, p. 352, 1998, p. 154, 2004, 315, 2010, p. 754; Rodd, 1926, p. 30).

---

[v] "Tuareg" is the exonym of the Tuareg language (Kossmann, 2013).

According to Kossmann (2013, pp. 18-19) and consistent with Tuareg's ethnic divisions, Tuareg language is categorized into the following six sub-classifications in which 1 and 2 represent Tamasheq language, 3 and 4 refer to Tamajeq while 5 and 6 point to Tamaheq:

1- Adagh (aka Tadghaq, Tadaq), a variety spoken by Ifoghas in Mali and in Burkina Faso

2- Taneslemt dialect, spoken in Mali

3- Iwellemmeden (aka Tawellemmett), spoken in eastern Mali, in Niger, and in Burkina Faso (Oudalan tribe)

4- Ayer or Tayert variety, spoken in Agadez and eastern Niger

5- The language of Ahaggar (Hoggar) and Ajjer Mountains in Algeria

6- Ghatian Tuareg, spoken in the south western part of Libya. This dialect includes Targia, spoken in Ghat, Barkat (the focus of this study) and the adjacent villages, Feiwat, Tahala and Isien.

Heath (2005, p. 2) classified Tuareg language into four varieties:

1- Tamachek or Tamasheq variety, spoken in Mali and categorized into three sub-dialects:

a- Taneslemt, spoken in Mali mainly in Kedal and Gao towns

b- Tanastaramt, another Malian Tuareg variety spoken in Timbuktu

c- Tadghaqq dialect, used in Adrar and Kidal in northern Mali

2- The second variety is Tawellemmett (Tawalammat) dialect, spoken in the northwest of Niger by Iwellemeden people and Menaka in the east of Mali

3- Tayert (Tayart) is the third variety, spoken in the north of Niger and Ayer region

4- Tamaheq is used in Algeria across the Hoggar Mountains (Heath, 2005, p. 2).

What is not mentioned by Heath is Tamaheq, the language spoken in the Ajjer

confederation in Libya, mainly in Ghat, Barkat and Awbari towns and in adjacent villages such as Isien, Tahala and Fiwat. Tamaheq is also spoken in Illizi and Djanet in the north-eastern region of Algeria.

The population of Tuareg is estimated at 1.5 million (Kossmann, 2011, 2013, p. 19). Heath (2005) refers to Ethnologue's (2004) estimation of Tuareg as the following: 270,000 for Tamasheq speakers, 640,000 for Tawallemmett speakers, 250,000 for Tayart speakers and 62,000 for Tamaheq speakers. Ethnologue (2017) estimates speakers of Tuareg at 1,460,000; 500,000 for speakers of Tamasheq, spoken largely in Mali, 640,000 for Tawallemmett speakers (450,00 in Niger and 190,000 in Mali), 250,000 speakers of Tayart group, spoken largely in Niger; and 77,000 in all countries for what are designated Tamaheq or Tahagaart speakers (44,000 in Algeria, 17,000 in Ghat). However, it is not in the scope of this thesis to give more detail.

2.4.5 Literacy acquisition status

Tuareg have their own writing system and script, which is called "Tifinagh"[vi]. It consists of twenty-four letters and has been used in the northern part of Africa since the second century BC, yet the Tifinagh script was largely abandoned in the region during the Arab conquest (Cline, 1953, p. 272).

El Aissati (2011, p. 214) mentions that there is no agreement concerning the origin of Tifinagh. Cline (1953, p. 272) states that the recent Tifinagh letters originated from the Old Sahara or the Numidian (Libyan) alphabets. Other scholars mention that the Tifinagh goes back to the Phoenician era (Phoenician alphabets) (Chaker, 1994) or even before that time where the Tifinagh inscription was evident through its spread in the North African caves (Camps, 1987 as cited in El Aissati, 2011).

[vi] The word "Tifinagh" means in Tuareg language "signs" of anything, landmarks or artificial symbols (Cline, 1953, p. 275).

Various versions of the Tifinagh have emerged as a consequence of adaptations. Thirteen out of twenty-four letters in modern Tifinagh are identical or similar to those of Old Sahara or Numidian alphabets (Cline, 1953). The Institut Royal de la Cultural Amazigh (IRCAM) adopted 33 letters which are now implemented in the process of teaching standardized Amazigh in primary schools in Morocco (El Aissati, 2011, p. 214).

Tuareg Tifinagh was often written horizontally from right to left or left to right, but rarely in vertical or oblique line. It can be written upward or downward depending on the script utilized; Roman, Tifinagh or Arabic (Cline, 1953; El Aissati, 2011). Its use was confined to short texts and epitaphs starting often with "I want, I need", and then the sentence finished by drawings (Cline, 1953, p. 274). Tifinagh was mainly used by women but was also used by men.

The implementation of the Latin script accompanied with Tifinagh dates back to ancient times when there was a need for translation, yet the intensive implementation of the Roman alphabet in Amazigh culture and language came during the end of the 19th century (El Aissati, 2011, p. 214). Lexically speaking, the long contact with Roman colonization led to a relexification of many Berber words which originated from Latin (Cline, 1953, p. 269). The following Berber words are derived from Latin and associated with agriculture, domestic animals and plants:

- Hortus (Latin) = garden (English) = Urti (Berber variety spoken in Sus in Morocco) = Urthu (Berber Kabyle spoken in Algeria)
- Pullus (Latin) = chicken (English) = afullus (Berber of Sus)

Interestingly, the Berber word afullus, used in the researcher's dialect of Eastern Libyan Arabic, is an example of the linguistic mutual influence between Berber and Arabic.

More interesting are the names of the months in the Julian calendar in Berber varieties, including Tuareg dialects. For instance the month of "ianuarius" in Latin = "Yennair" in Tuareg =January in English, "februarius" in Latin = "ibrair" in Berber = February in English. The month "ibrair" reminds us of the name of the first Libyan Amazigh channel "Ibraren TV channel"[vii] which refers to the month of the Libyan uprising (February) against Qaddafi's regime.

Arabic script was often associated with religious affairs, for instance, in translating Islamic faith books from Arabic to Berber (El Aissati, 2011). In this connection, Berber names are usually written in the same direction as is used in the Arabic language.

Although Tuareg have prolific literature, poems, riddles, fairy tales, and proverbs, Targia is still orally transmitted across generations (Prasse, 1995). The use of Tifinagh is traditionally confined to short texts, brief epigrams, inscription on stones, bracelets, rawhides, shields and personal stuff (Cline, 1953, p. 275). Keenan (2004) points out that the Northern Tuareg (Libya and Algeria) have a limited usage of Tifinagh.

The data showed that 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; more details about Tuareg's proficiency in writing Targia and Arabic and their attitudes towards acquiring the Tifinagh are, respectively, illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5. The following quotations emphasize that the utilization of the Tifinagh is rare and the Arabic alphabet is the alternative in writing Targia:

> …, it is very rare to find Libyan Tuareg writing in Targia, but writing in Targiausing the Tifinagh is widespread in Mali and Niger and even Algeria. **(R, age: 47, male, Ghat)**

[vii] This TV channel was shut down after the eruption of the Libyan civil war in 2015.

I can write in Targia using Arabic Alphabet… I think Targia should be taught as a subject in schools. **(Muna, age: 33, female, Barkat)**

Tuareg literature is orally transmitted and even with the recent official linguistic recognition Targia obtained, it is doubtful and too early to state that literacy acquisition is in its incipient stage. This seems to be due to the absence of any serious efforts and real institutional support to teach Targia on the ground. It is true that efforts have been launched by international bodies such as UNESCO to make the Tuareg literate in their languages, yet Libyan Tuareg have been distanced from such efforts due to several factors depicted in this chapter. During the 1970s, more vital efforts were made in Mali and Niger to teach children their language instead of French, the language of administration. A conference concerning Tuareg orthography was held in 1966 in Bamako, the capital of Mali. In considering such efforts, particularly those related to the literacy process, few developments have been made for the Tuareg language compared to other linguistic programmes launched in the area to develop other spoken languages such as Bambara and Hausa (Prasse, 1995).

2.4.6 Mutuality of understanding Berber and Tuareg dialects

The understanding between speakers of the Berber language is another issue since it is difficult to assess to what extent they understand each other (Cline, 1953). This is due to the existence of so many sub-classifications of Berber varieties and the absence of codified and standardized language (Cline, 1953; Sayahi, 2014). In fact, the lack of a standardized written language is one of the factors that led to a decline in using Berber (Boukous, 1997 as cited in Sayahi, 2014). Although some Berber varieties are mutually comprehensible, particularly neighbouring dialects, others are significantly differentiated in terms of their lexicon, phonology and morphology (Brenzinger, 2007, p. 124; Cline, 1953, p. 268; Sadiqi, 1997, p. 13; Sayahi, 2014, p. 17). For instance, no

difficulties encounter speakers of Zenata in comprehending each other 'as soon as certain phonetic difficulties have been overcome'; however, it is difficult, if not impossible, for speakers of Zenata to converse with speakers of Berber Tashehilt, a Sanhaja variety (Cline, 1953). Sadiqi (1998 as cited in Brenzinger, 2007, p. 125) states that Kabyle (Sanhaja variety) and Tarifit (Zenata dialect) are mutually comprehensible, however. There is no standard Berber language in Northern African countries. For instance, there is no recognized standard Berber language in Morocco yet there are three essential varieties (Tamazight, Tashelhit, Tarifit) which are not "mutually intelligible" (Betahila & Davies, 1992, p. 198)[viii]. It seems that the key factor of the dialectal similarities is greatly associated with geographical proximity (Sadiqi, 1997, p. 13).

In this vein, the majority of Libyan Tuareg, as displayed in Figure 2.4 and narrated in the following extract, reported that the varieties spoken by Libyan, Algerian and Moroccan Berbers are incomprehensible to them.

> The one spoken in Libya is more understandable than in the other countries, but sometimes when two fluent Amazigh speakers speak to each other, it is difficult to understand. There are some similarities in some expressions like, the sky, the earth, water, but again there are differences in the structure, the speed of the speech and the pronunciation of the words though they say the opposite. **(K, age: 52, male, Isyan).**

[viii] In 2003-2004 the Moroccan government launched a program to teach the main Amazigh varieties spoken in Morocco (Tarifit, Tashelhit, Tamazight) as well as a standardized language in primary public schools across the country. The three dialects are taught in the first grade of primary school and then followed by the standardized version in the second and third grades (El Aissati et al., 2011)
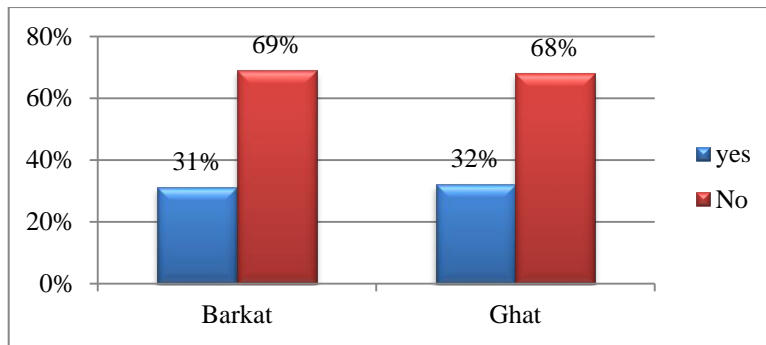
***Figure 2.4*: Q: Do you understand other varieties of Berber language spoken in Libya Algeria and Morocco?**

Rodd (1926, p. 33) mentions that the languages or dialects spoken by Tuareg do not vary too much. That is to say, those speakers of Tuareg dialects, Tamaheq, Tamasheq and Tamajeq had no significant linguistic impediments in understanding each other. This is consistent with the significant proportion of Libyan Tuareg in Barkat and Ghatian communities who claimed comprehending Targia spoken in neighbouring countries, Figure 2.5.
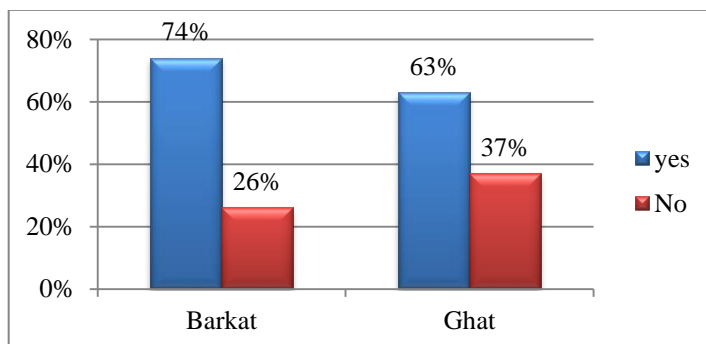
***Figure 2.5:* Q: Do you understand other varieties of Tuareg language spoken in neighbouring countries?**

However, the information elicited from interviews indicates that mutual linguistic intelligibility among Tuareg speakers is variable. For example, interviewees said, as enumerated below, that Algerian Tuareg language is more understandable compared to other neighbouring countries, namely Malian and Nigerian Tuareg. This is due not only to the geographical proximity, and historical administrative affiliation but also to

the affinity or blood relationship with Algerian Tuareg, particularly those settled in

Djanet and Illizi towns on the Algerian borders, since the area extending from Ghat to

Illizi was considered as one confederation (Ajjer Confederation).

> Regarding Algeria, from Tasili to Targa in Awbari, they speak Tamaheq,
> no differences, the same tongue, the same dialect. However… **(F, age: 51,
> female, Ghat)**.

Unlike the older generations, the Tuareg younger generation seems to encounter

linguistic problems in understanding Algerian Tuareg. This may echo a decline and a

lower level of competence in speaking Targia and thus, suggest a shift towards Arabic;

see Chapter 4.

> They are different. For Malian Tuareg, I understand just few words, very
> difficult expressions. You can notice the differences in the vocabulary used
> even among the dialects spoken in Ghat, Barkat, Al-Aweinat. For example,
> the word عصير /ʕasˁiːr/ meaning "juice" is named differently in these areas.
> **(S, age: 33, male, Ghat)**

The data obtained from the interviews suggests, contrary to the literature, that the

other Tuareg varieties, spoken in Mali and Niger are not wholly intelligible for Libyan

Tuareg regardless of their ages. It could be the case that Tuareg varieties were once

mutually comprehensible among all Tuareg in the area. However, the historical

developments, the emergence of new states after the colonization period and the

demarcation of the superficial borders may have diminished the easy and constant

contact among Tuareg and created a new linguistic profile, resulting in making Tuareg

dialects spoken in the five countries less mutually intelligible. The following

quotations demonstrate that lexical and phonetic difficulties impede the understanding

of neighbouring Tuareg varieties, particularly, Malian Tuareg:

> See, the original Targia is understandable but when you talk about dialects,
> it is difficult for those who learn Targia inside Ghat to understand other
> Varieties. They (Malian and Nigerian Tuareg) speak different dialects and
> use different vocabs. For example, in Niger Tuareg use the word قاوا"gaua"
> meaning sit-down, but for Tuareg of Ajjer they say قيم "geim". For a camel:
> we say أنيس "anis", but others say أمنيس "amnis". There are Ajjer Tuareg

who live in the southern region of Algeria, in Djanet. People in this area speak the same dialect. **(A, age: 71, male, Ghat)**

The understanding of these dialects depends on the extent you communicate with them. I can say that 70% of the expressions are similar. Targia speakers in Niger are influenced by Hausa, and Targia speakers in Algeria are influenced by French language while Targia speakers in Libya are influenced by Arabic. **(Amb, age: 46, male, Barkat)**

Indeed, Libyan Tuareg reported as depicted in Figure 2.6 and narrated in the following extract that they speak different varieties though some are mutually intelligible:

It is important to raise your attention that Targia spoken in Ghat, the centre, is different from the one spoken in Barkat. They have different accents or pronunciations. **(R, age: 47, male, Ghat).**
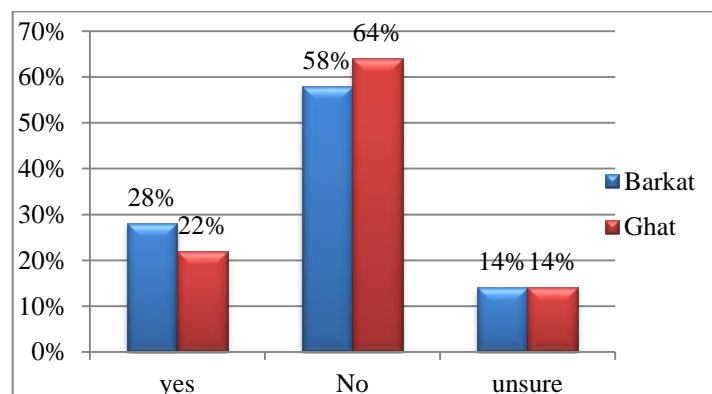
Figure 2.6: **Q: Do you think that all Libyan Tuareg speak one variety?**

2.4.7 The influence of Arabic on the Berber and Tuareg languages

Berber language was initially influenced by the Arabic language during the Muslim conquest. This impact was throughout two periods: the first was during the seventh century AD when Muslims conquered Cyrenaica in 642 and then, after two years, they moved to Tripolitania (Tripoli today). Fezzan province, where the majority of Tuareg tribes live, was also under Muslim control in 663.

Cline (1953, p. 271) generalizes that the influence of Arabic language has extended to replace Berber even in unofficial domains. He correlated the shift towards Arabic

with economic factors and the geographical proximity to Arab areas and the contact with them. He mentions that most Berber speakers are bilingual, speaking Arabic and Berber at varying degrees of command but he pointed to the lack of a "detailed survey" to examine the linguistic status of Berber. Brenzinger (2007, p. 128) mentions that more than two-thirds of North African Amazigh only command Arabic languages.

Strictly speaking, most of the Libyan Berbers in Jabel Nafusa in the western region of Libya are bilingual (Cline, 1953). They, either in Jabel Nafusa or Zuwara, have an intensive contact with Arab towns. In this respect, Fasold (1984, p. 241) proposes that geographical proximity might be a factor of language shift.

Comparatively, Cline suggests that "though no general estimate has been published for the Tuareg, the majority are probably bilingual, speaking Hausa or Songhai, if not Arabic, in addition to Berber" (p. 272). It could be the case that Tuareg in neighbouring countries are speakers of Hausa, in addition to their native language, due to the vigorous existence of Hausa speakers, for example, in Niger; but in Libya Hausa is spoken by a minority group based in Ghat, few compared to Berber in general and Tuareg in particular. Thus, it seems that Hausa has no influence on Libyan Tuareg.

> **Interviewer:** Has Targia been influenced by Hausa? For example, do you mix with Hausa terms when you speak Targia?
>
> **Interviewee:** "no, but Hausa speakers use Arabic terms when they speak Hausa, the same thing as Tuareg do. **(M, age: 41, male, Ghat)**

Many Libyan Tuareg, particularly the older and the middle age groups, are bilingual but they are monoliterate in Arabic. This reflects the hierarchical linguistic relationship, the influence of the educational system and the functional and symbolic capital of Arabic (See also Chapters 4, 5)

It is the influence of the Arabization process rather than Berberization being"unidirectional" (El Kirat, 2007, p. 711). Hoffman (2008, p. 23) points out that

language shift in the Sous valley in Morocco where Tashelhit and Arabic-speaking communities exist goes one way, i.e., speakers drift away from Tashelhit to Arabic. The attachment to Arabic, which in turn extended to Moroccan Arabic through "ideological elision", was mainly affiliated with "religious piety" (Hoffman, 2008, p. 24). The symbolic, cultural, political, social and economic capital led to the emergence of a linguistic hierarchical relationship in which "Moroccan elites" favour Moroccan Arabic at the expense of Berber and even French. It is the "status stressing values" which are associated with Arabic and gave rise to Arabization in Morocco rather than Berberization (Sadiqi, 1997, p. 14).

Few cases of religious Arab groups dwelling in the middle Atlas and the Aures and Kabyle regions were reported to have learned Berber (Cline, 1953). Al-Wer (1999, p. 258) states in her study on Caucasian Jordanians (Circassians and Chechens) that few cases of Arab Jordanians have acquired Chechen or Circassian.This was due to their regular contact with members of the two communities. Likewise, the Berberization phenomenon is rare in Libya, i.e., speaking Berber by Arab groups. The only case in which Arabic speakers have learned Targia due to close and frequent contact with Tuareg speakers are reported is in the following narration where an Egyptian woman settled in Ghat and learned not only Targia but also Hausa:

> If you stay here for a long time, you will learn Targia. An Egyptian lady settled in Ghat and learned Targia and Hausa. Here few people speak Hausa Barkat. **(D, age: 55, male, Barkat)**

Borrowing from Arabic is a clear phenomenon in the Berber language (Hoffman, 2008, p. 22). Fasold (1984, p. 241) refers to the "imbalance" borrowing from the predominant language into the minority languages as an aspect that may reflect a late stage of language shift.

The percentage of borrowing from Arabic depends on the extent of contact with the Arabic-speaking communities (Cline, 1953). For instance, 60% of the words of the Berber variety (Siwi) spoken in Siwa, a Berber oasis located on the Libyan/Egyptian border, are of Arabic origin though Vycichi (2005 as cited in Brenzinger, 2007) refers in particular to the role of the formal educational institutions and military services in Arabic spread.

However, Arabic language influence is lesser on Tashelhit, a variety spoken in the Anti-Atlas Mountains in Morocco, and the least on the Tuareg language (Cline 1953, p. 271). This is probably due to the variation in the "natural settlement" which makes these languages concentrated in particular locations (Crystal, 2003, p. 89). Hoffman (2008, p. 22) maintains that lexical borrowings from Moroccan Arabic exist intensively in Tashelhit whereas Tashelhit phonetic characteristics and loanwords are found in Plains Moroccan Arabic in Sous.

The extent of the assimilation of Arabic loanwords into the structure of Berber is "extremely variable". A case in point is the maintenance of the Arabic definite article "el" as an integral unit of the Berber noun. In certain fields such as religion, Arabic language presented new lexical borrowings which were "unknown" in Berber language (Cline, 1953).

As for Tuareg, Kossmann (2013, p. 16) states that "most Tuareg live outside the sphere of influence of spoken Arabic". There is some geographic basis for this claim in the case of Libyan Tuareg since, for instance, the closest Arab city to Ghat and Barkat, is about 600kms away. Kossmann points to the absence of grammatical and semantic influence of Arabic on Tuareg language but indicates loanwords from Classical Arabic in the religious domain. However, I argue based on the data demonstrated in this

research that the lexical influence (loanwords) of Arabic extends to include economic, social and political domains.

2.5 The impact of external factors on Language shift

Brenzinger (1992, p. 224) states that the decision of giving up a given native language should not only be attributed to one single factor but rather "be understood as a response to the changing conditions in the entire environment". Thus, examining language vitality requires considering various and interrelated factors (Sallabank, 2010, p. 56) because of the complexity and differences in language use patterns (Brenzinger, 2007). For instance, the transformation caused by political, economic, demographic, cultural and language policies have been proved to be contributors for not only language shift and death, but also maintenance (Fasold, 1984; Giles et al., 1977; Romaine, 1989; Sasse, 1992; Trudgill, 1991; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] report, 2003). Crystal (2003, p. 88) refers to the complexity of diagnosing the process of language death due to the variety of factors. He describes efforts to determine one single factor of this phenomenon as "controversial" because the forces that trigger the shift vary from one location to another and what seems to be relevant in a particular place might be irrelevant in another (Crystal, 2003, p. 88), that is to say, "language shift is always case-specific" (Brenzinger, 1992, p. 250). Such variety gives the reason why, as Crystal puts it, "a language does not usually die uniformly" (p. 88).

Batibo (2005, p. 93) refers to the pressures exerted by the dominant languages on the weaker languages, which often result from the influence of external factors, as crucial forces causing language shift and death in Africa. The speakers of the weaker or minority language become more dependent on the predominant language which is

utilized not only in inter-ethnic communication as a lingua franca but also in intra-ethnic interactions. More involvement in the economic and politically-rewarded processes and developments, such as democratization and modernization launched by governments, leads the empowered groups to more participation, reliance on the "greater general good", administrative assimilation, shifting to the language of the powerful group and eventually loss of ethno-linguistic vitality (Fishman, 1991 p. 63). In his postulated Gaelic-Arvanitika model, Sasse (1992) suggests three phenomena through which the process of language shift and eventually language death may take place (See Section 1.4). He maintains that the External Setting (ES) phenomena are of particular importance since they represent various sources of political, socio-economic, cultural and demographic pressures which in turn trigger language shift.

2.5.1 Governmental language policy towards non-Arab ethnic minorities

Giles (1977 et al., p. 316) asserts that the survival and the vitality of an ethno-linguistic group is substantially upheld, at the formal level, by its presence in the official and public institutions and its influence on decision-makers. For instance, the lack of implementation of a minority language in the state educational system would weaken its linguistic vitality. In her monograph on the Vlach community in Greece, Koufogiorgou (2003) states that the absence of teaching Vlach in the school curriculum was one of the elements that caused the shift to Greek. At the informal level, the linguistic vitality of an ethnic minority is supported by the existence of well-organized local institutions, cultural centres and organizations related to this group in order to fulfil their ambitions as well as to face up to any pressures exercised by the dominant group (Giles et al., 1977 p. 316). UNESCO report (2003, 2) points to the

imperative need for the governmental and local communities' support to establish a significant role of minority languages through media, economy, education and politics.

Language status, to a great extent, is influenced by language policy which in turn is affected by the role played by the political factors. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998, p. 60) point out that laws and English-only language policy were direct causes of the loss of some Native American languages in Alaska and describe the necessity to master English and assimilate into the Anglo-American culture as "weapons left to Native people" to gain their rights of citizenship. Indeed, Janse (2003, p. 2) descibes language policy as a "decisive factor in language death". Trudgill (1991, p. 68) refers to the role of "political action" to reverse language loss. Pandharipande (2002, p. 228) found that the retention and the shift of a given language could be supported by external factors such as language policy. According to Boukous (2011, p. 57), a language is legitimized and empowered through its official recognition, use by political bodies and educational institutions. That is the institutional support. The implementation of Amazigh languages in the educational system across Maghreb countries, namely in Morocco and Algeria, is a recent phenomenon. Boukous (2011, p. 59) asserts that the recognition and utilization of Amazigh language in the school curriculum in Morocco has played a vital role in upgrading its status to a level closer to Moroccan Arabic but still lower than Standard Arabic and French.

2.5.1.1 Language policy before and after 1951

Unlike the majority of other Arab countries, which were under French and British rule, Libya was one of the few Arab countries colonized by Italy in 1911.[ix] During the era of colonization, Italian governments attempted to impose the Italian language as a

---

[ix] After World War II and the defeat of Italy, Libya was divided into three provinces, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan. Fezzan was a French protectorate until independence in 1951.

medium of instruction in schools, yet this policy failed to achieve its goals (Golino, 1970, p. 344; Spolsky, 2004, p. 135). This failure was due to the strong rejection of Italian as the language of occupation and the absence of local people's intentions and lack of time to engage in schools. Italian was also "the least prestigious" language compared to other colonizing cultures that spread across the Arab world during the first half of the 20th century (Golino, 1970). The resistance to Italian as a cultural language continued after the independence of Libya in 1951 when Italian was replaced by Arabic as the official language in the country. The 1951 constitution stipulated in articles (3) and (186) that Libya is a part of the Arab world and Arabic is the official language.

Article (3)

"المملكة الليبية جزء من الوطن العربي وقسم من القارة الأفريقية"

"The Kingdom of Libya is a part of the Arab Home land and a portion of the African Continent"

Article (186)

"اللغة العربية هي اللغة الرسمية للدولة"

"Arabic shall be the official language of the State"

For the following decade after independence, 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. In spite of 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 (See 5.5.3.). For instance, one of the former Prime

Ministers of the monarchy, Mazik, referred to Libya as a "nation proud of its Arab character" (Golino, 1970, pp. 345,349) though the name of the kingdom did not internalize the "Arab" aspect. Indeed, Al-Rumi (2009, p. 3) mentions, based on a study conducted on the Berber community by an Italian ethnographer during the Italian occupation in 1932, that Berbers had become an Arabic-speaking community.

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). The first school established in Tuareg areas was the French school in Ghat after the Second World War in 1947. Some of the interviewed elderly people reported that the first language they learned in the school was French, yet after independence in 1951 Tuareg engaged in the Arabic state schools. The following narrative summarizes the linguistic situation in the pre- and post-independence era in Ghat region:

> I was born in 1941 and witnessed a time where there was no Arabic. I remember we entered a French school in 1947 and at that time we only know Targia, no Arabic…There were no schools; the only thing we know is agriculture, no Arabic. I learned French before Arabic and the old people at that time were not convinced to study in schools and this is why few people of the oldest generation speak Arabic. …This situation lasted to the year of independence in 1951. After the independence, Arabic schools alternated French schools. …in 1963 we returned to Ghat which was at that time more urbanized and we joined the Arabic school until we got the primary school certificate. Then, we started working in farms until 1974. I worked as nurse and I remember that I used to translate from Targia to French because doctors at that time were French. **(M, age: 71, male, Barkat)**

As a consequence of the Arabization policy, Berber speakers in the eastern region of Libya, in Awjila and in Sokna and El-Fogha in the middle, entirely assimilated with Arab culture. Berber languages in the latter two towns are believed to be extinct (Kossmann, 2013, p. 25). Those inhabiting the Nafusa Mountain in the western region

in Nalut, Yefern, Jadu and Kabao have maintained their native language in informal domains whereas Arabic has been used in other domains. As recounted in the previous extract, Targia was the dominant language in the Tuareg area since Arabic or Classical Arabic was only taught in the mosque or Al-Katateeb (Holy Quran circles). French was the second language for the Tuareg due to the existence of French schools and French administration in the area until 1951, the year of independence.

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)

"كل 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."

2.5.1.2 Language schools after 1969

Since the 1969 coup, Libya has undergone a dramatic socio-political and economic transformation.[x] 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

---

[x] On September 1969, a group of military officers led by the Colonel, Muammar Al-Qaddafi overthrew the monarchical regime in an army coup.

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) (Almasudi, 1999). The first Prime Minster 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.

Literacy rates have increased and Libya has become the most literate country in Northern Africa with about 88% of literate men as opposed to 76% of women (Pereira, 2007a, p. 57). The National Report of Libya (2008, p. 4), presented by the General People's Committee for Education to the International Conference on Education in Geneva, ignores the reference to the indigenous languages and states that one of the main objectives of education is to "develop the students' sense of national belonging, and deepen their pride of the Arabic Nation…", as well as to "enhance the students' love of the Arabic language" (p. 5). Syllabi and curricula were designed to serve the government's nationalistic ideologies which were mainly inspired by Pan-Arabism, adopted during the post-colonial era and influenced by the Libyan elites who were in exile in different Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria and Tunisia (Al-Rumi 2009; Golino, 1970, p. 350,). Indeed, the regime's policy meant not to allude to the Amazigh and other minorities' history and culture in the textbooks.

Teaching minority languages in state or even private schools was prohibited and in fact, in 1986,[xi] 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". It is true that the previous regime 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 (see section 4.5.3.). 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".

A translation movement was launched to arabize non-Arabic lexicons implied in the school curriculum, public and official institutions and this included the introduction of new names of the months of the year during the 1980s (Pereira, 2007a). Arabic has become the language of administration, media, public and official institutions, street signs and public landscapes, whereas the use of minority languages was supressed and confined to the intimate domains such as homes. In this vein, a controversial decree was issued in 2001 to ban giving new-borns names other than Arabic names, though this law was also imposed on Arab people. Berber and Tuareg toponyms alternated with Arabic names, for instance, "Nafusa Mountain", the name of the area where most of the Berbers live was replaced with the Arabic name "Al-Jabel Al-Gharbi" meaning the Western Mountain and indeed, all street signs which had been written in foreign languages such as English and French, were removed as a result of the state's policy.

[xi] The use of English was confined to the scientific departments at the universities.

2.5.1.2.1 The Arabization movement

Compared to the linguistic atmosphere of the Northern African countries such as Morocco and Algeria, the Arabization process in Libya has been implemented smoothly and successfully. One reason for this success was due, contrary to other Northern African neighbouring states, to the non-existence of rival languages such as French, Spanish and even Italian. Additionally, it is the politically weak position of the non-Arab ethnic groups who are numerical minorities in Libya (10%) compared to Berbers in Algeria and Morocco (25% and 40% respectively). As mentioned earlier in this section, the denial of the identity of non-Arab ethnicities was vigorous in the 1969 Declaration and also in the 1977 Cultural Revolution[xii] where Qaddafi's dictatorial rule stressed the view of Arabizing Libya and denied the existence of other ethnic minorities. During Qaddafi's reign, different policies were applied towards the non-Arab minorities ranging from an aggressive policy, entire ethnic cultural and linguistic denial as in the case of Berber "flat denial", to a partial culturally implicit recognition and friendly policy as in the case of Tuareg (Al-Rumi, 2009, p. 2). Tuareg culture and traditions were magnified and romanticized by the manoeuvres of the Libyan national identity, not only during this era, but also over the monarchical period (Al-Rumi, 2009; Golino, 1970; Kohl, 2014). Tuareg culture was implemented to serve the regime's strategy in the tourism industry but not much more than this.

As a consequence of these economic and political influences, the Libyan Tuareg of the Ghat and Barkat communities have complied, like the majority of Libyans, with the state's policy and assimilated into the wider Libyan Arab community. They have basically favoured the economic, social and local political benefits obtained from

---

[xii] In 1977, Qaddafi's regime replaced the 1969 Constitutional Declaration with the Declaration of the Establishment of the Authority of the People.

belonging to the state and sheltered themselves from the unknown fate encountered by their co-ethnics in the neighbouring countries.[xiii]

The integration of non-Libyan Tuareg, particularly Maghaweers, into Libyan society was to a great extent affiliated with and relied on the previous regime as many of them left the country after the collapse of Qaddafi's rule with their weapons, and joined their co-ethnics in Mali. Their loyalties seem to be immensely associated not only with the state of Libya but with their tribes in the neighbouring countries (multiple and elastic identities); see Chapter 5.

Unlike Tuareg, a hostile policy was applied to Berber speakers during Qaddafi's regime, starting from cultural and linguistic "genocide" and ending in a complete denial of their ethnic identity and physical persecution, though this was not confined to Berbers. Such an antagonistic policy "did not go unchallenged" since Berbers refused to be identified as Libyan Arabs and launched a resistance movement from outside Libya by some exiled and diaspora Libyan Amazigh activists and organizations such as Tamazgha, based in Paris, and through the support of the UN institutions to campaign for their cultural and linguistic rights (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 140).

However, as a result of the pressures exercised by the UN institutions, the international community, and Amazigh cultural movements outside the country on Qaddafi's regime to stop the discrimination against Libyan minority groups and the denial of their access to their linguistic resources, as well as the increased influence of his son, Safe Al-Islam,[xiv] Berber identity gained a partial ethnic and cultural recognition (Al-Rumi, 2009; Kohl, 2014; Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 141). For the first time, Libyan Berbers were allowed to hold the first Amazigh Congress in 2007 to

---

[xiii] Neighbouring Tuareg, mainly in Mali and Niger, were marginalized and away from the central governments.

[xiv] Safe Al-Islam is Qaddafi's eldest son and was nominated to be the next president of Libya. He was more open and flexible in his relations with Western countries and towards the cultural rights of other Libyan minorities. He launched the project of "Libya's Future/ Libya's Tomorrow".

discuss issues concerning Berber culture and education and to present Amazigh symbols and indices in the state's events. The ban on giving newborns Berber names was lifted and increased visits made by Safe Al-Islam and the Prime Minister to Amazigh regions were observed (Al-Rumi, 2009).

Such dramatic changes in favour of minorities' profiles were turned over by Qaddafi's public speech regarding Berbers in which he completely denied Berber as a separate identity. According to Qaddafi's view, Berber are Arab tribes who emigrated from Yemen to Libya by land and they were called Berber because the name (barr…barr) meant 'by land by land' (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 141). The idea of embracing or calling for an identity other than Arab or outside the boundary of Arab identity was entirely rejected and considered as a call for a separate state and a discourse invented by previous colonization (Al-Rumi: 2009; Kohl, 2014). This process is what Irvine (2001, p. 42) refers to as the process of "erasure" where the notion of the "illusion homogeneity" is established and not only the linguistic but also ethnic differences are denied. Indeed, those who believe in and support such a claim (the distinctive identity) were considered "agents of colonialism" (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 141).

2.5.1.3 Language policy after the 2011 uprising

The Tuareg language in the neighbouring countries seems to have a better formal status as it was officially treated as a national language since the independence of these countries (Kossmann, 2013, p. 29). For instance, Tamasheq and Tamajeq, the languages spoken in Mali and Niger, respectively, were recognized in the constitutions

of these countries in 1982, Decree No. 159 Article (1) for the former language and in 1999, Article (3) for the latter.[xv]

In Libya, the 2011 revolution against Qaddafi's dictatorship and the fall of his regime was a great chance for non-Arab ethnic minorities to reassert their cultures, and to construct and reintroduce their distinctive identities. Libya has witnessed noticeable political reforms in which Libyan ethnic minorities gained some of their political, cultural and linguistic recognitions in the Constitutional Declaration issued in August 2011 by the Interim Transitional Council (see the following constitutional articles, 1 and 6).

Article (1)

"تكفل الدولة لغير المسلمين حرية القيام بشعائرهم الدينية، واللغة الرسمية هي اللغة العربية مع ضمان الحقوق اللغوية و الثقافية للأمازيغ والتبو والطوارق وكل مكونات المجتمع الليبي"

"The State shall guarantee for non-Moslems the freedom of practicing religious rituals. Arabic is its official language. The State shall guarantee the cultural rights for all components of the Libyan society and its languages shall be deemed national ones."

Article (6)

"الليبيون سواء أمام القانون، ومتساوون في التمتع بالحقوق المدنية والسياسية، وفي تكافؤ الفرص، وفيما عليهم من الواجبات والمسؤوليات العامة، لا تمييز بينهم بسبب الدِّين أو المذهب أو اللغة أو الثروة أو الجنس أو النسب أو الآراء السياسية أو الوضع الاجتماعي أو الانتماء القبلي أو الجهوي أو الأسرى"

"Libyans shall be equal before the law. They shall enjoy equal civil and political rights, shall have the same opportunities, and be subject to the same public duties and obligations, without discrimination due to religion, doctrine, language, wealth, race, kinship, political opinions, and social status, tribal or eminent or familial loyalty."

[xv] http://www.ethnologue.com/country/ML/status

This declaration has constitutionally secured the linguistic and cultural rights for all non-Arab ethnic minorities in the country in articles (1, 6), yet without categorizing these minorities. Arabic is still the sole official language in the state and the medium of instruction in schools. In spite of the recognition ethnic minorities obtained, political debates on the status, cultural and linguistic rights of those minorities have floated again on the surface. Such political disputes were mainly raised by Berbers of Nafusa Mountain and Zouara in the western region of Libya as well as by Tebou claiming that there was no obvious mechanism and real application of these articles to secure their constitutional rights. In fact, Berber speakers have demanded a greater recognition. Berbers' political, cultural and linguistic ambitions and demands are probably upheld by their struggle during the 17th of February 2011 revolution since they had many "martyrs" according to one of the Berber speakers (Kohl, 2014, p. 433).

The impact of such disputes was echoed on the ground through the media campaigns launched by the Berber TV, Ibraren, which was established after the 2011 uprising, through their protests in front of the building of the General National Congress. Tuareg of Awbari became involved in such campaigns when they shut down the Al-Sharara and El-Fiel oil fields.[xvi] The political contention was also reflected in Tebou, Tuareg of Awbari and Berber boycotts of the Constitutional Assembly to draft the permanent constitution of Libya in 2014.

As for Tuareg of Barkat and Ghat communities, they did not take part in any kind of demonstrations or protests to bring their cultural and linguistic rights implied in the Constitutional Declaration into action. Indeed, Ghatian and Barkat Tuareg have reported their satisfaction and positive attitudes towards the content of article (1) in the declaration as it includes their cultural and linguistic rights. However, they believe in

---

[xvi]Tuareg of Obuari have engaged in a form of coalition with Berber of Nafusa Mountain to campaign, not only for their cultural and linguistic rights, but also for their political rights.

giving more time to the new state to stand once again on its feet in order for their ambitions to be satisfied (See section 5.4.) regarding attitudes towards teaching Targia in schools and the recognition of their native language in the constitution.

There is no doubt that such recognition was a great step towards the process of revitalizing and bringing minority languages back to life. In fact, Berbers of Nafusa Mountain have already launched programs and forums concerning the process of teaching Tamazight in elementary schools though without the state's support. The local ministry of Jadu town in Nafusa Mountain, for instance, have organized courses for Tamazight teachers to start teaching the Tifinagh script and the Tamazight syntax.[xvii]

As for Tuareg, it seems that they have launched very timid efforts and programs to maintain and revive their heritage language, Targia. They have established some social and cultural organizations yet language is not their priority. The main focus of those organizations is to revitalize their cultural traditions, habits, and to enrich some of the tourist local and international festivities that take place in the area. Ghat, for example, witnesses a yearly tourist festival taking place in the Old Town of Ghat known as "Tourist Ghat Festival" whereas Barkat holds "Targia Song Festival" in which Tuareg youth in particular wear their traditional costume and perform plays in the Targia language but often mixed with Arabic. Another example is the introduction of some programs such as religious sermons and herbal therapeutics lessons broadcast in the Targia language through the air of Ghat Radio Local Channel. The use of Targia is due to the low competence of some of the older generation speakers in speaking Arabic and also to the influence of utilizing Targia in certain settings. According to Mat (male, age: 55), addressing people in Targia during the 17th of February uprising was very effective since it made the area very safe and secure, stopped people from breaking

---

[xvii] https://www.libyaherald.com/2012/11/22/jadu-begins-instruction-course-in-tamazight/

into public institutions, using weapons, and avoided the chaotic situation which was an aspect of that period and spread to many regions of the country.

2.5.2 Socio-economic factors

Another potent factor that may affect the linguistic status of a minority group is the control held by this group over the economy and marketplace (Giles et al., 1977, p. 310). Versteegh (1997) maintains that extra-linguistic factors such as socio-economic status can influence the linguistic behaviour of individuals in the case the speech community is characterized as both diglossic and bilingual. Indeed, Grenoble and Whaley (1998) prioritize the economic factor over other forces and regard it as the most effectual element in the destiny of the threatened language.

Before the discovery of oil in the late 1950s, the Libyan economy was mainly based on agriculture: dates, wheat, barley and olives, on pastoralism and the international grants and aids. This farming-based economy was intensively invested in and developed by the Italian colonizers who neglected other industries such as mineral extraction in the country, which needed massive exploitation and advanced techniques (El Mallakh, 1969).

During the Italian occupation and the 1950s of the monarchical period, the Tuaregs' main job was agriculture and this was due to the availability of water in Ghat, Barkat and their environs. Tuareg's main crops were dates, wheat and barley and these harvests were often exchanged for different kinds of animals when settled Tuareg met with Bedouin Tuareg in trade caravans. The following narratives show that Tuaregs essentially relied on farming as their basic source of food:

> In the past when people talk about the availability of something they often say "it is like the availability of water in Ghat" meaning that water was available everywhere. Tuareg know one thing; it is agriculture. We

have only farming. This situation lasted to the year of independence in 1951…Those Bedouin Tuareg used to come to Ghat during the wheat and barley season. They often brought different kinds of animals and exchanged them for wheat or barley. **(M, age: 71, male, Barkat)**

As they relied on agriculture, the Tuareg's main language was Targia. It was the language of communications. Indeed, there was a particular register affiliated with farming and known only by farmers. According to Tuareg people, some of these expressions have disappeared and are no longer in use. For instance, in one situation the researcher witnessed during the field study, an old Targi man stopped some Tuareg teenagers and asked them about certain agricultural words, yet the adolescents could not recognize them. In her study on the Chechen and Circassian communities in Jordan, Al-Wer (1999, p. 257) referred to agricultural lexical attrition among Chechen community due to the change in employment patterns. In what follows, interviewees recounted that Targia was the essential language of interactions and part of the language associated with agriculture had vanished:

> …and at that time Targia was the only language used in communication. There were no schools; the only thing we know is agriculture, no Arabic. **(M, male, age: 71, Barkat)**

> These terms are used only by older and oldest people. There are some expressions that are used only by farmers, related to farming or agriculture and understood only within this environment. There were particular calls connected with working on palm trees. When they asked for help, they had special calls. For example, certain signs (verbal signs) can be sent from a farm seeking for help. These expressions or signs were only understandable by farmers. Some of them are still used and some have disappeared. **(Ash, age: 45, Male, Barkat)**

However, cultivation was gradually replaced by the emergence of the petroleum economy, mainly during the 1960s with the commencement of oil extraction and production. For instance, the petroleum revenues dramatically increased from $40 million in 1962 to $900 million in 1969. It was also climatic change and negligence of

the agricultural sector, which in turn, led to a decrease in the agricultural products and increased the shift to the new economic structure making oil the main resource and base of Libya's economy.

The climatic factor seems to be a cause, though not the primary one, pushing the Tuareg to abandon farming their lands and to adopt a modern and more urbanized life. Related to this respect, the researcher observed during the fieldwork that many of the oases in the area have dried up and along the road extended between Ghat and Barkat, one can clearly see the adverse effect of the droughts on the palm trees that have withered and died.

The dependence on – and the investments in – the petroleum industry have accelerated the upgrading of the economic and social infrastructure which supported modernizing and urbanizing rural areas in the country.[xviii] In this vein, Libya may be compared with the rapid development Kuwait experienced during the 1950s. 13% of funds were allocated to education in which Arabic was the medium of instruction. The number of children who enrolled in schools increased from about 45,000 in 1951 to around 300,000 in 1968 which represented 85% of the population of school age and about 2,000 classrooms were added annually. The rate of illiteracy decreased from 81% in 1954 to 57% among males in the middle of the 1960s (El Mallakh, 1969).

The construction of about 3,000 miles of roads eased travel between remote areas including the remote oases, made them more urbanized, generated as well as enhanced more social and trade relationships (El Mallakh, 1969; Mason, 1982). More hospitals and ports were built and developed and the electreical power became more widely available compared with 1962. Thus, many people abandoned farming their lands and migrated to more urbanized areas where employment opportunities have been

---

[xviii] 75% of the country's budget was allocated to social and economic infrastructure during the 1960s.

provided. New salaried state jobs emerged based on these socioeconomic changes which have entirely regarded Arabic as the main language of this economy.

Qaddafi's regime subscribed to socialist ideologies in which the state holds the control of all official and public institutions,[xix] i.e., control over the entire economy, whereas private business was entirely forbidden during the 1980s (Escribano, 2015). The hydrocarbon sector has remained the dominant resource of Libya's economy. Such socioeconomic and political developments either during the monarchical period or Qaddafi's era, the introduction of free Arabic-Islamic oriented schools, centres of culture serving the revolutionary and socialist ideologies, sources of livelihood other than local agriculture (waged state jobs), some political benefits such as local political co-determination, free healthcare and housing, the equality principle, have immensely affected the Tuareg[xx] and transformed their life style and pushed them to participate in Libya's growing economy. This is what Fishman (1991, p. 63) indicates since such modernization increased engagement in and the dependence on the "greater general good". Such reliance encouraged the Tuareg to abandon Targia and led them to be assimilated into the wider Arab community, and consequently, the attachment to Arabic as an unavoidable choice.

In other words, Qaddafi's government adopted and pursued a policy of containment and temptation. In the light of all these rapid changes, the Libyan Tuareg turned away in large numbers from farming their own land and some other crafts such as iron-making or blacksmithing to waged work where Arabic, the language of employment, education, and the means to attain the desired social status and upward mobility, is prerequisite. Batibo (1992, p. 87) refers to the role of economy and urbanization in

---

[xix] The second volume of Qaddafi's Green Book was focused on the economic issues.
[xx] In fact, such dramatic changes have influenced all linguistic minorities.

forcing many Tanzanian speakers to shift to Swahili at the expense of their ethnic languages.

Comparatively, Libyan Tuareg seemed to be different from their co-ethnics in neighbouring countries who have been removed from the central government and have been marginalized. Such conditions as the neighbouring Tuareg encountered led them to a military resistance known as "National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad" to gain their independence and form their own state in northern Mali.

2.5.3 Marriage Patterns

The type of marriage is one of the significant external factors that influence the ethnolinguistic vitality of a minority group and its fate regarding language maintenance, shift or even death (Bagamba: 2007; El Kirat, 2007; Fishman, 1966; Giles at al., 1977, p. 314; Romaine, 1989, p. 39). According to Romaine, a high ratio of exogamous marriage may increase the incidence of language loss. Stevens (1985, p. 82) states that high proportion of language shift can result from high ratio of "ethnic exogamy or linguistic heterogamy" i.e., from the type of intermarriage when ethnicity and/or the mother tongue of the spouses do not match (linguistic and ethnic intermarriage). The practices of intermarriage may also affect the role language plays in constructing ethnic identity, particularly among children. Brenzinger (1992), for instance, maintains that the spread of interethnic marriage among the speakers of Yaaku, a minority language spoken in Kenya, and the speakers of Maa, a dominant neighbouring language, negatively affected the use of the former language since the Maasai women who intermarried with Yaaku men, and their children, did not acquire Yaaku. Such a shift also influenced the role the Yaaku language played in forging the ethnic identity of Yaaku children as speaking it was no longer an essential ingredient

for them to be defined as members of Yaaku. El Kirat (2007, p. 711) points to intra-ethnic marriage as an effective factor in retaining Berber language among Berber speakers of Souss and Rif in Morocco and Kabyle in Algeria.

In her study of 10 cross-language English/Afrikaans marriages, De Klerk (2001) found that English, the more prestigious language in South Africa, dominated the language used among the 10 families and their children. Afrikaans was used in very limited situations. Putz (1991, 282), in investigating the migrant German community in Canberra in Australia, points to the pivotal role of interethnic marriages, as an indicator of the shift, in boosting English as a lingua franca at the expense of German.

In the case of the co-existence of two languages within one family, parents exercise their language policy and "the patterns of language maintenance or shift are set in motion, which will determine whether the children will ultimately be bilingual or not" (De Klerk, 2001, p. 197). In this vein, many studies have shown that children of mixed language families have been able to maintain a high level of competence in both languages, yet this may depend on some factors such as the status of the languages and economic, historical and political factors as well as how inspired parents are in raising their children bilingually (De Klerk, 2001; Romaine, 1989, p. 42,). In a study conducted on 28 mixed marriage families (francophone women and anglophone men) in Ontario, Canada to find out whether the language and culture in these marriages supported shaping the linguistic boundary between English and French, Heller and Levy (1992, p. 39) concluded that linguistic mixed marriages "do not inevitably have to lead to assimilation to English, either on the part of the wife or on the part of the children". In her study on Caucasian community in Jordan (Circassians and Chechens), Al-Wer (1999, pp. 261-262)) found a complicated, "anomalous", case where the practised Arab-Chechen cross marriages did not necessarily lead to language shift.

Infact, she states that children have learned Chechen "regardless of which parent is non-Chechen".

Compared to endogamy practised by Armenians, a tight-knit community and relatively small population in Tehran, Iran, exogamy practices (though not the most important but in addition to a combination of other factors) among Azerbijani-Turkish Iranian community seemed to indicate a shift towards the predominant language in Iran, Farsi (Nercissian, 2001). The practice of intermarriage among the azerbaijani-Turkish speakers was due to the large size of their population and the common religious beliefs (Shiite sect of Islam) they share with the dominant group, Persians. Another case in point is the Ajam community in Kuwait who until recently practise in-group marriage as opposed to the Arab community who also marry from the same religious sect (Sunni Muslim) and tribes (Hassan, 2009). However, such practices have been ethnically and religiously changed over time since Kuwaiti Ajam people have espoused Kuwaiti Arab Shiites and Sunnis, yet a higher rate of mixed marriage is remarked between Ajam men and Sunni Arab women. Because of the crucial role played by Shiite women in maintaining religious rituals and since they are more influenced by men in their religious practices, it is not often the case that Ajam Shiite women intermarry Sunni Arab men. Linguistically, it is often the Ajam mother's responsibility to pass Eimi (Ajam's language) down to their children whereas Arabic is often transmitted by men. Accordingly, Hassan suggests that mixed marriages between Ajam men and Arab women "will result in the lack of use Eimi in the home domain" yet Eimi can be maintained and indirectly passed on to children in the case of endogamy practices (p.117).[xxi] Similarly, Welsh mothers seem to be more influential

---

[xxi] Even though Eimi was used as a secret language among Ajam families, children were able to acquire it.

and play a more potent role in transmitting Welsh to their offspring than Welsh fathers (Williams, 1987 as cited in Romaine, 1989, p. 41).

Bagamba (2007, p. 202) found in his study on a case of language shift among Nywagi Hema, a pastoral community, towards Kilendu, the language spoken by Lendu, a farming community in the north-east of the Democratic Republic of Congo, that mixed marriage between Nywagi men and Kilendu-speaking women was a means of this shift. He found later, with more investigation, that this abandonment was primarily caused by ecological conditions since the shortage in livestock due to cattle diseases (plague) and the fertility of Djugu land in the north led Nywagi men to intermarry "cheaper northern Hema woman". Due to their roles in managing their families' affairs, the northern Hema women were more influential regarding the process of language transmission to the younger generation. From a discussion with Algerian Berber speakers, the researcher has been told that among the Kabyle Berber community in Algeria, women may intermarry with Arab men as mothers often guarantee passing Amazigh on to their children. However, it is not often the case that Kabyle men espouse Arab women as Kabyle fathers are less influential in the process of transmitting Amazigh to their children.

Patterns of endogamous marriage have dominated Libyan Berber tribes until recently when some tribes lifted the ban on such types of marriage. For instance, a local decree was issued from the Zuwara People's Committee in 2000 to permit intermarriage between Berbers and Arabs. This increase in the out-group marriages has spread among other minorities such as Cretans in Susa, in the eastern part of the country.

Polygamy is a very common phenomenon among Libyan Tuareg community, mainly older people, yet this is in spite of the fact that Tuareg women enjoy a very

strong respectful social status. Mixed marriage practices have been observed within the Tuareg community, particularly among the middle and younger generations of the Ghatian community and it appears to be, in combination with other factors, an influential factor regarding the maintenance and shift of Targia. In what follows, the interviewee recounted that intermarriage is a common practice in Ghat and is likely to lead to language shift:

> In many cases you see mixed marriages and also women who are originally Tuareg but from different cities. **(Abed, Male, age: 43: Ghat)**

> Just one thing regarding the decline of Targia, I would say that the younger generation in Ghat get married from outside the Targi community; I mean from Arab ethnic background. For me I grew up in a Targi family, speak Targia with my family but my brothers got intermarried Arab women and this has influenced the language our children speak. Thus, those who speak Targia have influenced by those who speak Arabic. **(M, Male, age: 40, Ghat)**

The spread of mixed marriage in Ghat seems to be a result of the heterogeneous demographic nature of the population of Ghat as well as the level of education of the younger generation. Ghatian Tuareg who pursue their studies have a chance to establish more contact with other ethnic groups through the educational phases. The sect of religion seems to have no influence on the type of the marriage since the majority of the Libyans and the Libyan Tuareg in particular are followers of the Malki Sunni Sect.

In contrast, in-group marriage appears to be very common in the Barkat community because of the homogeneity of its population. Indeed, the researcher observed several cases of intra-ethnic marriage in Barkat in which the bride or the groom was from their co-ethnic Algerian neighbours in Janet or Illizi and thus, this could be an extra reason that made Targia more vibrant among the Barkat community.

In this study, the researcher came across various cases of mixed marriages, ethnically and linguistically. It could be the case that the husbands do not ethnically and linguistically match the wives as in the case of the following excerpt where a Targi man from Barkat intermarried with a Hausa woman. In such an example, Arabic has become the main medium of communication, lingua franca, among the spouses and consequently among the children who acquire it as the mother tongue. However, children are occasionally exposed to some Targia when they meet their grandmother. A similar example is stated by De Klerk (2001) who finds that English has dominated the language parents use with their children as well as the language used among children except for the situation in which offspring meet with Afrikaans people or their Afrikaans grandfather.

> **Interviewer**: What language do you use at home?
>
> **Interviewee**: We often use Arabic because my wife does not speak Targia. She is from Ghat (a Hausa speaker).
> **Interviewe:** you said you often use Arabic, when do you use Targia? Sometimes my children visit their grandmother and get some Targia words and therefore, I sometimes use a bit Targia with them. I often use Targia when asking them to do certain things.
> **Interviewer**: what about your children? What language do they use when they speak to each other?
> **Interviewee**: they do not speak too much Targia. Their use of Targia is confined to certain expressions such as come, go, otherwise they use Arabic. (**Mus, age: 42, male, Barkat**)

الباحث: لوجينا للحوش مثلا ايش اللغه السائده المستخدمه أكثر في الحوش؟

م: أكثرأكثر ياودي عربي لان المدام ماتفهمش في التارقي لأنها من غات

الباحث: انت قلت في الغالب عربي, فيه أوقات فيها تارقي؟

م: أحيانا مع الأطفال بالزات لم يكونوا كانو عند جدتهم اللي هي أمي ولما يرجعوا شادين كلمه وكدى, ناخذ ونعطي امعاهم بالتارقي

الباحث: العيال فيما بينهم مثلا ايش اللغه اللي ايهدوزا بيها؟

م: والله قليل التارقي كان انقولك تعال مثلا,امشي, ارقد ايقولهالي بالتارقي, ايلوحهالي بالتارقي وباقي الهدرزه بالعربي.

Another type of mixed marriage is when spouses are ethnically homogeneous but linguistically heterogeneous. A case in point is a Tuareg woman originally from the Arabic-speaking city, Tripoli, and a Tuareg husband from Ghat. In such a case and consistent with most findings in the literature, the mother seems to be linguistically more influential for children who have drifted away from Targia to Libyan Arabic. Indeed, even in the case of the mentioned Targi-Hausa marriage, the husband referred to his wife when I asked him about the language spoken at home as if he wanted to say that it is the mother's concern i.e., to a great extent children's linguistic behaviour is tied to the mothers' language policy. Tuareg women enjoy a very strong social position. Tuareg women share with Tuareg men the responsibility not only of the family matters but also work. She is the mother, the teacher at school, the doctor and nurse at hospitals, as well as her role in bringing up children. Interestingly, it is the women who often inherit the land in a process called *lħebs* where a group of women own a piece of land together.

The following quotations indicate the vital role of mothers in shaping children's language(s) and demonstrate how linguistic out-group marriage, though ethnically homogenous, may influence the intergenerational transmission and ultimately the status of Targia in terms of its shift or retention:

> My children from the first wife speak Arabic though they understand Targia. This is because my wife is originally from Tripoli and speaks Arabic. The second wife speaks Targia and accordingly she speaks to her children in Targia and they reply in Targia. My children from the first wife speak to each other in Arabic but my children from the second wife speak Targia. **(Haj, Male, age: 68, Ghat)**

Having said that, however, the data also suggests that even in the case of in-group marriages where parents are linguistically (have a competence in both Targia and Arabic) and ethnically homogeneous, mothers still have the most influential role in the

transmission process. The following excerpt reflects not only the mothers' pivotal role and the family language strategy in demarcating their children's linguistic behaviours but also shows that even in endogamous marriage practices the Arabic language is prioritized. This linguistic practice implies ideological forces resulting from the influence of political, economic and cultural factors.

> **Interviewee:** they (parents) know that everything is in Arabic and believe that if they speak only Targia with their children, they will encounter difficulties in learning Arabic. I speak Targia to my children in order to maintain their identity but my wife speaks to them in Arabic. They have been influenced by their mother (his wife). I myself encourage people using Targia in our daily life but they defend using Arabic by saying "we want to prepare their children for school and avoid them what we encountered when we were children."
> **Interviewer:** …, you mentioned that your wife speaks Arabic with your children, right? Is it because she cannot speak Targia?
> **Interviewee**: No, she knows Targia and I keep telling her that this is not right (Speaking Arabic with children) but she insists to use Arabic. My daughter now speaks both Arabic and Targia.
> **(Z, Male, age: 37, Ghat)**

Accordingly, it seems that the role of the mixed marriage practice in the transmission process and shifting towards Arabic is secondary.

To conclude this section, it can be suggested that ethnic and/or linguistic intermarriage is a common practice across the Tuareg community, particularly in Ghat though statistics are needed. As a result of their role in raising children, mothers often play a decisive role in demarcating the boundary of the children's linguistic behaviours. There are other cases in which Tuareg women intermarry non-Tuareg or even non-Libyan men yet it seems that the general trend of the mixed marriage practices among Tuareg is that it is men, not women, who often marry outside Tuareg community.

I argue that although the data demonstrated in this thesis reveals that intermarriage seems to have a role in drifting away from Targia towards Arabic, the linguistic

behaviours resulting from such marriage practices appear to be primarily influenced by ideological forces. These forces are constructed by the influence of the political, economic and cultural factors which favour the use of Arabic at the expense of Targia.

2.5. Summary

In this chapter, we have reviewed a number of social factors and historical events, which may have a causal effect on the patterns of language use and attitudes described below. This chapter brought out the historical developments, political, socioeconomic and cultural changes that played an effectual role in the transformation of Libya as a state. Tuareg have been politically, socioeconomically and culturally influenced by such developments which resulted in a complete adoption of the state's ideologies and assimilation with the majority group. This immense assimilation, in turn, has led to a change in the linguistic behaviour of Tuareg and the construction of new ideologies and identities, as detailed in Chapters 4-5, congruent with the previous regime's policy.

The analysis has also shown that the political transformation aimed to erase all the ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity and homogenise all Libyans within one ethnicity, Arab. For instance, linguistically speaking, the planners of language policy embraced the 'one language, one nation' policy in which Arabic was prioritized while cultural and linguistic repression was exercised on minority languages. Such oppression ended up marginalizing these weaker languages, prohibiting their use from public and official spheres.

Socioeconomically, the data reveal that factors such as the discovery of oil, modernization and the introduction of state wage and education have accelerated Tuareg contact with Arabic language and Arabic-speaking areas, which eventually has increased the dependence on Arabic at the expense of Targia.

Chapter 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Pilot study

This research was preceded by a pilot study conducted in summer 2014 among the Barkat community. It was an attempt to investigate the status and the vitality of Targia language in terms of its use within the Tuareg community in Libya. The evaluation of Targia in terms of its maintenance or shift required us to examine certain aspects such as language transmission across generations (children, parents, grandparents), as well as investigate the domains in which Tuareg heritage language is still used. This pilot study thus served to introduce many of the themes examined in greater detail in the following chapters.

Examining the Tuareg's attitudes and ideologies towards their native language as well as towards Arabic was another essential objective of the pilot study. Depending on the data gathered from interviews, questionnaires and the researcher's observations, EGIDS (Lewis & Simons 2010) was implemented as an evaluative framework of the vitality of Targia, with a comparison to its assessment in Ethnologue.

In fact, the pilot study was vital in the way it paved the road for a larger study. It helped the researcher to establish a strong social network within the Barkat community which eased access to the Ghat community later on during the Ph.D. study and thus gained the local people's trust as well as avoiding the risk of being seen as a stranger or suspicious visitor wandering around.

It was also crucial in giving preliminary results on the status of Tuareg language concerning its use, transmission across generations and the markets in which it is still utilized. Based on the information drawn from the pilot study, the researcher could develop survey questions that were appropriate to the privacy and nature of the Tuareg community (Simmons, 2001, p. 87). New questions were added; others adjusted or removed according to the answers obtained from the pilot study. For instance, some

questions turned out to be sensitive when asked and accordingly they were removed from the main study.

A conspicuous demographic picture of Libyan Tuareg living not only in Ghat and Barkat but also in other locations of the country was obtained during the pilot study. Non-Arab ethnic minority groups who live in the area are not officially classified in the official census yet the researcher could get information from elderly people about them as well as about the social structure of Barkat and Ghat and the adjacent villages.

3.1.1 Initial results from Barkat community

The linguistic picture that emerged from the pilot study indicated an incipient and gradual shift from using Targia towards Libyan Arabic. This gradual shift seemed to be increasingly rapid within the younger generation.

Arabic, the language of education and economy, has increasingly overtaken oral domains of using Targia. The attachment to Arabic has come as a result of language policies followed by Qaddafi's regime, which has led to parents' not passing Targia on and its undervaluation, particularly among the younger generation. Indeed, parents perceive Targia as a hindrance to social mobility and hence encourage as well as compel their children to speak Libyan Arabic and make it their linguistic choice at the expense of Targia.

In the case of intergenerational transmission, there is disruption and decline in passing Targia on from parents to their children, yet children still have access to Targia and speak it at different levels of competence. It is the parents' decisions, which emerged as a result of the positive ideologies they hold towards passing on Arabic at the expense of Targia within the home domain. Parents believe that learning Targia is taken for granted, i.e., learning Targia is guaranteed for children from other sources,

their siblings, grandparents and other domains such as the street and social events. Speaking Targia is completely prohibited in schools and not allowed during classes and indeed, it is completely unacceptable for the teachers themselves to speak Targia with students, as teachers believe that they may lose respect among their students. This resistance to using Targia in schools has probably resulted from the teachers' conception, belief and social experience of the school as a domain for using only Arabic. Such strict specification of using Arabic at school at the expense of Targia results from what Jaffe (2009, p. 392) describes as "foundational ideologies" in which, for instance, the linguistic relationship between Arabic and Targia is opposable and hierarchical – that is, "a single right language" should be used (p. 402). Such correct language is associated, for instance, with social mobility (Irvine, 2001, p. 33). This iconic, opposable, rankable linguistic relationship is imposed by the powerful state (top-down) but then comes to be experienced, naturalized, accepted, and ideologized by the grassroots a form of "essentialization" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 380). However, these school ideologies can be filtered, negotiated, challenged and recursively reproduced as in the case of using Targia in schools by teachers in informal settings. Irvine (2001, p. 38) refers to this process as "recursivity" in which many types of verbal interactions and situations at various levels are organized through "sociolinguistic differentiation" (See section 4.5.4.).

Attitudes towards Targia, the heritage language and Arabic (standard and Libyan) were investigated and it emerged that Tuareg people have a positive attitude towards these languages though Targia is stigmatized when assessed against Arabic. The vitality of standard Arabic has emerged mainly from its glorious history and its status as the language of education, administration and the Holy Quran. Standard Arabic *fusˤħa:* is used for "high functions", in writing, administration, broadcasting,

advertisements, and more importantly in religious affairs and worship (Classical Arabic) though Targia is also utilized in religious lessons but often outside the mosque, particularly when the addressees are from the older generation.

As for Libyan Arabic, it is well known that it is utilized on a daily basis by the majority of Libyans, and thus Tuareg people state that Libyan Arabic is the language through which they can communicate with all Libyans apart from the variety they use.

Targia was also positively assessed, obviously not for its economic gains but for its importance as the language of Tuareg culture, ancestors, and history cultural and social gains. The majority of participants in the three age groups in the pilot study expressed favourable attitudes towards preserving and learning Targia, yet negative attitudes have emerged among the younger age group towards teaching Targia in schools as well as recognizing it as an official language in the constitution.

It seemed that Tuareg attachment to Arabic has come as a result of the influence of collective factors such as double overlapping diglossia, media, language attitudes and the educational system. These factors result from political, socioeconomic and cultural forces which seem to be the triggers of a shift towards Arabic.

On the micro-level, it might be the case that the pilot study did not adequately examine the sociolinguistic reality of Tuareg people in the Barkat community, yet on the macro level, it did unveil, to some extent, the status of Targia concerning its use within this community as well as informants' attitudes towards preserving their heritage language.

3.1.2 Expanding the study

The idea of expanding the study to include two contrasting settled communities came to my attention while conducting the pilot study. I noticed an obvious distinction

between the two communities concerning the demographic structure and the extent of urbanization. For example, Barkat is a homogenous community consisting mostly of Tuareg whereas Ghat (the centre of the area) is composed of different ethnic backgrounds, mainly Tuareg, Arab, Hausa and other ethnicities. Interestingly, individuals of these groups are ethnically and linguistically different as, for instance, Arab people speak southern Libyan Arabic whereas the Hausa language is spoken by Hausa speakers who are originally from Niger. However, both groups use Libyan Arabic as a *lingua franca* in their communication. The intention was to include Ghatian Tuareg in this study to contrast their linguistic behaviours and attitudes and ideologies with the linguistic choice of their peers of the Barkat community. The aim was to investigate to what extent the demographic environment the two communities live in positively or negatively influences their linguistic code and ultimately affects the status of Targia in terms of its maintenance and shift. Barkat is a rural area surrounded by palm trees and farms whereas Ghat is a more urbanized area where modern buildings, as well as the main official and administrative institutions, can be seen. More focus on the relationship between language identity and ethnicity is also included in this study.

The number of participants in the pilot study was 26 (13 males and 13 females), all of them from Barkat, yet this study expanded to include 221 participants (114 from Barkat and 107 from Ghat). Internal and external factors that may cause the shift of Targia were examined in this study to gain deep understanding of this phenomenon. The process of language transmission was also extended to cover inter- and intra-generational transmission which includes parents and grandparents for the former and siblings and friends for the latter. The expansion of this study included investigations of various domains such as work, home, school, mosque and social events since the

increase or the decline of using a language in a certain domain can be a sign of language maintenance or language shift.

3.1.3 Overcoming difficulties

Conducting a study in any discipline in Libya during the time of my fieldwork was extremely dangerous since the military conflict between different militias had spread to different parts of the country. Having access to remote areas in the heart of the desert such as Ghat and Barket was really impossible as the only road available to give access to the area was blocked because of the ongoing civil war between Awbarian Tuareg and Tebou during the time of my study. I waited for more than three months until the sole airport in Ghat reopened again and finally I was able to reach the two communities. Regarding the security situations of Ghat, Barkat and the adjacent villages, they were safe enough and not affected by the 17th of February 2011 revolution. Stability in this area was an important factor.

3.2 Preparing for data collection

3.2.1 Access to the Barkat community

One of the most effective and expected ways to gain access to the Tuareg community was through introducing me as a friend of a friend. Being introduced to the community in this way, as cited in Milroy (1987), ended in building up and establishing a mutual trust with the participants. In fact, this is one of the benefits I gained from the pilot study when conducting it in the summer of 2014. I had the intention to rent a room in Ghat, yet my friend invited me to stay with him in his house. He offered me a large room built to host visitors and relatives, named *l-*

marbu:ʕa and this place gave me the advantage to interview, have discussions with and observe many people of different ages, children, adults and elderly people as well as with people of different levels of education. Accordingly, I gained more trust and good faith as I was introduced as a friend of a friend to the visitors though I am not a native speaker of Targia.

3.2.1.1 Tuareg Youth Association

Also important was the contact I had established with the Tuareg Youth Association which was established to support and make a contribution for Tuareg culture and traditions. I contacted the executive of the association through my friend, Mohammed, and accordingly, I was invited to an informal meeting with the active members. It was a good chance to introduce myself and my research to the society committee, show them a copy of the questionnaire I intended to distribute and illuminate the benefits the community may obtain from such a study. Thereby, I could establish a relationship with this association since it is very active with respect to preserving Tuareg heritage. Indeed, I interviewed some members and this was the gate through which I could meet and interview many of the local people.

This association melted the ice I encountered in my pilot study regarding interviewing females in this community. I contacted two female members of the association yet one of them could not carry on with us and apologized. The other female research assistant, Majeda, is a social activist. She is a very well-known person not only for the Barkat community but also for Ghatian Tuareg. Majeda was identified by the Association to help me in conducting females' interviews. It became clear to me as I had a discussion with her about the purpose and the objectives of the study that Majeda seemed to be familiar with interviewing not only females but also males. I

provided her with written instructions concerning the interview procedures that she should follow in conducting the interviews.

Also important was the role of my host friend who works as an employee in the Civil Registry Office in Barkat since he eased my access to other public and official institutions, and thereby I could meet and converse with employees, and even observe natural speech without taking part in the conversations at the work domain.

I could also have access to Ghat Radio Station and collected valuable audio-recordings, which include religious and herbal therapeutic lessons given in Targia. Such religious lessons primarily address elderly people who have a limited competence in speaking Arabic.

Building on this environment, I had a great chance to participate as an insider in many social gatherings such as family gatherings, weddings (the Contract), offering condolences, though these events were confined to males. Another important factor that afforded me easy access to the community is that I contacted some of the tribal dignitaries (*ʃeix* or leaders). Politeness required me to let them know about my study and hence both the researcher and the project were welcome and people did not hesitate to participate in the study as they heard that the leaders of the community (*lekba:r*) took part in it.

3.2.2 Access to the Ghat community

The difficulty of access to the Ghat community was due to its demographic nature. Multi-ethnic groups such as Arab, Tuareg and Hausa speakers do not settle in separate locations in the town, except for Tuareg returnees (Maghaweers), who migrated from neighbouring countries and settled in the Chinese company. However, it was the role of Amerja members through Mr. Ramadan, the executive, and Mr Aziz Baba, the

deputy, who contacted many of the paramount leaders to ease my access into the

community and arranged for the distribution of my questionnaire and conducting the

interviews. Ramadan and Aziz are Tuareg and they are well known not only across the

Ghatian community but also in Barkat, and they can speak Targia.

3.2.2.1 Amerja Association

Gaining access to Ghatian Tuareg would not have been achieved without the help of

the Amerja Association. Amerja is an active social and civil institution that often holds

and arranges social and cultural activities and competitions but not necessarily on

Tuareg culture. In contrast to the Tuareg Youth Association located in Barkat, Amerja

is composed of members of different ethnic backgrounds and situated in the middle of

a residential area. This strategic location offered me a great chance to meet with

Ghatian Tuareg and arrange for the interviews and the distribution of the questionnaire.

In fact, many of the interviews were conducted in the Amerja office. It was often the

case, after interviewing informants in Ghat, that I took a seat in front of Amerja's main

office with the deputy of the association, Azziz Baba, to chat with passers-by (Tuareg

and non-Tuareg people) but more importantly to observe and watch their daily natural

speech and linguistic choices with Tuareg and non-Tuareg.

3.3 Why mixed methods?

Mixed qualitative and quantitative approaches have been employed in this study to

increase validity and the "accuracy of the research findings and the level of confidence

in them" (Alexander et al., 2016, p. 121) and to examine the linguistic situation of

Tuareg from different angles (Sallabank, 2013, p. 71). Indeed, the use of mixed

methods entails the employment of two different qualitative methods in a project or

even two different quantitative methods. Mixed methods can be conducted in different sequences and accordingly, the results obtained from the first method are analysed before conducting the following method in order to generate ideas or illuminate and clear paradoxes. Mixed methods can be employed in parallel where the two methods are implemented more or less simultaneously (e.g., Creswell, 2003; Morse, 1991; Punch, 2005 as cited in Alexander et al., 2016).

Mixed parallel methods were utilized in the current study. Questionnaires were completed for quantitative analysis, while interviews supplemented with observation, were conducted for qualitative analysis; further details about the quantifiable data are demonstrated in section 3.5. Qualitative methods are essential to give more details and a deeper understanding of the linguistic and social situations. They also unveil any ambiguities concerning the responses extracted from the questionnaire. There are various benefits of combining the two methodologies in this research; for instance, any contradictory results obtained from the quantitative approach were tested, interpreted further and justified through the information extracted from the interviews (Sallabank, 2013: pp. 71-72). The implementation of combined methods can "not only help to increase the validity of the study but also widen the scope of the research and help to obtain a more comprehensive view of the situation" (Zwickl, 2002, p. 32).

In the present study, much detail, for example, about the domains of speaking Targia and how identity of communicators interacts with domains, was elicited from the interviews.

Other methods such as matched-guise task and identification task are inappropriate for this study since they are concerned with speech perception. For example, the focus of the former method is on the social traits attributed to speakers of different languages or dialects while the latter examines "the degree to which expectations about a speaker

(e.g., where they are perceived to be from) affect how their speech is processed"
(Drager, 2013, p. 58).

3.4 Qualitative methods

3.4.1 Interviews

Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 57-58) state that the most common approach
employed in sociolinguistics to collect data is interviews. They are less structured and
more flexible compared to the questionnaires and may involve either multiple
fieldworkers or participants.

According to Fielding and Thomas (2001, p. 124) interviews can be classified into
three types: structured interview, semi-structured and unstructured or focused
interviews. As for the standardised interview, the questions and the order in which they
are asked is the same in every interview. In the semi-standardised interview, crucial
and central questions are asked, yet the interviewer can alter the sequence of the
questions and elicit more information, bearing in mind that interviewees may provide
answers to certain questions beforehand. With respect to the unstructured or focused
interviews, interviewers have various topics and they phrase the questions they would
like to ask in the form they want and at the appropriate time without following a
certain order. Interviewers who adopt the non-standardised interview use specific
guidelines during the interviews.

It is the role of the interviewer to make successful interviews by adopting effective
techniques, good planning, preparing a list of topics to stimulate interviewees to
produce natural speech and generate talk. Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 58) mention
that there is a chance to extend the conversation through the interviews. Good

understanding of the speakers' behaviour can be elicited through the employment of interviews (Garrett, Coupland & Williams, 2003, p. 32). Interviews may also reduce the interviewees' reluctance to give answers as they get engaged in the discussions.

An integral part of the interview is a letter, or participation information form, requesting the participants to take part in this study and introducing the aim of the study. Trudgill (1974, p. 24) cites that securing goodwill of individuals, explaining the purpose of the study and lessening and dispel the informants' concerns and suspicions about the study are all reasons to issue a consent form. Furthermore, the name, telephone number and the email of the researcher and the researcher's supervisor of this research were included, just in case informants wanted to raise any issue or enquiries concerning the study.

Regarding the interviews of the present study, a set of questions was constructed to elicit and infer information about the linguistic practices, ideologies and attitudes towards the participants' native language, Targia as well as towards Libyan and standard Arabic. The interviews also aimed to capture data about what are believed to be the factors of language shift and to elicit more ethnographic information from elderly people about Tuareg people, the tribes living in the area, Targia's history, and Tuareg linguistic relationships with their neighbours.

This study often adopted semi-structured interviews, modelled on the classic sociolinguistic interview (Milroy & Gordon, 2003), but in some cases unstructured. In the semi-structured interviews, interviewees were asked certain questions but not necessarily in the same order. It was important and essential to adopt a semi-structured model since, for instance, interviewing females and children from the two Tuareg communities was often conducted by the two research female assistants and the researcher wanted to ensure that the information required from the interviews was

obtained. Therefore, giving instructions and a list of questions to the female research assistants was necessary to avoid any lack of data concerning Tuareg females and children (See section 3.4.2.). For the researcher, the interviews were often semi-standardised but in some cases, focused or unstructured interviews were followed, particularly in the case of interviewing groups of people where using semi-structured interviews would make the situation a bit formal. The data of the interviews were answers to direct questions and comments offered by the interviewees.

   The interviews in this study were conducted in an informal and flexible atmosphere. This eased gaining more information from the participants and clarified the ambiguity of the answers elicited from the questionnaires (Labov, 2006, p. 88). This, in turn, helped to interpret the participants' attitudes and ideologies and gave an insightful understanding of Tuareg linguistic behaviours. Participants were also able to bring up more interesting points about the use of Targia during the interviews, though maybe not related to the questions, and gave more details that would not be flagged in the questionnaires since, in the latter, respondents may feel that they are more inclined to pursue particular responses (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 35). It was often the case that the researcher had a completely informal conversation with participants before starting the interview, asking them about their families, traditions, habits, daily life, and interests. Also important to mention is the generosity and hospitality of the members of the Amerja Association in Ghat who always provided the interviewees and me with drinks and snacks during the interviews, particularly in a very burning area of the desert and hardship living. In many cases I was blamed for bringing drinks or snacks before conducting the interviews because they said "you are our guest". Because of this friendly environment, the interviewees felt more relaxed during the interviews and produced a good volume of information and natural speech.

In certain circumstances, particularly when dealing with illiterate people, interviews were a safe and effective choice. In Barkat and the surrounding villages, not all elderly Tuareg speak clear Libyan Arabic; some of them speak broken Arabic. With such people, the interviews were completely unstructured and carried out in Libyan Arabic since using semi-structured interviews with questions phrased in a certain way would not be productive and effective (Often my friend Mohammed was present when males were interviewed, and able to assist when needed; and a member of the Amerja association was also available in their office.) However, in Ghat, the majority of the elderly people speak Libyan Arabic very well and hence most of the interviews were semi-structured and conducted in Libyan Arabic.

The interviews were conducted in various locations depending on several factors: female informants in Barkat and Ghat were often interviewed at their homes except for a few interviews carried out at work. Home is a suitable place for girls and women where they feel more confident to speak and express their point of view. Similarly, interviewing children took place at home as my female research assistant sought parents' consent. As for Barkat males, the interviews were conducted in different locations – work, schools, street, and my friend's house. Regarding Ghatian males, many of the interviews were held in the Amerja Association office yet others were conducted at work, street and home. The crucial role that was played by Amerja and Tuareg Youth Associations in holding interviews and easing access to the target community shows how valuable are the contacts a researcher may have with such voluntary associations.

What increases the validity and reliability of the data and makes me confident about the answers gained from the interviewees concerning their linguistic behaviours, attitudes and ideologies is the use of several interviews to reduce the potential bias that

may come from relying on a single interview. This was accompanied with cross-checking and comparing the information obtained from the interviews and examining the consistency of what speakers say about the same topic with my observation, see section 3.4.3. Furthermore, the data elicited from the interviews was supported by the quantitative results; see for example, sections 4.2.2.1 and 4.5.5. Finally, frequent communication with my host and female research assistant allowed me to triangulate and confirm things I had observed myself.

Out of 52 interviewees in both communities, 23 were female participants and 29 were males from the three age groups in both communities. 23 interviewees were from Ghat (14 Ghatian males and 9 females) while 29 informants were from Barkat (15 males and 14 females).

With respect to the length of the interviews, Labov (1984, p. 32) suggests that the duration of an interview be between 35 and 120 minutes. However, Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 58) point out that determining the convenient time of an interview is difficult to categorise and may depend on the type of the study. They state, for instance, that valuable phonological data can often be elicited in "a relatively short time" – 20 to 30 minutes – while the linguistic behaviours of the speakers might be obtained over a long period. The length of the interviews in this study ranged between 20 and 40 minutes with children and adult females and from 30 to 150 minutes with adult males, depending on the interviewees. For instance, it was difficult to elicit much information from children and in a few cases parents tried to influence their children's answers about the language they speak. On the contrary, some interviewees were very eager to participate and give information not only about the use of Targia but also about their cultural traditions.

3.4.1.1 Language of the interview

The language used in conducting the interviews was Arabic mainly (Libyan Arabic) and in some situations was mixed language (Arabic and Targia), depending on two factors: the community and the age of the interviewees. Female research assistants were told to use the language informants felt confident and relaxed with. Thereby, mixed language or code-switching was utilized in many of the interviews the female research assistant carried out in Barkat, regardless of the interviewees' age group, while in Ghat, mixed language was used only with elderly people.

For the interviews I administered, it was abundantly clear from the pilot study I had conducted that Libyan Arabic is spoken by the majority of Barkat community. Only Libyan Arabic was employed in the interviews carried out, yet in some cases Targia expressions such as greeting terms were used with informants to make them feel relaxed and happy. The use of Libyan Arabic is due to its status as the widespread language in the country and its by the majority of Libyan people regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. My knowledge of Tuareg is confined to just a few terms and expressions and thus it was necessary and sensible to use Libyan Arabic with the interviewees.

3.4.1.2 Conduct of electronic recordings

The interviews were taped using a digital voice recorder (VN-5500PC Olympus) with a built-in microphone. The advantages of this device are many as, for instance, recordings can be saved into files on CD-ROM and USB, downloaded on a computer and kept confidential. Moreover, the voice is very clear and produced in a high quality. It is very small, light and can be kept in a pocket. Parts of the interviews were occasionally videoed using an iPhone 4S. Video recordings also included places of Tuareg history, such as the old towns in Barkat and Ghat. It was essential to get

permission from the interviewees to be recorded and in the cases of participants'

declining, notes were taken, though this only happened in some cases of females'

interviews.

With respect to female participants, they were asked if they would permit the

interviews to be tape-recorded and fortunately, most of them did not mind. In the cases

where the women declined, my female research assistant wrote down notes.

A vital step of the recording process and data analysis was to transcribe and

translate the recordings from Libyan Arabic into English by the researcher. Some of

the Targia data was interpreted live by community members and then checked by my

female research assistants. The data, particularly those relevant to language use,

transmission, attitudes and ideologies, was sifted, sorted out according to their themes

and highlighted. Then, quotes from the transcribed interviews were taken and re-

arranged into appropriate themes and used in the thesis as extracts to support my

arguments and answer my research questions.

3.4.2 Female research assistants and ethical considerations

Conducting interviews with females was, as expected, one of the difficulties the

researcher encountered, though it is well known from the literature and as illustrated in

this thesis that Tuareg women are much more authoritative compared to their Arab

sisters. For example, Dupree (1985, pp. 38-39) cites that Tuareg women play a major

role in teaching the Tifinagh. However, the researcher, by virtue of being a Libyan, and

knowing the conservative Libyan traditions well, observed that the authority and

freedom Tuareg women have in neighbouring countries is different from their

counterparts in Libya. Tuareg women in Ghat and Barkat are from a conservative

community and it was difficult for me to conduct interviews with females, although I did interview my female research assistants.

Bearing in mind such difficulties, two women field workers, Majeda from Barkat and Fatima from Ghat, who work as social activists, offered to conduct the interviews with females after explaining the purpose and the aim of this study and I asked them to take notes when females declined to be recorded. The female research assistants were provided with a list of questions to ask the interviewees but not necessarily in the same order. They were told to give informants space if they wanted to switch to a different topic that may not directly relate to the question.

Indeed, one of my female research assistants took the advantage of interviewing not only the mothers but also their children after getting permission. Majeda and Fatima are Tuareg native speakers and speak it at a high level of competence. They are well known among the two communities.

Participants were given the right to read and understand the information about the project and raise any questions concerning the study they got involved in. They were also informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point and did not have to give any reasons for why they no longer want to take part. Another consent form for children was given to parents in the case of children participating in the study. Obtaining permission from parents to interview their children was essential and such interviews often took place at home in the presence of one of the parents.

Respondents were informed that their names would be handled in high confidentiality and would not be revealed. Accordingly, I used pseudonyms to refer to them though some informants did not mind revealing their names. Any sensitive information elicited from the interviews regarding other ethnic minorities was not transcribed or published to avoid any tension between them.

3.4.3 Participant observation

One of the basic qualitative methods that has been employed in sociolinguistic studies is participant observation. Indeed, the utilization of this approach is not confined to qualitative works but also quantitative studies. Ethnography, which is about the description of culture, relies mainly on participant observation (Johnstone, 2000, pp. 80-81). The importance of local cultural knowledge obtained from employing ethnography is represented by allowing researchers to go beyond the explanatory factors such as age, social class and gender in their possible interpretations and consider other forces such as ideologies which may construct social interaction (Levon, 2013, p. 70). To overcome the status of being an outsider, which may reduce the Observer's Paradox particularly in bilingual communities, researchers take the role of participant observer (Milroy & Gordon 2003, p. 68). In this study, the status of my female research assistants being of Tuareg origin, speaking Targia fluently and being familiar with local people gave them the advantage to elicit natural speech, and check what speakers say, though in some situations this led to occasional bias.

Participant observation can reveal the relationship between what people say and do and this reflects the mutual interaction between interviews and observations (Agar, 1996, pp. 156-158). That is to say, observation examines the results of interviews as well as feeding the interviews with more questions, e.g., participants may leave out details thinking that they are not crucial while they are essential for the researcher (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, pp. 68-71).

The basis of ethnography is to view and interpret events and human behaviours (here, linguistic behaviours) as they have social meaning and ethnographers need to infer the local knowledge from what people say and do (Johnstone, 2000. P. 82). In this

vein, observers cannot only rely on observing participants and manipulating their behaviours but also partly on their accounts.

Observation enriches the researcher's ability in giving the interpretation of events and differences between informants' reports and their deeds. Here, it is worth mentioning that the differences between people's accounts and their real behaviours are natural but researchers need to understand and deal with them and this can be done through observation (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 159).

Sociolinguists have recently employed "micro ethnography" which is the investigation of particular topics such as language use, beliefs, and attitudes or as Gumperz & Hymes (1972) call it, "the ethnography of speaking or communications" (cited in Johnstone, 2000, p. 84).

To do participant observation, it is essential for the researcher to take the role of insider and outsider (Johnstone, 2000, pp. 86-87). In the current study, I tried to be an insider but in some situations took the role of an outsider. Being an insider was through the participation of certain activities assigned by the local people. The pilot study I had conducted in 2014 eased access, first to the Barkat community and then to the Ghatian community. The easy access I had made me more familiar with local people, particularly in Barkat. In fact, familiarity with the community under study is one of the principles Eckert (1989) relied on in eliciting deep understanding of the linguistic behaviours of high school students in Detroit (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 69). Although Eckert got involved in such a prolonged period of time (two years) to achieve such a pioneering work, Milroy and Gordon (2003, pp. 69-70) state that numerous advantages can be also gained from the participant's observation without consuming much time.

By virtue of being Libyan, sharing a similar national culture with Tuareg, as well as the same religion and language (Libyan Arabic) and based on the pilot study which made me "epistemologically privileged" (Nicholas, 2011, p. 56), I could participate in many social and religious activities, developing "communicative competence". Although I am not a speaker of Targia, I could engage in many community social events where Southern Libyan Arabic was used and take different roles. Such events were valuable to observe and participate in as some situations, there were cases of code switching, mixing or using only Arabic.

On the contrary, taking the role of outsider was essential for me to maintain the distance needed to give accounts of what is going on and why it happens in the way local people do (Agar, 1996, pp. 129-131; Johnstone, 2000, p. 94). I took different roles in the conversations, for instance, as a listener, speaker or overhearer as well as writing down notes when necessary and at the appropriate time.

Observation should take place at different times and in different locations and include different people (Johnstone, 2000, p. 95). Eckert (1989) was keen to extend her contacts and include different social networks in her study on a suburban high school in Detroit. This, in turn, enabled her to elicit insightful meaning of the students' linguistic behaviours.

In this investigation, participant observation took place in different locations; see also sections 3.2.1.1 and 3.4.3.1. For instance, the strategic location of the room where I lived during the fieldwork which directly overlooks the street was sometimes a perfect location to watch and observe passers-by. Focal places such as the mosque were also vital locations to observe the language used inside the mosque, in the mosque court, and outside the mosque either in Ghat or Barkat. In Ghat, the Amerja Association was also a good setting to see and observe as it is located close to the town

centre and a residential area called ʃaʕbijja. It was often the case that when I finished interviewing participants, I sat in front of the office and conversed with the Association members, visitors and passers-by and listened to their speech.

The observation was also implemented in this study to elicit a clear understanding of the linguistic behaviour of the participants and to ensure that the information obtained from the participants was accurate. Some paradoxical data extracted from the quantifiable data from a certain age group was also interpreted depending on the information drawn from the interviews and observation.

3.4.3.1 Field notes

According to Agar (1996, p. 162), field notes are described as "a ladder used for an ascent towards an understanding of some group". He states that field notes consist of ideas obtained either from observations to follow up in the interviews or questions that come up from conducting interviews. It is a way of summarizing what a researcher observes about people, events and places in a form of written words (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2001, p. 353). Duranti (1997, p. 116) points out that taking field notes allow the researcher to obtain the meticulous detail of what cannot be recorded during the interviews.

In this research, notes concerning the description of the setting and people who were present during the interviews were taken (Emerson et al., 2001, p. 353). Issues regarding the use of Targia within the Tuareg community were often raised by the interviewees during the interviews and accordingly the researcher was able to follow up. Moreover, the researcher jotted down his observations concerning the participants' linguistic behaviour in their interactions at chance meetings, work, street, the social events and the local markets, and thus was able to ask interviewees about them.

Notes were often written down in a notebook and handouts after carrying out the interviews (soon afterwards) but on a few occasions accompanying the interactions or the events. For example, the executive of the Civil Registrar Office in Ghat kindly offered me free access to the internet in his office when required. The next office was a staff room where employees work and sometimes interact with the public. This setting gave a great chance to listen and observe and thus take notes of what I heard regarding the language spoken in the interactions.

The researcher avoided openly jotting and often notes were written out of the informants' presence (private scribbling) because the former may "distract and deflect the fieldworker's attention from what is happening in the immediate scene" (Emerson et al., 2001, p. 357).

3.5 Quantitative method

3.5.1 Questionnaires

A substantial amount of data can be collected from a great number of respondents, categorized and statistically analysed without consuming much time. This can only be achieved through the utilization of written questionnaires since these can be used where there is no possibility to reach a certain location through posting or emailing participants (Chambers, 1994). Written questionnaires can also be implemented to seek subjective or self-report information about informants' use of a language as well as eliciting self-evaluation of the status of their language. Questionnaires can be easily distributed and collected (Romaine, 1995, p. 302). Another vital advantage of using questionnaires is that they can help to obtain language attitudes (Garret et al., 2003, p. 25) and investigate the influence of identity (Sallabank, 2013, p. 71). According to

Fasold (1984, p. 149) attitudes can be determined through two ways: the direct method, in which questions are directed to the respondents through interviews or questionnaires; the indirect method is the one in which the informants are not aware that their attitudes are being investigated. However, according to Milroy and Gordon (1987, p. 52) deep insights of a language usage of a particular community cannot be obtained by only using written questionnaires.

One of the deficiencies that might result from using written questionnaires is that inaccurate responses would be elicited from the informants. Fasold (1984, p. 117) mentions that informants may misunderstand the questions and thereby undervalue their ability in speaking a language. Respondents, for instance, may reply in a way that shows that they are open-minded, democratic and against racialism (possibly not the reality), specifically when the focus is on an ethnic and religious minority. In other words, people might be biased towards or against specific views (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 27). Therefore, the implementation of written questionnaires flags two key issues concerning the quantitative as well as the qualitative analyses: the reliability and validity of the study (Milroy & Gordon, 1987, p. 52). A study can be said to be reliable if similar results would be obtained by others using the same questions and the same sampling criteria (consistency) (Gilbert, 2016, p. 34; Simmons, 2001, p. 90). With respect to validity, "a study can be said to have validity if it actually measures what it sets out to measure" (Gilbert, 2008, p. 189). Zwickle (2002, p. 35) mentions that a study can be claimed to have validity if it indicates how well a test measures what it is supposed to test (the concept), questioning the subject selection, task directions and an adequate database.

3.5.1.1 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire in the current study was based on reviewing and exploring previous studies focusing on language maintenance and shift, language and identity, language attitudes and ideologies, particularly on minority and endangered languages that may still function in the presence of a predominant language (Bentahila & Davies, 1989; Choi, 2003; Detaramani & Lock, 2010; 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 multiple choice questions, 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. Open-ended questions were utilized in this study in case adequate information might not be captured from the closed questions (Newell, 1993, p. 100; Simmons 2001, p. 94).

The questions were constructed in clear language to eliminate any misunderstanding and ambiguity as well as to avoid leading questions that may direct individuals to specific answers (Simmons, 2001, p. 95). Some of them were probably beyond the children's comprehension, particularly those related to the 2011 Constitutional Declaration as well as the ones about the expected recognition of Targia in the forthcoming constitution. However, the researcher and his assistants simplified these questions (38-39-40) where necessary and provided a copy of the constitutional declaration if required. The question word "why" was included in some sections to seek more explanations for certain types such as yes/no questions (Newell, 1993, p. 95). In this vein, the word "why" was appended to questions concerning language attitudes and identity in order to give respondents the chance to justify their answers,

though some of them did not. Data about Tuareg linguistic choice either in the past or the current time was also gained from the questionnaire.

I was very keen not only to not be offensive against, or insult, the Tuareg community but also the other ethnic groups such as Arab and Hausa speakers who live in Ghat (Simmons, 2001, p. 97). It seemed from the pilot study that some of the questions concerning the previous (Qaddafi's) regime were sensitive and controversial. I had observed that there are supporters for this regime and this, for instance, was obvious from the graffiti that glorifies Qadafi's ruling period. Accordingly, sensitive questions were recast and adjusted though these questions would reveal tacit ideologies and attitudes of the informants that could be reflected in Tuareg linguistic behaviours. Alternatively, the observation approach was applied to capture such information.

The survey was administered in standard Arabic and the reason for using Standard Arabic is because it is the only official written language in the country, the language of education and the sole language Tuareg people can write though they have their own alphabet, Tifinagh and writing system (Cline, 1953, p. 272). The utilization of Targia was impossible because Tuareg have not been officially or privately educated either in a standard written or even oral form of this language. However, my research assistants were present to provide the help in completing the questionnaires when requested in the case of dealing with elderly people.

The use of Libyan Arabic was also impossible as it is not a codified language. Hassan (2009) used standard Arabic in her study on the Ajam community in Kuwait because Eimi (Ajam's heritage language) and Kuwaiti Arabic are not codified. Building on the advice given from speakers of the Sindhi and Sikh communities, Detaramani and Lock (2003) implemented English language in the questionnaire

survey on their study on the Hong Kong Indian communities, though speakers of the two communities are able to master their heritage languages orally.

Two consent forms were attached to the questionnaire: the first was to obtain adults' permission and the other was for children, appended by parents' names or signatures though some parents preferred to give oral permission (See appendix B).

Questionnaires were divided thematically into four parts: the first was designed to elicit demographic information about the respondents such as age, gender, and occupation, and was numbered from 1-5. The second part, the longest one, was aimed at obtaining information about the use of Targia, the linguistic behaviour of the participants as well as their parents and grandparents, the intergenerational and intra-generational transmission, frequency, proficiency, literacy rate and the domains in which Targia is utilized. This section was also employed to capture information about the linguistic relationship between Libyan Tuareg and their cousins of the neighbouring countries such as Mali and Niger. In order to guide respondents to the appropriate questions or sections that needed to be answered, I made a note, for example, before "Q8" and instructed participants who may not speak Targia to go to "Q19" where they can carry on answering the survey. Another notification concerning the questions related to parents was made before "Q22". This section is numbered from 6-36.

The third part was devoted to collecting information about Tuareg's attitudes towards maintaining and preserving Targia and its recognition in the forthcoming constitution. Data about the informants' attitudes towards passing their heritage language to their children, teaching it in schools and the establishment of TV and radio channels were also obtained from this section. The questions in this part are numbered from 37- 47.

The last part of the questionnaire (48-52) was devised to obtain information about the relationship between language, ethnicity and identity and whether language is used to construct Tuareg identity.

3.5.2 The sample and representativeness

Based on her discussions concerning the methodology of quantitative sociolinguistics, Sankoff (1980) cites three factors that are crucial to obtain a good sample: the first is the confines of the community "sampling universe". The second factor is the stratification of the sample by which the variation within the community can be assessed. This entails defining social parameters such as gender, ethnicity, which may affect the linguistic behaviour of the speakers, "the relevant dimensions of variation" (Milroy, 1987, p. 21). The number of the participants who represent the sample is another vital element in sampling procedures.

Conducting research on language shift in a particular location and among certain ethnic groups can be an influential factor in determining the type of the sample that should be done (Bagamba, 2007). He cites, for instance, an example from Africa – the Democratic Republic of Congo – where ethnic groups tend to live in separate enclaves. Similarly, in Libya, some groups of different ethnicities tend to inhabit certain lands: the Tebou minority, for example, live in a particular enclave in towns such as Qatroun and Murzeq located in southern Libya. The Tuareg minority is another example where they live in the extreme south-western part of Libya as a homogeneous community in Barkat, Tahala, Isyan. In her discussion of the sample frame, Milroy (1987, 24) refers to the primary problem a researcher may face in discovering the location of minority speakers. She cites an example of the minority groups of immigrant origin in Britain which are socially and geographically distributed across the population.

However, it is also true that some Tuareg areas are composed of different ethnic backgrounds, which intermix in the same territory. Ghat is the best example for a town which consists of different ethnicities such as Tuareg, Arab and Hausa speakers. This mingling is due to Ghat's strategic location across history, as it was one of the main trade centres over previous centuries. In this vein, the use of random sampling was considered impractical. The sample universe of this study consists of two communities of Libyan Tuareg: the first one inhabits Barkat and its adjacent villages and the other are the Tuareg who live in Ghat.

The three common sampling methods employed in sociolinguistic or social studies are: random sampling, judgement sampling and stratified random sampling. It is the case that each individual has an equal chance of being selected in a random sampling, for instance, a sample selected from electoral registers or telephone directories (Milroy, 1987, p. 19). However, this method of sampling has some disadvantages; for instance, the number of refusals, illness, death, change of residence may bias the sample to a certain category of respondents, certain age groups or gender (Labov, 1966). In her study of the Vlach community in Metsovo (Greece), Koufogiorgou (2003) observed that the utilization of random sampling would have introduced her among people as a stranger and jeopardized her status in the community and increased suspicion. Accordingly, she decided to have access though her social network or as a friend of a friend. In his investigation on language shift among the Nywagi Hema in the North-east of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Bagamba (2007, p. 72) noticed that the implementation of random sampling among the Nywagi population would have been "complicated, expensive, and very time-consuming, or even impossible and dangerous". This is due to the inter-ethnic upheaval and the military conflict that erupted in the DRC for five years as a result of government collapse; as a consequence,

people of some Nywagi villages were driven out and alternatively, those villages were inhabited by people from the Northern Hema community.

Moser and Kalton (1971) and Milroy (1987, p. 25) assert that bias can emerge from one of the following: human influence in the case of a non-random sample; inadequate or incomplete information elicited from population records about the informants, or the refusal of some of the participants.

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. Respondents are randomly selected but, according to the categories, stratified beforehand. The difficulty of deciding which social variables are influential and important for the interpretation of the linguistic behaviour is one of the drawbacks of utilizing this method and accordingly, the study might be confined to certain social factors. Once again, the use of this method of sampling may bias the sample to a certain type of respondents as a consequence of the increased number of refusals and thus the generalizations might be based on a small number of speakers (Milroy, 1987, p. 23).

With respect to the judgement sampling method, there is no doubt that this means of sampling has become more suitable for linguistic studies and been employed in many sociolinguistic studies (Hassan, 2009; Koufogiorgou, 2003; Macaulay, 1977; Reid, 1978; Romaine, 1978). The selection of speakers is not random and is based on identifying the type of participants who fit the categories of socially well-defined groups which are determined in advance. Therefore, a representative sample is not the goal of a judgement sample (Milroy, 1987, p. 26), but rather the distribution across the categories chosen for sampling. Obtaining a good judgement sample needs to be

rationalized and relies on "some kind of defensible theoretical framework" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 30).

The convenience or opportunity sample is another approach of sampling method often applied in sociolinguistic studies. It mainly relies on the availability of the informants and their willingness to take part in the study and often researchers utilize it in the case of a high rate of refusal. Bagamba (2007) resorted to this method, in the case of oral questionnaires, when it was impossible to apply random sampling.

In the current study, applying a random sampling method was impossible and inefficient particularly among the Ghatian community for reasons similar to those given by Bagamba and Kouforgiorgou. Ethnicity is not included in the national census and there are no official directories or registrars for non-Arab ethnic minority groups in Libya, even in the case of Barkat which appears to be more homogeneous, a random selection of respondents would be impolite and would have presented me as a stranger. Additionally, the random sampling method may not guarantee a balanced number of males and females across age groups, and may encounter a high number of refusals, and hence, representativeness might be violated. Of course, these drawbacks may occur in other sampling methods.

Judgement sampling was applied in this study. Based on the social network I established in the pilot study, I decided to operate within this to build and extend contact with informants, not only from the Barkat community but also from Ghat where a friendly approach proved to be feasible. During the field study, I experienced a case in which a Hausa speaker from the Amerja Association offered to assist in distributing the questionnaires but unfortunately, they were returned incomplete (ignoring the key questions) and seemed to be written by one person (the same handwriting). At this stage, I realized that it was essential to distribute the questions

through only Tuareg friends to avoid any kind of sensitivity. Accordingly, the participants of this study were approached through two channels: either as a friend-of-a-friend "snowball" approach (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 32), or through Tuareg members of two voluntary associations: Amerja and Tuareg Youth Associations, located in Ghat and Barkat respectively.

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.

In this study, we aimed to obtain a reasonably sized and representative sample of Targia speaking participants, from two contrasting settled communities. In total, 380 questionnaires were distributed, yet 280 were returned (74%). Some of them were returned with missing key information and thus 221 questionnaires were used in this study (58%). The number of Barkat respondents was 114, 58 males and 56 females, whereas in Ghat, there were 107 participants, 52 males and 55 females. Overall, there are 110 males and 111 female informants of the two communities.

In general, the questionnaires were distributed based on the social network I had established and through the two voluntary associations, Amerja in Ghat and the Tuareg Youth Association in Barkat. Some of the questionnaires were filled in the presence of the researcher and then followed by interviews, but the majority of the informants

preferred to complete them at the place and time convenient to them. In fact, especially in Barkat, I saw many of my informants every day so it was difficult for them to avoid me. However, other practical problems arose, such as a shortage of paper copies due to electricity cuts during the summer and so forth.

3.5.3 Statistical analysis

The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS 23. Where the dependent variable was a scale (typically from a questionnaire item with a rating scale response), we used ANOVA in the General Linear Model, so F values are reported. Where the dependent was binary (typically from an item with a yes/no response) we used Binary Logistic Regression or the Generalized Linear Model, and Wald statistics are reported. Where correlations needed to be calculated we used Pearson or Phi correlation and Factor Analysis. The significance of the difference between correlations was assessed with Fisher's r to z transformation.

The questionnaire data bears indirectly on the nature of the external factors which triggered and/or sustain the ongoing language shift with respect to Targia, given that it relies on reported speech (See section 1.4). However, it does provide valuable information to inform our answers to RQs 2 and 3. We will be especially interested in where age-related differences seem to be evidenced, since those may be taken as giving clues to the progress of language shift in the region. However, we are also interested in differences between genders and communities.

3.6 Social variables

3.6.1 Age

Sociolinguistic studies have shown that linguistic behaviours and changes in language attitudes can be affected by age as a crucial variable**.** Evidence of language change in progress can be supplied through synchronic sampling of generational differences in language (Boberg, 2004, p. 250). Sociolinguists tend to investigate "change as an active process reflected synchronically in age-based linguistic variation" (Boberg, 2004, p. 251),

"Age stratification of linguistic variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time 'historical change' and change of the speech of the individuals as he or she moves through life 'age grading' " (Eckert 1997, p. 151).

Two essential approaches can be implemented to interpret the generational differences as indicative of language change: the first hypothesis characterizes language change among age groups in a particular time, and is called the apparent-time method of analysis (Holmes, 1992, p. 181). Chambers (2009, p. 207) points out that the apparent-time construct is about observing different age groups at the same time. The validity of this assumption relies on the fact that the linguistic behaviour remains the same as the groups grow older (Boberg, 2004, pp. 256-259). In other words, the linguistic behaviour of individuals are stable over time (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 37).

The distribution of linguistic use through age grades may just indicate a "characteristic pattern" of age grading instead of a change in the community (Hockett, 1950 as cited in Labov, 1994, p. 73). Labov (1994, p. 73) suggests that relying on the observation of real time methods may tackle some of the problems that we encounter

with the apparent time model. In real time methods, Labov asserts that linguistic change can be represented by eliciting the differences between two observations at different points in time. Bailey (2002, p. 325) cites two options to utilize the real-time method in exploring language change. The first is to compare earlier findings with evidence from a new study. The second one can be conducted by repeating the same study after a period of time.

Age grading is about the use of a language differently by different age cohorts (Tagliamonte, 2012, p. 47). Bailey (2002, p. 324) points out that if the changes are related to age grading, that means the change happens at a particular stage of life and across generations, and thus age grading is regular and predictable (Chambers, 2009, p. 201).

However, Cheshire (1987, p. 3) points out that age grading encounters some challenges regarding the interpretation of language change in progress. One of these challenges, if not the most important one, is whether the age differences in language use reflect a change in community norms or a stable age grading.

Chambers (2009, p. 207) argues that the reliability of the inferences and the information obtained concerning temporal changes in a shorter time make apparent-time the best choice to investigate language change in progress. The implementation of the apparent-time hypothesis in language maintenance and language shift studies has given an indication of the status of the languages under study, for this rather different type of change (Bagamba, 2007; Hassan, 2009; Koufogiorgou, 2003).

Eckert (1997, p. 155) states the importance of incorporating age into societal structure when stratifying age groups. Thereby, an age system can function to determine not only the progress of individuals in their life trajectory (childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, middle age, old age), but also their development in

relation to social norms. To investigate language pattern use, sociolinguists have employed different approaches of stratifying individuals into age cohorts. 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. Bagamba (2007) adopted a culturally meaningful way of stratifying his sample, taking into account the socio-cultural values of the Hema community. For instance, based on recent economic changes within the Hema community (the collapse of a cattle-based economy and the increasing value of formal education), he states that young men now believe that the age of 18 is the last year of childhood though in the past it was the age of 16. This way of defining maturation is vital as it is related to the notion of intergenerational transmission. Thereby, individuals who are 18 onward play a significant role in rearing children and accordingly transmitting the language.

Hassan (2009) grouped her sample of the Kuwaiti Ajam community into three age groups based on historical and economic changes. For example, historically, the linguistic behaviour of individuals aged between 40-70, who experienced the Iranian revolution with its influence on Shiite communities in the Middle East region, seemed to be different from the middle and younger age groups as they are likely to have had only Eimi-speaking parents at home.

The apparent time method was applied to the current study to explore synchronic linguistic change and reconstruct patterns of language use in the past among the Libyan Tuareg community. It is believed that the apparent time model is the most suitable method to investigate the status of speaking Targia among Libyan Tuareg. This is because there is no time to wait for future studies when a language is endangered, while there exist no past studies of this speech community. To the best of the

researcher's knowledge, the only census that classified the non-Arab ethnic minorities in Libya was carried out in 1954 but did not give explicit information about the languages spoken by those minorities. More importantly, conducting such a study on non-Arab ethnic communities was not allowed during the previous regime since it might be interpreted as a hostile study to the unification of the country.

Stratifying the sample into age groups in this study was based on historical and economic changes Libya has witnessed over the last 54 years which, in turn, are believed to influence not only the linguistic behaviours of these groups but also construct new language ideologies. Historically, after the 1969 military coup, Qaddafi's regime had pursued a certain language policy: "Arabic-only educational policy" (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013, p. 344) in the official and public institutions that served its goals and negatively influenced the use of minority languages across the country. It was the impact of the Pan-Arab movement which spread all over the Arab world during the 1960s and 1970s, particularly across the Arab Maghrebi countries where the majority of Amazigh (Berber) live. Arabizing such countries eventually led to one language policy in which Arabic has been recognized as the sole official language in the country, and thus the use of non-Arab ethnic minority languages have been prohibited, particularly in public and official institutions. Tuareg speakers were not excluded from this policy as, in general, those who were born after 1969 (10-21 and 22-44 age groups) have grown up within an intensive Arabic environment. In particular, the linguistic choice of individuals who were born after 1990 (under 21) are more likely to be intensively influenced by the Arabization movement in the country, yet the older generation (over 44) who were born during the Libyan kingdom era or before, were less influenced by the language strategy adopted by the Qaddafi's regime during that time. This is also due to the late establishment of Arabic schools in the area

where Tuareg live. As a result of this policy, new ideologies have emerged concerning the transmission and acquisition of Targia as a heritage language and Arabic as a prerequisite language, particularly among the middle and younger generations, since without learning Arabic they will not be able to guarantee their future state jobs. Accordingly, it is crucial to see the impact of such events on the linguistic behaviours of these generations.

Economically speaking, Tuareg individuals aged between 22-44, males or females, were expected to graduate from university or educational institutions, enter the job market, and have particular social networks and friendship groups that may affect their linguistic behaviours[xxii]. As a result of the Arabization policy this group witnessed, it is well-known that Arabic is the predominant language at work, schools, public and official institutions and the use of Arabic (Libyan Arabic as a spoken language and standard Arabic as a written language) is essential at work. This age group is often in contact with Arab and non-Arab speakers from different areas all over the country which means more usage of Arabic, the predominant language in the country. Accordingly, it is predicted that this age group tend to use more Arabic and have different attitudes and ideologies regarding the use and transmission of Targia.

Holmes (1992, p. 186) mentions that the vernacular forms are rarely used by the middle age group and instead, this group uses the society's speech norms; this is also stated by Bailey (2002, p. 324) as "sociolectal adjustment", in which the vernacular of young adults recedes as they respond to social pressure and adjust their vernacular to be aligned with the society norms. In the communities studied here, we will see that people of this age group use more Libyan Arabic, which is both the vernacular and the dominant social norm.

[xxii] Most of the official institutions are located in Ghat where there is a great chance for Tuareg to deal with non-Tuareg, and thereby the use of only Arabic dominates the interactions.

Due to the living expenses and the cost of marriage, Libyans in general and Tuareg in particular often delay getting married until securing their jobs, i.e., after 22, hence being in parents' status is only anticipated among this group and the older age group (over 44). This is crucial for the interpretation of intergenerational transmission as valuable reports and information can be obtained from parents and grandparents concerning their children's level of proficiency and linguistic behaviours.

However, it is important to illuminate that the researcher does not claim that 22 years old is the year of individual maturity. 18 years old, according to the Libyan law, is the year in which Libyans, including Tuareg, are officially considered mature.

For the younger age group (8-21) which includes children and adolescents, they are still students, living and socializing with their parents, and economically dependent on them. Thus their parents heavily influence their linguistic choice. They are also away from work pressures. The linguistic relationship between children and their adult siblings (intra-generational transmission) is proved to be important in this study since the latter seemed to be a source of passing Targia on to the former, particularly in the Barkat community.

With respect to the 45-85 age group, it appears that this group is well-known within the two communities for their conservatism concerning the use of Targia and maintaining the cultural and social heritage of Tuareg; Milroy and Gordon (2003, p. 39) point out that conservativism is an aspect of this age group. They are under less work pressure as they approach the retirement age and indeed, some of them are retired. Eckert (1997: 152) maintains that the increase of conservatism in speech can be related to the growth of the individuals' ages. In other words, certain factors such as the increase of social and workforce pressures may force individuals to conform to the

norms of the standard language, but such public pressures may relax when one leaves working life.

In the case of older Libyan Tuareg, they are socially and culturally under pressure as they play an inevitable role in sorting social problems out. More importantly, cultural and social events and traditions cannot be held or take place in their absence since they enjoy practising these cultural rites using Targia language. The vital role played by elderly people is reflected in their linguistic role in transmitting Targia language to their grandchildren, particularly in Barkat.

Taking into account these socio-historical and economic factors, as well as the pilot study conducted on the Barkat community, the sample of this study is divided into three age groups: 8-21 (younger age group), 22-44 (middle-aged group), and 45- 85 (older age group). This classification is based on examining generational differences as a result of a change in progress.[xxiii]

3.6.2 Gender

Fishman (1972) asserts that factors such as gender, age, urbanization, industrialization and socio-economic status are deemed to be significant in the process of analysing language maintenance and language shift. Linguistic changes that may occur in a community are considerably affected by gendered attitudes towards a language. This may be due, for instance, to the role women play in raising children and transmitting languages (Coates, 1993, p. 171). Kamada (1997) argues, depending on a study which included 10 families from Japan, that children of minority language speaking mothers are more able to become bilingual than those whose fathers are minority language speakers.

[xxiii] 1-8 year old informants were born from 2006 and the 21 year olds were born in 1990 and onwards. The middle-aged group participants were born in 1970 and upwards.

Gal (1978, p. 1) states that language gender differences can exist at multiple levels: phonological, syntactic, grammatical, and in bilingual linguistic choices. In her study on the Oberwart community (a Hungarian-speaking village in Austria), Gal (1979, pp. 166-168) finds that Hungarian young women switched from speaking Hungarian to German because the former language is correlated with agriculture and the peasant life. More gains (social: seeking marriage partners, and economic: job opportunity) are expected to be obtained from the German. It symbolizes a new social status. The emergence of such a linguistic change, the attachment to German in favour of Hungarian, reflects individuals' engagement in, and the community value of, the social change.

Eckert (1998) points out that in order to generalize about gender roles in language change, it is essential to tie it in with the meaning of gender in a particular community and social factors. She asserts that gender should be handled as a continuous variable, but not as a binary one.

Sadiqi (2003) points out that, in Morocco, cultural components such as geography, economic status, multilingualism, Islam and the political system interact to form what she calls "superstructures of power" where language is the carrier of this power. This power eases the understanding of gender conception in general and women's authority in particular. Under the umbrella of this power, sets of factors such as social differences (level of education, language skills, class, job), contextual differences (communicators, topics, setting) and identity differences (motivations, interests) emerge to play a role in shaping gender behaviours. As a result of this interaction, ideologies, beliefs, values, language use, and gender roles are "continuously constructed, negotiated and subverted" (Sadiqi, 2003, p. 1). Even social and individual

differences among Moroccan women cannot be understood and interpreted outside the Moroccan socio-cultural context.

In her investigation of the Gullah-speaking community of the South Carolina coast, Nichols (1983 as cited in Chamber 2009: 139) found that in general the use of the creole language (the regional dialect) among men exceeded its usage among women in each age group. In particular, she discovered variation in the speech forms between older women and younger and middle-aged women where the former speak more a creolized language and the latter use more prestigious and Standard English. She states that younger and middle-aged women are geographically mobile, exposed to more contact with other English varieties spoken on the mainland while the older women are immobile, work on the island, and speak the widespread dialect on it. The nature of the jobs younger and middle-aged island men and women influences their linguistic choice. For instance, younger and middle-aged men work as bricklayers or carpenters together on the mainland and tend to speak a little more standard form of English. Younger and middle-aged women stick with the white-collar jobs and work separately from other island women and black community members and thus they adopt the more standardized form of English in their speech. This shows the interaction between gender, social mobility, and economic factors. It is the influence of gender roles in language change where the advantage is for women in selecting a more prestigious language as a result of their wider social contact and their geographical mobility, or even their tendency to adapt their linguistic behaviours (Chambers, 2009, p. 141).

Historically speaking, until the 1950s, Tuareg women were authoritative and influential and enjoyed a prestigious social status compared to Arab women in Libya at that time. For example, Dupree (1958, p. 39), states that the chiefdom of a tribe was transferred to the eldest son of the chief's eldest sister. Tuareg women still own and

inherit the lands and indeed, I have observed that in my fieldwork in what Tuareg people call *lħebs*, which means the lands that Tuareg women own.

Additionally, Dupree points out that the ability to write and read the Tuareg's Tifinagh alphabet was confined only to Tuareg women. This was important as, in addition to their roles in rearing children, Tuareg women have played the leading role in transmitting Targia to their children. Many informants of the older age group emphasized the crucial role their mothers played in passing on Targia to them compared to their fathers. Men were often peasants, doing jobs related to agriculture or other crafts such as blacksmiths.

However, since the 1969 coup, the Libyan Tuareg community has been affected by socio-economic and political changes. For instance, the implementation of certain principles such as equality between men and women concerning all their social and political rights and obligations gave both genders, particularly women, more chance to engage in and pursue formal education. Arabic, the language medium of education, served as an effective socializing agent. Such a policy of pursuing Arabic as the only language in schools seems to direct parents in general and educated mothers in particular to adopt a certain linguistic strategy in socializing their children, which prioritized Arabic at the expense of Targia.

Economically, the introduction of various subsistence patterns such as the discovery of petroleum has turned the community away from being an agricultural community to a state job community. Accordingly, the role of Tuareg women is no longer confined to bringing up children but extended to an intensive involvement in the work market. They work in different jobs, as teachers, nurses, doctors, politicians and engineers, and in different positions as employees or employers but with no segregation from men, in either the private or public sector. In such settings, Arabic appears to dominate Tuareg

interactions. These new social and political roles Tuareg women and men have had are believed to affect their linguistic behaviours and eventually influence the status of Targia regarding its maintenance and shift. This marks a contrast with some other Tuareg communities in neighbouring countries which did not benefit from state patronage.

Gender factors were considered in this study to examine if there are differences between male and female linguistic behaviours within the Targi community both in Barkat or in Ghat and how these differences have positively or negatively influenced the maintenance or the shift of Targia. The study consists of 221 informants, 110 Males and 111 Females, (58 males, 56 females from Barkat) and (52 males, 55 females from Ghat). They are deliberately distributed in quite a balanced way across different age groups. Table 3.1 shows a reasonably even representation of age groups across gender and communities. The same is true of educational levels (Table 3.2), where we see that most respondents completed secondary level or university.

Table 3.1: Participants by community, gender and age

		Community			
		Barkat		Ghat	
		Gender		Gender	
		male	female	male	female
		Count	Count	Count	Count
	Over 44	19	17	16	18
Age group	22-44	21	20	19	17
	Under 22	18	19	17	20

Table 3.2: Participants by community, gender and educational level

		Community			
		Barkat		Ghat	
		Gender		Gender	
		male	female	male	Female
		Count	Count	Count	Count
Educational level completed	Primary	3	5	2	1
	Preparatory	3	4	1	1
	Secondary	19	20	25	31
	University	25	16	17	17
	Higher studies	6	6	3	1

3.6.3 Religion

Religion has been proved to be an important variable in language maintenance and language shift. Potowski (2013, p. 331) and Fader (2006) demonstrate the role religion plays in maintaining the language of Hasidic Jews, a religious enclave community in Brooklyn in New York. They use their heritage language for religious practices.

In addition to other factors such as language, geography, colonization, and history, religion can be implemented as an identifier of the Arab nation (Bassiouney, 2009, p. 207). For instance, Islam, as the widespread religion in the Arab world in general and in Libya in particular, plays a vital role in constructing positive attitudes towards classic or standard Arabic since it is the main language used in worship and reciting the Holy Quran (vehicle of Islam). From a different angle, Arabic is the language through which Islam and nationalism is connected in some countries such as Algeria and Morocco. This role that Arabic plays strengthens its status (Benrabah, 2013).

Islam and Arabic for the Libyan Tuareg seem to entail the connotation of solidarity with Arab Libyans and function as unifying symbols (of nationalism), yet more investigations are needed to explore whether Arabic language also represents a bond with other non-Arab Libyan minorities such as Berbers. Hoffman (2008) asserts that

Tashelhit Moroccans (Berber speakers) are affiliated with national citizenry through Islam, Arabic language and urban Arab aesthetics.

Religion in some of the Arab countries has been utilized to legitimize presidential status. According to Benrabah (2013) the former president of Algeria (Boumediene) legitimized his presidency through the notion of "Arabo-Islamism".

Implementing religion in this study was essential as it has been proved in many studies that the use of a language can be influenced by religion. The pilot study suggested that religion plays a vital role in constructing positive attitudes towards the use of Arabic. Arabic is the main language utilized in worship and in reciting the Holy Quran. Although Kossmann (2013, p. 16) states that, because the Tuareg live in isolated areas and away from the influence of spoken Arabic, their heritage language was only influenced by classical Arabic, the language of religion. This influence is mainly manifested in loanwords in religious settings. However, Kossmann apparently refers to Nigerian Tuareg, but in terms of Libyan Tuareg, Targia appears to be intensively influenced not only by classical Arabic but also by Libyan Arabic, as the Tuareg have more contact with Libyan Arabic speakers compared to Tuareg from the neighbouring countries.

In fact, within the Libyan Targi community, religion appears to be an influential factor regarding the linguistic choices of the Tuareg. For example, Libyan Arabic is utilized as a means of presenting religious sermons not only in the mosque but also at home. Tuareg informants reported that religious topics should be discussed in standard or Libyan Arabic even within intimate domains. This means that using Arabic to teach religion is not only tied to formal institutions such as schools, mosques and media but also to other intimate domains (See section 4.5.3.5 for further explanations of the role of topic). It seems that it is a mutual relationship between religion (Islam) and Arabic.

For the Libyan Tuareg, being Muslim is a plausible reason to learn Arabic while the latter is a means through which the instructions of Islam are learned, taught and passed on. Indeed, a domain like the mosque has a historical role in teaching Arabic even before the establishment of schools.

In this study, religion was employed as an area of investigation, but not as a sampling social variable as it is well known that the majority of Libyan people, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, are Sunni Muslims of the Maliki School. Some of the questions employed in this study were designed to elicit information about the language spoken at the mosque and in religious assemblies and festivals. Furthermore, the mosque in this study was one of the focal points where the researcher was able to observe the linguistic behavior of Tuareg.

Likewise, Libyan Tuareg are Muslims – Sunni of Maliki School – but the majority practice Soufi rituals. The religious activities of Libyan Soufi Tuareg are exercised in *al-Zawya*, an adjacent building attached to the mosque. Although Targia can be used in *al-Zawya*, particular by older people, Arabic dominates the actual religious practices. Targia might be utilized in religious classes, in the interpretation of the Holy Quran, particularly, when addressing elderly people in the less urbanized areas such as Barkat and the adjacent villages Isyan and Tahala.

3.6.4 Social class

Compared with age, social class is also deemed to be a continuous variable which must be embraced for assigning informants to a particular category (Macaulay, 2009, p. 10) in urban sociolinguistics. Milroy (1987, p. 29) correlates social class with the degree of having access to power and advantage. According to her, social class is also about sharing traditions, social experiences and value systems. There are some social

indexes that might be implemented as indicators to a person's social position in stratified systems, for example: occupation, housing, income or educational level.

Historically speaking, the Libyan Tuareg are a tribal community, recently settled in towns, and composed of tribes that are not socially egalitarian (Dupree, 1958, p. 38). This hierarchical social stratification was based in Libya on the group who monopolized the power i.e., having arms and camels. Thereby, they dominated other social groups and ranked themselves at the top compared to the other castes (Prasse, 1995, p. 16).

According to Dupree (1958, p. 38), Libyan Tuareg were stratified into four groups from the top to the bottom: *Ihaggaren (Imuhagh):* this caste represents the nobles or warriors who take the responsibility to protect the other classes. Rodd (1926, p. 30) mentions that this group is also called *Imajeghan* according to Ajjr dialect. The second class is *Imghad* or 'serfs', as described by Rodd (1926). They represent the vassals or the rich farmers who pay a yearly tribute to the nobles in order to gain their protection. The third class is the *Irejanaten* who are the outcome of the marriage between people from Ihaggaren and Imghad. People of this class have the same social rank as Imghad. *Harratin* is the fourth and lowest class of Tuareg society. They serve both the nobles and farmers and are described by Dupree as "little more than slaves" (1958, p. 38). Prasse (1995, p. 20) describes the Tuareg who live in the Oasis of Ghat as peasants or Hartanis, speaking Arabic and Targia.

However, taking into account all the socio-economic and political transformations which Libya has undergone since 1969 which accompanied with the emergence of the equality principle between all people, ethnically, socially, economically and politically, these social classes have disappeared and ceased to exist in Libya in general and within

the Tuareg community in particular. Accordingly, Tuareg tribes have become much more egalitarian and the slavery term has disappeared.

On the contrary, such social classifications may still exist somewhere in the neighbouring countries such as in Niger, Mauritania and Mali where people feel more loyal to certain tribes or confederations rather than to central governments (Prasse, 1995). Additionally, my observation indicates that the Libyan Tuareg community is not socially stratified. Thus, this social factor was excluded from this study.

Chapter 4: LANGUAGE USE, TRANSMISSION, AND DOMAINS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates mainly the language(s) spoken by the Tuareg and the process of passing Targia on across generations: that is, intergenerational transmission. The use of Arabic, the widespread and the sole official language in the country and its impact on the use of Targia represent a core part of this chapter. Based on Sasse's model (1992, p. 13), the *primary language shift* begins when a given community gives up transmitting their first language to their successive generations. Such a decision results in disrupting language transmission (LT) and thus influences *language transmission strategies* since, for example, children will have restricted access to the receded language through occasional exposure in their environment and thus the abandoned language becomes secondary while the incoming or *target* language becomes primary.

Equally important to intergenerational transmission are the domains of language use in the process of language maintenance and language shift (Sasse, 1992; Batibo, 1997, 2005). Language shift often takes place when the L2, the powerful language, encroaches upon domains reserved for L1. Fasold (1984, p. 240) points to the shift in language domains as the initial indicator of language shift. Institutional and intimate spheres and other factors that may influence the use of Targia in these domains are also covered in this chapter.

Vital information about language proficiency and frequency is also needed to uncover the linguistic behaviour of Tuareg within the two communities. In general, this chapter answers Fishman's (1965) question, who speaks what language to whom, when and where? In addition to "how and why?" as expanded by Sallabank (2013, p. 81).

The analysis of the data utilized in this chapter is mainly based on the information captured from the interviews conducted in the two communities, Barkat and Ghat, my

observations as well as what the questionnaire data tells us about the language situation in our two chosen communities with respect to Arabic and Targia. In various parts of our questionnaire, we elicited reports from participants about what languages they speak/spoke, what their spoken fluency was in those languages, how well they understand/understood those languages.

4.2 Language Transmission

4.2.1 The use of Targia across Ghat and Barkat

As presented in Figure 4.1, that the majority of the participants of the two communities reported that they speak both Arabic and Targia. 99% and 97% of the Ghatians and Barkat speakers claimed to speak Arabic. As for speaking Targia, all participants of the Barkat community claimed knowledge of Targia whereas nearly all the informants of Ghat said that they speak Targia.

By contrast, speakers of the two communities showed a low level of speaking Hausa, however; Ghatians informants have the advantage over Barkat speakers (the former with 26% while the latter with 14%). The privilege of speaking Hausa more by Ghatian Tuareg is due to the intensive contact they have had with Hausa speakers as the majority of these live mainly in Ghat. In fact, none of the speakers was ethnic Hausa but a few of them in either community may have a Hausa-speaking ancestor. Historically speaking, the Tuareg used to bring Hausa baby-sitters from Niger to look after their children. Haj (age: 68, male) recounts that his grandparents brought babysitters from Niger during the beginning of the previous centuries:

> I speak Targia since my childhood and also speak Hausa because our grandparents brought babysitters from Niger to look after their children. (**Haj, age: 68, male, Ghat**)

It has also been observed, as introduced in section 2.5.3 that intermarriage is a common practice in Ghat compared to Barkat. Some of the interviewed participants said that their wives are of Hausa origin. This, indeed, has negatively impacted the transmission of Targia to the next generations particularly within the home domain.

English and French were reported to be the languages least spoken in the two communities. 14% of Barkat respondents claimed knowledge of English, compared to only 8% in Ghat. With respect to French, a handful of speakers in both communities reported speaking French. This drastic decline has resulted from the language policy the previous regime adopted towards the foreign languages since a ban was imposed on teaching foreign languages – particularly English and French – because they are associated, according to the previous regime, with hostile countries (See Chapter 2). However, English is on the rise because it has now once again been taught as a module in schools since 1992, while French has never been restored and hence very few people claimed knowledge of French.
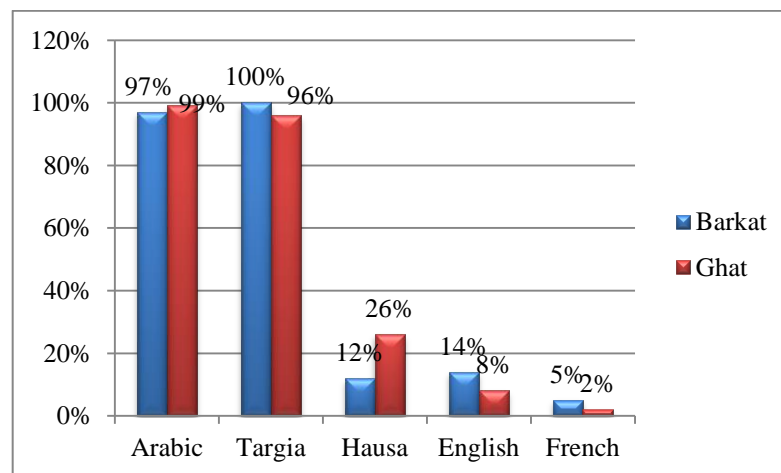
Figure 4.1: **Q: What language do you speak? (Barkat+Ghat)**

4.2.2 Parental role of language transmission

There is no doubt that it is the family's decision, represented mainly by parents' pivotal role to transmit or not to transmit a language from one generation to the next. Children's linguistic choice is intensively influenced by parents' attitudes, ideology (De Houwer, 1999) and their linguistic behaviour (De Klerk, 2001, p. 209). Thus, language ideologies can be articulated and enacted within the family entity via parent-child interactions (King et al., 2008, p. 914).

On one hand, Fishman (1991) points out that "the family is unexpendable bulwark of reversing language shift" (p. 94). The friendly and peculiar nature of the family, which socially and psychologically empower it, functions as a protector from and resistant to any outside pressure and accordingly it represents the unavoidable ground of the native language transmission (Fishman, 1991, p. 94). It has been argued that parent-to-child transmission is one of the predominant types of intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1966, p. 202). He (1991, 2001) asserts that intergenerational transmission is of particular importance in the processes of language maintenance and revitalization. In his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), Fishman (1991) pays more attention to Stage 6, the intergenerational transmission, which assumes the use of the endangered language in day-to-day interactions across the three generations within the home locus. According to King et al. (2008, p. 917), this stage indicates two important facets: linguistic functional separation or compartmentalization and the "centrality of home".

The absence of natural transmission, on the other hand, is also deemed to be a predictor of language death. Speaking X language to a parent or grandparent but not to a child or a younger sibling can be a type of language shift setting (Fishman, 1991, p. 45). Family language policy is also deemed to be an effective factor in maintaining or

losing the use of a given language as it entails language use, beliefs, ideologies, practices and planning (King et al., 2008, p. 907). King et al define family language policy as 'explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members'. In his GAM model, Gaelic-Arvanitika-Model, Sasse (1992, p. 13) states that the decision to stop the "purposive, directed passing-on of a language from one generation to the next" is what initiates language shift. Such a decision is often motivated by political, socio-economic and cultural factors.

Many of our questionnaire items relate to transmission in one way or another either by asking participants directly about who they acquired Targia from and where, or, less directly, how much they speak which language with which person? Even questions about how much they speak a language in a given location can be seen as not being just about language use, but about language use that is relevant to learning the language, i.e. transmission, since, for example, greater use in the home may assist transmission more than greater use in the street. Hence all these will be covered in this section, though due to considerations of questionnaire length, some of these issues were only pursued for Targia and not Arabic as well.

We start with acquiring, where we asked participants both where they learnt Targia, and who from. With respect to location, since all the questionnaire items were yes/no, we used binary logistic regression to assess the role played by the demographic variables. In this instance, age group emerges as significant for home (Wald statistic=4.13, p=.042) and gender as significant for street (Wald statistic=9.40, p=.002).

From Figure 4.2, we can see at once that school plays a very minor claimed role for all age groups, confirming what we said in Chapter 2 concerning the neglect of Targia in schools at all periods in the past. Home constitutes the most prominent claimed

contributor to learning and the street plays a lesser but still substantial part. Given the importance of the role that the home is claimed to play in transmission, it is therefore worrying to see a significant decline in this location as the claimed locus of acquiring Targia, albeit the level still remains quite high among the youngest group. The street by contrast rises a little over age groups, though not significantly so. Rather it shows (Figure 4.3) a significantly greater claimed exploitation for learning by males than females (twice as much). This could be due to cultural factors restricting the amount of casual street contact that girls have in the target context at least after a certain age. In any case, street contact is usually regarded as an inferior source for learning the language compared with home.
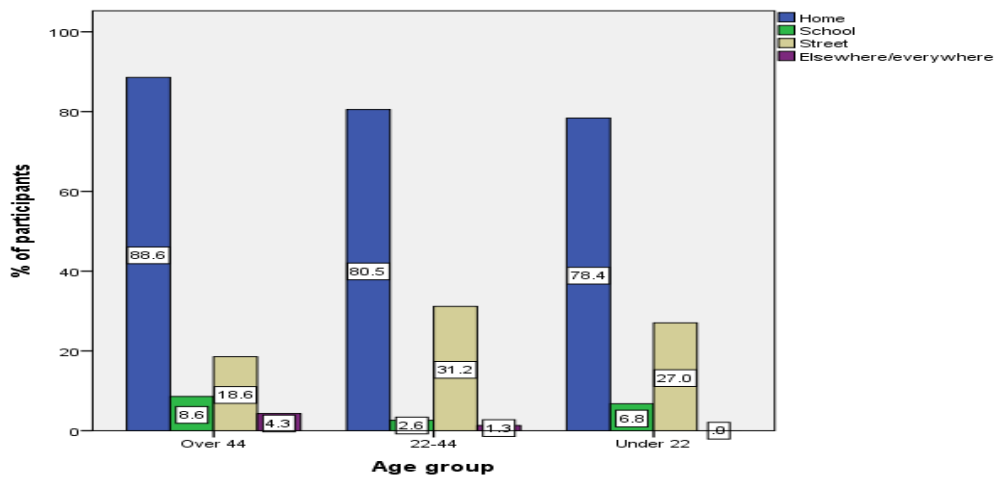
Figure 4.2: **Q: Where did you learn Targia? By age groups (Barkat and Ghat)**
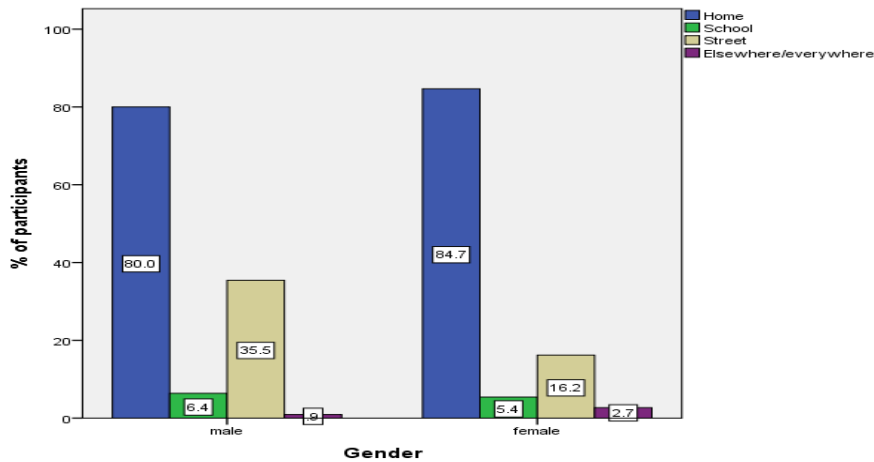
Figure 4.3: **Q: Where did you learn Targia? By gender (Overall mixed communities)**

The above split by community (Figure 4.4) shows descriptively a different pattern for each community (though again the differences by age and community are not significant for any location). In particular the pattern across ages for claimed learning in the home in each community matches that for overall frequency of use; see section 4.4.1, with a steady fall over age groups in Barkat and a U pattern in Ghat. This strongly suggests that a considerable part of overall use could be in fact in the home and that such use is a key component in learning.
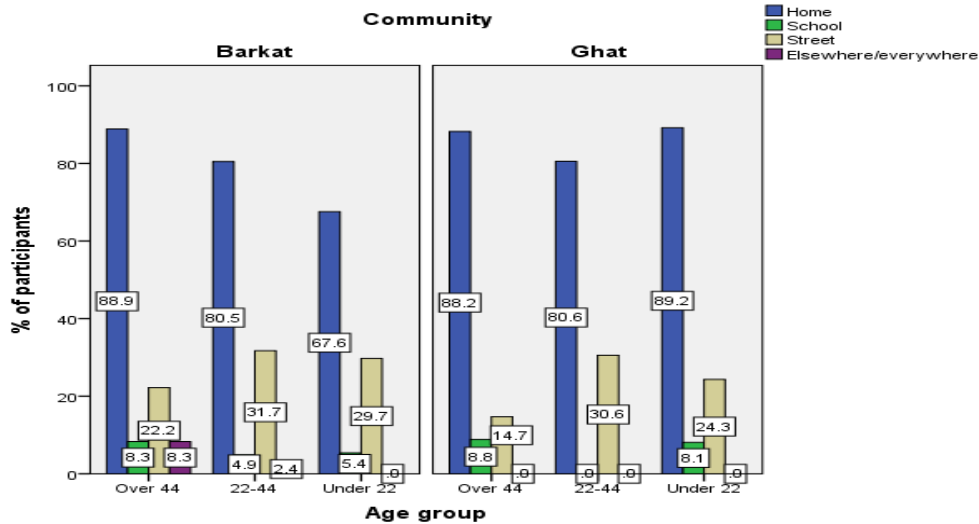
Figure 4.4: **Q: Where did you learn Targia? By age groups (Barkat and Ghat Separately)**

As for gender differences, there are no significant results suggesting gender differences in the different communities. In other words, the graphs differ descriptively. However, there is one difference for gender on learning in the street: more by males than females in both communities Wald=10.19   p=.001 (Figures 4.5, 4.6)
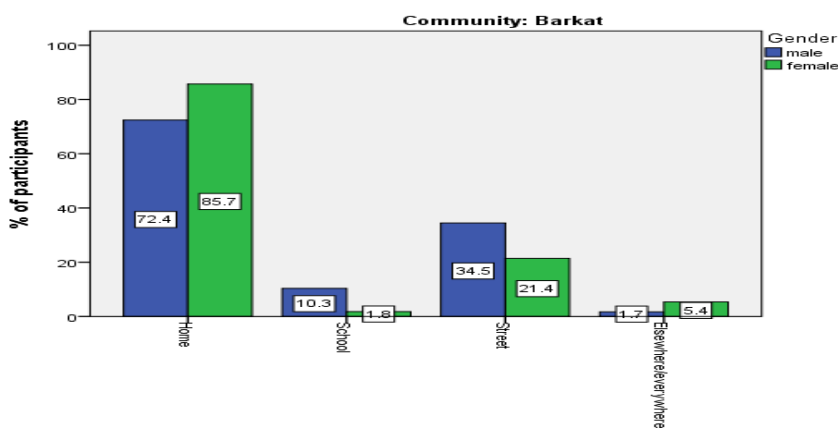
Figure 4.5: **Q: Where did you learn Targia? By gender (Barkat)**
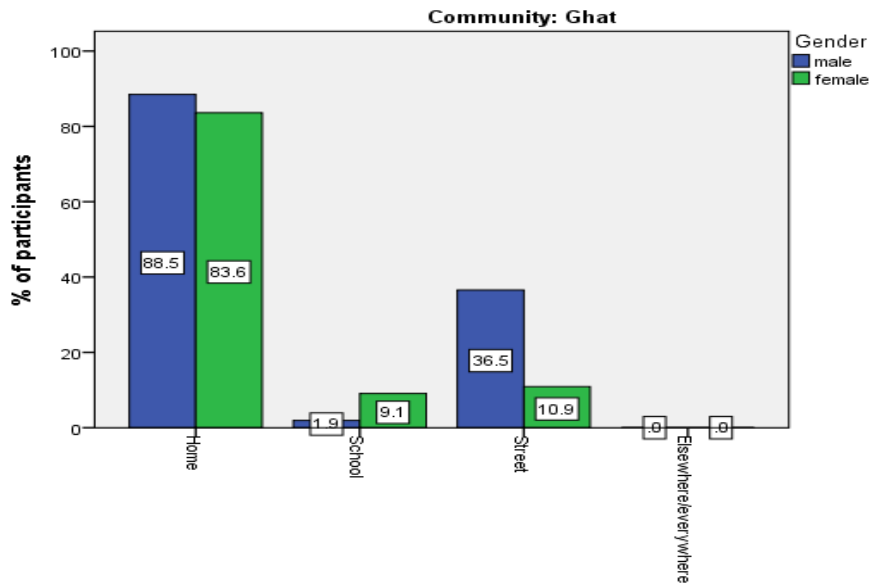
Figure 4.6: **Q: Where did you learn Targia? By gender (Ghat)**

When respondents were asked about the people from whom they acquire/d Targia as well those with whom they often speak Targia, the answers of the first question showed that the highest percentage of participants in both communities claimed parents to be the main source of passing Targia on to them, followed by grandparents. Across the two communities, age group was significant as a linear factor just for father (Wald statistic=13.20, p<.001), and mother (Wald statistic=9.13, p=.003) (Figure 4.7). It shows clearly the decreasing role of parents across age groups, consistent with the decrease seen above for reported learning in the home. The involvement of the other categories of people in learning seems to fall in the middle age group and then recover. Indeed if age group is not treated as linear, significant differences emerge for grandmothers (Wald statistic=6.75, p=.034), grandfathers (Wald statistic=6.67, p=.036), and siblings (Wald statistic=6.40, p=.041). This indicates a significant U shaped pattern for these sources of learning over time, with lower claimed reliance on these for learning by the middle age group.
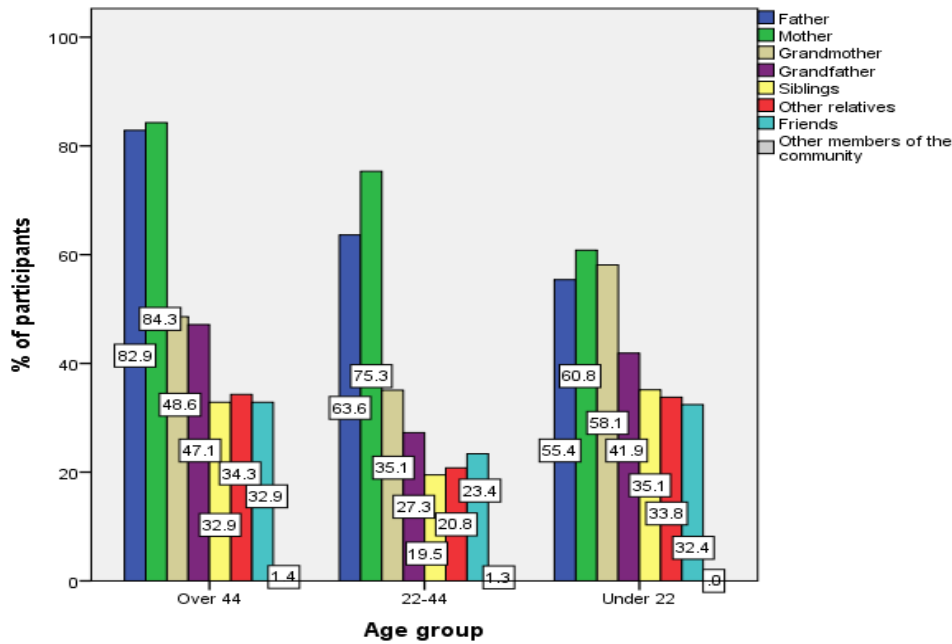
Figure 4.7: **Q: From whom did you learn Targia? By age groups (Barkat and Ghat)**

Split by community (Figures 4.8, 4.9), the pattern is differentiated between communities in a similar way to what we have seen earlier: in Barkat, key figures in the home (mother, father and grandfather) all descriptively exhibit falling levels of claim as sources of learning of Targia across age groups. It is clear that the older and middle-aged group reported higher percentages of learning Targia from their parents than the younger generations. For example, only 45.9% of the <22 age group claimed acquiring Targia from their fathers as opposed to 78% and 80% of the 22-44 and >44 age groups respectively. Figure 4.8 suggests a gradual shrinkage in acquiring Targia from parents among the younger aged-groups. This trend probably reflects, in particular, parents' ideologies and attitudes towards transmitting Arabic in favour of their native language Targia. Tuareg Parents seem, as demonstrated in this chapter, to be eager to transmit Libyan Arabic to their children as the first language and thus they have adopted certain practices at home to teach their children Arabic at the expense of Targia. This is what De Houwer (1999, p. 83) describes as the 'impact belief', which is

about the beliefs parents have that it is their responsibility to shape the linguistic behaviour of their children. Such beliefs and attitudes form the linguistic code parents use when interacting with their children and thus, this interaction may eventually lead to language shift (De Houwer, 1999, p. 91). In her study, conducted on the Ajam Community in Kuwait, Hassan (2009, p. 277) points out that it was the majority of parents' deliberate decisions not to take a role in passing Eimi on to their children despite the positive attitudes Ajam parents have towards teaching their children their heritage language, Eimi.

Tuareg parents encourage and in some cases compel and punish their children to make them speak Arabic in order to prepare them for school so that they can avoid any linguistic hindrance they may encounter. A frown may appear on parents' faces if children speak Targia. This clearly echoes parents' linguistic ideologies regarding the transmission of their native language, Targia, as speaking this language at the expense of Arabic may prevent Tuareg speakers from having access to social mobility. Bentahila and Davis (1992, p. 403) point out that Berber Moroccan children were intensively motivated by their parents to speak Arabic in favour of Berber because Berber is not an instrumental language and it "won't help you to earn your daily bread". (See Chapter 5 for further discussions on Tuareg's attitudes and ideologies towards the transmission of Targia).
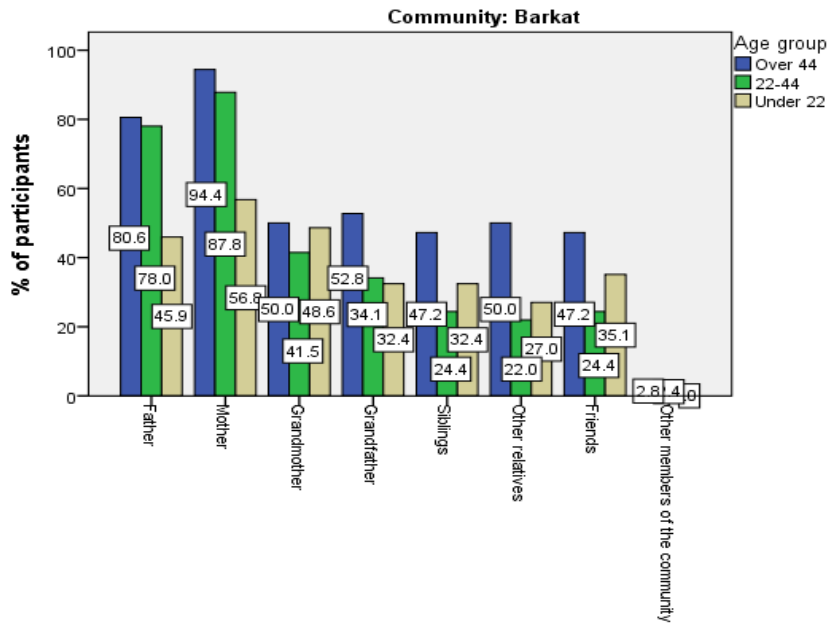
Figure 4.8: **Q: From whom did you learn Targia? By age groups (Barkat)**

Compared to the Barkat community, it appears that the general picture in Ghat is slightly different. The data suggests that there is a conspicuous shrinkage in transmitting Targia from parents to children across the middle-aged group in Ghat. For example, whereas 87.8% of the 22-44 age group in Barkat reported learning Targia from their mothers, only 61.1% of the same age group in Ghat said that they acquire Targia from their mothers (Figure 4.9). The same trend can also be seen among the middle-aged group of the two communities who claimed acquiring Targia from fathers. This decline is expected to take place in Ghat more than in Barkat. A possible interpretation of this contraction, regardless of parents' role, is because the former town (Ghat) is a heterogeneous community, composed of different ethnic backgrounds and hence using Arabic is the only means to deal with other ethnicities. Historically speaking, Ghat was – indeed is still – the centre of the area and Arabic schools were established in it before Barkat. Intermarriage is a more widespread phenomenon in Ghat than Barkat and believed to be an influential factor in shifting towards Arabic.

However, it can also be observed from Figure 4.9 that the Ghatian <22 age group showed a higher percentage of learning Targia from their parents than, not only the middle-aged group of Ghat, but also their equivalent peers, the young age group in the Barkat community. For the researcher, it seems that such a higher percentage reported by speakers of this generation does not necessarily echo higher use of Targia with their parents in reality. This higher percentage may suggest that parents have become the remaining source for Ghatian children to learn Targia, perhaps indirectly. It is clear that the U pattern dominates Ghat. In this case the effect is significant for mothers and fathers. That is to say that there is a significant difference between the patterns across age groups in Barkat and those observed in Ghat for both parents (father: Wald statistic=11.07, p=.004); mother: Wald statistic=9.02, p=.011), but not at all for grandmothers and not quite significant for grandfathers (Wald statistic=5.53, p=.063) or siblings (Wald statistic=4.92, p=.086). There was also just one significant difference based on community: mothers were nominated as sources of learning more in Barkat than in Ghat (Wald statistic=4.88, p=.027). Compared to Ghat, it can be observed that the advantage is for Barkat in transmitting Targia. Parents, particularly mothers, still represent the main source for transmitting Targia to their children compared to other sources. A possible elucidation for mothers' advantage in passing Targia on to their children is due to their role in child rearing though the role of Tuareg women is not only confined to home. Hoffman (2006, p. 146) points to the leading role Berber women in Morocco play to maintain Tashelhit, a sub-group Berber dialect, yet the outstanding efforts to establish Berber language rights have been led by urban men. Tuareg Fathers, on the other hand, are often those who strictly employ the policy of passing only Arabic to their children as the first language.
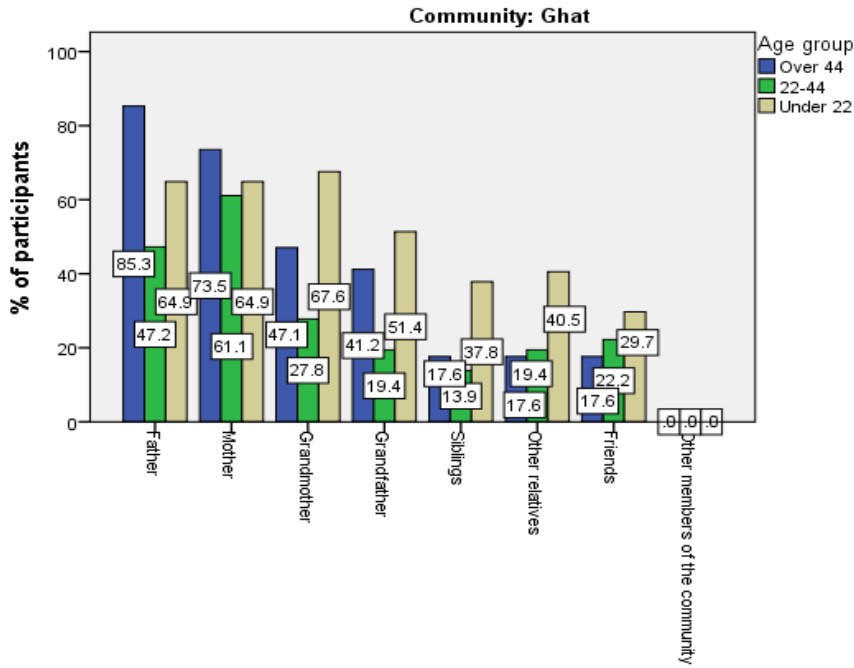
Figure 4.9: **Q: From whom did you learn Targia? By age groups (Ghat)**

The people claimed as sources of learning also exhibited gender differences (Figure 4.10). Gender was significant for father (Wald statistic=5.75, p=.017), grandfathers (Wald statistic=5.17, p=023), siblings (Wald statistic=4.10, p=.043), and other relatives (Wald statistic=5.54, p=.019). Males claimed these as sources for learning more than females did. Since two of them are male sources, this suggests that males are targeted more by male parents/grandparents than females are, or that males look upon/seek out male parents/grandparents more as sources than females do. Descriptively, it is noteworthy that females are lower than males in claimed learning from all the people asked about, except for grandmothers, and that they nominate mothers more than fathers (whereas the males choose both more or less equally). This again suggests a preference of females for same-gender sources of learning Targia, which accords with well-known cultural habits in the context.
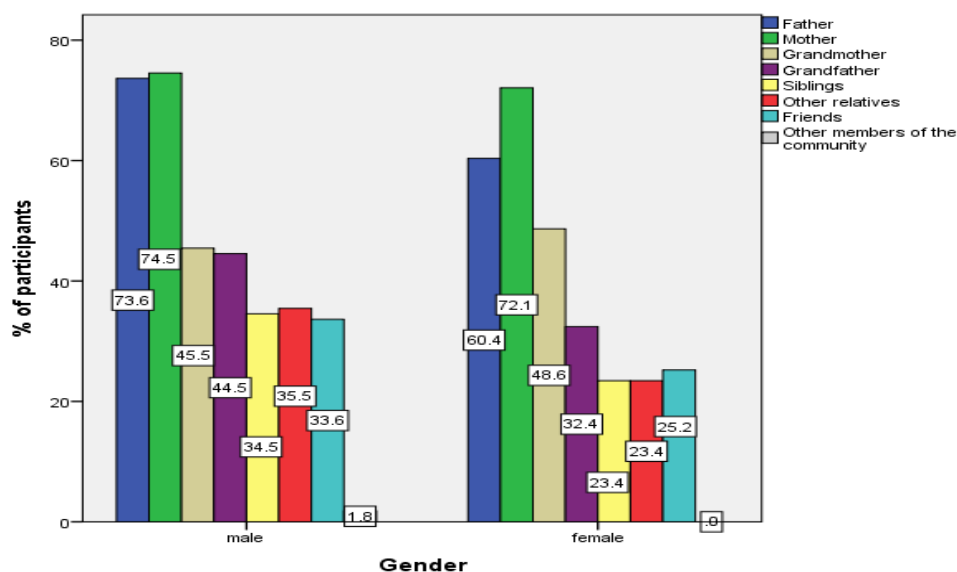
Figure 4.10: **Q: From whom did you learn Targia? By Gender (mixed communities)**

With respect to the general order of prominence of the various kinds of people as Targia interlocutors *"Q: with whom do you speak Targia most?"* Targia appears to be spoken most with parents and grandparents. There were many significant differences with respect to age group and community, as well as to a lesser extent gender (Table 4.1). As can be seen clearly in Figure 4.11, the numbers of respondents who claimed to speak Targia most to a category of person fell successively between age groups for all the categories of interlocutor asked about. Indeed the linear trend downwards was significant for all interlocutors except friends. There was no U shaped pattern over age groups in general as seen for learning from some categories of person in Figure 4.7, suggesting that our participants do perceive some difference between learning and using Targia.

The result here also contrasts with that in Figure 4.33, asked about their overall frequency of using Targia in which participants showed no significant downward trend over age groups and a reported high rate of use though descriptively rates fell slightly across age groups. Yet here, when asked 'With whom do you speak Targia most' and

allowed to choose as many interlocutors as was liked, there is a clear trend downwards with all possible interlocutors, which suggests a general lower number of younger than older people choosing (or being able) to use Targia with a wide range of interlocutors.

Table 4.1: **Significance Test results for interlocutors most spoken to in Targia, comparing age groups, communities and genders (non-significant results omitted)**

Interlocutor	Age group (differences)		Community		Community by age group		Gender	
	Wald statistic	P	Wald statistic	p	Wald statistic	p	Wald statistic	p
Father	10.64	.005			6.76	.034		
Mother	8.74	.013						
Old people	6.07	.048			7.40	.025		
Husband	6.58	.037	12.09	.001			9.89	.002
Wife					7.00	.030	16.83	<.001
Sibling	11.49	.003	10.53	.001	9.45	.009		
Relatives	7.40	.025						
Street Friends			7.75	.005			9.03	.003
Classmates	6.40	.041	11.22	.001				
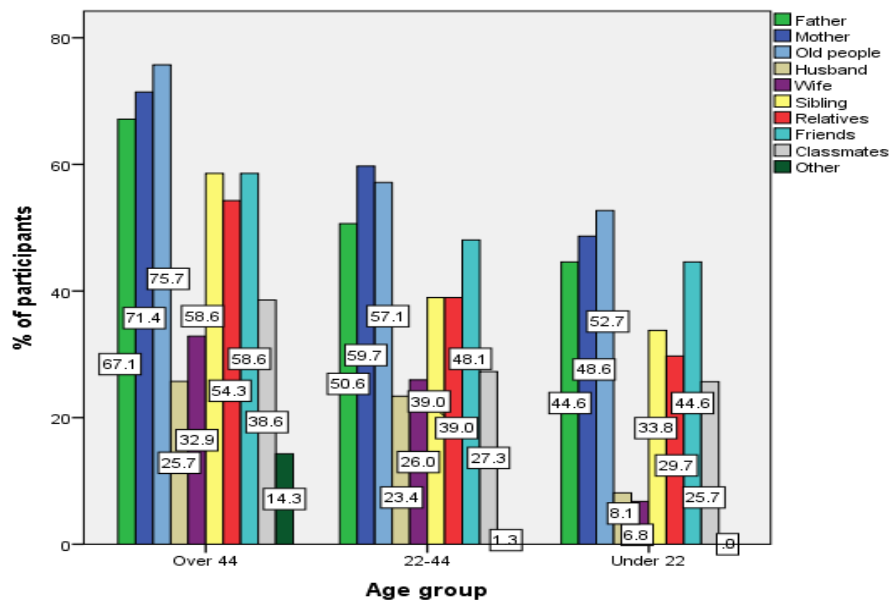
Figure 4.11: **Q: with whom do you speak Targia most? By age groups (mixed communities)**

The informants from the Barkat community reported higher proportions of using Targia with street friends, siblings and relatives compared to the Ghatian Tuareg. The marked difference from the learning results was that nearly half the interlocutors were responded about significantly differently in Barkat than in Ghat, with generally higher reports of use of Targia with them in the former (Figure 4.12). The differences were significant for speaking with spouses, siblings, friends and classmates.
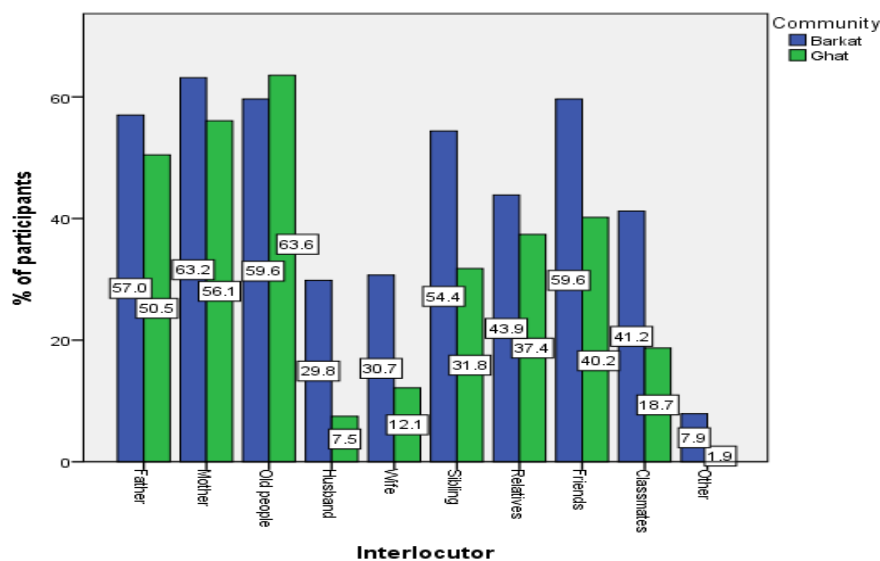
Figure 4.12: Q: **with whom do you speak Targia most? By community**

Looking in more detail, in fact age group and community not only had separate overall effects but in some cases had an interactive effect together on who was said to be most talked to in Targia (Table 4.1, Figures 4.13, 4.14). This was significant for father, old people, wife, and siblings. These are the interlocutors with whom most use of Targia generally declines in Barkat across age groups, especially in the youngest age group, whereas in Ghat it shows some recovery in the youngest age group (the U pattern), though not up to its level in the oldest age group.
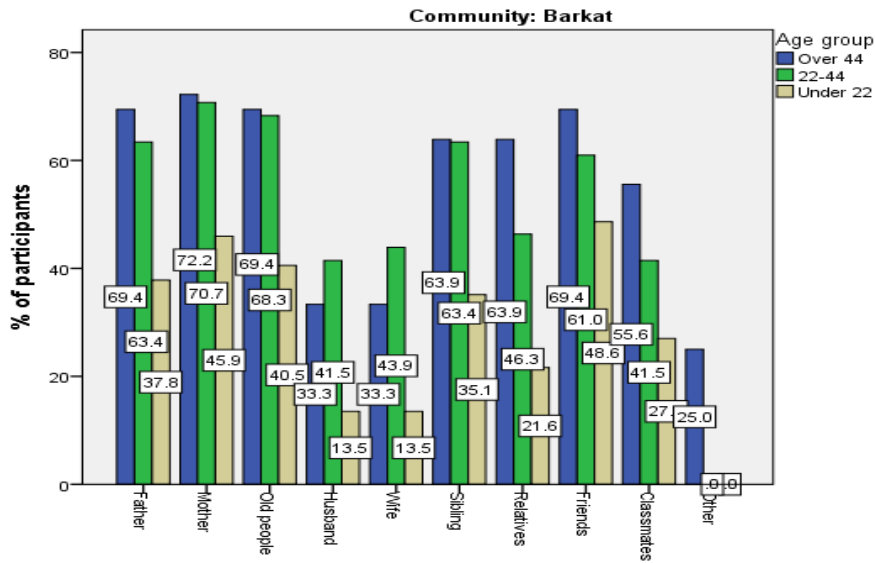
Figure 4.13: Q: with whom do you speak Targia most? By age groups (Barkat)
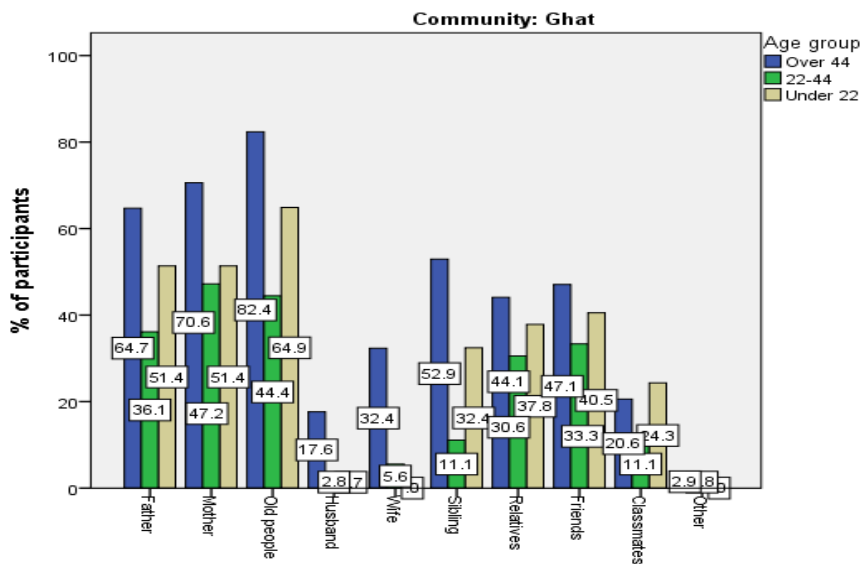
Figure 4.14: Q: with whom do you speak Targia most? By age groups (Ghat)

4.2.2.1 The language parents use with their children and how they reply

In this section, we explicitly address Targia in contrast with Arabic in key

transmission related contexts. We first consider claimed use of the two languages of

interest by the respondent as a parent addressing their own children and by the

respondent's children addressing the respondent (Figures 4.15, 4.16). Note that in this

report the percentages are out of the total respondents who chose 'yes' for at least one of the language choices offered (153 of the total of 221 participants). It is also important to clarify that the respondents who chose none of the options were assumed not to have any children and that the younger age group answered this question though they are not in the parents' position.

On one side, one can observe that descriptively, there is a correlation between youth and the use of Arabic in Barkat. 43.3% of parents of the middle-aged group reported speaking Arabic with their children whereas only 17.6% of the >44 age group claimed that they use Arabic with their children (Figure 4.15).

On the other side, it is noticeable that there is a relationship between age and the use of Targia where 52% of the parents of the older age group claimed the highest level of speaking Targia with their children, only 13.3% of parents of the 22-44 age group claimed using Targia with their children. Claimed choice of mixed Targia and Arabic falls over age groups.

A possible explanation concerning the linguistic situation in Barkat is that Arabic is gradually replacing Targia, taking now the form of mixed language, which seems to be an obvious trend in Barkat, and may later on end up using only Arabic. However, what cannot be ignored is that Targia is still used between parents and adult children in Barkat either with Arabic or alone.

With regard to Ghat, the results suggest that the higher percentage of parents reported speaking Arabic with their children. 46.9% and 58.3% of parents of the >44 and 22-44 age groups, respectively, claimed using Arabic with their offspring while only 40.6% and 25% of the same groups use Targia with their children respectively (Figure 4.15). The use of a mixed language (Arabic and Targia) came second taking a U pattern over age groups. The statistical analysis in relation to background variables

showed only a few significant effects, involving age group interacting with community. With respect to age and community, there were no significant effects for choice of Targia. The age pattern for Arabic, however, emerged as significantly different for respondents addressing children in the two communities (Wald statistic=6.57, p=.037).
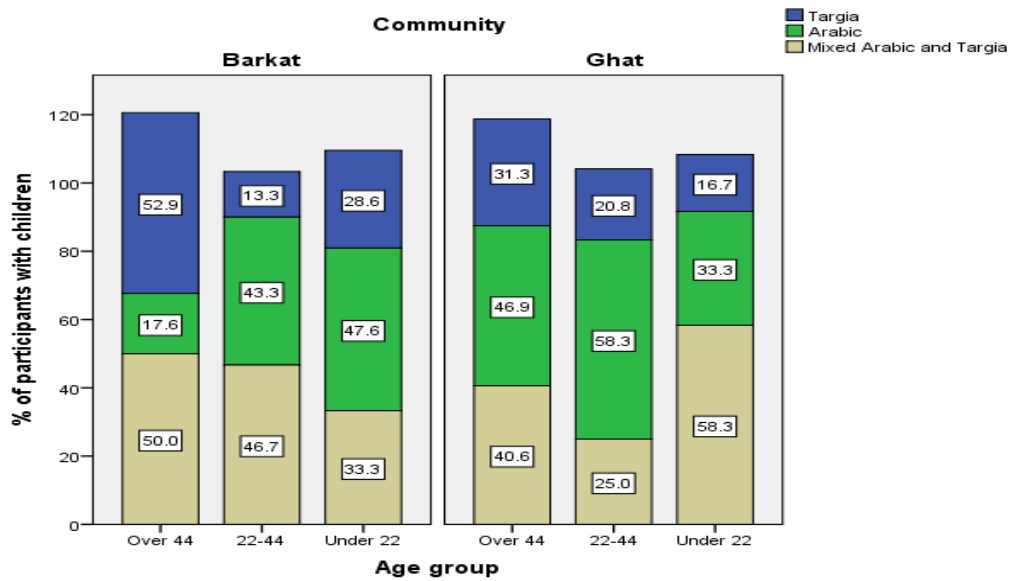
Figure 4.15: **Q: What language do you use with your children? By community and age groups**

From the pilot study I had conducted, it appeared that the language children may use when they speak back to their parents might not be the same language parents use with them. For example, if parents address their children in Targia, children may reply in Arabic, Targia or mixed language (Arabic and Targia). Children's responses depend on several factors such as the parents' language policy embraced within the home domain, age, and the topic. Accordingly, it was essential to ask parents about the language children use when they respond to them.

Before examining the results depicted in Figure 4.16 which display the respondents' report about the language their children reply with, it is important to clarify again that

some of the younger age group answered this question, even though it addresses only parents. Descriptively, it seems that in Barkat there is a correlation between youth and the use of Arabic as well as ageing and speaking Targia. Compared to those belonging to the older-aged group, parents of the middle-aged group said that their children reply to them more in Arabic. It is also noticeable that there is a clear difference between the 22-44 and the >44 aged-groups regarding the use of Targia. Only 3.6% of the parents of the 22-44 aged-group claimed that their children speak Targia with them while 37.5% of the older-aged group claimed that their offspring speak Targia back to them. It is interesting that mixed language (Arabic-Targia) was reported to be the language children use most with their parents (53% and 50% for middle and older ager groups respectively). This indicates, consistent with the below data elicited from the interviews, that the dominant trend in Barkat is the usage of a mixed language with the younger generation.

Comparatively, it appears that a similar trend does exist in Ghat but the advantage in Ghat is for speaking Arabic instead of a mixed language. The use of Targia shows a difference between children of the older informants and the 22-44 age groups. 25% of the parents of the > 44 age group reported that their children reply to them in Targia compared to only 16.7% of the middle-aged group. Figure 4.16 suggests that mixed language is the predominant form of linguistic behaviour used among younger children of Barkat while Arabic is the dominant language used with their age peers in the Ghatian community. The age group by community interaction was also close to significance for mixed languages (child to respondent: Wald statistic=5.70, p=.058).
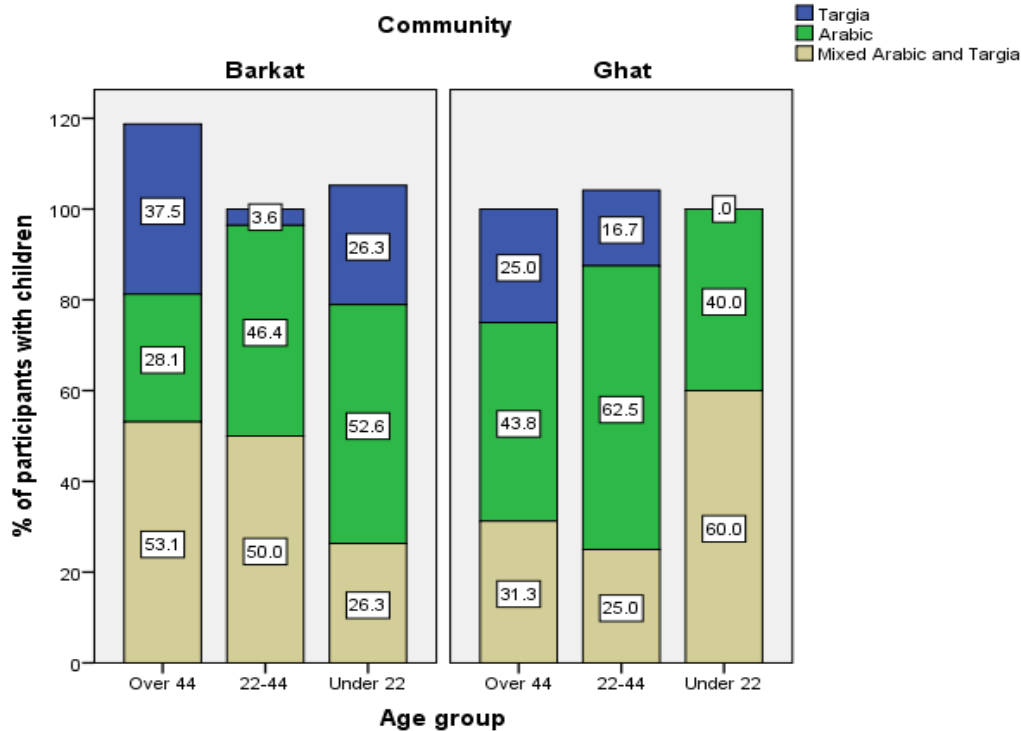
Figure 4.16: **Q: What language(s) do your children use with you? By community**

The above analysis does not capture the details of multiple responses, where respondents chose more than one language option (leading to the percent in the graphs exceeding 100%). We can see from Table 4.2 that there was a slight tendency for respondents to claim that they used Arabic, alone or with other options with their children more than the children did in return. In any case, claimed use of a single language forms only a slight majority: there is almost as much claimed use of mixed or combined languages occurring between a given respondent and their children, or in the reverse direction, in a household

Table 4.2: **Percentages of combinations of languages used in respondent - child communication**

Language combination	Respondent to child	Child to respondent
Targia alone	15.2	19.0
Arabic alone	40.0	32.7
Mixed alone	36.6	34.0
Targia and Arabic	3.5	5.2
Targia and Mixed	2.1	5.2
Arabic and Mixed	1.4	2.6
Targia and Arabic and Mixed	1.4	1.3
Total Targia	22.1	30.7
Total Arabic	46.2	41.8
Total Mixed	41.4	43.1
Total single language	55.2	51.7

In a comparative examination of the results obtained from Figures 4.15, 4.16 and Table 4.2, it can be predicted, then, that there is an incipient attachment towards Arabic, and this shift may take the form of one of the following patterns: the first pattern is when the majority of parents use Arabic or the two languages together with their children either in the form of code mixing or code switching. This can be the case of Barkat where the highest percentage of parents reported speaking a mixture of Arabic and Targia with their children. The second example is when the majority of parents use Arabic with their children and this appears to be the case in Ghat.

The data elicited from the interviews seems to be congruent with the results presented in the above. The following excerpt elucidates the language parents often use with their children in Barkat:

> I speak to them in Arabic and then by the time they learn Targia. Targia comes by the time. See my little daughter and my son, they speak only Arabic. If I talk to them in Targia, they speak back in Arabic. See also my cousin, Mohammed's father, he always tries to speak to my son in Targia, but my son replies in Arabic. My cousin asked my son, why you did not speak Targia? And my son replied: "because I am afraid of my father". My son rarely speaks Targia at home. **(M, age: 71, male, Barkat)**

This might be another sign of drifting away from Targia towards Arabic. For instance, participants from the middle-aged group claimed that when they were children, 30 years ago, they were not able to speak Arabic when they went to school. Their competence in Arabic was confined to just a few expressions like "go" and "come". Omar, a participant from Barkat, recounts that Targia was the first language he learned when he was a child.

> "…, as I mentioned, when I started school, I struggled to learn Arabic because the only language I knew was Targia. The only words we knew in Arabic were come and go **(O, age: 37, male: Barkat)**

Parents seem to have deliberately transmitted Arabic to their children in preference to Targia particularly in an earlier stage of their childhood. H (male, age: 37) narrates in the following extract that it is primarily the parents' decisions to transmit Arabic first in the favour of Targia.

> 20 to 30 years ago, Targia was the only language used at home with children, but for the newer generations, the priority is to teach them Arabic. I cannot deny that some tribes transmit Targia as the first language. We know that Targia will be taken for granted, no doubt, and children will learn it as they communicate with their friends in street and schools, but why parents speak to their children in Arabic! Children may struggle to learn Arabic if the first language they learn at home is Targia and accordingly this would influence their school attainments. For example, I only taught my daughter Arabic over her first three years. She is now 6 years old and then when she became familiar with Arabic, I have started teaching her Targia. **(H, age: 37, male, Barkat)**

El Kirat (2007, p. 711) points out that parents of the Amazigh community in Morocco have deliberately transmitted Arabic to their children at the expense of Berber to "spare them all the psychological pressures they went through themselves". According to her, such a deliberate decision, not to transmit Berber, is the "the main symptom" that language is endangered and encounters obsolescence (p. 710). It is apparently the power and the impact of Arabic as the sole official language and the economic gains of acquiring and using it in public and formal settings. Maso (age: 51,

male, teacher) enumerates in the following extract that there are no benefits of teaching

Targia as it is not a language of science.

> Targia is not a language of the modern time, not a language of science, and not at the level of English language. It has no alphabets, no references, and no teachers. **(Mas, age: 51, male, Barkat)**

This self-view is obviously what Fishman (1991: 340) describes as "reflections of the destruction of Xish self-esteem, due to decades of negative comparisons with Yish political power, economic advantage and modern sophistication", which is Arabic in this case.

It is evident that the advantage is to learn Arabic as it is used in daily interactions. In fact, parents' attitudes not to transmit Targia language can be evidence that this language is going to be lost. The situation in Ghat and Barkat may have some similarities, particularly in the case of the older generation. However, what might be a clear difference between the two communities is what the researcher has observed in the Barkat community where parents may speak Targia with their adult children. In other words, it is often the case that in Barkat Arabic is given a priority to be passed by parents as the first language to little children (often those who are under 12). Then, as children become able to master Arabic very well, Targia can be used with them and this often happens when children become adults. However, the question that needs to be flagged and answered is about the adult children's level of proficiency in speaking Targia at this stage. The data depicted in this study showed that children acquire an imperfect language.

In what follows, D (male, age: 50), distinguishes between children and adults concerning the use of Targia as he clarified that parents speak Targia with adult children while Arabic with little children in the earlier stages of their childhood. This is because the latter needs Arabic when they start school while the former needs Targia in

another stage to participate, for example, in activities associated with Tuareg social

heritage, social events and communicate effectively with other age groups, particularly

the older age group.

> We see that children must learn Arabic before going to school because everything is in Arabic. It is a kind of preparation for school. I make it as a preparation for school because children might not be able to reply if they were asked about their names. When they become adults, we speak Targia with them; Targia is an integral part of our life. (**D, age: 50, male, Barkat)**

Parents of Ghatian Tuareg recounted that their younger children often respond to

them in Arabic yet adult children may reply in Targia, mixed with Arabic. In the

following excerpt, F, a mother from Ghat, narrates that her children speak Arabic

because of the Arabic atmosphere they live in. Arabic is used everywhere in Ghat, at

home, school and in the street.

> Arabic, they tend to use Arabic instead of Targia. It is because of the surroundings that we live in, the schools, streets, all people deal with Arabic in this area, (Ghat). (**F, age: 51, female, Ghat)**

4.2.3 Participants' report on the language parents use with them

Having presented parents' reports on the language they often use with their

children, it was essential to look at language reportedly used by a respondent's father

and mother addressing respondents, since this is a crucial factor in language

transmission.

In general, Figures 4.17 and 4.18 show that considerable proportions of the

participants claimed that their parents speak Targia with them either in Barkat or Ghat.

What is noticeable is the correlation between ageing and the use of Targia in Barkat

though in Ghat Targia recovers among the younger age group leading to the U shaped

pattern. For example, in Barkat 75.6% and 83.3% of those aged between 22-44 and

>44, respectively, reported that their fathers converse with them in Targia whereas the

younger-aged group showed the least usage of Targia with their fathers with 62.2%. The parent's choice of mixed Targia and Arabic descriptively rises across age groups of respondents, old to young, regardless of parent or community. Apparently, the < 22 age group showed the highest percentage of using the mixed language with their parents in both communities. We can also see the gradual rise for Arabic across age groups in Barkat but the ballooning of Arabic in the 22-44 age range of Ghatian respondents. In the youngest age group, Arabic falls back again in Ghat, leading to the U shaped patterns we have seen elsewhere.

The statistical analysis shows no significant differences for any demographic variables in choice of the mixed language option by either mother or father. However, community and the age group by community interaction effects are significant or near significance for both parents for reported choice of both Arabic and Targia. For Arabic the pattern is again similar for mother and father, but different by community both overall (mother: Wald statistic=7.10, p=.008; father: Wald statistic=13.27, p<.001) and in combination with age group (mother: Wald statistic=6.83, p=.033; father: Wald statistic=6.00, p=.050). Targia also exhibits a similar pattern for mother and father, but is different by community both overall (mother: Wald statistic=13.54, p<.001; father: Wald statistic=18.65, p<.001) and not far from significance in combination with age group (mother: Wald statistic=5.06, p=.080; father: Wald statistic=5.72, p=.057).
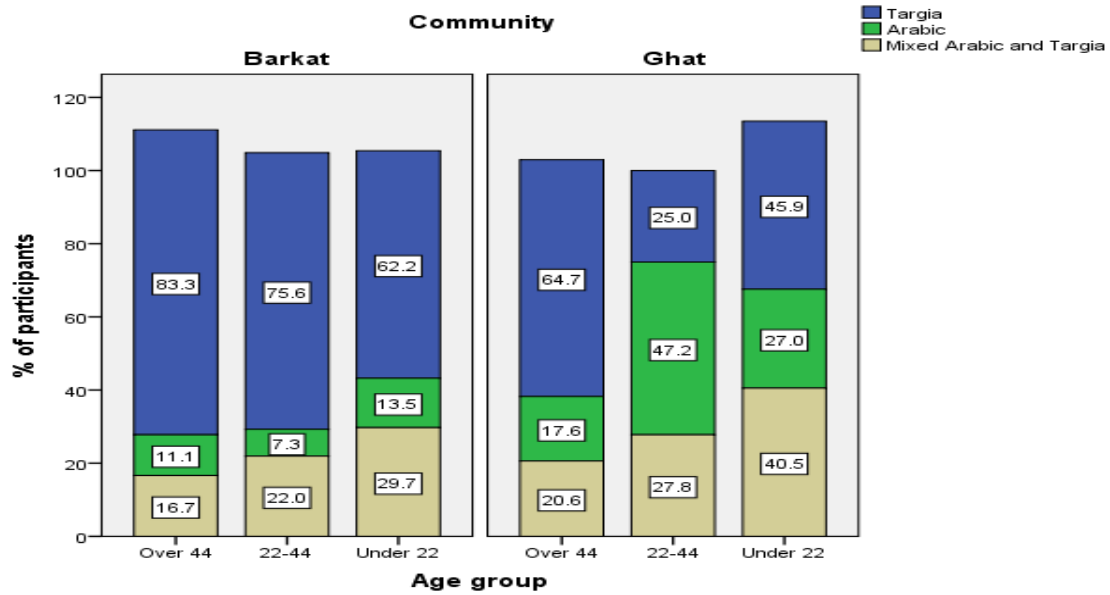
Figure 4.17: **Q: What language(s) do your parents use when they speak to you? Father, by age group and community of respondent**
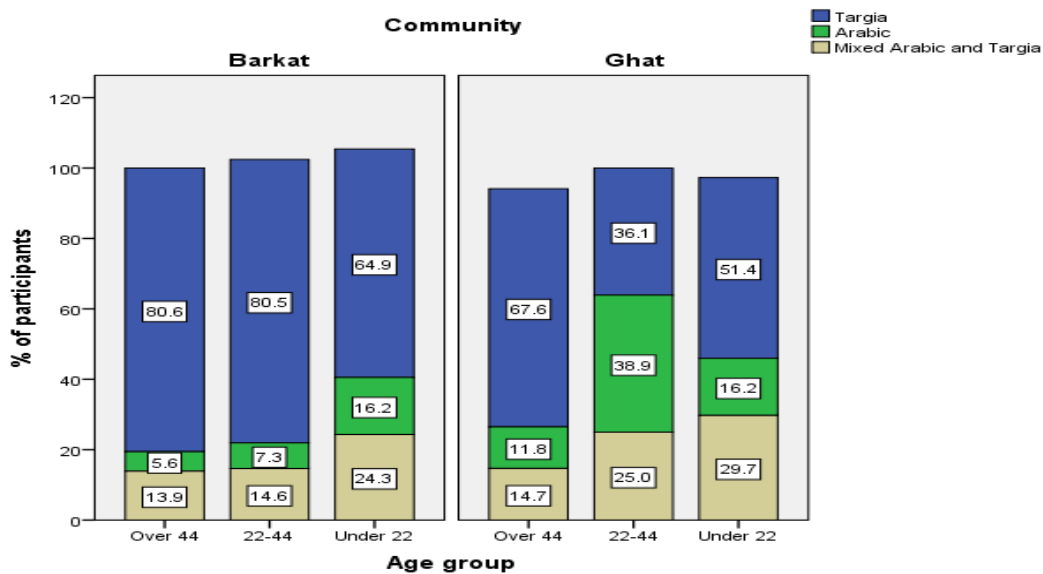
Figure 4.18: **Q: What language(s) do your parents use when they speak to you? Mother, by age group and community of respondent**

However, what seems paradoxical is the gap between what parents reported about the language they use with children and the latter's claim concerning the language their parents speak with them (See Figures 4.15, 4.16). It could be the case that those belonging to < 22 age groups of the two communities over-reported their use of Targia with the generation above them. However, the gradual attachment to Arabic and/or

mixed language can be seen clearly among the three age groups. It can be also observed that parents of the middle-aged groups in Barkat and Ghat reported that the language used most with their children is either mixed as the case of the former community or Arabic as in the latter whereas the < 22 age group respondents claimed speaking Targia most with their parents in the two communities, Figures 4.17, 4.18. It seems, based on what the interview data revealed and my observations during the fieldwork, that parents' report is closer to the linguistic reality of using a mixed language or Arabic with their children. In fact, interviewees from Barkat younger generation recounted that their parents use both Arabic and Targia with them, and they (participants) often reply in Arabic.

> **RA (research assistant**): What language do parents use when they speak to you?
>
> **Interviewee:** Targia but they speak Arabic with my younger siblings. (**Salwa, age: 21, female, Barkat)**

Speaking Targia in Ghat seems to be confined to a few words among the younger generation learned at home from parents, grandparents and siblings or from other domains such as the social events. The interview data revealed that Arabic is the language this age group masters well and uses on a daily basis. Seraj (male, age: 18) narrates in the following excerpt that Arabic is the first language they acquired from their parents, and it is used on a regular basis.

> I use Arabic with both parents and my siblings. I know some Targia words, but I speak Arabic. (**Seraj, age: 18, male, Ghat)**

Potential accounts for the high percentages presented by the informants of the younger-aged group in Ghat may echo the demographic and linguistic situation in this town. Ghat is a diverse community and the schools' students are from different ethnic backgrounds, Tuareg, Hausa, Arab and others. When my research assistants and I distributed the questionnaires in girls' schools, it was difficult to identify Tuareg

students, as they are not ethnically classified in the schools. Thus, the only way to identify Tuareg students was through my assistants who know the community very well. It could be the case that the influence of my research assistant and the focus on Tuareg girls and the exclusion of other ethnicities led to some bias and probably caused such over-report of speaking Targia with parents.

Ghat is also the place where many Tuareg heritage and archaeological sites are located, and it is also the town that witnesses a yearly festival known as "Tourist Ghat Festival" in which Tuareg practise many of their cultural traditions and present their literature in the Targia language. Ghat is the place that often hosts scholars from different disciplines such as history, archaeology and anthropology. It is believed that all these factors would have increased the Ghatians' awareness of the importance of their culture including Targia though it seems to be less used in Ghat compared to Barkat.

4.2.4 Grandparental role of language transmission

It has been shown that grandparents may take the role parents often play not only in socializing grandchildren but also in passing on their heritage language to them. In his study on the Olyphant and Fall River communities, Fishman (1966, p. 202) finds that grandparents took the parents' role regarding the transmission of their ethnic mother tongue language to children. For the Tuareg, grandparents represent one of the last familial sources for children, from which they can acquire Targia. Ishizawa (2004, p. 465) refers to the presence of grandparents with their grandchildren as an effective factor in shaping the language grandchildren speak.

Regarding the Tuareg community, it is the case that grandparents often live with one of their adult children and accordingly they get involved directly or indirectly in

the process of socializing their grandchildren. For instance, Tuareg grandparents take

the role of transmitting the cultural heritage of Tuareg traditions, habits and history.

Targia language is also claimed to be passed on by grandparents (maternal or paternal)

as it represents an integral part of Tuareg heritage. The pivotal role played by

grandparents in general and grandmothers, in particular, to transmit Targia to

grandchildren was narrated by the interviewees from the two communities. In the

following extract, participants refer to grandparents' influence in shaping the linguistic

behaviour of the three age groups.

> I only speak Targia with my grandmother. They (his children) learn
> Targia from my mother (their grandmother) when she visits us and they
> keep saying my grandmother said…and said… (**B, age: 47, male,
> Ghat**)

In general, it seems, as depicted in Figures 4.23, 4.24 that grandparents (paternal or

maternal) in the two communities play almost the same role in passing Targia on to

their grandchildren. In particular, vital role seems to be played by grandmothers

compared to grandfathers. A potential elucidation for grandmothers' advantage in

passing Targia on is due to the very particular warm and strong relationships

grandchildren have with their grandmothers either in Ghat or Barkat. In her study on

immigrant families in the US, Ishizawa (2004, p. 465) states that the linguistic

behaviour of grandchildren was strongly affected by the presence of grandmothers

rather than grandfathers. Ghatian Tuareg showed a slightly different picture where

speakers belonging to age group < 22 reported the highest percentage of acquiring

Targia from their grandparents. This is expected as grandparents represent one of the

last familial sources available for children.
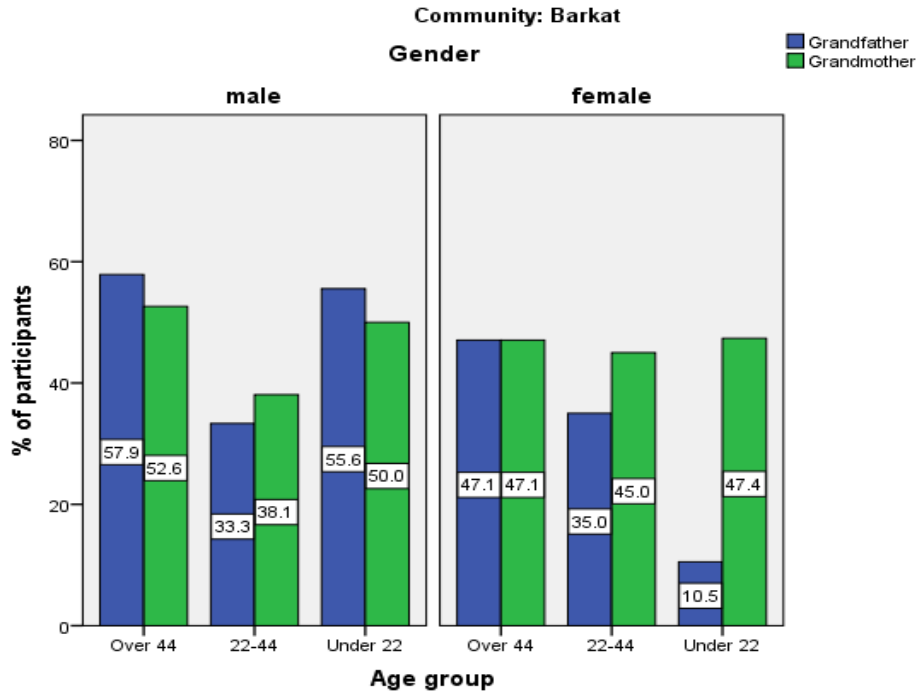
Figure 4.19: **Q: From whom did you learn Targia? Grandparents (Barkat)**
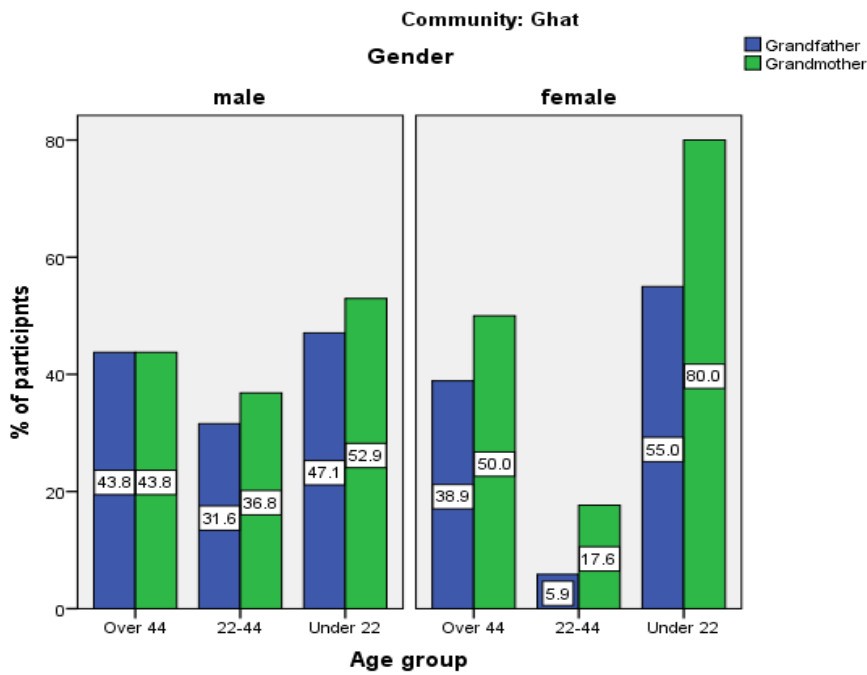
Figure 4.20: **Q: From whom did you learn Targia? Grandparents (Ghat)**

Notwithstanding grandparents represent a vital source for transmitting Targia to all age-groups, children's level of competence in speaking Targia remains an issue when they deal with their grandparents. In many situations, children encounter obstacles regarding the understanding of the language elderly people speak. In fact, this issue was mainly flagged by Ghatian interviewees. To illuminate the linguistic relationship between grandparents and grandchildren, it is essential to go over the three aged groups in both communities. The analysis of the interview data indicate that grandparents often speak in Targia and grandchildren rarely to reply in Targia. Arabic is claimed to be the most accessible language for grandchildren, particularly among Ghatians. It is often the case that adult parents or participants of the middle-aged group take the role of being translators to ease communication between grandparents and younger grandchildren. It is also important to refer to the low level of proficiency in speaking Libyan Arabic for some illiterate grandparents, which may also cause a linguistic hindrance when they interact with the younger age group. In the following excerpt, an interviewee from the middle-aged group in Ghat illuminates the obstacles grandchildren encounter when they converse with their grandparents or elderly people.

> The difficulties appear when my grandparents communicate with the grandchildren, my nephews and nieces. We may take the role of translators between the children and grandparents. **(Mo, age: 41, male, Ghat)**

الباحث: لولاد الصغار وخوتك الصغار مثلا لما يحكو مع اجدودك كيف التحاور معاهم؟

محمد: بالنسبه للجدود ايحاولو ايكلموهم عربي ومرات ايقولولهم كلمة بالتارقي ممكن مايفهموهاش.

الباحث: فيه صعوبه في التواصل بينهم هكي بالتارقي؟

محمد: الأولا الصغار اللي هم صغار زي أولاد خوي فيه صعوبه في التعامل امعاهم حتى مرات اللي بيقوله شي مايكلماش شخصيا ويكلمك انت كلامه بيش اتوصله المعلومهاللي يبيها.

Moving to Barkat, the linguistic picture might be a slightly different one as interviewees of the younger-aged group stated, as demonstrated in the following excerpt, that their grandparents and older people use both Targia and Arabic with them and the latter speak back in accordance with the language used with them, Arabic to Arabic and Targia to Targia.

> **Interviewee:** They (grandparents) use Arabic and Targia and I reply according to the language they use. **(Amna, age: 11, Female, Barkat)**

4.3 Proficiency in using Targia and Arabic (Ghat and Barkat)

Having low competence in speaking a language has been reported to be indicative of language shift. Taumoefolau, Starks, Davis & Bell (2002, p. 23) mention that the low competence of the younger siblings in the Niuean community in New Zealand in speaking their heritage language indicates a language shift towards English, the predominant language in the country. This is compared to the older siblings who have a higher level of proficiency in mastering their native language.

In this study, participants of the two communities, Ghat and Barkat, were asked to rate their level of competence in speaking both Arabic and Targia. They were also given four (4) self-evaluation levels, numbered from 1 to 4, to rate their level of proficiency. Number 1 indicates the lowest level and number 4 denotes the highest level.

It was impossible to apply certain linguistic objective proficiency measures such as literacy-oriented proficiency, grammatical proficiency, vocabulary knowledge and discourse ability to examine Tuareg levels of competence. This is due to the researcher's lack of speaking Targia and the very few numbers of Tuareg who can write in Targia though they have their own alphabet, the Tifinagh as well as the the lack of codification of Targia and limited time for study.

In general, we can see, as depicted in Figure 4.25, that the two communities of the study differed somewhat. While in Barkat greater fluency was claimed in Targia than in Arabic, the reverse was true in Ghat. An ANOVA analysis showed that community had a borderline significant interactive effect with language (F=3.88, p=.051).
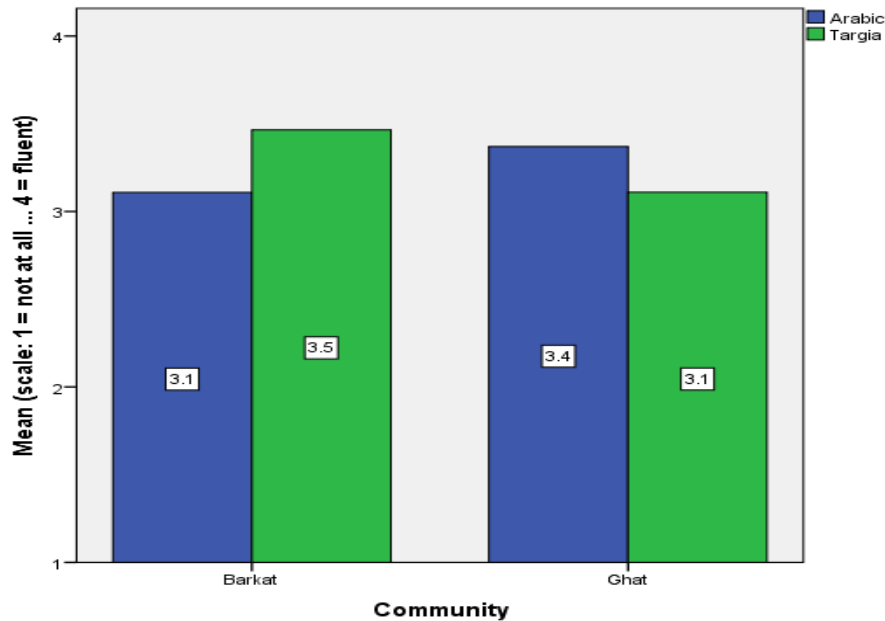
Figure 4.21: **Proficiency in Arabic and Targia, by community (Barkat and Ghat)**

As for age groups in the two communities, we can also see in the older participants, as shown in Figure 4.26, a greater claimed fluency in Targia than Arabic. That is followed by a switch to slightly favour Arabic domination among the middle aged-group, followed by a tendency to near equality in younger people.
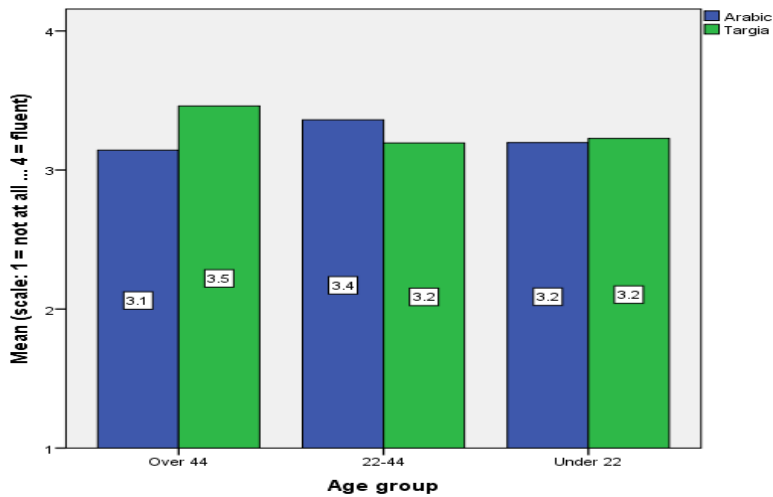
Figure 4.22: **Proficiency in Arabic and Targia, by age groups (the two communities overall)**

4.3.1 Proficiency in using Arabic

Looking at the two communities separately, a similar picture to the one presented above can be seen. All age groups in Barkat claimed greater fluency in Targia, although the difference from Arabic is smaller in the middle age group (Figure 4.27). In Ghat, by contrast, from an almost equal position with Targia in the older age group, Arabic is claimed to be considerably better known by the middle age group and, although it has fallen back slightly, is still claimed to be better known by the youngest group.
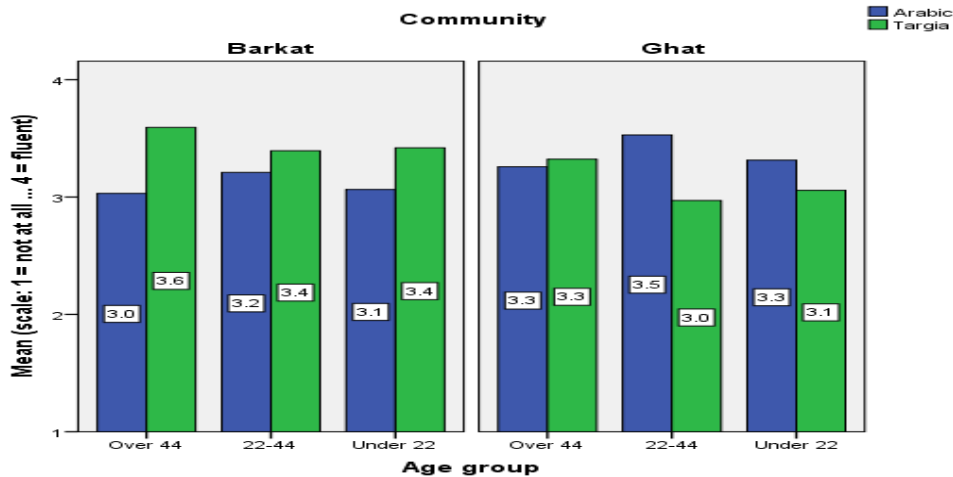
Figure 4.23: **Proficiency in Arabic and Targia, by community and age groups (Barkat + Ghat)**

These high rates of competence in speaking Arabic in both communities mirror the increase and the regularity of using Arabic particularly in Ghat as the wide spread language. A possible explanation for that is due to the increased exposure to Arabic as the dominant language of everyday conversation, the language of media, the official language in the country, the medium language of instruction at schools, the administrative and prevalent language at work and all offical institutions.

It is certainly true that the Ghatian Tuareg are more exposed to Arabic than the Tuareg of Barkat. It is the demographic nature of Ghat as a heterogeneous community that leads to more utilization of Arabic than Targia. Arabic schools were first established in Ghat after independence of Libya in 1951, nowadays the number of Arabic schools in Ghat has increased compared to the number in Barkat. Additionally, certain educational stages are only available in Ghat but not in Barkat, for example, the Faculty of Arts is located in Ghat. Ghat is also the centre of the area where most of the official and public institutions are located. What exist in Barkat are just few branches, run and controlled by the administrative centres in Ghat. The only radio channel is also situated in Ghat and during the previous regime, all programs were broadcast in Arabic. The main airport of that part of the desert is also located in Ghat, which gives

the Ghatian Tuareg easy access to the rest of Arabic-speaking areas in the country. In other words, Ghat is more urbanized and modernized than Barkat. Arabic is also the prominent language in Ghat, which is considered as a common language connects and ties the multi ethnic population in the town which have their native languages. For instance, there are Hausa and Arab speakers who settled in the area many decades ago. All these conditions and factors are believed to have had a crucial role in giving the Ghatian Tuareg, in particular, an advantage of speaking Arabic at a higher level compared to the Tuareg of Barkat.

On the other hand, the Tuareg of Barkat live in a linguistic enclave, a tightly-knit community where the absolute majority of the population are of Tuareg origin. Some immigrants have recently settled in Barkat but they are also of Tuareg origin, migrated from neighbouring countries, notably from Niger. Accordingly, it is the case that the lower percentage of Barkat Tuareg claimed speaking Arabic compared to Ghat.

4.3.2 Proficiency in using Targia

The overall results of Tuareg's report on their levels of competence reflected, as displayed in Figure 4.27, high levels of proficiency in the two communities. However, Targia language by age group and by community effect does not quite reach significance: F=2.79, p=.064).

As for Ghat, it can be seen from Figure 4.26 that the younger-aged group rated their competence in speaking Targia slightly higher than the middle-aged group yet this evaluation seems to be incompatible with and contradicted by what the interviewees of the middle and older-aged groups reported about the < 22 age group's competence of speaking Targia. It is believed that the younger age group whose command in Targia is just limited to fixed expressions reflected what they feel rather than their actual use. In

the following extracts, individuals of the 22-44 and older age groups stated that the younger-aged group often use Arabic because of their high competence in speaking Arabic. In fact, the informants of the younger age-group recounted that it is the low competence of speaking Targia and the intensive contact with Arabic that encourages them to switch to Arabic when they speak Targia. Accordingly, it can be suggested that the younger-aged group's level of proficiency is confined to understanding Targia and replying only in Arabic (receptive skill or semi-speaker). The following excerpt shows that Arabic can be the only language children may reply with.

> At home if I talk to my brother who is 13, I speak to him in Targia then, he replies in Arabic and in this case it ends up with using Arabic with him. He understands me when I speak Targia but as I said, he replies in Arabic. **(Masa, age: 27, male, Ghat).**

Their competence is limited to the use of Targia expressions. Children in this case seek for adults' help to ease the communication, particularly with elderly speakers whose competence in Arabic might be also low. However, Arabic is still the best choice in such cases as to a great extent, it is spoken fluently by the majority of the three generations.

For the middle-aged group, it seems that they speak Targia at a level, lower than the older-aged group but higher than the younger age group. The 22-44 age group use a mixed language, a language that is intensively arabized. They drift away from Targia to Arabic when they have difficulty in finding specific words. In their study on adults of immigrants of the Turkish community in Australia, Yagmur et al. (2010, p. 59) state that it is the lack of lexical items that made Turkish speakers include English expressions in their speech. Indeed, this group, the middle age group, narrated, as in the following extract, that although they make every endeavour to speak "pure" Targia, their Targia looks funny in the eyes of the older generation.

> **Interviewee:** But let me clarify that 60% of Targia used in Ghat is arabized".
>
> **Interviewer:** How?
>
> **Interviewee:** When we speak Targia, most of the words are Arabic but the accent is Targia.
>
> **Interviewer:** Why?
>
> **Interviewee:** "this depends on what we learn and acquire in childhood, for example, we do not know the synonym for the word "shisha" bottle, in Targia language. It is also the role of schools. Many words are learned for the first time in schools. Accordingly, the accent is Tuareg but the words are Arabic. (**Abed, age: 43, male, Ghat**)

In fact, adult participants recount that the very old people have a superior level of competence in speaking Targia in which they may use a higher standard language that is difficult to comprehend. In the next excerpt, R, a male from Ghat, says that though he does not encounter any linguistic hindrances when they interact with the very old people, it happens that the latter may include complicated terminology in their speech.

As for Barkat, it seems, as depicted in Figure 4.27 that there are no remarkable differences among the three aged-groups. All three aged-groups reported speaking Targia at high levels of proficiency, either fluently or quite well. It is the older-aged group who rated their knowledge of Targia slightly higher than the other groups.

Similar to their peers in the Ghatian community, the younger-aged group evaluated their command of speaking Targia at the same level as the 22-44 age group. Once again, this claim seems to be maladjusted with what the interviewees recounted about the younger-aged group's linguistic proficiency in speaking Targia in Barkat. Although a significant number of the respondents of the three age groups claimed speaking Targia at high levels of competence, the interview data proposes insightful details about Tuareg knowledge in speaking Targia and shows that there is a clear difference across the three age groups.

Similar to Ghat, it is believed that the older-aged group speak Targia at the highest level compared to the other two generations. The language the older-aged group speak is described by the middle-aged group as a "pure Targia" which means that this group is situated on the top of the pyramid concerning their level of proficiency. However, Arabic words might be included in their speech, particularly when they talk about modern items or technology. From the following extracts, one can deduce that Targia is spoken at different levels of competence in Barkat. Informants of the 22-44 age groups narrate that they try to speak the so called "pure Targia", the language claimed to be spoken by older people.

> I try to use not only Targia but pure Targia, the language used by old people. There are certain greeting-terminologies used with old people as a sign of veneration. These terms are not used by younger people. **(O, age: 37, male, Barkat)**

> In many situations, I cannot understand my grandmother's speech and in this case I ask my mother to clarify what my grandmother said. **(Samia, age: 25, female, Barkat)**

With respect to the < 22 age group, one can infer from the following extracts that this group speak Targia at a lower level of competence compared to the other two groups. Interviewees recount that children switch from Targia to Arabic due to the lack of Targia lexical terms though some informants also mentioned that they shift from Targia towards Arabic and vice versa, because they have difficulty in finding the right terms in both languages. Accordingly, children often reply in a mixed language, Targia mixed with Arabic.

> When he (his child) speaks Targia then cannot find certain words, he switches to Arabic. It is the difficulty of finding the right Targia terms. For example, he knows the name of watermelon but does not know the name of the peel or rind of watermelon. It is about differences in the children's levels of proficiency. In addition, I think that Targia is declining because if we use the lovely and effective Targia words that we know and used during the 1970s and 1980s, children will say, what do you say? **(Asho, age: 45, male, Barkat)**

It is a mixed language because the previous regime made us forcibly Arab. It is a hybrid language. It is rare to find people speaking pure Targia, at least you will notice 30 to 40% of their speech is in Arabic, depending on the proficiency of the speaker…if you focus on what they (the younger generation) speak, you will realize that they speak a new language, a language that is mixed with about 60% of Arabic terms. **(Amb, age: 46, male, Barkat)**

By comparing the two communities regarding the use of Arabic and Targia, it can be suggested that informants of Barkat speak more Targia though the information obtained from the interviews showed, in much detail, that Targia is utilized at various levels of proficiency in both communities. Speakers of Ghatian Tuareg feel more confident to speak Arabic. It seems that we see what Sasse (1992) characterizes as symptoms of linguistic disintegration embodied in, for instance, the lack of lexical forms though investigation of the linguistic decay is not within the scope of this study.

We also asked Tuareg about writing ability. Here the interactive effect of educational level with language was significant ($F=9.17$, $p=.003$). In this case, however, Arabic always exceeded Targia in claimed writing ability, but with a greater differential at higher educational levels (Figure 4.28). This doubtless reflects the influence of the educational system on teaching Arabic rather than Targia as clarified in Chapter 2. It is also believed that those who reported on their writing ability in Targia based this ability on the use of the Arabic alphabet, as shown in Chapter 2, rather than the Tifinagh.
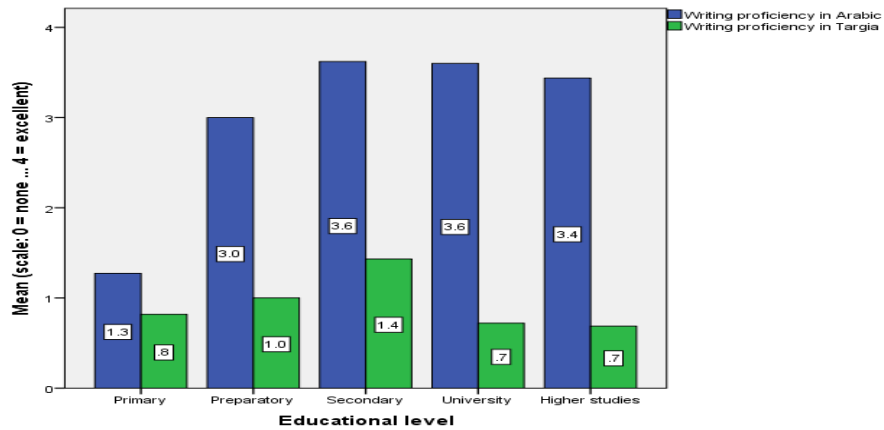
Figure 4.24: **Writing ability in Arabic and Targia, by educational level**

Interestingly, occupational category was also significant, as a main effect (F=2.44, p=.036) (Figure 4.29). It is clearly that two of the categories were especially low on claimed ability to write in Arabic, though not the lowest in claimed ability to write in Targia. It is probably that the two categories at issue, covering unemployed/retired people and housewives, tended also to be low in educational level. In fact, this rise in Arabic proficiency reflected what we discussed in Chapter 2 regarding the impact the economic factors by which Tuareg communities have shifted to the waged state economy.
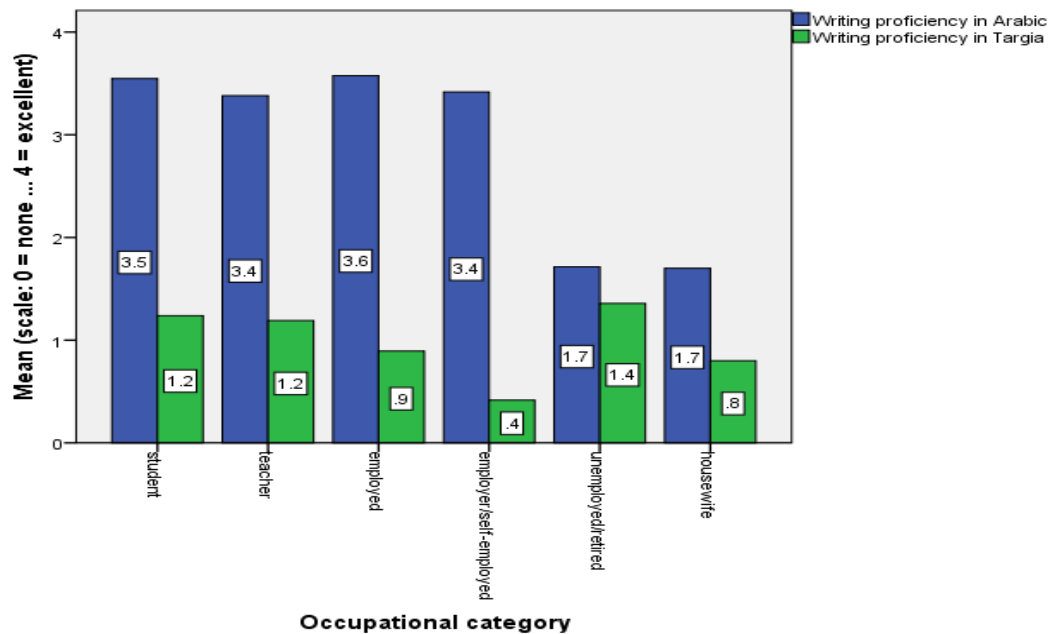
Figure 4.25: **Writing ability in Arabic and Targia, by occupational category**

Statistically, age appears to have no significant impact on the scores in the presence of the other demographic variables. We must remember, however, that these are only self-reported measures of language ability, reported on short rating scales, not objective proficiency measures. They may simply reflect what people would like their ability to be. Furthermore, these self-assessments may have been made by the respondents relative to their own cohort, reflecting different times in the past. A younger person choosing the response *'quite well'* for their ability in Targia today may be assessing him/herself against a lower peer average ability. In such a way, the same response choice may reflect quite different levels of objective language ability

In the following section, we will seek information about the frequency of using both Targia and Arabic.

4.4 Frequency of using Targia and Arabic (Ghat and Barkat)

As has been demonstrated in the previous sections, Arabic and Targia are still used across generations in Ghat and Barkat but at distinctive levels of competence. Here, we describe simply reported overall use, which was elicited and showed the interaction effect of community and language on frequency of use as a significant effect ($F=18.87$, $p<.001$). As may be seen in Figure 4.30, Barkat exhibits more use of Targia than Arabic, with the reverse in Ghat.
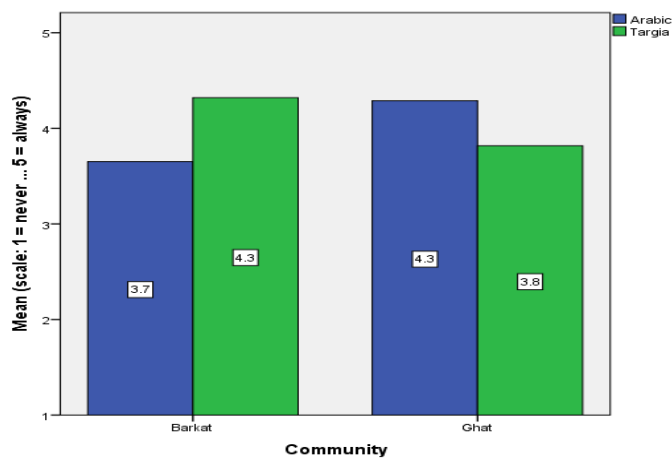
Figure 4.26: **Frequency of Arabic and Targia, by community (Barkat+Ghat)**

However, non-significant descriptive pattern emerges, if age group is plotted against language use (Figure 4.31).
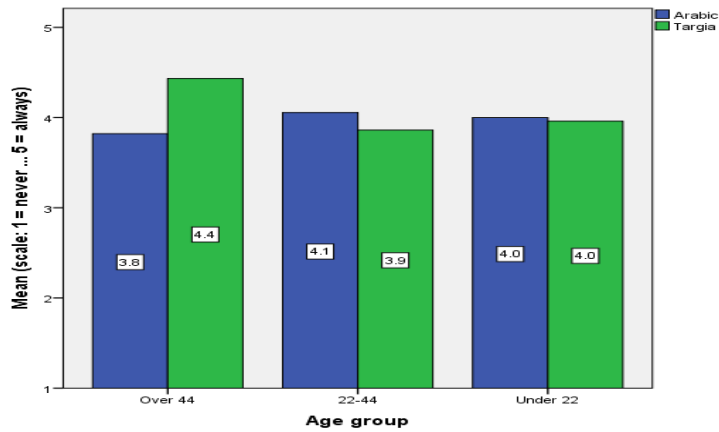
Figure 4.27: **Frequency of Arabic and Targia, by age groups (Over all)**

4.4.1 Frequency of using Targia

A similar picture is obtained when each community is split into age groups (F=2.61, p=.076). The pattern for Ghat suggests a clear decline of using Targia among the middle-aged group but then recovers again in the younger age group shaping the letter U again (Figure 4.32).
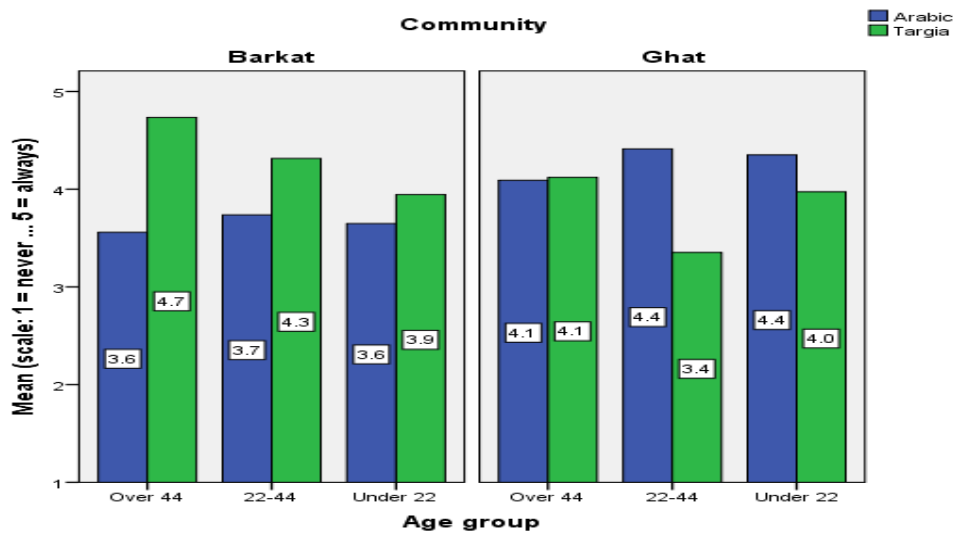
Figure 4.28: **Frequency of using Targia, by age groups and community (Barkat+Ghat)**

Once again, the higher overall reported use of Targia claimed by the younger-aged group, compared to the middle-aged group, seems to be clearly collided with the information drawn from the interviews. The linguistic code Ghatian children often utilize is Arabic. The following extract illuminates that Arabic is the most frequent language used among the younger generation.

> It (Arabic) is the language of schools; Ghatian children now speak Arabic, school language. However, children in Isyan[i], for example, speak Arabic in schools but Targia in streets, no Arabic words. (**R, age: 47, male, Ghat**)

The pattern for Barkat, consistent with the data demonstrated in this study, shows a clearer suggestive fall in claimed Targia frequency of use across age groups though the differences are not significant.

4.4.2 Frequency of using Arabic

As for the frequent use of Arabic across generations, Figure 4.32 shows that in Barkat, it is the middle-aged group who rated their frequency slightly higher than the newer and older aged-groups.

On the contrary, in Ghat, it appears that speaking Arabic is vigorous and increasingly transcending the use of Targia. Interestingly, they are also the respondents of the middle-aged group of Ghat who reported the more use of Arabic compared to the younger and older aged-groups.

It is certainly clear that the scenario regarding the frequency of speaking Targia and Arabic across the two communities is different. A possible suggestion is that the general trend in Barkat is to speak Targia on a regular basis mixed with Arabic, whereas in Ghat Arabic is the predominant language used on a daily basis.

---

[i] Isyan is an adjacent village located near Barkat.

To sum up this part of the chapter, it seems that the use of Targia is increasingly declining at the expense of Arabic. This contraction of using Targia can be noticed through the conspicuous disruption of inter-and intra-generational transmissions within the two communities though at different degrees.

4.5 Domains of language use

4.5.1 Introduction

The idea of studying each domain separately in a bilingual setting was first introduced by Schmidt-Roher (1963 as cited in Fishman, 1965). According to Fishman (1965, p. 75), "Domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication". Boxer (2002, p. 4) defines the domain as the field in which the interactions happen, verbally or non-verbally.

The sociocultural context in which X language is utilized is one of the key measurements in characterizing language shift (Fishman, 1991, p. 44). In a broader sense, such sociocultural contexts are conceptualized in the sense all interactions are clearly related "topically or situationally" to one of the crucial institutions (domains) such as work, school and family. Strictly speaking, these contexts are defined as role relations that are correlated with specific spheres, for instance, husband-wife, parent-child, grandparent-grandchild and sibling-sibling. Hoffman (2006, p. 148) states that the shrinkage of using Tashelhit, Berber, in certain domains is a sign of language shift.

Schmidt-Roher (1963 as cited by Fishman, 1966, p. 428) has introduced and named nine domains of language use. "The family, the playground, and the street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction, subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), the church, the press, the military, the courts and the governmental

bureaucracy". These domains can be refined in what is called "institutional contexts or socio-ecological-co-occurrences". According to Fishman, understanding language choice and topic can be gained through such domains. They are suitable not only to analyse face-to-face interactions but also can be developed to the process of language maintenance or language shift. For example, a topic related to religion can be discussed by a group of Tuareg in Arabic because it is related to mosque sphere where Arabic is often used, yet this is different from the situation in which Arabic is spoken in social events or at home though it pertains to Mosque or school domains.

Topic, location and participants are vital factors in language domains. Fishman (1966) suggests certain domains in which speakers use a particular language in favour of another. Nercissians (2001) points out that choosing a particular language in a certain locality can be affected by "covert" or "overt" motivations, values and norms which are imposed by either the predominant group from "above" or the influence of widespread ideologies within the community (by the grassroots). Thus, speaking one or two languages might exist in one sphere. In this respect, two notions can be observed concerning the linguistic choice of Libyan Tuareg in certain fields. The first notion is that language choice in certain domains and the spread of language choice in other markets can be imposed from the top down, i.e., by powerful state or social forces, and then later come to be accepted by the wider population. This is probably the case of using Arabic script to write Targia, or to use only Arabic in the classroom or school with teachers, then this norm spreads to the use of only Arabic to address teachers even outside the classroom or school. The second notion though, is where the domain specialization is an old grassroots phenomenon and has not been caused recently by top-down pressure. This might be the case of speaking Arabic in the mosque, which is

not forced by the top-down pressure; perhaps it may spread to use of only Arabic in the courtyard outside the mosque.

Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck (2005, p. 205) introduced a new notion in which domains such as streets, shops and public health centres permit different types of interaction, which count as appropriate or convenient for speakers. Blommaert et al. (2005, p. 213) distinguish between two conceptions: "monologic places" and "dialogic places". This distinction gives an interpretation of different types of communicative practices "either through the imposing of singular regime "monologic" which end up with switching into the predominant language or by authorizing various languages, which might be differently distributed, within one sphere "dialogic". They notice that there is a tendency to use multiple languages through a range of activities in a monologic domain and vice versa. This differentiation entails the tension between language policies, speakers' inclinations and authentic linguistic practices.

It has been claimed that domains of language behaviours are essential components in the study of language maintenance and language shift (Fishman, 1966, p. 428). Fishman (1991, p. 68) asserts that a domain of language use can be implemented as a macro-level locator of language shift in a manner the analysis of domains enable researchers to determine whether there is an ongoing language shift and "if so, in what types of social interaction". Empirically, the validity of domains entails that speech community members do form not only their own speech but also the people they interact with because they are able to distinguish between domain and situation though the former is constructed of "institutionally related aggregates of the latter" (p. 69). Sasse (1992, pp. 14-15) refers to the role of the external factors in creating an imbalanced situation of language distribution in bi-multilingual settings. Such unevenness results in complementarity in the functional distribution of languages and

therefore, learning the dominant language becomes a prerequisite to compensate the restriction of using the recessive language in certain domains. Different types of pressures, economic, administrative, political, cultural and religious, may exist in every domain and shape a particular linguistic code at the expense of another (Romaine, 2013, p. 453). Using the dominant language in domains where the recessive language cannot be used leads to an increase in bilingualism, shortage or loss of lexis and developing negative attitudes towards the abandoned language. Crystal (2003, p. 83) maintains that the gradual disappearance of the minority language from official and public sphere such as the educational institutions, implies, for instance, the loss of lexical expressions, style, patterns of speech and ultimately ends up with language death. El Kirat (2007, p. 709) points out that Arabic massive invasion to domains reserved in advance to Berber language in North Africa, namely, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, is the "most important evidence" that shift is in progress.

It has been observed and reported in this study that more than one linguistic code can be employed in one domain depending on the identity of interlocutors, topics, and setting. It is indisputable that the use of Arabic has increased and dominated many spheres in Tuareg life such as the social, economic and political fields. This domination has extended to include not only public markets but also intimate domains such as homes and social events. In contrast, Targia has been claimed to be used not only in the intimate spheres but also overlapped with official institutions such as work and schools depending on the identity of interlocutors.

Pandharipande (2002, p. 228) argues that the process of language maintenance and shift can be predicted and diagnosed via the implementation of the notions "functional load" and "functional transparency". Pandharipande (2002, p. 213) implements the term "functional load" to refer to the utilization of a given language in one or more

domains. A language may have a higher functional load if it is used in several domains. She argues that the reduction in the functional load is a direct cause of language shift. In other words, a language that has a higher functional load would have more opportunity to be sustained than the one with lower functional load.

However, what matters is not only the functional load but also the "functional transparency". According to her, the functional transparency indicates "the autonomy and control that a language has in a particular domain". The functional transparency of a given language is also about how speakers conceive its legitimacy and appropriateness to perform a certain function (Pandharipande, 2002, p. 213). Therefore, a language can be said to have functional transparency if it is exclusively utilized in a particular domain. Therefore, a minority language may gradually lose its functional transparency and ultimately diminish from a particular sphere because of the predominant language's encroachment on this domain.

It is the intention of this section to explore the use of Targia in particular domains, intimate or public, how this usage is influenced by the use of Arabic the official and widely used language in the country.

When participants were asked about the locations where Targia was claimed to be most used (Figure 4.33), the results match those for learning (Figure 4.2), in that home comes very high and school very low for both learning and 'most speaking' of Targia. In fact (Figure 4.33), home and social gatherings far outrun the third most chosen location, shopping, which is in a bunch with all the other places which are chosen by less than 30% of participants as places where they say they most speak Targia.
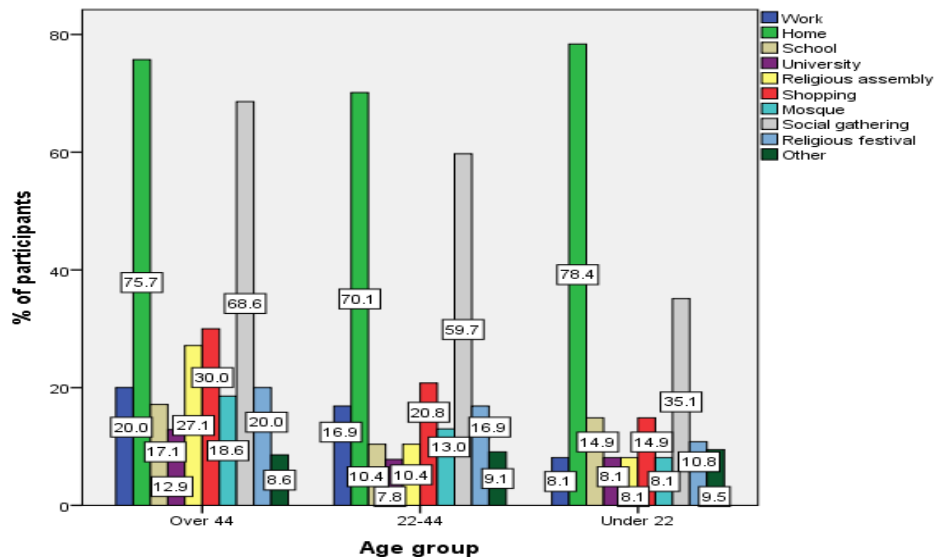
Figure 4.29: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? Overall (mixed)**

There is, furthermore, a noticeable linear trend downward across age groups to be seen in much of Figure 4.33, although less strong than for people with whom Targia is most spoken, above (Figure 4.11). In fact home and school descriptively exhibit a U pattern, falling in the middle age group, rather than a linear trend downwards, though this is not statistically significant. It is in fact only religious assemblies (Wald statistic=7.09, p=.008), shopping (Wald statistic=4.19, p=.041), and social gatherings (Wald statistic=12.90, p<.001), which record a significant downward trend over age groups, though work is also very close to significance (Wald statistic=3.79, p=.052). This suggests perhaps a decline over time in use of Targia in these public venues.

There were also some significant differences for community. As seen earlier, people from Barkat again exhibited greater claimed speaking of Targia (Figure 4.34). The significant places were work (Wald statistic=4.90, p=.027), and the religious locations: mosques (Wald statistic=3.88, p=.049), religious festivals (Wald statistic= 5.25, p=.022), and, borderline, religious assemblies (Wald statistic=3.68, p= .055).
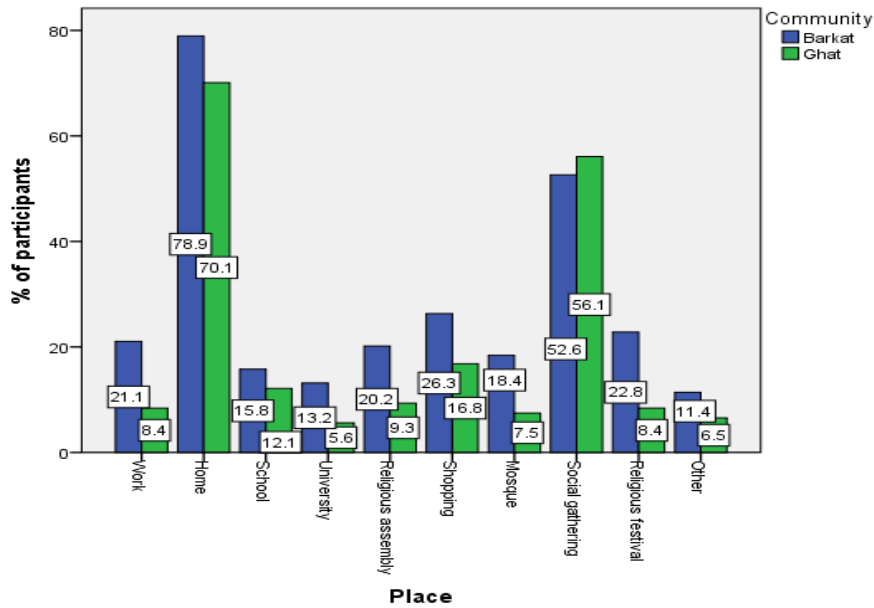
Figure 4.30: Q: **Where do you often speak Targia? By community (Barkat+Ghat)**

Looked at for the two communities separately, it seems that there were no significant interaction effects of community and age group (the closest to significance was social gatherings: Wald statistic=5.86, p=.053) (Figures 4.35, 4.36). This means that the pattern of Figure (4.33) was statistically similar in both communities, although we can observe descriptively the usual difference between communities in the results for home: falling use of Targia in Barkat and a U pattern in Ghat, where the younger respondent group reports even more use of Targia than the oldest group. The near significant difference in pattern for social gatherings shows itself in a different way, however, with an unusual marked fall over age groups in Ghat, although in the youngest group the same rate of choice is found as that in the corresponding group in Barkat (35%).
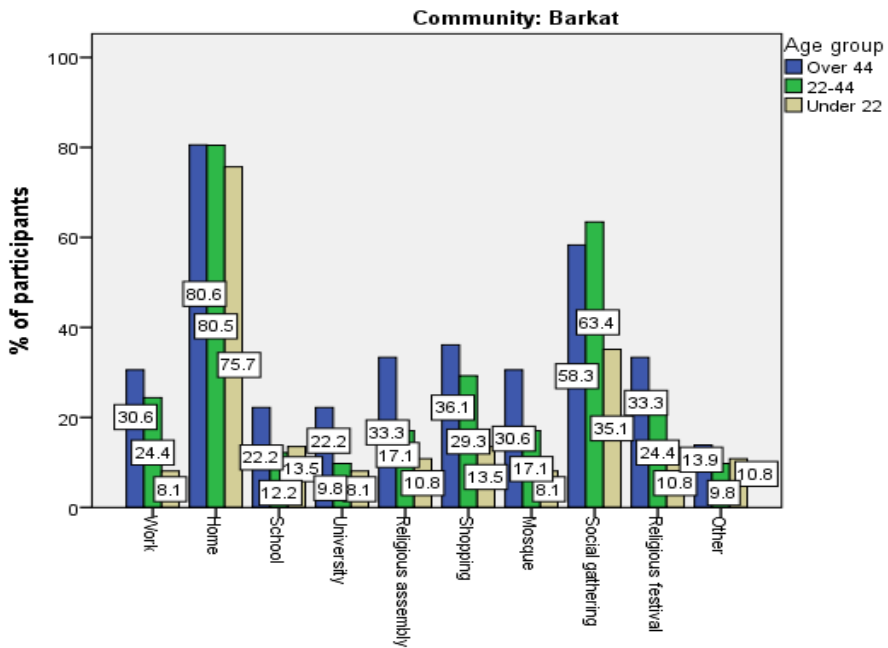
Figure 4. 31: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? By age groups (Barkat)**
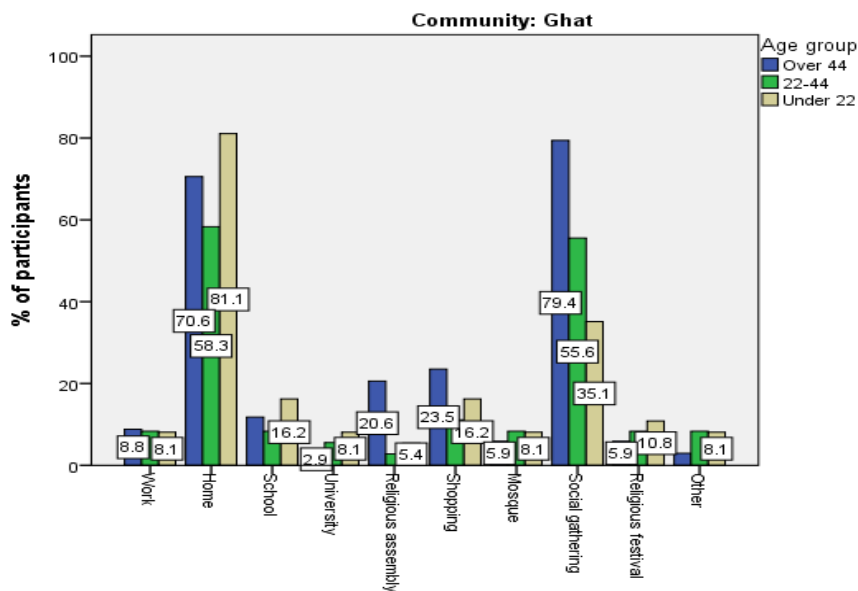
Figure 4.32: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? By age groups (Ghat)**

4.5.2 At Home

It has been argued that familial sphere is a crucial domain in formulating the proper language as well as bringing up and socializing children, siblings and other generations related to the family (Boxer, 2002, p. 212). It has also been shown that home is a vital sphere in connection with multilingual behaviour studies. It is the domain where multilingualism often starts and then ends up in the instance where multilingual speakers abandon using certain language(s) and attach to other(s) (Fishman, 1966, p. 430). It is often the last domain in which a language can be maintained (Taumoefolau et al., 2002, p. 23).

Some scholars go further and classify the family domain according to "speakers". That is language used among parents, children, siblings and grandparents. Fishman (1966, p. 431, 1991, pp. 43-44) refers to the importance of language preference but also to what is called "role-relation" in a family domain where individuals may linguistically behave in different ways with each other. Certain language behaviours can be predicted by specific people in certain fields, for example, the languages used between a teacher and a student, employer and employee, buyer and a seller or in religious domains. In the case of the Libyan Tuareg community, the language used between teachers and students can be predicted not only in schools but also outside the school.

Regarding the use of Targia at home in Barkat, Figure 4.37 shows that the older and middle aged-groups reported similar percentages of speaking Targia at home with about 80%, yet higher than the < 22 age groups (75.7%).
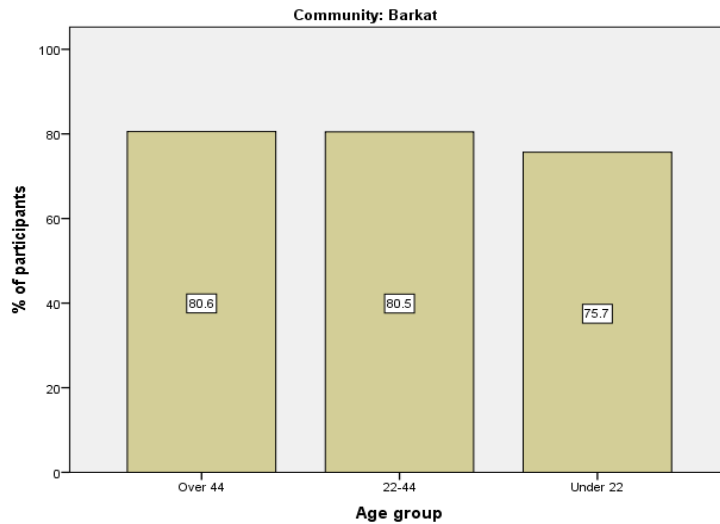
Figure 4.33: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? Home (Barkat)**

With regard to the Ghatian Tuareg, Figure 4.38 shows that the younger-aged group claimed the highest proportion of speaking Targia at home (81.1%) compared to 70.6% and 58.3% reported by the > 44 and 22-44 age groups respectively. As stated earlier, there are no significant differences across age groups in the two communities. The nearest to being significant is the overall difference between communities, with Barkat higher than Ghat, Wald=3.28 p=.070.
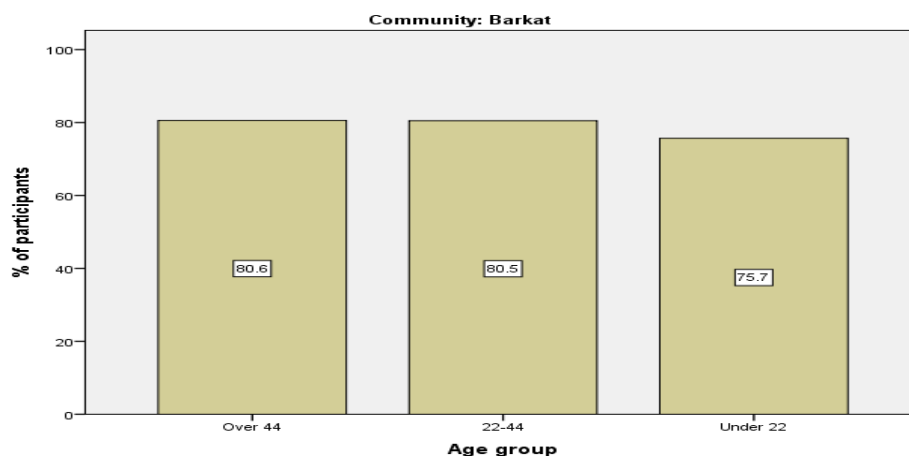
Figure 4.34: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? Home (Ghat)**

It is believed that the higher percentage the younger speakers claimed is expected since it has become the last field for this age group to use Targia in. The use of Libyan

Arabic outside the home domain is unavoidable in Ghat due to its heterogeneous demographic nature. However, it is important to point out that this language is used at home by this group with very limited skills and at a very low level of command, probably confined to receptive skills and the use of just a few expressions as clarified above. Adults from the middle age group, parents and grandparents reported that children's competence regarding speaking Targia is very limited and in some situations, adults try to simplify Targia spoken by elderly people to children. Indeed, the majority of Ghatian interviewees said that those who born during the 1990s and on use Arabic at home. The following extract shows how Arabic has prevailed over other languages at home, at least across the younger generation:

> **Interviewer:** what language do you use with your children?
>
> **Interviewee:** At home, Arabic though my wife can speak Targia. I do not know why, but it is the globalism. They understand us when we speak Targia.
>
> **Interviewer:** if you address your children in Targia, how do they reply?
>
> **Interviewee:** Arabic. (**R, age: 47, male, Ghat**)

It is possible to state that there is a shrinkage in using Targia in this domain, particularly in Ghat, but the important question that should be raised here is not only about the functional load in which a language is utilized in a certain domain but also weather Targia has a functional transparency.

4.5.3 At work

4.5.3.1 Arabic as the main language used at work

The "institutional contexts" or governmental bureaucracy is one of the nine crucial fields that were introduced by Fishman (1966). He (1991, p. 45) states that employer-employee, supervisor-lower employee, employee- employee are the frequent role relations at work.

Accordingly, the primary language used at work is Arabic. In general, the Southern Libyan Arabic is the main language used at the workplace whereas standard Arabic is the written language used in all administrative and governmental operations. However, in particular, there are situations in which Targia can be used interchangeably with Libyan Arabic at work depending on factors such as topics, levels of proficiency, age and identity of communicators: for example, employer-employee relationship and teacher-student etc, as described in more detailed below.

It is also worth mentioning that the majority of the official institutions such as the main hospital, the ministry of education and other departments are located in Ghat as it is the administrative centre of the area. It is believed that the location of the institutions in Ghat, the multi-ethnic town, the more urbanized and modernized, has significantly tipped the balance away from Targia.

The following extract clarifies the role of Arabic as a prevalent language at the workplace domain in the two communities:

> (The use of Arabic) "With my colleagues at work, when I go to school and revise my children's homework. In addition, I use Arabic in the places that need Arabic usage. I also use it with people and my colleagues who cannot speak Targia. (**Hala, age: 47, female, Ghat)**

Although Arabic dominates the work sphere, Targia still exists in this sphere but under certain conditions. The following section illustrates the use of Targia within the work sphere.

4.5.3.2 The use of Targia at work

A quick look at Figures 4.39 and 4.40 reveals that Targia is used less at work in both communities. Claimed use at work falls across the ages in both places yet, it is generally lower in Ghat. The difference is turned to be significant by community (Community: Wald= 4.14, p=.042). There is more Targia reported used at work in

Barkat than Ghat. The community by age groups interaction effect is not significant.

That means that the pattern across ages is similar in Barkat and Ghat.
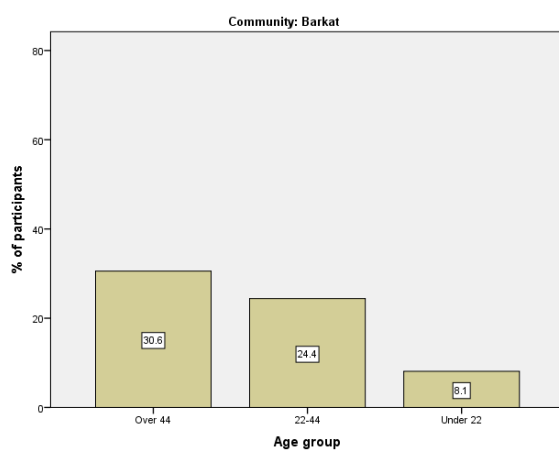
Figure 4.35: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? Work (Barkat)**
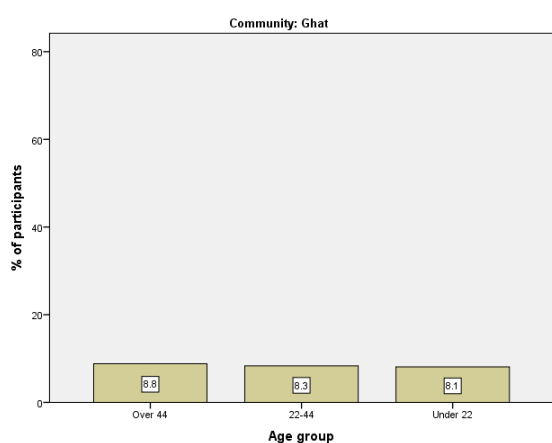
Figure 4.36: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? Work (Ghat)**

The usage of Targia at work seems to be tied to particular circumstances such as identity of interlocutors, age, the setting: formal or informal, topics and the levels of proficiency. In fact, these socio-psychological factors (Ritchie & Bhatia, 2013, p. 378; Romaine, 1989, p. 115) seem to represent constraints on switching from Arabic to Targia, back and forth.

4.5.3.3 Identity of interlocutors (participants' roles and relationships)

It would be too much to claim that Arabic is the sole language choice at work. Ethnic identity, for instance, seems to be an influential factor in shaping and directing speakers to a certain linguistic code. The linguistic choice can be influenced by group membership (Fishman, 1965, p. 68) in "bilinguals' unconscious agreement or disagreement on language choice" (Richie & Bhatia, 2013, p. 378). For example, Targia might be used among co-workers who are of Tuareg origin and able to speak Targia. The shift towards Targia at work appears to be largely tied to the group rather than to the domain. The following excerpt illuminates that Targia is utilized at work depending on identity of communicators:

> I also use it (Arabic) with my colleagues who cannot speak Targia. However, I use Targia with my workmates who can speak Targia. But again, it depends on the group I interact with; within the Tuareg surroundings I use Targia whereas in among Arab community, I use Arabic. **(Hala, age: 47, female, Ghat)**

From a different angle, this type of relation is described by Fishman (1991, p. 45) as the "Role-relations" which is proved to be a vital factor influencing the language implemented at work. For example, the language used between an employee and an employer or between a teacher and a student is Arabic whereas Targia or mixed language (Arabic and Targia) might be the linguistic choice used among employees (employee to employee / teacher to teacher). This type of relationship mirrors social relations, rights, and obligations between interlocutors and negotiation of the social distance (Myers-Scotton, 1992a, p. 40; Ritchie & Bhatia, 2013, p. 78; Romaine, 1989, p. 111). For instance, it may reflect, as shown in the next excerpt, either the same level of job status (employee-employee) or different stances in the interaction (employee-employer/teacher-student), but eventually may characterize what Fishman (1991) describes as a language shift setting.

> It depends on the group and what type of work we do, for example, when we deal with the boss or employer, we use Arabic, but when we converse with my colleagues, we chat in Targia. **(Abed, age: 43, male, Ghat**)

The level of competence is an important factor to use Targia at work. Being Tuareg is not an adequate reason to use Targia at work. Speaking Arabic can be the appropriate linguistic choice used at work, not only with speakers of other ethnic backgrounds like Arab or Hausa, but also with Tuareg of a limited proficiency in Targia. The following excerpts illustrate that switching from Arabic to Targia (back and forth) is a common practice and can be related to the level of competence (in both Arabic and Targia) and also to the speakers' ethnic backgrounds:

> In the Media Department, of course, Arabic is the predominant language. Some of the employees are not Tuareg and cannot speak Targia, and in this case we have to switch to Arabic. I am also a journalist, work in Ghat Radio channel. The use of Targia depends on interlocutors. **(Y, age: 30, male, Barkat)**

It is true that there are economic gains from using Arabic at work as personal administrative procedures cannot be accomplished without using it. However, Tuareg speakers may use Targia in the work sphere to indicate cultural values similar to Tamazight speakers (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013) and achieve social capital. It has been stated by some of the informants that Targia might be preferably used with elderly people to gain social respect and as a code of solidarity. The researcher has observed that elderly people have the greatest reverence and honour in the Tuareg community. They, also known as *Lekba:r*, played a leading role in keeping the area very stable and safe during the time of what is called "the Arab Spring".

It has also been noticed that Targia is the preferable language for those people, elderly, and speaking it with them, even at a limited level of competence, has become a sign of veneration. Accordingly, those who use Targia or mixed language with elderly people obtain their social respect. In comparison with Berber rural dwellers in

Morocco, Hoffman (2006, p. 153) mentions that Berber women, who inhabit the plains and participate in social and economic life with Arabic-speaking Arabs, use Tashelhit as a sign of honour with elderly people. In the following extract, the interviewee recounted how socially vital speaking Targia with elderly people is within or outside the work domain:

> Greetings are in Arabic but you may meet old people and in this case you greet them in Arabic, then you need to use Targia as a kind of respect or veneration. We use a mixed language to deepen the communication. The use of Targia in this case is considered as an index of my identity, my origin as a Targi. For example, an old man may come from Al-Aweinat, a Tuareg town, and does not know me, so I use Targia to identify myself and make him relaxed. **(O, age: 37, male, Barkat)**

It appears that speaking Targia is more expressive in the communication with elderly people since they feel more relaxed when they speak their heritage language. Indeed, it is the "we" code, as opposed to "they" as Richie & Bhatiah (2013, p. 381) put it, that implies the in-group membership and intimate relationship.

4.5.3.4 Setting

4.5.3.4.1 Formal setting

The setting may also influence the language used at work. The language that should be used in formal settings is Arabic. For instance, official meetings in government workspace or schools should be held in Arabic. Speaking Targia was officially prohibited in formal meetings during the previous regime and it seems that this continued to be a norm even after the collapse of Qaddafi's rule. In fact, the use of Arabic at work is related to the policy followed in Libya to restrict the use of not only Targia in public institutions, but also all non-Arab ethnic minority languages. This policy went further to impose rules such as naming the new born children with only standard Arabic names though such rules were enforced on Arabs themselves. This

raises a crucial question about language strategy: did it aim for ethnic assimilation or was it rather a language-focused policy? In the following extract, K (age: 52, male) echoes a part of the previous regime's policy to enforce the use of Arabic in public institutions. He clarifies how they were oppressed to use Arabic in official meetings at workplaces when he was a member of Ghat Council.

> According to the policy followed by the previous regime, it was not allowed to speak any language except Arabic in formal settings. When I was elected as member of Ghat Council, the government banned speaking Targia in official meetings. Another example is when I was the Secretary of Media of Ghat Council; decrees were issued to direct us to translate many of the Targia songs into Arabic which in reality was impossible. **(K, age: 52, male, Barkat)**

4.5.3.4.2 Informal settings

The informal settings indicates the use of Targia or mixed language (Arabic-Targia) in informal situations such as in teachers' rooms or social spaces at schools, and cafeterias in government workspaces (See also section 4.5.4.2). For instance, when teachers have a break and chat together in their social space at schools, they may switch to Targia or a mixed language, yet Arabic is the only choice in the school's official meetings. In the following extract, Mas, a headteacher, narrates that that the use of Targia or Arabic in school is dependent on the setting, formal or informal:

> When we chat together as teachers in the staff room, we may use Targia, but in official meetings, Arabic is the only language that should be used. Regarding the language used with the students, we speak to them in Arabic. **(Mas, age: 51, male, Barkat)**

It is clear that the choice of the appropriate language in the previous extract is correlated with the type of setting, whether formal or informal, not the identity of interlocutors (except for children, both identity and setting). The role has some expectations attached to it as for instance, *"the teacher"* implies teaching and modelling Arabic to children, but not to peers and employees.

4.5.3.5 The influence of Topic on language choice

Talking about a certain topic may shape the language used in conversation regardless of the domain in which it is used. Dealing with administrative procedures at work, for example, definitely requires the use of Arabic, which is the norm. Im states that Arabic is the language used in governmental operations:

> I use Arabic when I deal with any administrative affairs in the official and public institutions. **(Im, age: 40, male, Barkat)**

However, speakers may mix with or switch to Targia if needed even if the topic requires the usage of Arabic. For example, in the case of dealing with speakers with a low competence in Arabic (elderly people), switching to Targia is inevitable. Accordingly, it seems that there is a robust interconnection within the work sphere between the identity of interlocutor, including role and competence, and the topic where in some situations the linguistic choice is tied to the topic and can be correlated with identity of speakers.

Related to this, religious topics and sermons, for instance, are often discussed and presented in Arabic regardless of the domain. It is the Tuareg's belief that when it comes to the discussion of any topic related to religion, Arabic should be the default. According to Libyan Tuareg, as narrated in the following excerpt, religion cannot be explained in Targia:

> We use Targia when we discuss social and private issues but there are some topics that cannot be explained in Targia so we use Arabic. In addition, we use Arabic when we discuss religious topics. **(F, age: 51, female, Ghat)**

Tuareg cling to Arabic in the instance they have a discussion on political issues is because of their belief in the lack of political expressions in Targia. Al-Wer (1999) cites a similar case among the Circassians in Jordan who use Arabic when they discuss political and economic matters while Circassian is employed when discussing family

affairs. In the following extract, Amb recounts that Arabic dominates topics concerning politics:

> When we discuss political issues, we switch to Arabic because of the lack of political expressions in Targia. **(Amb, age: 46, male, Barkat)**

On the contrary, some topics are exclusively correlated with Targia. For example, the topics that are associated with Tuareg culture and heritage are often discussed in Targia. Parents often narrate tales to their children in Targia and children in turn, try to recount stories in Targia. This tradition seems to be more common in Barkat than in Ghat. Indeed, some informants stated that they have recorded poems, stories and other cultural activities as a part of their efforts to maintain their heritage. In the following quotations, informants enumerate that Targia can be utilized to present certain topics such as the ones related to their culture and traditions and narratives.

> **Interviewee:** Often Arabic but not always (language used with his children). I narrate the stories to my son in Targia and he knows Targia.
>
> **Interviewer:** you mention that your son speaks Targia, right?
>
> **Interviewee:** yes, and he narrates stories in Targia. **(Asho, age: 45, male, Barkat)**

4.5.4 At school

As discussed in Chapter 2, educational institutions have been employed since the time of the country's independence but more effectively during the time of the previous regime to serve the policy of Arabizing the country and to achieve the national unity and interests. In the Libyan Berber-speaking community, the utilization of Arabic within the school premises "is closely monitored" (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013, p. 344). Schools are believed to be one of those institutions that have played a crucial role in the process of socialization. What makes schools very influential in the Arabization process within Tuareg community is because schools introduce Arabic to children at a very early stage, even in remote and isolated areas such as the case of

Tuareg. It is also the exclusion of Targia from not only the school curriculum but also as a medium of communication within this domain. Indeed, schools' curriculums were designed in accordance with the pan-Arab movement which was widespread during the time of the 1960s and 70s. Parents' encouragement for their children to learn Arabic in their early childhood to prepare them for school and to avoid bad performance and failure shows the vitality of schools for the Tuareg community. These schools were mainly established, administered, and supported by the Libyan government and hence, it could exercise complete control over them. Due to the influential role of schools as a pure domain for teaching only Arabic, Targia has become more stigmatized, particularly when assessed against Arabic. Moroccan Berbers referred to the influence of schools in degrading the status of Berber language (El Kirat, 2007, p. 711).

As stated in Chapter 2, foreign languages such as English and French were prohibited from being taught in schools though English was restored in the beginning of the 1990s. During the 1980s and 1990s, most of the schools' teachers were Arab, Palestinians and Egyptians. This means that Arabic was in many cases the only means of communication with Tuareg students.

In the current study, we investigated the language(s) used among teachers and between teachers and students, among children in the class and the schoolyards based on the data obtained from the interviews and the questionnaire. I was not able to employ the school as a focal site in my observation due to the final exams that began during the time of conducting my fieldwork.

As may be seen from Figure 4.41, a very low percentage of the participants of the three age groups of the two communities reported speaking Targia at schools. Arabic has continued to be the single legitimate language utilized in schools and classroom practices, between teachers and students. In the following quotation, R (male, age: 47),

recounts that most of the teachers in Ghat were of Arab origin and Arabic was the language that dominated schools.

> Arabic was the predominant language in school and the majority of the teachers were not Tuareg and accordingly they communicated with us in Arabic. (**R: age: 47, male, Ghat)**
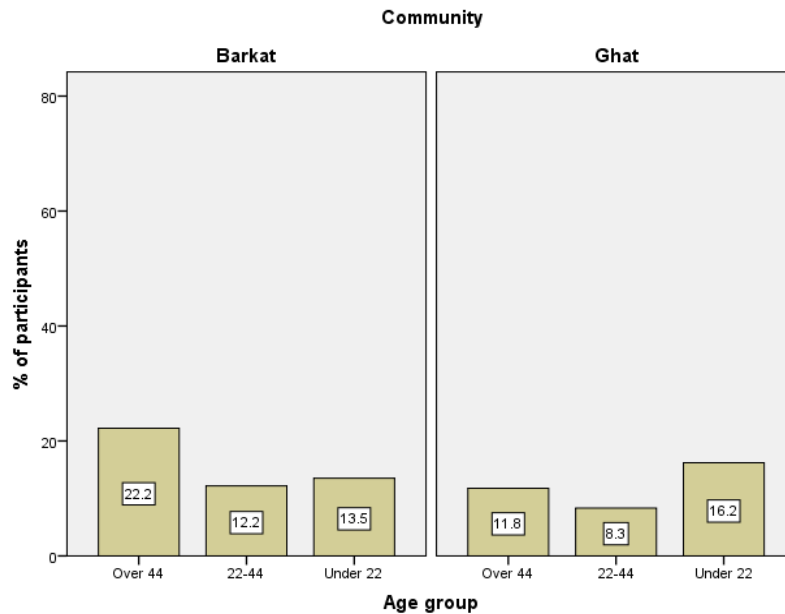
Figure 4.37: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? School**

4.5.4.1 Language teachers use with students inside and outside the school

Asked about the language they used/use with their teachers at schools, it clearly appears that the larger majority of participants of the two communities claimed that Arabic is the language utilized with their teachers, yet Ghatian speakers reported a slightly higher percentage of using Arabic with their teachers (Figures 4.42 and 4.43).

The older-aged group of Barkat showed, as displayed in Figure 4.42, less usage of Arabic with their teachers (with 73.7%) compared to the other two groups, the middle and younger -aged groups (with 95.2% and 100% respectively). It is expected to see less utilization of Arabic with teachers reported by the > 44 age group as many of them were Targia-monolinguals when they went to schools. Dao, male, from Barkat, said that when he went to school, he was not able to speak Arabic because his parents used

to speak to him in only Targia and thus, it happened that Targia words were utilized in

the class to ease the understanding of the lessons.

> In the past, (**D switched to Targia……. then back to Arabic)** our
> parents did not use Arabic when they spoke to us. We used only Targia,
> and in the class, when a teacher showed us pictures of animals such as a
> cow, we were saying "tisut" (*cow* in Targia) and for a hen we were
> saying "teikeitu (*hen* in Targia).**(D, age: 55, male, Barkat)**

It is certainly true that < 22 and 22-44 age groups get more chances to go to school,

compared to the older aged groups. In the past, schools were situated in Ghat, the

centre, and it might be the case that some of the people of the older generation were

not able, for a reason, to go to schools. In the following excerpt, Jamet, a female from

Barkat, recounts that she abandoned the school as she encountered difficulty in

acquiring Arabic. The only language that she spoke was Targia.

> When I started school, I encountered many difficulties with regard to
> learning Arabic and accordingly my father asked me to leave the school
> and now I work as a cleaner and use Targia with my employers. **(Jamet,
> age: 54, female, Barkat)**
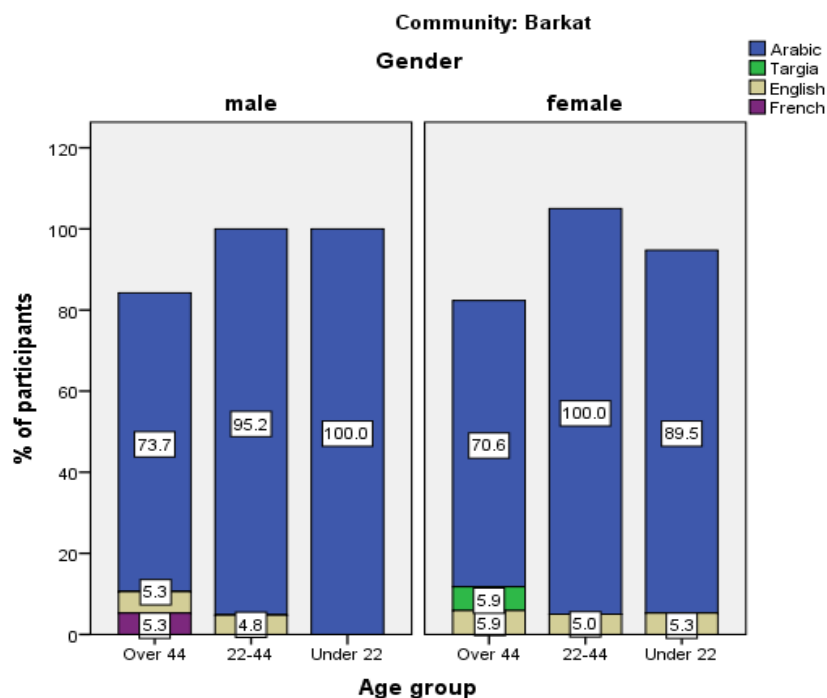
Figure 4.38: **Q: What language (s) do you use with your teacher? Barkat**

With respect to Ghat, it can be observed, as depicted in Figure 4.43, all respondents of the younger-aged group said that Arabic is the language used with their teachers in schools. It is also noticeable that the older-aged group of Ghatian Tuareg reported more utilization of Arabic with their teachers as opposed to their equivalents in the Barkat community though the use of Arabic is high among these groups. Again, Ghatian Tuareg are more exposed to Arabic where Arabic schools were first established in Ghat in the 1960s and accordingly, more schools were located in Ghat compared to Barkat. Because schools in Ghat are ethnically diverse, consisting of teachers and students of multi-ethnic backgrounds, the chance to speak Arabic as a means of communication is greater in Ghat rather than Barkat.
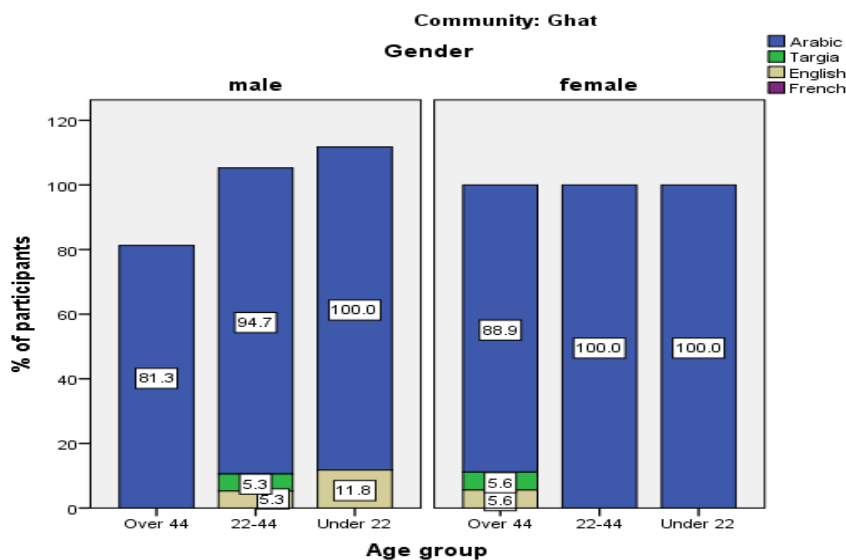
Figure 4.39: **Q: What language(s) do you use with your teacher? Ghat**

It is also the influence of the Arabic-only policy, imposed by the previous regime and adopted by the schoolteachers who reflected their strong commitments to such policy. For students, speaking Targia with teachers was/is officially not allowed, whether in the class, the schoolyard and even in the case where students have difficulty in speaking Arabic, yet this practice was common among the older group when they were children.

Children of the younger generation acquire Arabic as the first language and hence it is believed that they do not have difficulty in dealing with teachers in Arabic, but they are subject to a school punishment if they speak Targia. Some of the interviewees narrated that in many cases, they were hit for using Targia in the class. However, Targia might be used where behaviour rules are relaxed. A similar case was found among secondary students of the Berber-speaking community in Nalut in the western region of Libya where the use of Berber (Tamazight) during the class is prohibited and considered incorrect though some teachers are tolerant of such practices (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013). Mus (male, age: 42) and Muna (female, age: 33) enumerate some of the procedures taken in the schools to enforce the utilization of Arabic.

> Here in this college, the students are not allowed to speak Targia with their teachers. When they speak to each other; they cannot speak loudly and raise their voices. It is only Arabic that should be used in the college. As a teacher, I speak Arabic to my students in the schoolyard. It is the place and the upbringing. However, children may use Targia. **(Mus, age: 42, male, Barkat)**

> Arabic though some of the teachers were Tuareg and in many cases, we were hit for speaking Targia. It was not allowed to speak Targia in schools, particularly when you speak to them (teachers), but with my classmates, I used to speak Targia. **(Muna, Age: 33, female, Barkat)**

For teachers, speaking Targia with the students may degrade the teachers' respect among the students and damage this respectful image. This shows that Arabic has become overtly associated with civilized behaviour, values, politeness and goodness or "legitimate language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 5) while, on the other hand, Targia has overtly correlated with the opposite and when assessed against Arabic. Such relations of sameness and differences; legitimate and illegitimate; authentic and inauthentic are what motivates the construction of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 382).

Bel, male, from Barkat, echoes in the following quotations that Arabic is the only language teachers should use with students to maintain their esteem as teachers.

> And even when you speak Targia you lose the respect among the students in schools. You should talk to children in Arabic because we deal with them in Arabic at school. As teachers, we use Arabic with our students inside and outside schools. **(Bel, age: 52, male, Barkat)**

There is no doubt that teachers' use of Arabic at schools reflects a strong institutional and ideological context that emerged from the governmental policy and extends to adhere to parents at home and teachers at schools. The point is that if teachers discourage their students from speaking Targia at school, it would be paradoxical if parents do not continue the same linguistic strategy to guarantee good educational performance for their children in schools.

In fact, the insistence of speaking Arabic with students extends to include places other than the classrooms. For example, teachers recounted that even in the schoolyards, the children's space for playing and enjoyment, Arabic dominates the interactions between teachers and students. Maso enumerates, in the following extract, that Arabic is the language that should be used with teachers inside and outside the schools.

> They (children) speak Targia in the street, home and probably with their schoolmates but not with teachers. All the administrative affairs are in Arabic, even in the street students deal with their teachers in Arabic. **(Maso, age: 51, male, Barkat)**

The question that should be flagged at this stage is what does influence the usage of Arabic at school? Is it the domain (school) or the identity of interlocutor (the teacher)? Fishman (1966) refers to what he calls "the role-relations" as an important factor in shaping the linguistic behavior of the communicators. In the case of the Libyan Tuareg, I argue that it is the influence of the identity of interlocutors which takes precedence over the setting in the teachers' relationship with students. Targia, mixed with Arabic, might be the linguistic choice of school pupils, when they interact with each other, yet Arabic is the sole choice when they interact with their teachers either inside or outside

the school. Similarly, Hornberger (1988, pp. 126-130) found in his study on Quechua speakers in Peru that it is the role relationship that takes precedence over the setting at school since Spanish is used when teachers communicate with pupils, yet Quechua is often the language utilized by pupils with their peers either inside the school in, for instance, traditional plays or the absence of the class teacher or outside the school.

4.5.4.2 Language used among teachers in informal and formal meetings

Although Targia is not officially allowed to be used in school-time, in the interaction between students and teachers, it can prevail over the conversation when teachers communicate with each other. The information elicited from the interviews shows that Targia may dominate teachers' speech when they meet in their social space. In other words, setting seems to take precedence over the role relationship. Hornberger (1988) cites another example from Quechua Peruvian speakers where the setting took precedence over the role relationship when the school director employed Quechua in his interaction with a mother sitting in front of her house.

Similarly to the work sphere, Arabic is the language that should be utilized in the schools' official meetings. In the following excerpt, Mus recounts that when teachers meet in the staff room, after finishing the classes, they switch to Targia, yet they use Arabic in the formal meetings. Such implementation of Targia may mirror teachers' challenge to the institutional ideologies of using the legitimate, correct or appropriate language, which is associated with "social economic and political interests" (Heller & Matin-Jones, 2001, p. 2).

> When we chat together as teachers in the staff room, we use Targia, but in official meetings, Arabic is the only language to be used. **(Mus, age: 42, male, Barkat)**

The use of Arabic and Targia or mixed language shows how the setting (school) may interface with the identity of communicators in forming the language utilized in

speech. However, the abandonment of Arabic and attachment to Targia in a certain environment may echo Tuareg solidarity and the construction of an alternative identity through switching to Targia.

4.5.4.3 Language used among classmates (in the class and schoolyards)

The linguistic choice students may stick with when they communicate with each other might be Arabic, Targia or mixed language whereas the one they use with teachers is Arabic.

It is noticeable that individuals of the Barkat community claimed a higher usage of Targia with their classmates. The difference between the two communities overall is seen to be significant Wald=11.85, p=.001 where Barkat participants use Targia more. This decrease, particularly in Ghat, suggests that Arabic is taking the place of Targia even in the informal setting within the official domain. With respect to age groups of Barkat, a clear correlation between age and speaking Targia among school peers can be observed from Figure 4.44. 55.6% and 41.5% of the older and middle-aged groups reported that they spoke Targia most with their classmates, compared to only 27% of the younger-aged group claimed speaking Targia with their class fellows.
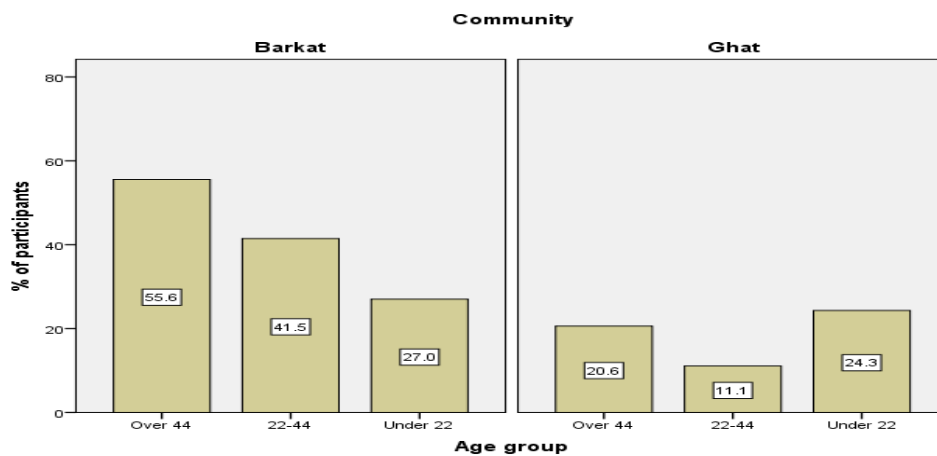
Figure 4.40: **Q: With whom do you speak Targia most? Classmate (Barkat+Ghat)**

It appears that there is an obvious decline in speaking Targia among the < 22 classmates and this, indeed, seems to be in accord with the data obtained from the interviews, which show the domination of Arabic or mixed language (Arabic and Targia) among class fellows.

However, the picture appears to be different for those belonging to the 22-44 age group who said that they preferred using Targia rather than Arabic with their class fellows. The following extracts clarify that Targia was the dominant language utilized among the class fellows of the middle-aged group whether in the class or the schoolyard.

> **Interviewee:** When we conversed with our classmates, we used to speak Targia but with our teachers, we had to speak Arabic even in the case I had difficulty in using Arabic. No way, I had to use Arabic. We only learned Arabic when we started school. I remember that only one of my teachers simplified certain points in Targia during the class.
>
> **Interviewer:** what language do you use in the schoolyard?
>
> **Interviewee:** Targia, unless there was Arabic speakers, but in many cases we were forced to speak Targia among classmates because we were embarrassed of speaking Arabic. We were not able to speak Arabic well. **(Img, age: 40, male, Barkat)**

Asker & Martin-Jones (2013, p. 350) cite a similar case among the Libyan Berber students in a secondary school in Nalut where students of a low command of speaking Arabic are subject to be mocked by their peers.

As for Ghat, it is observable that there is a clear contraction of speaking Targia among classmates of the three age groups compared to Barkat. 20.6% and 11.1% of the > 44 and middle-aged groups said that they spoke Targia with their class fellows, as opposed to 24.3% of the younger-aged group who claimed speaking Targia with their school friends. This drop of using Targia among Ghatian classmates, compared to their co-ethnics in Barkat, is anticipated since the students are ethnically from different

backgrounds and Arabic often dominates students' interactions in either the classrooms or schoolyards.

Informants of the older-aged group enumerate that using Arabic or Targia with classmates was dependent on the group they converse with. This seems to be different from the present time where children frequently deal with their classmates in Arabic apart from those of the same their ethnic backgrounds. The next excerpt echoes the utilization of Targia or Arabic in the classroom or the schoolyards in the past:

> **Interviewer:** what language did you use in the schoolyards?
>
> **Interviewee:** This depended on your group, if your friends are Tuareg, Targia is used but if they are not Tuareg, Arabic is the language of communication. Even when we were in a mixed group, we were very keen to speak Arabic as a sign of politeness. **(R, age: 47, male, Ghat)**

4.5.5 The street

The street is another domain where Tuareg stated that they can learn and practise speaking Targia. The vitality of this sphere is reflected in parents' beliefs that the street can be an alternative field for home domain in which Arabic is transmitted and has encroached upon. In the following extracts, some of the parents echo their beliefs about the children's acquisition of Targia from the street:

> When we started school, we encountered difficulties in learning Arabic. This why you see many Tuareg blame their children for speaking Targia and encourage them to speak Arabic. Targia can be learned in the street, at schoolyards and in social events. **(O, age: 37, male, Barkat)**

However, the results depicted in Figure 4.45 showed a decline in using Targia in the street though Targia recovers among the Ghatian younger age group leading to the shape U seen previously. It can also be observed that Barkat participants, as is often the case, are in advance of using Targia with street peers. The difference between the two communities is significant (Barkat more Wald=8.19, p=.004). The statistical analysis showed a significant difference between genders (males more, Wald statistics=8.76.

p=.003, Figures 4.46, 4.47). The males' likelihood of speaking Targia in the street is

expected in Tuareg community since socially, males have more access to the street

than females.

With respect to Ghat, although the younger-aged group claimed a slightly higher

proportion of speaking Targia with their street peers compared to the middle-aged

group, the information drawn from the interviews illuminates that Arabic is the

predominant language used among children in the street.

> it is because of the surrounding that we live in, the schools, streets, all
> people deal with Arabic in this area, Ghat, but when we go to the desert,
> my relatives live in the desert, for example to Tahala, we use Targia.
> Our children communicate in Arabic in the streets, supermarkets and
> shops and express their desires in Arabic, but they use Targia with older
> people. **(F, age: 51, female, Ghat)**
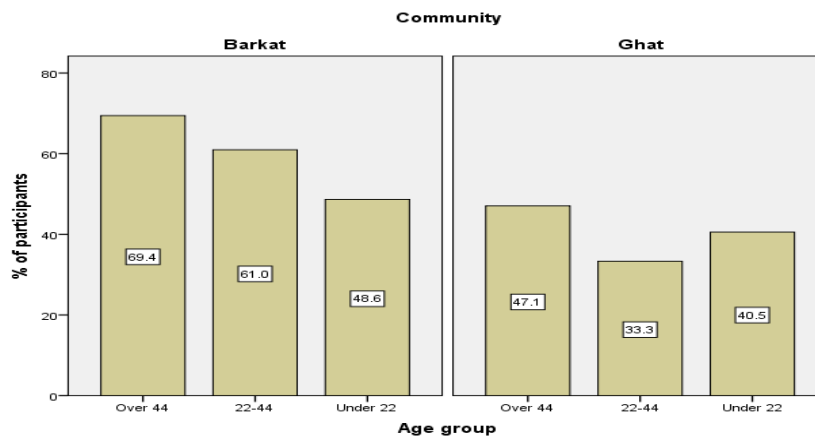
Figure 4.41: **Q: With whom do you speak Targia most? Street friends
(Barkat+Ghat)**
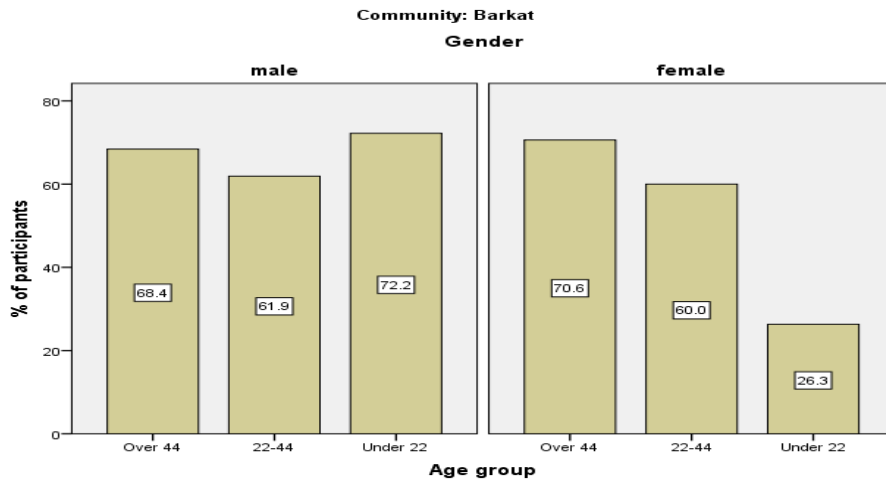
Figure 4.42: **Q: With whom do you speak Targia most? By gender (Barkat)**
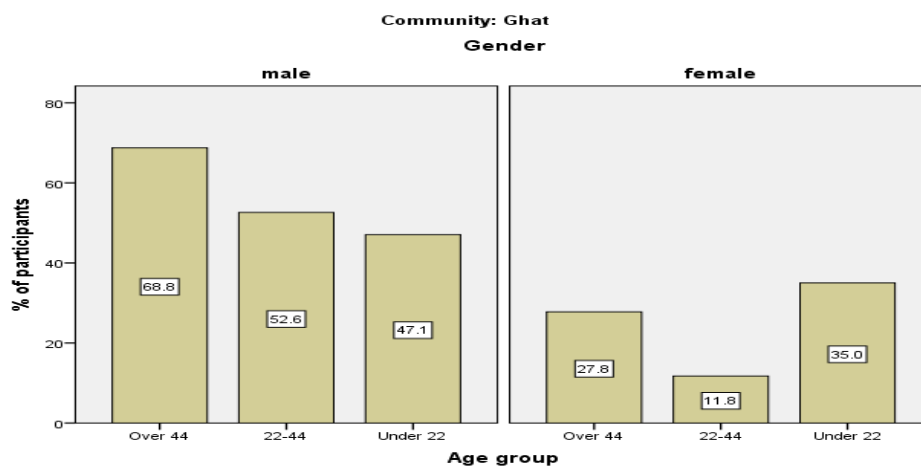
Figure 4.43: **Q: With whom do you speak Targia most? By gender (Ghat)**

4.5.6 Social events

The uniqueness and preference of this domain for Tuareg lies in its correlation with their culture, traditions, habits and history. For Libyan Tuareg, social events cannot be held with a language other than Targia which considered as a carrier of their cultural heritage. This seems clear from the responses to the question "*where do you often*

speak Targia?" which showed that this domain is, to a great extent, reserved for Targia

language, particularly among the older and middle aged-groups in both Ghat and

Barkat (Figure 4.48). In the following excerpt, a Tuareg lady recounts that Targia is the

best language to be used in social events:

> **Interviewer:** Do you feel that in Targia is more effective some situations than Arabic to express yourself best?
>
> **Interviewee:** In many cases, for example in our social events such as circumcision, the week (special meal for new born), we feel that Targia is the appropriate language to present certain things in these events though I speak Arabic fluently. **(F, age: 51, female, Ghat)**

Having said that, however, the answers to the Q: "*Where do you often speak*

Targia? showed a clear over all shrinkage in the use of Targia in this domain,

particularly among the younger age group in the two communities. For instance, 35.1%

of the under 22 age group claimed speaking Targia most in this domain while 58.3%

and 63.3% of the older and middle age groups, respectively, reported the utilization of

Targia at this sphere. A similar case can be spotted in Ghat where the lowest

percentage (35.1%) is claimed by the younger age group. There is an overall effect for

age group difference as the difference between turned to be significant (Wald

statistic=13.2, p=.001, less use among the younger age group).
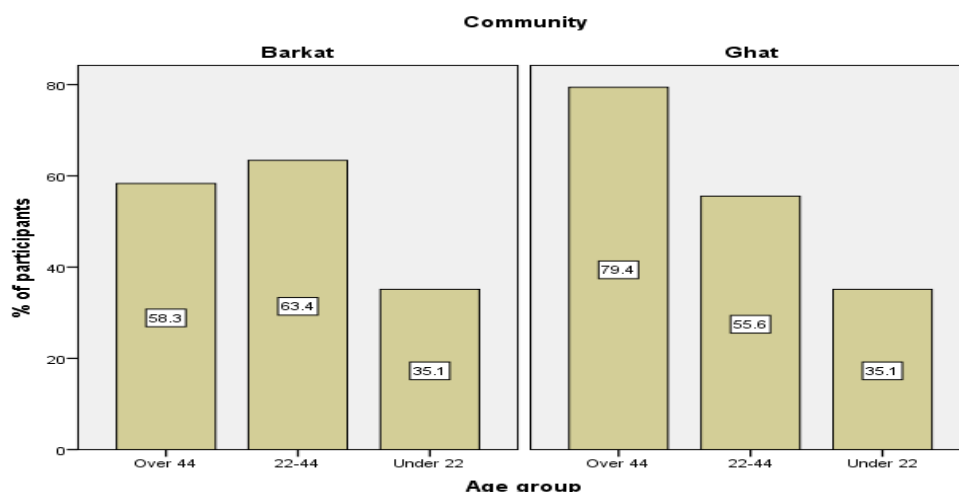
Figure 4.44: **Q: Where do you often speak Targia? Social events (Barkat+Ghat)**

One of the trajectories through which Arabic encroached upon this domain is via legal and religious rituals such as in weddings and this is what I observed during the time of my fieldwork. For instance, the language used in accomplishing the procedures of the "*contract*" or the marriage certificate and praying for both the bride and the groom is Arabic. After that, people sit in circles and switch to Targia unless a certain group includes non-Targia speakers and in such case Arabic is utilized. The less use of Targia claimed by the younger generation in the social gatherings is in agreement with what the interview data revealed since the language the < 22 age group speak in such social events is often Arabic. Asho (age: 45, male) recounts in the following extract what he has experienced concerning the use of Targia among the younger age group in social events. He pointed to the use of Arabic as a preferable language in sentimental and romantic settings. De Klerk (2001, p. 204) refers to a similar case, though among English-Afrikaans spouses, where English is used in courting at the expense of Afrikaans.

> See, nowadays for example, the use of Targia songs in social events is very rare. Young people often use Arabic and Libyan songs. Even in the conversation, they often use Targia for 15 minutes then they get bored. Young people utilize romantic Arabic words to express their love, their

feeling instead of Targia words, simply because they do not know these words in their native language. In addition, they use certain Arabic words because an admirable singer uses those Arabic words. It is the influence of TV, media. **(Asho, age: 45, male, Barkat)**

4.5.7 University

Similarly to school, it appears, as shown in Figure 4.34, that the main language used at university is Arabic. Only 13.2% and 5.6% of Barkat and Ghat respondents, respectively, reported that they often speak Targia at University. The sole faculty available in the area is located in Ghat and as predicted, Tuareg of Barkat claimed more use of Targia in this domain.

4.5.8 Mosque

The mosque is a well-known domain for often using only Arabic and in the current study was a focal site in my observation. Significant proportion of Barkat and Ghat are Soufi Muslim followers. Arabic (classical, standard or Libyan Arabic) dominates the mosque, in the five daily prayers, in religious sermons, in the Holy Quran circles, Friday prayers, in religious festivals and even in the presence of the elderly people who may have difficulty in understanding Arabic. It might be the case that the Imam (the preacher) may reply in Targia if asked by a monolingual Tuareg speaker, but this often happens in private circles held, particularly for elderly people.

In a broader view, when Tuareg are inside the mosque (indoors or in the courtyard), Arabic dominates any discussions concerning religion. The researcher also observed this strict attachment to Standard Arabic or Libyan Arabic in the mosque when attending the religious sermons of Ramadan (the Holy Month), on the daily and Friday prayer and while waiting for friends in the mosque court after praying. I remember that it happened once when the Imam utilized a Targia expression in his speech inside the

mosque and this was to clarify a word I believe it is difficult to understand without an explanation either in Libyan Arabic or Targia. More narrowly viewed, Friday's main speech which directly precedes the prayer is only given in Standard Arabic as a default language of this domain whereas any other Friday religious talks could be delivered either in Standard Arabic or even in Southern Libyan Arabic. Spolsky (2004, p. 49) mentions that the sermons of Friday prayers can be given in a language other than Arabic in non-Arabic speaking communities. From my experience of attending Friday prayers with the Bengali community in Colchester, UK, I noticed that the main speech (xutˤba), which precedes the prayer, has never been given in Bengali vernacular. It was always presented in Standard Arabic though it was a very short speech. However, Bengali vernacular, preceded by English language, can be used in the supplication after the Prayer. Likewise, English Language is also utilized in giving the sermons that precede the main talk (xutˤba).

However, Targia might be used inside or outside the mosque in the case of discussing a non-religious topic. This could be the case for Barkat, yet in Ghat it is the influence of the topic as well as the identity of the interlocutor but often Arabic dominates. Targia can also be utilized in what is called "*Zawya*", an adjacent building to the mosque where Soufi Tuareg practise their private religious rituals in Barkat and Ghat. Low percentages of Tuareg reported speaking Targia in mosques (18.4% in Barkat and 7.5%, Figure 4.34), religious festivals and gatherings, meaning that Arabic predominates this sphere. Indeed, the information elicited from the interviews showed that older people use Arabic when they give religious sermons to their children at home. This suggests that it is both the domain and the topic that influence and determine the used language in the mosque.

4.5.9 Shopping

Like most domains where the use of Targia has been eliminated, Libyan Arabic seems to be the dominant code in shopping. It is noticeable, as depicted in Figure 4.34, that a low percentage of Libyan Tuareg said that they use Targia in shopping. Only 26.3% and 16.8% of the informants of Barkat and Ghat, respectively, said that they speak Targia when they go shopping. We observed that Targia, though mixed with Arabic, could be the linguistic choice in local shops and local markets. I experienced and observed two situations while I was in the Tuesday Market in Barkat and the Monday Market in Ghat and noticed that if the seller is a Tuareg speaker, then the buyer would use Targia, yet mixed with Arabic. For instance, when the buyers asked about the price of tomatoes, they often said in Targia "Mankit wag" = How much and in Libyan Arabic "tˤa:ma:tˤem" = tomatoes?" Such utilization may symbolize Tuareg ethnic solidarity and the economic capital of Targia in this setting. However, if the sellers are of different ethnic background, Libyans or non-Libyans, then Arabic would be the code used in such situation.

4.6 Targia as a secret language

Although a considerable number of the participants claimed speaking Targia as a secret language, 52% and 56% of Barkat and Ghat informants, respectively, reported that Targia is not used like that (Figure 4.49).
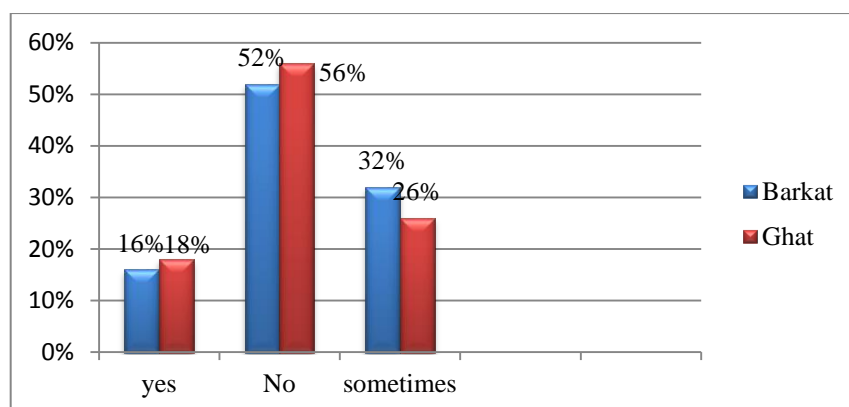
Figure 4.45: **Q: Do you use Targia as a secret language among non Tuareg? By community (Barkat+Ghat)**

It is interesting that switching to Targia may take place not only in the presence of an out-group member but also an in-group member.

4.6.1 The use of Targia to exclude non-Tuareg

Tuareg participants reported that they may exclude non-Tuareg speakers from a certain setting but they are very cautious not to hurt any of the interlocutors. In fact, this type of exclusion happened with me on several occasions but I felt that it occurred without any bad intention. For instance, while I was at the Civil Registry Office in Ghat, one of the employees was interacting with us in Arabic, and then he switched to Targia as he received a call from a female family member. I think that such exclusion was to pass a certain message to the caller and the receiver meant not to let us know it. It is also possible to suggest the motivation behind such exclusion is the construction of a different identity, particularly in Ghat where various ethnic backgrounds exist. In the following excerpt, the interviewee recounts that Targia can be used to exclude non-Targia speakers at work in Ghat:

> "Yes, sometimes at work, I use Targia to exclude non Tuareg speakers but I am very eager not to hurt anyone by this exclusion". **(Im, age: 40, male: Barkat)**

4.6.2 To exclude Tuareg

Interestingly, the data in this study suggests that Targia can be utilized to exclude Tuareg children. This exclusion echoes the role of age, topic and the varying degrees of proficiency between the younger and older age groups in demarcating the suitable linguistic choice and ultimately the shift, particularly among the younger generation. De Klerk (2001, p. 204) states, in her study on 10 cross-language English/Afrikaans families, that one of the Afrikaans spouses utilized Afrikaans to exclude her children from the conversation. Another wife excluded herself from the surrounding when attacking her husband by using Afrikaans swearwords that he does not understand.

In the following quotation, Asho (age: 45, male) enumerates that Targia can be utilized in a certain setting to preclude children from having access to and taking part in the conversation.

> We sometimes exclude our children from the conversation by using certain Targia terms that we know they are difficult to be understood by children. They are not at this level. I do this when I talk to my mother or elderly people. These terms are used only by older people. **(Asho, age: 45, male, Barkat)**

4.7 Summary

Based on the data demonstrated in this chapter, it seems that the general trend is a clear gradual shift from Targia towards Arabic. Regarding Barkat community, it can be suggested that Arabic is gradually replacing with Targia, taking now the form of speaking a mixed language, which seems to be an obvious linguistic choice in Barkat, and may later end up with using only Arabic. However, what cannot be ignored is that Targia is still used between parents and adult children in Barkat either with Arabic or alone. As for Ghat, Arabic dominates with the use of mixed language. The data also reveals that there is a disruption in the intergenerational transmission of Targia across

the two communities and such interruption, according to Sasse (1992, p. 13), is what often initiates the primary language shift. The data elicited from the interviews and survey state that Arabic is the first language children acquire from their parents. However, the family still represents an important source for Tuareg offspring to acquire Targia, regardless of the level of proficiency, via parents' indirect transmission, adult siblings, and grandparents. In this respect, parents' linguistic policy of prioritizing Arabic as the first language to be passed on to children seems to be covertly resisted by children. This resistance can be deduced from parents' narrations, particularly fathers, about the berating and punishment children might be subject to in case they speak Targia at home.

Age proved to be an effective social factor as the data reveals a correlation between the use of Targia and age on one side, and the utilization of Arabic and youth (the younger and middle-aged groups), on the other side. For gender differences, participants' self-report about acquiring Targia indicate that mothers and grandmothers, as expected, are a few steps ahead of fathers and grandfathers. However, this seems to be different from the results depicted in Chapter 5, which suggest that females have less inclination to teach Targia in schools and to relate it with their ethnic identity.

Compared to Targia, The data also reveals that Arabic is used at a higher level of proficiency in the Ghat community. The opposite is true for Barkat speakers who claimed more competence in speaking Targia compared to Arabic (See Figure 4.27). In this vein, Arabic is employed more frequently within the Ghatian community while Targia is utilized more in Barkat. Thus, Arabic is used more in Ghat whereas Targia, often mixed with Arabic mirrors the general trend in Barkat. The domination of Arabic

in Ghat is upheld by its demographic nature (heterogeneous) and the existence of many of the educational and public institutions.

As for domains of language use, the results suggest a shrinkage in the functional distributions of Targia in favour of Arabic. Such a decline has spread out to include, not only institutional domains, but also intimate fields such as home, street and traditional core areas, such as social events. This unevenness of language functions can be justified by the language policy which is imposed from above (governmental bodies), then comes to be accepted and naturalized as ideologies, "essentialization" by, for instance, parents at home and head teachers and teachers at schools. Such practices, according to Tollefson (2006, p. 47), support the linguistic hegemony but it might be challenged, as in the case of Tuareg speakers, through a limited use of Targia at school or workplace, in order to reflect their solidarity, identity and oppose a particular "social hierarchy" where the use of Arabic, the unmarked language, is unquestionable (p. 48) and the use of Targia, the marked language, is considered as "deviation from the norm" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 372).

Chapter 5: ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES TOWARDS TARGIA AND LANGUAGE IDENTITY

5.1 Introduction

It has been argued in many sociolinguistic studies that the concept of language ideology has either positively or negatively affected the status of a language in terms of its maintenance, shift or revitalization. According to Baker (1992, p. 15), ideologies indicate a group of norms and values and at "an individual level, ideology tends to refer to broad perspectives on society – a philosophy of life". Linguistic ideologies related to the relationship between language and society (Baker, 1992, p. 62). Steger (2003, p. 93 as cited in Sallabank, 2013) asserts that ideology is about beliefs, norms and values widely shared and accepted as a "truth" by individuals, yet it is the "unconscious acceptance of ideologies" that motivates and empowers individuals' practices (Sallabank, 2013, p. 64). She states that these ideologies and attitudes emerge because of "deep-seated dispositions and strongly held beliefs" towards individuals' behaviour and what they ought to do. Silverstein (1979, p. 193) defines language ideology as "a set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use".

Kroskrity (2004, p. 507) points to the role of "sociocultural experience" in constructing language ideologies. They echo speakers' assumptions concerning the status of a language, its use, and forms which ultimately support the hierarchical linguistic and social relationship "linguistic and social inequality" (Tollefson, 2006, p. 47 as cited in McCarty, 2011, p. 10). In this respect, Spolsky (2004, p. 5) asserts that language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies are influential factors in language policy. In other words, language policy may construct and be constructed by language attitudes and ideologies (McCarty, 2011, p. 10). Language ideology seems to be implicit, unspoken and can be understood through observation and ethnographic interviews from participants and non-participants (Sallabank, 2013, p. 72).

The significance of language ideologies is that they are not only linked to language but also to group and personal identity, social life, morality, epistemology and aesthetics (McCarty, 2011, p. 10; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 56). A clear understanding of how social identities are constructed through language can be provided via the study of ideology and other interrelated and overlapped semiotic processes such as practice and indexicality (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 370).

Language ideologies are closely tied to both the symbolic and instrumental functions. According to Sallabank (2005, p. 64), exploring language ideologies entails understanding the processes through which the predominant group construct ideologies, as well as the influences left on the misrecognized groups whose interests are not taken into account. For instance, language erasure, a semiotic process, emerges as a consequence of shaping certain language ideologies, implies four levels and ends with the process of subordination, where linguistic hegemony becomes unquestionable, or as Heinrich (2005, p. 64) frames it, a "point of no return". The importance of language ideology resides in its ability to facilitate the understanding of any coexisting discrepancies between the stated attitudes and the linguistic behaviour since it is "a site of interaction between language behaviour … and larger social systems and inequalities" (King, 2000, p. 169).

Thurstone (1931 as cited in Garret, 2010, p. 19) defined attitudes to include positive and negative emotional responses. Allport (1954) points out that attitudes incorporate specific feelings or behaviour towards certain people or objects. Sarnoff (1970, p. 279 as cited in Garrett, 2010, p. 19) defines attitudes as "a disposition to react favourably to or un favourably to a class of object" and thus, it seems that there is a sort of evaluation for the "social object", and this social object can be a language. Language attitudes reflect "a specific response to certain aspects of a particular language" (King, 200, p.

168). Garrett (2010, p. 20) maintains that the reception and production of a language can be influenced by the speakers' attitudes and consequently, language attitudes can influence the choice of the language people communicate with. Language attitudes are about how individuals variably situate themselves within their own social group and the way they are linked to other groups (Garrett et al., 2006, 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, asociations 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".

Albo (1999 as cited in Hornberger & Molina, 2004), cites the case of the Bolivian speakers to clarify such an example of linguistic ideology and refers to this as language loyalty, a concept introduced by Fishman (1966). Albo states that Bolivian speakers cling to the predominant Spanish though they lack the competence of speaking it. Obviously, this reveals the lack of loyalty, which negatively affects the maintenance of the indigenous language (Hornberger & Molina, 2004, p. 14). King et al. (2008) cite that Quechua parents in the Peruvian Andes have positive attitudes towards teaching their children Spanish in schools instead of Quechua, in spite of the governmental support to teach both of them. However, in other cases such as in Papua New Guinea, it was the children's choice and will to be monolingual, while parents had no role in shaping children's linguistic choice (Kulick, 1993 as cited in King el al., 2008). Thus, Corsican sociolinguists such as Thiers (1989) publicized the idea that language attitudes towards Corsican emerged from experiencing diglossia and contributed to the process of language shift from Corsican to French (Jaffe, 2009).

Furthermore, the parents' tendency to pass down Spanish to their children at the expense of their indigenous language is another example of their disloyalty towards their native language. This clearly reflects the speakers' linguistic ideology towards their native language since speaking it may prevent its speakers from having access to social mobility and economic advancements. It is also the reflection of the ideology speakers have towards Spanish as the language of superiority. In their study of Quechua in the Andes, Hornberger and Molina (2004, p. 14) find out that speakers of Quechua devaluated their language as a useless language, lacking grammar and adequate lexical resource. King (1999, 2000) goes further and argues that although

indigenous Saraguros of the Ecuadorian Andes stated adequate explicit loyalty towards their native language since they assess it positively, their anti-Quichua ideologies have directly and negatively affected the efforts to maintain and revive this language. However, despite the linguistic hegemony of Spanish, it is evident from certain linguistic ideologies that Quichua has been overtly valued by its speakers for its symbolic function.

Reversing the role of negative attitudes, linguistic studies have revealed an increase of language use and vitality as a consequence of positive attitudes individuals have towards a language, and this may in turn lead to language maintenance (Choi 2003, pp. 81-82). However, language attitudes do not always reflect the linguistic reality of speakers. Many studies have shown inconsistencies between linguistic behaviours and attitudes, mainly overt attitudes (Edwards, 1994) though Baker (1992, p. 16) asserts that even latent (covert) attitudes which can be uncovered by observing behaviours may result in "wrongful explanation".

As example of such inconsistence, Lyon and Elis (1991 as cited in Choi, 2003, p. 83) assert that few Welsh parents use their native language with their children despite their positive desire to teach Welsh to them. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998, p. 63 as cited in Sallabank, 2013, p. 62) indicate that hidden or "unstated" attitudes and ideologies hindered positive attitudes accompanying the revival efforts from influencing the linguistic behaviour of individuals.

Language attitudes are important indicators in determining the future of bilingual education and bilingualism in a country (Baker, 2001). Sallabank (2013, pp. 61-62) correlates language attitudes and ideologies with the way individuals perceive language vitality and practices and accordingly, with language policy though language attitudes do not necessarily reflect language use, particularly if elicited from a

straightforward questionnaire (Bassiouney 2009, p. 204). Language attitudes and revival movements are strongly related in the sense that the former, in addition to other factors, are of capital importance to the success of revival movements. Conversely, revival movements may positively influence people's attitudes towards minority or endangered languages. For example, the spread of about 300 Amazigh cultural organizations in Algeria has played a pivotal role in increasing Berbers' awareness of the vitality of their heritage language and consequently, led to more linguistic autonomy, namely in Berber areas. In addition to other defining signs of the "symbolic autonomy" in Kabyle area, Chaker (1997) refers to the vast will of the Berber to increase use of the "Tifinagh", their orthographic representation, in their writing as well as in the street signs.

In this study, issues related to Tuareg language use and status as well as to Arabic language (Libyan or standard) are reflected through participants' responses and expressions both in the questionnaire and in interviews. In other words, the linguistic relationship between attitudes and linguistic use and its influence on the status of Targia are explored in this study. Investigating language attitudes is important to illuminate the social importance of the language(s) (Fasold, 1984, p. 158).

In their study on Moroccan Berber, Bentahila and Davies (1992) found that children and adults expressed negative attitudes towards the use of their heritage language, Berber, and this was clearly reflected in their attachment to Arabic. Accordingly, language attitudes are employed as a tool to illuminate how Targia functions as an indicator of group membership or group identity (symbolic function).

In what follows, I address the Tuaregs' linguistic ideologies and attitudes towards Targia, and Arabic languages (Libyan Arabic or standard (MAS) *fusˁħaː*, and how these attitudes influence the linguistic behaviour of the Tuareg.

5.2 Attitudes towards preserving Targia and Tuareg culture

The majority of participants from both communities, Barkat and Ghat, when asked whether Targia should be preserved or not, showed favourable attitudes towards preserving Targia especially among the Barkat community, though no significant difference is found between age groups (Figure 5.1). It is interesting that the middle-aged groups in both communities showed more inclination to preserve Targia.

The following reasons were mentioned by respondents from the two communities to justify their positive attitudes:

- Targia is our language and we are proud of it;

- It is a part of Tuareg heritage;

- It is the tool through which we know our history;

- It is an essential component of the Libyan society;

- It is the language of our ancestors; and

- To maintain the identity and cultural heritage of Tuareg.

It seems that these extracts echo a sense of identification with and pride towards Targia as the ancestors' language, language of their culture, heritage and history. Such findings parallel data from King (2000) in which Saraguros people, an indigenous community in southern Ecuador, linked their heritage language, Quichua, to the past and traditional settings. Some respondents associated Targia with their ethnic identity, yet Tuareg identity is situated within a larger identity, which is the Libyan identity; further discussions concerning Tuareg identity are presented in section 5.5.

It can be suggested that Targia holds symbolic, traditional, historical and social values, yet not economic and educational values. Choi (2003, p. 89) points out that

favourable attitudes towards the language should go hand in hand with efforts to increase its use and the level of competence.
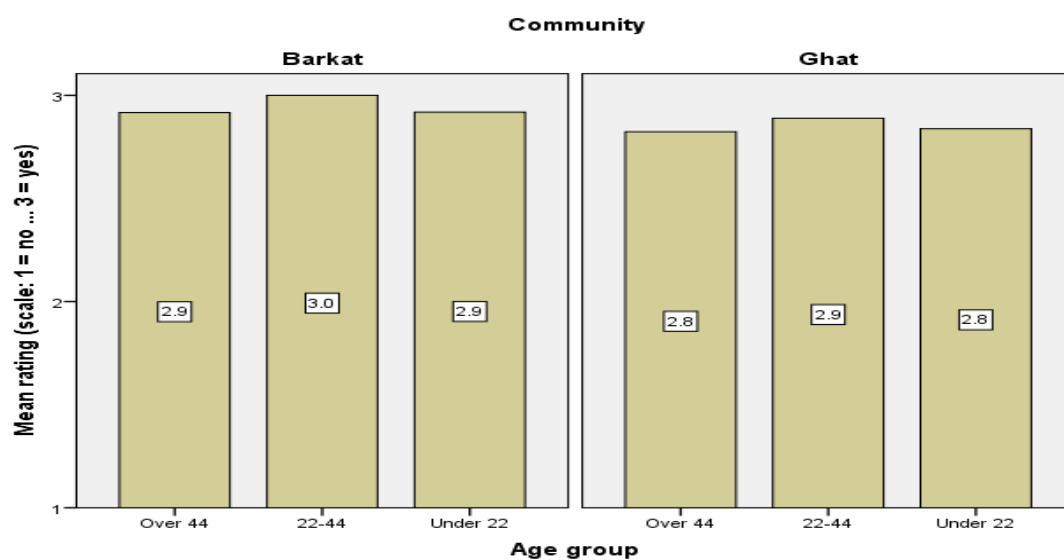
Figure 5.1: **Q: Do you think that Tuareg language and culture should be preserved? By community and age groups**

5.3 Attitudes towards the acquisition and teaching of Targia

Education has been proved to be one of the influential and key factors to maintain a language though it is not the only one (Baker, 2001; Choi, 2003). Lambert (1999, p. 5) points to the importance of organizing language teaching and acquisition (acquisition planning) according to Cooper (1989) and Hornberger (2006, p. 28), in the educational system as a key domain of language policy and for language policy makers.

As displayed in Chapter 2, teaching indigenous and minority languages was not allowed during the era of the previous regime, either in the private or public sector, and it is believed that such policy has negatively influenced the use of Targia. It also makes planning to teach Berber in general and Targia in particular at schools a very complicated and challengeable task, particularly if we know that Targia had never been taught in Libya.

We begin the analysis in this section by giving a general picture of the participants' attitudes to Targia and what seem significant differences, using three selected items from the questionnaire: participants' attitudes towards teaching Targia in private and public schools, their inclination to learn Targia and their desire for children to learn Targia. As Figure 5.2 shows, all three attitude items showed clear significant differences by gender (school need: Wald statistic=8.02, p=.005; self-desire: Wald statistic =13.18, p<.001; desire for child: Wald statistic=4.07, p=.044). Females said "*yes*" to these items less often than males did. Neither gender perceived a need for Targia in schools as much as their desire for themselves and their children to learn it. Possibly this reflects, as clarified below and in section 4.5.4, a belief that the school is the domain that is only reserved to Arabic, the legitimate language but not for Targia the illegitimate one.
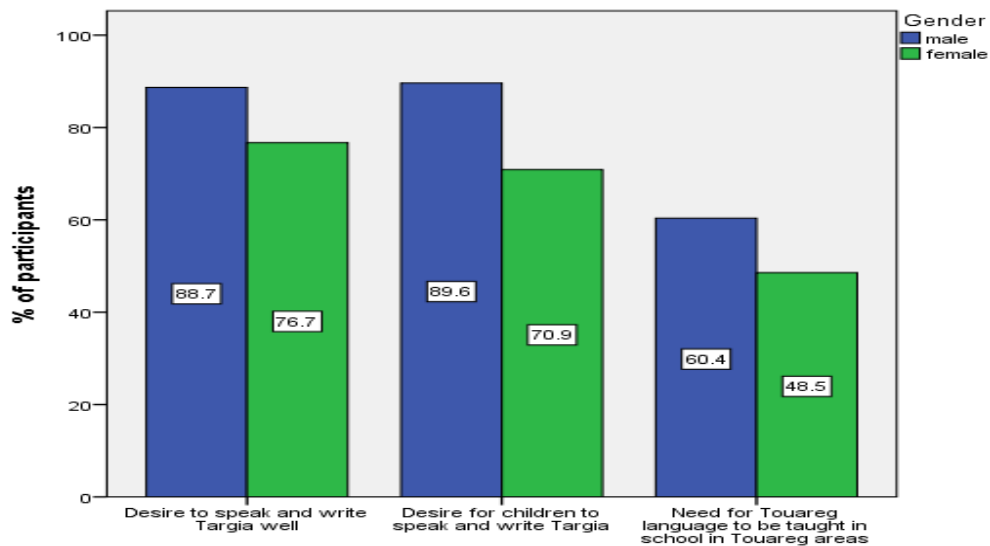
Figure 5.2: **Attitudes towards teaching Targia in schools, learning Targia (for participants and their children), by gender (Overall)**

There was also a near significant difference, as illustrated in Figure 5.3, between communities on the desire for child item (Wald statistic=3.51, p=.061), and a

significant interaction effect of community and age group on the self-desire item (Wald statistic p=6.35, p=.042). The attitudes broadly exhibit the same pattern we have seen repeatedly in the language use data above: support for Targia falls off over successively younger age groups in Barkat (though not so clearly for school need), but exhibits a U pattern in Ghat. Notably in the oldest age group attitudes in Barkat are more favourable than those in Ghat, but in the youngest age group the reverse is true.
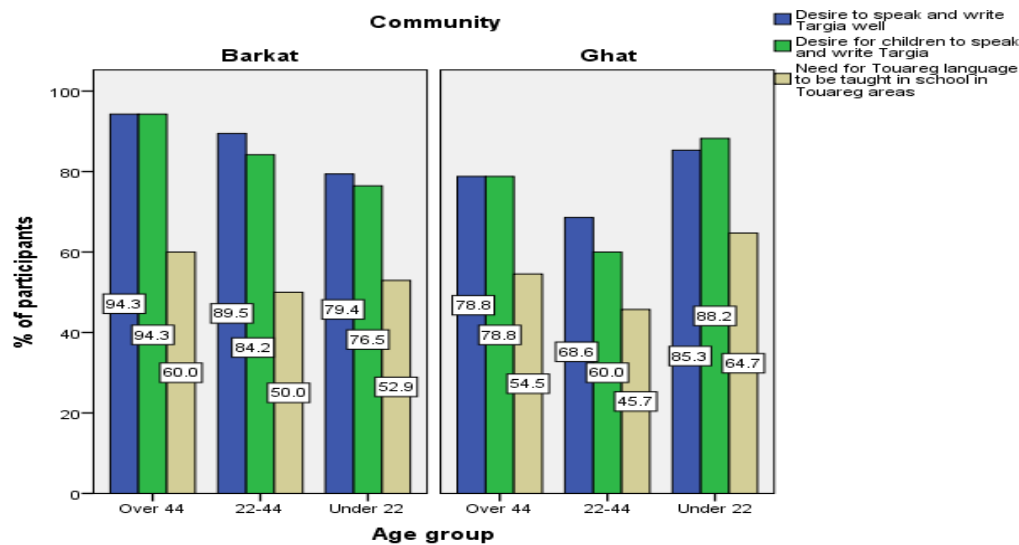
Figure 5.3: **Attitudes towards teaching Targia in schools, learning Targia (for participants and their children), by community**

Contrary to the vigorous favourable attitudes towards preserving Targia, the Tuareg expressed less interest and enthusiasm towards teaching Targia in public or private schools. For instance, the middle-aged groups in Barkat and Ghat exemplified the least inclination towards teaching Targia in schools though they claimed the most positive attitudes towards maintaining it. In particular, the females expressed less inclination towards employing Targia in schools in Barkat and Ghat, Figures 5.4 and 5.5. The difference is significant, $F = 6.78$ p=. 003, males agree more.
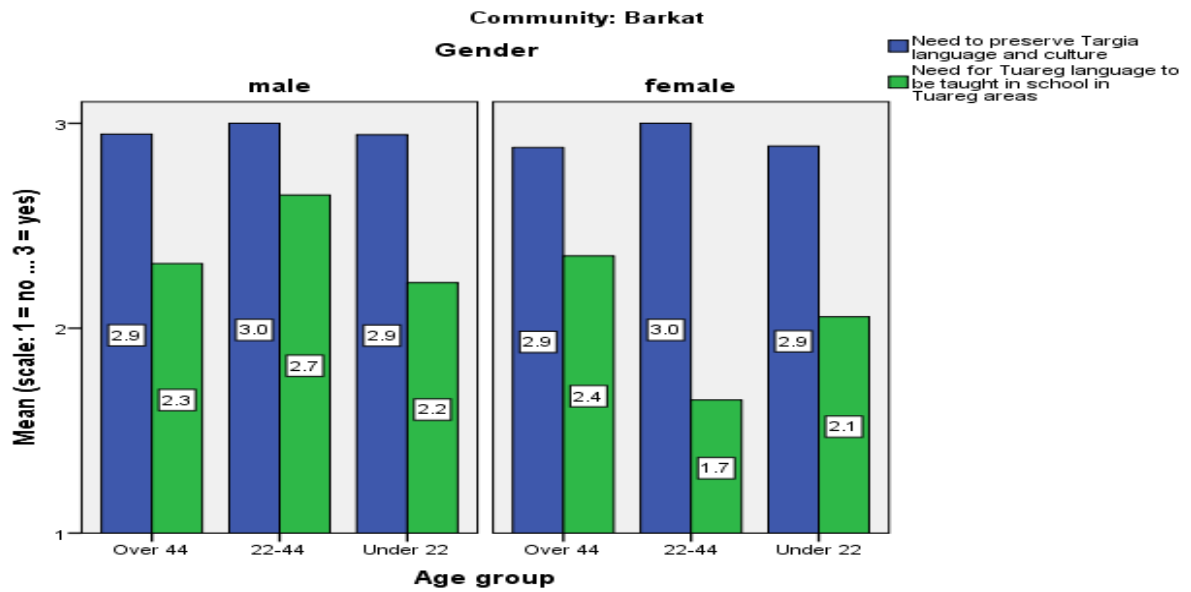
Figure 5.4: **Attitudes to preserve and teach Targia in school, by gender (Barkat)**
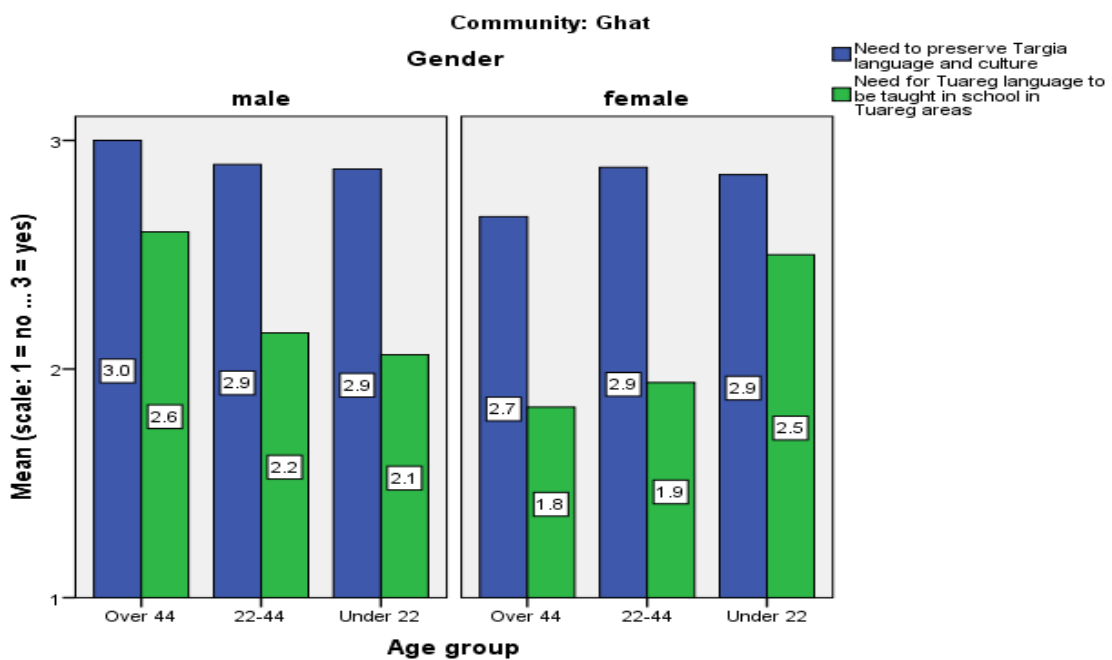
Figure 5.5: **Attitudes to preserve and teach Targia in school, by gender (Ghat)**

The relatively unfavourable attitudes towards teaching Targia at school 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. It also mirrors the challenges Targia may confront in the case of raising it to that of an official language in a developing country. 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 and Targia are undeveloped languages though they have their own script (Tifinagh). They lack adequate written literature, qualified teachers and developed curriculum.

Lambert suggests launching efforts to develop a corpus coupled with negotiation of the status of a language. Selecting a language to be taught at a certain level within the educational system is another debatable issue. In Morocco, the three main Berber varieties (Tashelhit, Tarifit, and Tamazight) were introduced in the first grade in 2006, considering the geographical proximity of the people who speak these languages (El Aissati et al., 2011, p. 211). In the second and third grades, Standard Amazigh was implemented in such a way that the regional lexicon was replaced by standard vocabulary.

Layering languages, according to Lambert, seems to be a workable solution. That is "providing instructions of different languages at different levels of the educational system" (p. 14). This issue was also raised by Spolsky (2004, p. 2). He cites an example from Ghana where a decision has been made to alternate the vernacular with English as the language of instruction in the first three years of primary school. English has been decided to be replaced with Kiswahili in Tanzania. However, Lambert (1999) raises the difficulty of successfully proceeding from one stage to another. In their study of the implementation of Berber as a subject in the school curriculum in Morocco, El

Aissati et al. (2011, p. 225) indicate in their conclusion difficulties such as the shortage of teaching materials, the time allocated to teacher-training, the unavoidable use of Modern Standard Arabic or Moroccan Arabic in explaining difficult Berber words, as well as recruiting teachers who do not speak Berber at all or have low levels of competence. The focus on writing and reading skills was at the expense of communicative skills and a teachers' guide was written in Amazigh which complicated the process, not only for teachers (especially those who were essentially monolingual Arabic speakers), but also for students.

In what follows, participants echoed some of the challenges Targia may face if taught at school, as well as reflected on the hierarchical linguistic structure in which Arabic comes at the top.

> It is a problem (teaching Targia). Even those who claim upgrading Targia as a real language, it is difficult, a difficult process. It is something from their imagination. It requires years, generations, generations and time. **(Maso, age: 51, male, Barkat)**

> I think that Targia should not be the official language, it can be taught as a cultural subject in the areas where Tuareg live but not in schools. It will not benefit the country. **(F, age: 51, female, Ghat)**

Even proponents of teaching Targia mentioned that it should be taught as an optional cultural subject probably in private but not in state schools, leaving the space to the "important languages", as one of the informants puts it, such as Arabic or English. Once again, this echoes the hierarchical linguistic relationships between Targia and Arabic, the dominant language in the country. English is sometimes mentioned as an exemplar of a powerful or scientific language. In what follows, interviewees from Barkat and Ghat reflect their beliefs towards teaching Targia in schools:

> Teaching Targia can be optional though I believe that people may not need to learn it. We need to learn the important languages. **(M, age. 41, male, Ghat)**

> Teaching Targia should be only to revitalize the cultural heritage. Arabic is the language of the Holy Quran, Islam. It is not less than English and French. Targia should be only used at the social and cultural levels. **(Om, age: 37, male, Barkat)**

These attitudes and ideologies seem to reflect what Dorian (1998) describes as "Western language ideologies" which implies the ideology that "bilingualism (and by extension multilingualism…) is onerous" (p. 11). Such ideology, in the case of Tuareg, gives the priority to Arabic to be first taught and learned.

Although informants showed less preference to teach Targia in schools, they, in both communities, indicated more inclination to learn Targia, particularly among the Barkat community (Figures 5.6, 5.7). The difference between the two communities is significant where Barkat agrees more than Ghat, Wald statistic= 4.19, p=.041. It is observable that the majority of the respondents of Barkat expressed their tendency to speak and write in Targia. 94.3% and 89.5% of the older and middle-aged groups, respectively, showed that they would like to learn Targia whereas 79.4% of the younger age group reported like that. It is the younger age group who indicated less interest towards learning Targia.

On the contrary, it is the younger age group of the Ghatian community who displayed more interest in learning Targia compared to the other two age groups. 85.3% of the < 22 age group said that they would like to speak and write in Targia while 78.8% and 68.6% of the older and middle-aged groups, respectively, said that they hope to learn Targia.

Regarding gender differences, one can observe that it is often, if not always, male respondents of the two communities who expressed more positive attitudes towards learning Targia. The difference is significant, Wald=5.90, p= .015, as males agree more than females, overall. The only exception is Ghatian females of the younger-age

group who indicated more inclination towards acquiring Targia than their peer males of the same age group.

The positive attitudes towards acquiring Targia seems to be congruent with answers to the question, "*Would you like to see your children speak and write in Targia*?" Most of the respondents expressed favourable attitudes concerning children's acquisition of Targia (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Age group by community interaction effect is significant, Wald= 6.58, p=.037 and as usual there is a more clear falling pattern in Barkat, old to young, but a fall-rise U pattern in Ghat. Gender difference is turned to be significant, Wald= 11.47, p=.001, males agree more than females, overall.

However, these positive inclinations appear to be inconsistent with parents' reports about the language they use with their children; see section 4.2.2.1. In their justifications of their enthusiasm to see their children speak and write in Targia, parents and (prospective parents) recounted, as demonstrated in the following extract, that Targia is valuable for their children as a symbol of their culture and ancestral link.

> Sure, because it is the language of their ancestors and it is very important for the youngest generation to inherit this great culture. **(Nan, age: 51, female, Barkat)**
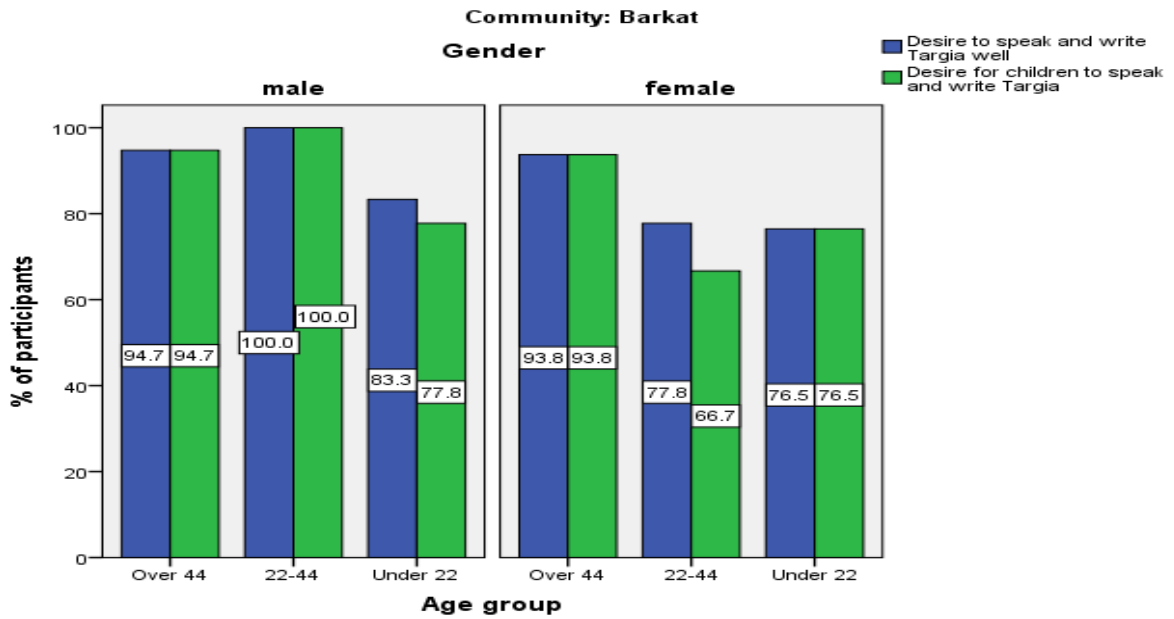
Figure 5.6: **Attitudes towards learning Targia (participants and their children) by age group and gender (Barkat)**
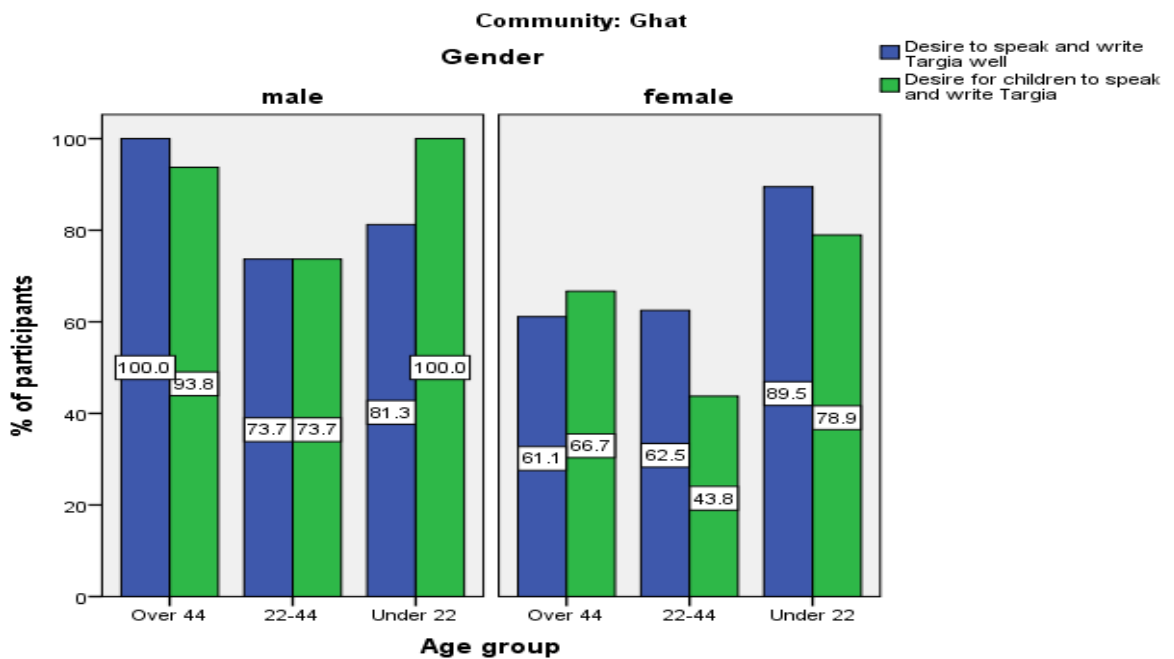
Figure 5.7: **Attitudes towards learning Targia (participants and their children) by age group and gender (Ghat)**

5.4 Attitudes towards the official recognition of Targia

Pleading for the official recognition of the minority languages spoken in Libya would have been treated, from the perspective of the Libyan previous regime, as a hostile stance against the unity of the country. Such an attempt was considered as a support to the colonial ideologies to separate the country and thus, to call for separate and different identities in one country. All attempts to promote Berber languages to the status of official or even national languages were supressed in the past in a country that recognized Arabic as the single official language and was defined as an "Arab state". In fact, the existence of Amazigh people in Libya was completely denied and they were treated as being of Arab origin (Chapter 2). After the 2011 uprising, Libya experienced political reforms, which resulted in the announcement of the 2011 Constitutional Declaration. Based on this declaration, 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 among minority speakers of the importance of the constitutional recognition of their languages.

However, the matter is not only about recognizing minority languages in the constitution but also implementing these linguistic rights at various levels commencing from the official recognition "status planning" and ending up with the "acquisition planning" (Fishman, 1977 as cited in King et al., 2008, p. 909-910). Spolsky (2004, p. 6) refers to the complexity of the context in which a language and language policy exist. Any justification of people's or groups' attempts to make intervention in language practices and beliefs should consider non-linguistic factors such as political, economic, religious, demographic, social and psychological. He and others such as

Haugen (1966) and Kloss (1969) indicate four stages related to language planning. The first two phases are associated with language selection and language codification.

Language selection or "status planning, management or engineering" is about the process of choosing a certain language or variety by managers to act as an official or national language. The planners who can be state, proxies of the province, local governmental bodies, legislative assembly in the case of writing a constitution, and national legislature, should consider the function of the language or "the appropriate uses for a named variety of a language" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 11). The second phase is about language codification of the selected language and this may imply the amendments of linguistic items, standardising grammar, spelling, vocabulary, script and levels of formality. The Serbian attempts to omit Croatian linguistic elements from their language and characterize it as a distinct language are an example of corpus planning, though some linguists consider these two languages as a single language, political (Spolsky, 2004). Lambert (1999, p. 4) indicates these two phases as primary domains of language policy. He cites an example from Norway concerning the political negotiation of which written standard form, Bokmål or Nynorsk, should be implemented.

The third stage is concerned with implementing the language so that it should be accepted by the target population via, for instance, the educational system, i.e. "acquisition planning". The continuity of upgrading the language to the status of modern or a stage where it can fulfil speakers' requirements and be suitable for new domains exemplifies a primary phase of language planning, the fourth one. Such principles should be considered in the case of promoting Berber with its varieties to the status of national or official status. Challenges related to language planning, such as the absence of standardised written forms of Berber, script and orthography and the

multiple Berber varieties spoken in Libya, were flagged by Tuareg individuals. Tuareg raised certain impediments expected to confront Targia language when recognized as a national or official language in the forthcoming constitutions, and such issues correspond to the traditional ideas of status and corpus planning brought in by, for instance, Haugen (1966) and Spolsky (2004).

A considerable proportion of respondents from the two communities (Figure 5.8) showed enthusiasm towards recognizing Targia as an official language in the forthcoming constitution (51% in Barkat and 52% in Ghat). However, as the two communities are broken into age groups, it can be observed that it is the over-44 age group of the Barkat community who expressed more preference to raise Targia to the status of an official language with 64% (Figure 5.9).
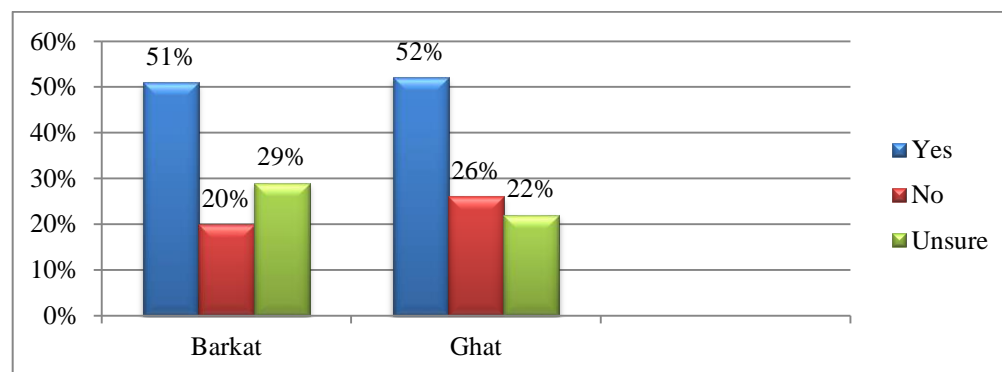
Figure 5.8: **Q: Do you think that Targia should be officially recognized? By Community**
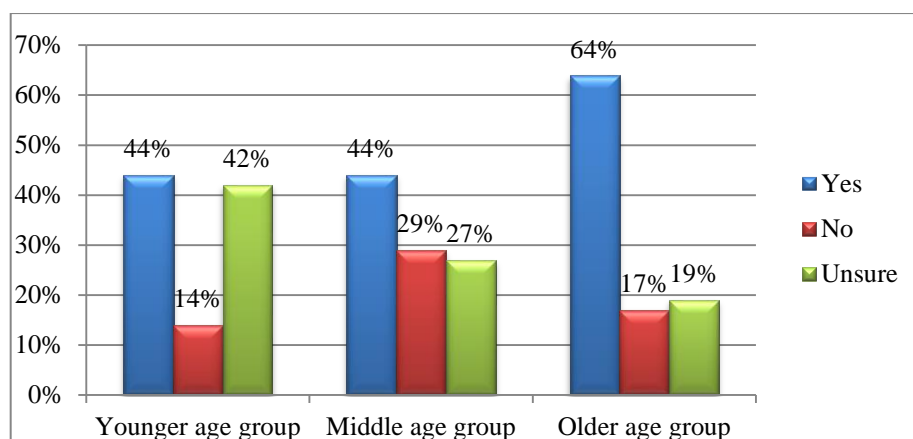
Figure 5.9: **Q: Do you think that Targia should be officially recognized? By age groups (Barkat)**

The reason for Tuareg disinclination towards the official recognition of Targia is due to the influence of Arabic, the powerful language – the language of economy, politics, religion and the sole official language in the country. Indeed, for some Tuareg speakers, Arabic is their mother tongue and the language of their ancestors (more discussions in the following sections).

Targia, on the other hand, is the "dialect" that has no rules and no economic power and accordingly, the official recognition of Targia is "impossible" or as an interviewee puts it "a matter of mockery" "تهريج". Tuaregs' ambition is confined to recognize Targia as a cultural heritage language but not as an official language.

In what follows, the interviewee reflects her opinions towards raising Targia to having an official status:

> Arabic should be the only official language in the country because Libya is a member of the Islamic nation and Arab world and the idea of asking for official recognition for the other national languages is a matter of clowning. What are the benefits of this recognition? What will Tuareg gain? Arabic is the mother tongue and the sole official language in the country. **(Nan, age: 51, female, Barkat)**

Similarly to their counterparts of the Barkat community, Ghatian informants of the older-aged group showed more interest in recognizing Targia as an official language with 53% compared to the 22-44 age group with only 39% (Figure 5.10). However, it

is the younger age group who indicated the most positive attitudes to raise Targia to that of the official status. These favourable attitudes seem to be incompatible with their real linguistic behaviours. It can be also noticed that it is the middle age group who showed the least interest in promoting Targia to official status. The aim of the proponents of the official recognition of Targia is to maintain, revitalize and save it but not to impose it on other Libyans.
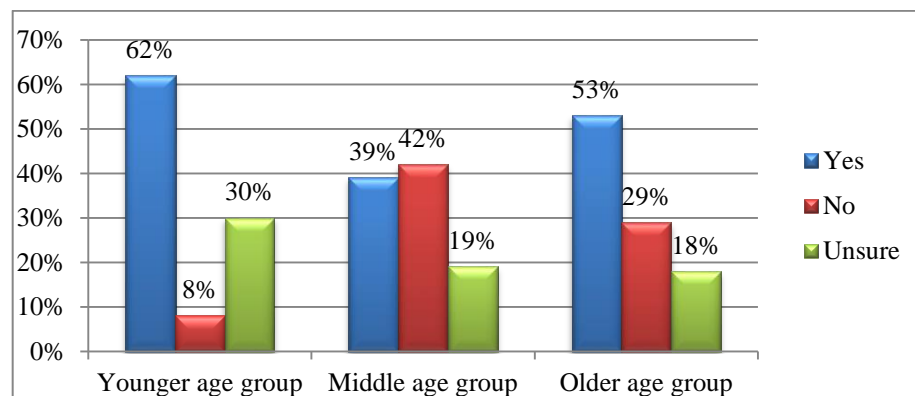
Figure 5.10: **Q: Do you think that Targia should be officially recognized? By age groups (Ghat)**

Those respondents who said "no" to official recognition justify their answer with the same reasons mentioned earlier by Barkat participants. The following excerpt exemplifies an interviewee's unfavourable attitudes towards or rejection of recognizing Targia as an official language. Such rejection takes Arabic as a model of what an official language should be:

> The language that should be officially recognized is the language that has a power, not the language of minorities. There is no need to recognize Targia as an official language. I speak Targia and like speaking it with Tuareg from different countries, but let us say the truth; Arabic is the key language and should be the predominant language not only in Libya but in the whole Arab world. **(Salma, age: 40, female, Ghat)**

It can be suggested that these beliefs mirror the hierarchical linguistic relationship between Targia as a stigmatized language, 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 in the case of Tuareg, and the inferiority of the non-codified and unprivileged language, Targia.

The following section shows participants' beliefs regarding the linguistic and administrative impediments Targia would encounter if it was promoted to official status.

5.4.1 Difficulties towards the official recognition of Targia

Although a considerable proportion of respondents showed positive attitudes towards designating Targia as an official language, a low percentage of them believe that Targia can be promoted to official status without encountering linguistic and administrative difficulties. Only 27% and 26% of Barkat and Ghat respondents, respectively, reported that Targia can gain official recognition without facing linguistic and administrative impediments (Figure 5.11). It also seems, for the participants who were "unsure", that this question was beyond the scope of their understanding, namely among the younger generation or it may reflect the Tuareg's disinterest in this matter as a whole. 30% and 27% of the individuals of the two communities, respectively, gave neutral answers regarding the obstacles that may surface as a result of raising Targia to official status.
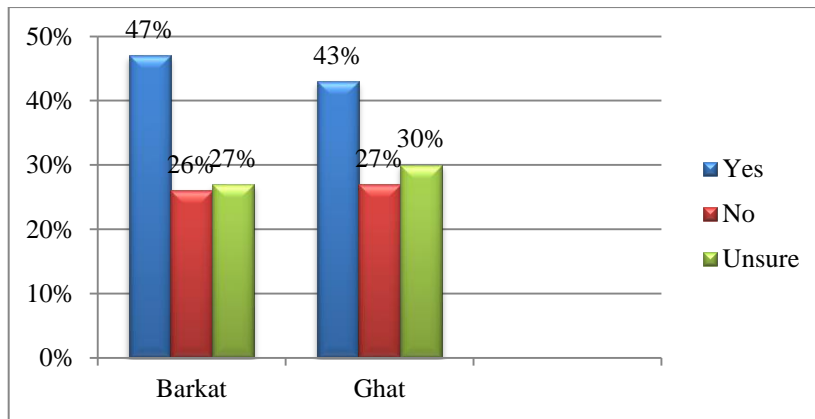
Figure 5.11: **Q: Do you think the official recognition of Targia in the forthcoming constitution may encounter linguistic or administrative difficulties?**

Once again, the opponents of official recognition claimed that Targia is passed on as a dialect with no written grammatical rules or dictionary compared, for example, to Tamasheq, a Tuareg variety spoken in Mali. Targia, also known in the literature as Tamaheq, is not written and the majority of Tuareg are not able to read it. Additionally, Libyan Tuareg believe that gaining official recognition for Targia may open the door to other minorities to claim equal linguistic status rights, which seems illogical to them in a country the majority of whose speakers speak Arabic. These pitfalls flag crucial questions and issues concerning language intervention, management or language policy. For instance, how many languages or varieties of Berber language should be officially recognized? Which is the one to be implemented at the administrative level and in governmental affairs? Which is one to be proceeded with in schools? Then, should Targia 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 Targia as being an official language (Spolsky, 2004, p. 6). Hoffman (2008, p. 20) refers to the success language activists have achieved in their campaign to gain state recognition for Berber languages and to

increase public awareness of challenges related to education and training which may handicap developing these languages.

The following excerpt is a good example of Tuareg beliefs regarding the obstacles that may emerge from including Targia in the school curriculum or promoting it to official status:

> Teaching Targia requires syllabus, teachers, and the language requires alphabets. If you ask Libyan Tuareg about whether Targia language has its own orthography, the answer will be no. They do not know them. **(Maso, age: 51, male, Barkat)**

Furthermore, the majority of the respondents of Barkat and Ghatian communities (58% and 64% respectively) reported that Libyan Tuareg do not speak one variety. Similarly, the largest majority of the respondents claimed that they do not understand Tamazight language spoken in Libya; see section 2.4.6.

In the same respect, Sadiqi (1997, p. 12) states that speakers of Berber varieties "may sound completely unintelligible to each other". She refers to the phonological and lexical differences between the main three Berber varieties spoken in Morocco (Tashelhit – Tarifit – Tamazight) though they are syntactically similar. Moreover, these dialects can be subdivided into more sub-dialects. El Aissati (2001, p. 68; 2011, p. 216), as well, points to the challenges and issues such as the lexical and phonetic variation, the number of Berber varieties and the absence of written standard forms and how to handle them in schools.

One can conclude that in general Libyan Tuareg expressed their enthusiasm to preserve, teach and learn Targia. It is also important to recognize it in the constitution as it is associated with their ancestors, glorious history, cultural heritage, and traditions. However, these positive attitudes might be relegated when compared to the dominant and official language, Arabic. For the Tuareg, 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 Targia

is downgraded to the status of non-legitimate and problem language where its usage is

restricted to certain intimate domains. However, the process of legitimation is not only

confined, as Bucholtz and Hall (2004, p. 387) state, to the powerful and privileged

language but also to the less prestigious language as in the case of using Targia in

social events.

5.5 Tuareg and ethnic identity

5.5.1 Introduction

The use of the term "essentialism" in literature has been recently employed as the

core of investigating identity. According to Omoniyi (2006, p. 16) essentialism is about

marking attributes and practices that represent individuals or groups which in turn are

utilized to identify them. Bucholtz (2003, pp. 400-401) distinguishes between

essentialism and strategic essentialism where the former is about identification of an

"undescribed group" in which a shared identity of group members is promoted.

Strategic essentialism is about moving deliberately "to forge a political alliance

through the creation of common identity, or to other-wise provide a temporarily stable

ground for further social action". However, Omoniyi introduces the "Hierarchy of

Identities model" to avoid a contrast between perceptions of essentialism (p. 3).

According to this model, several identities of individuals can co-exist at any one time

in the course of interaction in a hierarchical way, and the attachment to one of them

depends on its level of importance in a certain moment.[ii] In this respect, Goffman (1959 cited in Omoniyi, 2006, p. 18) introduces the conception of "presentation of self" in which an interaction entails multiple "acts" of identity. Thus, the notion of various roles and identities which are based on the three mentioned components (contexts, acts and moments) can be deployed as an approach to investigate the fluid identity instead of only relying on a binary identity (Omoniyi, 2006, pp. 18-19). Suleiman (2003, p. 18) points to the complexity and variability of social identity as it takes various shapes, which are not "fixed in time or social space" and frequently interlock with each other.

Language is "central to the production of identity" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 370) and plays an important role in interpreting, proclaiming and expressing identity in various social contexts (Omoniyi, 2006, p. 2). Language can operate as a means of communication or index of individuals' identity. In fact, for some sociolinguists, the relationship between language and identity is handled as a "given" and based on sentimental association (Sallabank, 2006, p. 138). Omoniyi points out that identity is fluid and hierarchical in a way; more than one identity can be forged and negotiated in a certain social context. Accordingly, Sallabank (2011, p. 506) points out that the paradox represented in the speakers' giving up the transmission of their endangered language to their children accompanied by their strong affiliation with this language might be understood within the frame of the fluidity of identity. This is different from what is termed as "fixed identity", the essentialist view of identity, in which the constitution of social meanings of individuals' experiences is caused by one identity.

In sociolinguistics, the focus is on how individuals situate and construct themselves or the way they are placed and shaped by others "in socio-cultural situations through

---

[ii] According to Omoniyi (2006) , "moments are points in time in performance and perception at which verbal and non-verbal communicative codes (e.g., advertisements clothes, walk style,…) are deployed to flag up an image of self or perspectives of it" (p. 21)

the instrumentality of language and with reference to all of those variables that are identity markers for each society in the speech of its members" (Omoniyi, 2006, p. 1). That is to say, in addition to language, other components such as religion, gender, ethnicity, social class, can function as identity markers. Ethnic identity, then, is affiliated with a group of features and actions and can be influenced by certain socio-historical, socio-political and socio-economic atmospheres, which in turn, lead to "assumed" as well as "imposed" identities by authorities (Garcia, 2012, p. 81). Identity is an important constituent at both the communicative and symbolic levels. Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz (1982, p. 1) state that gaining deep understanding of the processes of communication facilitates the depth perception of identity and how it influences and is influenced by factors such as politics and ethnicity.

According to Jenkins (1997, p. 179 as cited in Sallabank, 2006, p. 138) ethnicity is about "principles of collective identification and social organization in terms of culture and history, similarity and difference". Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz (1982, p. 5) differentiate between "old ethnicity" and "new ethnicity" where the former is based upon geographical proximity and via shared social networks such as occupational, ancestral and political bonds, the latter takes into account other distinctions related to individuals' knowledge of their membership in a certain group and the emotions and the values linked to it. Edwards (1985, p. 8) points out that the integration between the "objective" (language, religion, ancestry, geographical proximity, etc) and the "subjective" (sense of groupness) characteristics is essential to understand ethnicity. He defines ethnic identity as being loyal to a group with "some sense of group boundary" which can be maintained by both the objective and subjective aspects (p. 10). According to Barth (1969), ethnicity is about having distinguishable physical features, sharing primary cultural values overtly recognized by the group as unifying

factors, constituting trajectories of communications and finally having a membership either by self-identification or by others' determination to constitute a distinctive category. Sallabank states that a language is often replaced by another language when speakers abandon the first form of ethnicity and attach to the second category.

It is through language that social identity and ethnicity can be forged and maintained. Fishman (1989, p. 32) describes the language as "more likely than most symbols of ethnicity to become *the* symbol of ethnicity". King (2000, p. 173) found that Quichua language for Saraguros people is the "lynchpin of indigenous ethnicity". Language is also characterized as a primary ingredient of articulating ethnic identity (Garcia, 2012, p. 81). In her study on Hopi community, an indigenous tribe in Arizona in the US, Nicholas (2011, p. 54) referred to her mother as she equated and associated her complete ethnic identity "fully Hopi" with being able to speak it. Ennaji (1999, pp. 382-383) cites two views regarding the relationship between language and ethnicity: the first trend claims no relation between language and ethnicity, the relationship is "accidental", whereas the second view states that ethnicity can be determined by criteria such as language, along with cultural heritage, beliefs and values. Based on the latter view, a language can be an identifier of ethnic group and reversely, ethnic group can be intimately correlated with language. A case in point is the Moroccan Berbers' use of the terms "imazighen" and "agnawn", respectively, as indicators of speakers and non-speakers of Berber. Ennaji asserts that because non-Berber speakers very scarcely speak Tamazight, Berber speakers create a distinctive ethnic group "in their own right" (Ennaji, 1999, p. 383). Accordingly, he defines ethnic groups as "a group of people who share the same language, culture, history, religion, and values". According to El Aissati (2001, pp. 58-59) language is of vital importance to group identity and represents a crucial index to ethnicity. He states that Berber speakers identify

themselves as "imazighen" once they speak Berber yet they may still be able, based on other indices such as ancestry, dress, their own script, flag, and jewellery, to claim Amazigh identity even though they do not speak it.

Sallabank (2013, p. 77) points out that speaking a minority language reflects "a conscious act of identity". It is through re-evaluation and reassessment of the accepted norms, values and social meaning that collective identities can be consciously created (Mohanty, 2000, p. 56 as cited in Sallabank, 2013, p. 77). Thus, in the vein of language shift, this reassessment ends up in challenging the accepted and dominant ideologies of "majority language vs progress" and redefining the minority language in positive terms.

The vitality of language identity in the process of language maintenance and shift is expressed by Fasold (1984, p. 240) who asserts that language shift takes place when a minority community abandons its identity as "an identifiable sociocultural group" and attaches to the predominant group that dominates the society. However, he refers to the fact that it might be difficult to predict the time the community decides to abandon its ethnic identity. Indeed, El Aissati (2001, p. 59) argues that giving up the use of Berber language is considered as the essential threat for losing Berber identity "Amazighness". As a consequence of the Kuwaiti Ajam community's shift towards Arabic, the Eimi language "has been relegated no importance in the linguistic make-up of Kuwaiti identity" (Hassan, 2009, p. 276). Minority language revitalization cannot be justified for only the functional role of a language but also for maintaining a bond with a community's origin and identity (Sallabank, 2006, p. 152).

However, Bentahila and Davies (1992, p. 203) concluded in a study conducted on the Berber community in Morocco that the loss of language does not necessarily imply the loss of identity. Similar to the first generation, 37% of the non-Berber speakers of

the younger generation opted to identify themselves as Berber. Furthermore, 83% of the respondents reported that it is not a prerequisite to speak Berber to be identified as Berber. This suggests that there is not a close linkage between the use of Berber and Berberness or between language and identity. Indeed, in the same study, 27% of Berber speakers referred to Arabic as their own language since it represents their Muslim identity.

El Kirat (2007) also points out that Moroccan Berber reported negative attitudes towards recognizing Berber as a social identity. Pandharipande (1992, p. 261, 2002, p. 224)) maintains that despite the loss of their native language in India, Persian people have retained their ethnic identity through cultural and religious practices. It follows then, according to this view that there is no necessary correlation between robust, positive identification of a minority language and its retention, mainly when it is about passing on a low-status or stigmatized minority language to children (Bankston and Henry, 1998 as cited in Sallabank, 2013, p. 78). Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977, pp. 180-181) found that, on one hand, the under-15 Arvanites speakers claimed the necessity to speak Arvanitika to be Arvanitis though their linguistic reality reflects the opposite since they speak less Arvanitika compared with the older groups. On the other hand, the majority of the other age groups reported that speaking Arvanitika is not an essential ingredient to be Arvanitis. However, Trudgill and Tzavaras assess such attitudes as "unrealistic" as language is a distinguishable component for ethnic membership (p.180).

5.5.2 Language identity of Libyan Tuareg

In general, Libyan Tuareg identity is "multi-layered" and functions at a hierarchical level (Kohl, 2014, p. 424). For Libyan Tuareg, national loyalty comes at the top of the pyramid, followed by tribal affiliations and ethnic origin respectively.

The adoption of Libyan nationalism emerged as a consequence of the previous regime's policy of considering Libya as a homogeneous country composed of only Arabs and ignoring the existence of non-Arab ethnic minorities such as Berber (Tamazight speakers), Tuareg and Tebu (Joffe, 2014, p. 293). These minorities were subject to the hegemonic forces of Arabization and identified as of Arab origin, an instance of "erasure". In fact, these ideologies were established after the defeat of the Italian colonization in World War II and independence of the state of Libya in 1951 when Italian language "as language of culture" was replaced by Arabic language. In less than a decade, Libya has become one of "the most Arab of the Arab states" (Golino, 1970, p. 344). Furthermore, Arabic language has been raised to the national status and become one of the most essential elements of the Libyan identity.

The following extract was quoted from a diplomatic letter addressing the US embassy in Libya issued as a response to a request from US embassy Political Attaché, Mr. Joshua Harris to visit Zoura, a Berber city composed of Tamazight speakers, located in the western region of Libya on April 9th, 2009:[iii]

"In Great Jamahiriya, there is nothing called Berber community, and the use of this term denotes lack of true knowledge of the history of the region in general and Libya in particular, and does not reflect the reality and nature of the homogeneous Libyan society. All Libyans come from Arab origins; they came from the Arab Peninsula by

---

[iii] This extract was leaked by the Wikileaks Website in 2010 and then made available to public on http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/wikileaks-files/8299823/WikiLeaks-search-the-US-embassy-cables.html

land (Barr) and that's why some tribes that had arrived earlier in Libya are called 'Barbar' (or Berber)".

The cultural and political oppression exercised on Tamazight speakers made the use of Tamzight in public impossible. In fact, this prohibition was applied through governmental decrees though in 2007 Berber identity gained temporary recognition but then was denied. Establishing Amazigh cultural organization and organizing social Amazigh events were prohibited and often ended in prison sentences. The cultural situation was described by Kohl as "Libya's Berber (Tamazight speakers) were not able to declare their Berberness in public without having to deal with psychological stress, arbitrary discrimination and even torture" (2014, p. 428).

As for Libyan Tuareg, although Kohl cites that there was, unlike Tamazight speakers, no ban on the use of Targia, it is believed that this view lacks accuracy and evidence since Libyan Tuareg were not allowed to use Targia in official and public institutions. She probably meant the marginal domains in which Targia is used, which Crystal (2003, p. 83) refers to as "the use of an indigenous language only in irrelevant or unimportant domains" or what Fishman (1987) describes as the "folklorization" of the language. Kohl may also have meant the group that she is interested in, "Ishumar" or the 'borderliners', who live on the Niger/Libyan borders and speak a different dialect. Officially speaking, those people are not Libyan Tuareg from the local people's perspective. They lack the Libyan National Number as well as the Libyan nationality. They also lack the solid ground of the tribal affiliation within the country which is a clear aspect of the Libyan society and Tuareg community in particular but more importantly, similarly to Libyan Tuareg, were prohibited from using their native language like any other minorities in official and public spheres. If Kohl meant the use of Targia in intimate places such as home, then Tamazight speakers were not

prohibited from using Tamazight at home.It is true that organizing Tuareg cultural and traditional events was allowed in the country since the previous regime introduced and magnified Tuareg in a "folkloric way", yet this was under the banner "Tuareg are of Arab origin". Indeed, during the monarchy era, Tuareg's traditions and customs were a source of romanticism for the "manipulators of Libyan national identity" (Golino, 1970, p. 345).

Libyan Tuareg have been assimilated into wider Libyan Arab society and introduced, unlike the Tuareg of neighbouring countries, to free public services such as free healthcare, salaried state jobs and free education. More importantly, the gain Tuareg have from introducing "the equality principle" by which all Libyans, namely Tuareg, who were socially stratified in the past into four classes, have become equal. Pandharipande (2002, p. 219) mentions four strategies the Indian minorities adopted as a reaction to the state's policy: the first is to establish movements and campaign against these policies. Second is to separate from the majority language community. The third, which is the case of Libyan Tuareg, is to assimilate with the dominant community and the fourth strategy, which might be embraced by Berber Libyan speakers, is the attachment to "multiple strategies" where in the case of Libyan Berber speakers Tamazight is used at home while Arabic is the language of public and official markets.

According to Kohl (2014), these developments encouraged Libyan Tuareg to abandon their ethnic identity as Tuareg and attach to a new identity and define themselves as Arab. For the researcher, it is evident that Tuareg have engaged and benefited from the economic and political reforms introduced by the previous regime and consequently, rated their Libyan identity at the top, no doubt. However, Libyan

Tuareg did not entirely give up their ethnic identity as Tuareg and keep identifying themselves as Libyan Tuareg rather than Arab Tuareg.

In her anthropological studies on Tuareg, Kohl obviously focused, as mentioned earlier, on what is called the Ishumar or the non-Libyan Tuareg. She gave scant attention to Ghatian and Barkat Tuareg who are considered Libyan Tuareg. Kohl cites the Tamasheq proverb, which correlates losing the Tamasheq dialect with giving up Tamasheq identity: "wa-yeshiwilen tamasheq, wa ymda amajegh' [a Targi is one who speaks Tamasheq]" (p. 433). It is apparent that this aphorism is about Tuareg who speak Tamasheq which is a dialect widely spoken in Mali and parts of Niger but not in Libya (Tamaheq). For Libyan Tuareg, Tuareg identity is a chain composed of several rings: Targia language is one of them but not the most important and the essential one. Tuareg identity is not only about the language, it is also about other symbols such as the ancestral link, cultural heritage; habits, traditions, jewellery, poems, theatre, public festivals, food and songfests.

Since it is commonly the case that language and ethnic or other identity coincide quite closely, we next asked a question to ascertain how far this was true of our participants: "*Do you think speaking Targia is an essential component of Tuareg identity?*" As Figure 5.12 shows, the vast majority said yes. There was, however, a significant difference between communities as might be expected, with Ghat lower (Wald statistic=4.27, p=.039), and a near significant one between genders (Wald statistic=3.81, p=.051). The gender difference is consistent with what we saw for attitude above. The females do not see the language as quite so essential to identity as the males do.
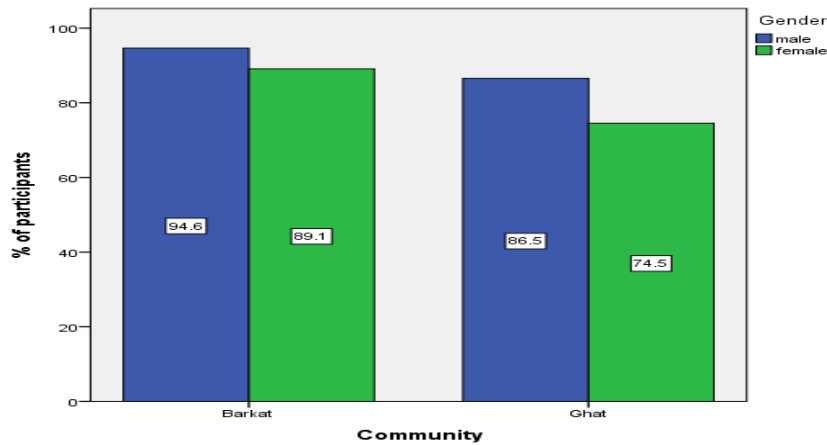
Figure 5.12: **Q: "Do you think speaking Targia is an essential component of Tuareg identity?" By gender (overall)**

This being said, however, Tuareg were very concerned to point out that Targia language is not and cannot be the sole ingredient to embody their ethnic identity. It is true that identity of those who do not speak Targia is incomplete or not fully Tuareg but they are still able to claim Tuareg identity based on other indices such as their ancestry, parents' identity (origin), history and cultural traditions. That is to say that their perception of Targia as an essential ingredient of Tuareg ethnic identity is subjective. Legère (1992, p. 99) states that the language might be lowered in favour of other symbols such as traditions, customs, parents' origin and place of birth when self-identifying with a given ethnic group. El Aissati (2001) also refers to these vital indices as vital identifiers of Berber ethnicity.

The following quotations suggest that Targia represents an important part of Tuareg identity, yet other symbols such as ancestral affiliation and traditions can function as stronger indices to demarcate Tuareg ethnic identity:

> The language is an important factor and the identity is the language, relationship, habits and traditions. All these things embody Tuareg identity. It is true that there are Tuareg who cannot speak Targia and I myself have relatives in Benghazi (a city in the eastern province) who cannot speak Targia but I cannot claim that they are not Tuareg. They

are Tuareg because of their origin, habits and traditions. It is true that their identity is incomplete. **(Yo, age 30, male, Barkat)**

Yes it is. However, this does not mean that if you cannot speak Targia, you are not Targi. Tuareg should learn Arabic which is the essential language. **(Hawwa, age: 68, female, Ghat)**

It is possible, then, to state that speaking Targia can be conceived as a complementary indicator that symbolizes Tuareg identity but Tuareg people can be still identified as Tuareg even if they have passive command in Targia. Bentahila and Davies (1992, p. 202) found that "language and group identity, then, do not seem to be closely linked". Al-Wer (1999, p. 265) also found in her research on the Caucasian community in Jordan that the decrease or the loss of the language does not necessarily include the loss of identity. According to her, it is "the loss of the communicative need of a language (regardless of the strength of its symbolic value)" that determines the start of the shift.

Having established that Targia is perceived as a complementary ingredient of Tuareg identity, we asked some questions following up on that connection. Answering the question, "*Which language do you use to express yourself best?*" allowed speakers of multiple languages to choose the one that they feel expresses their own identity. As Figures 5.13 and 5.14 show, Ghat broadly favours Libyan Arabic more, while Barkat favours Targia slightly more, alone or mixed. Barkat informants claimed more interest in using a mixed language as the best choice to express their desires whereas Ghatian informants said that Libyan Arabic is their best choice.

In Barkat, it is of much interest that the respondents of the middle-aged group reported the highest percentage of speaking Libyan Arabic as the most favourable language and claimed Targia as the language least used to express themselves best (Figure 5.13). Indeed, this group claimed the lowest percentage of identifying Targia as an essential element of their ethnic identity compared to the other two groups.
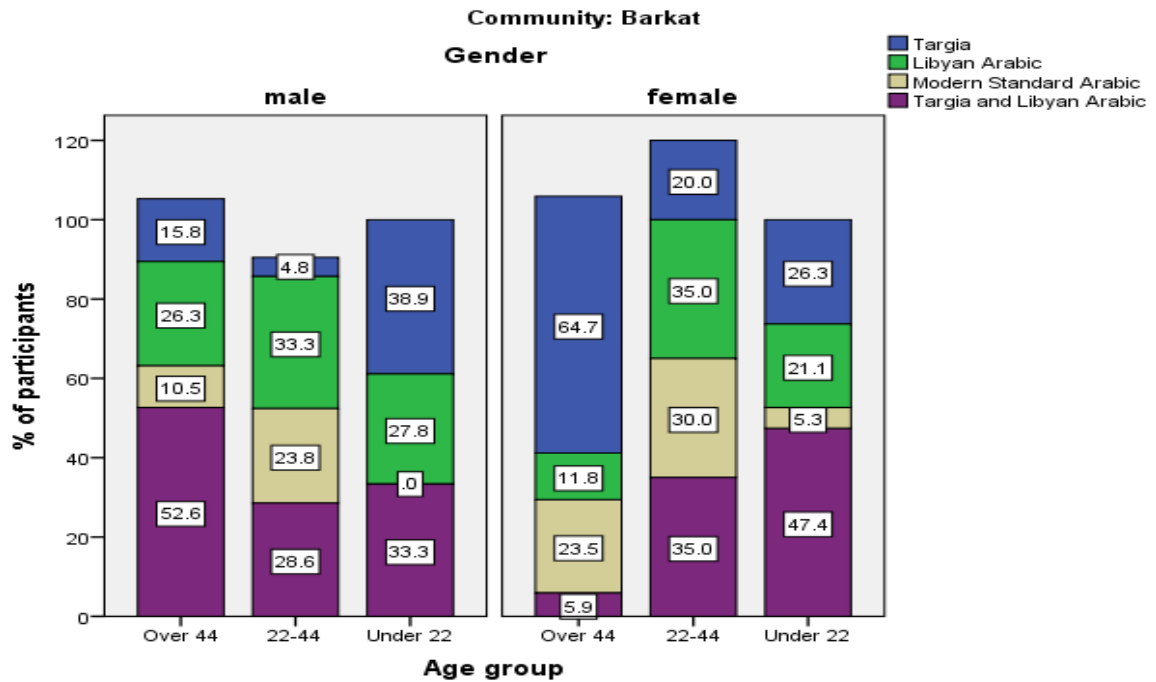
Figure **5. 13***:* **Q: "Which language do you use to express yourself best?" By community and gender (Barkat)**

Similar to their counterparts in the Barkat community, it is the Ghatian middle-aged group who claimed Libyan Arabic as the most desirable language to express their interests whereas Targia reported to be the least preferred language (Figure 5.14). Once again, these results are consistent with the clear attachment of this group to Arabic all through the study. It is interesting that the informants of the younger age group who showed positive inclination towards Targia across this study claimed Libyan Arabic as the most preferable language to express themselves. It is also of much interest that the respondents of the Ghatian older-aged female group indicated that they feel more comfortable when speaking a mixed language (Arabic-Targia) compared to their use of the heritage language, Targia. On the contrary, their co-ethnics in Barkat mentioned Targia as the best language they utilize to express themselves better, while males preferred language mixing.

Statistically, Targia is overall less chosen in the middle age group than older and younger (Wald=9.84, p=.007) and that corresponds to the Libyan Arabic pattern in the next result where they choose Libyan Arabic more, they choose Targia less. Regarding Libyan Arabic, the difference is significant among age groups (Wald= 9.47, p=.009). The Middle age group favours it more than the older and younger groups, particularly in Ghat, but also visibly in Barkat. There is also a significant difference regarding Libyan Arabic by community: Wald =7.91, p=.005. For mixed language, there are no significant differences between genders, age groups or communities. They all agree statistically, despite the descriptive differences.
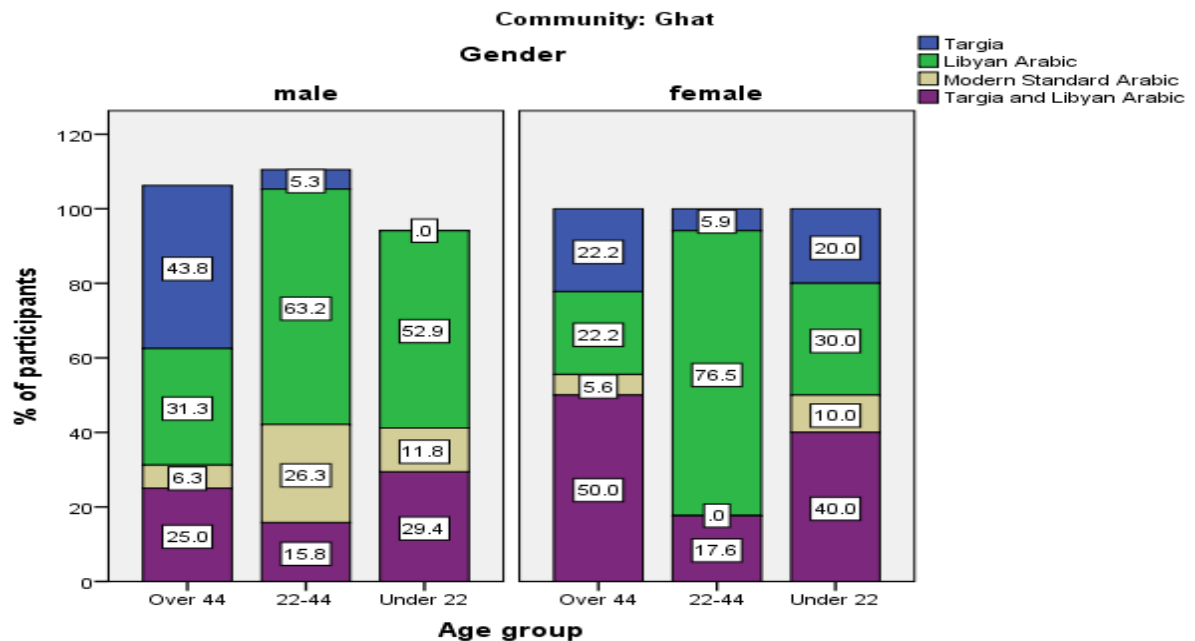
Figure **5. 14***:* **Q: Which language do you use to express yourself best?" By community and gender (Ghat)**

Reasons such as 'Arabic is the most eloquent and effective language, holds educational value, language of religion', were invoked in the justifications for the interviewees' choices. Although these characters are affiliated with Classic and Modern Standard Arabic, they are consciously or unconsciously attached to Libyan Arabic. Tuareg do not often distinguish between types of Arabic when they talk but

when they are asked, they clearly refer to Libyan Arabic accompanied with many

characters associated with Classic or Modern Standard Arabic. This is probably what

Hoffman (2008, p. 24) characterized as "ideological elision".

The following extract elucidates that Arabic is Tuareg's favourite language when

they express themselves best:

> It is Arabic language. It is a sea of lexicons which makes it easy to absorb and reflect effective meanings. (**Nan, age: 51, female, Barkat**)

> Arabic, no doubts, it has effective terms, it is the predominant, it is the language of God, the language of the Holy Quran. (**Haj, age: 68, male, Ghat**)

There were also significant effects of educational level for Targia and Libyan

Arabic (Targia: Wald statistic=10.34, p=.001; LA: Wald statistic=3.93, p=.047). Figure

5.15 shows that the lowest two educational levels see Targia as expressing their

identity and Libyan Arabic only emerges at the levels after that, where MSA also

expands. Descriptively that shift over educational levels is far sharper in Ghat,

however, where primary level participants only choose Targia and the higher

educational level participants only choose Arabic, either Libyan or MSA. In Barkat the

same general progression occurs over educational levels but Targia is still represented

at the highest level, as is the Targia/Arabic combination.
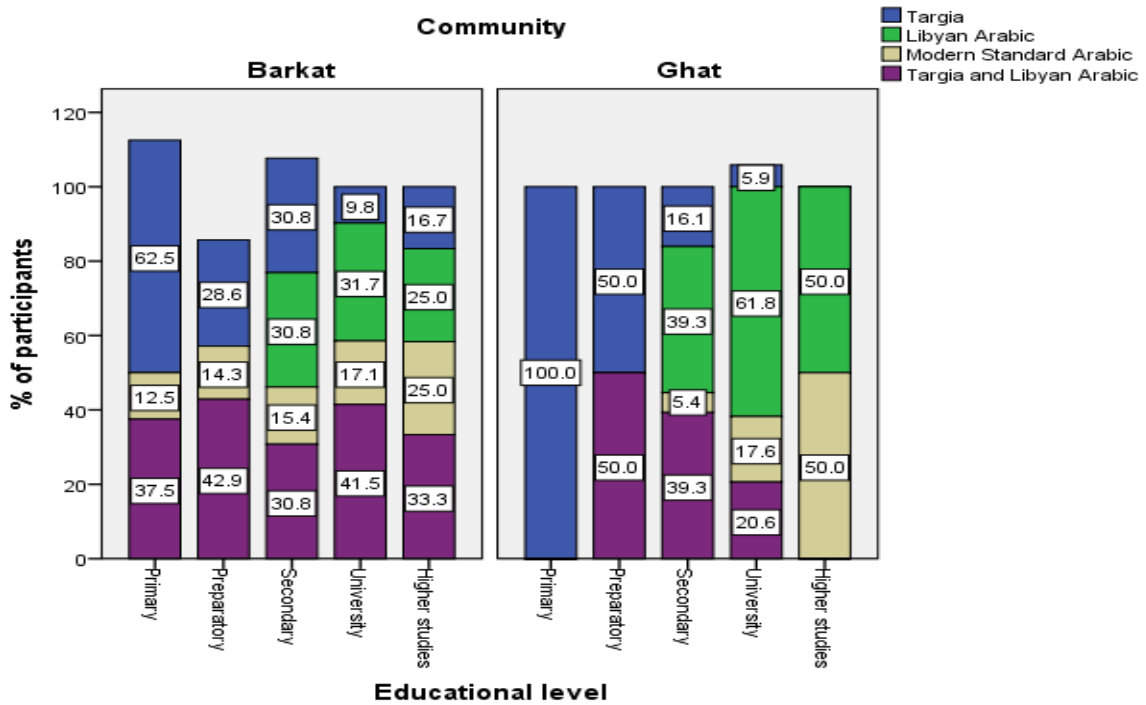
Figure 5.15: **Q: "Which language do you use to express yourself best?" By educational level (Barkat+Ghat)**

It would in principle be entirely possible for a Tuareg to see themselves as possessing Tuareg identity without necessarily speaking much Targia. Furthermore, people typically possess multiple identities, for instance religious identity, ethnic identity, and so forth. These do not always coincide exactly. For this reason we asked participants how they would define themselves, without reference to language but rather to ethnic/national group identity (*Libyan, Targi, Libyan Targi*).

The Tuareg's attachment towards Libyan Arabic, namely in Ghat, and mixed language (Arabic-Targia), particularly in Barkat as the language(s) they utilize to express themselves best appears to be congruent with Tuareg self-categorization. Tuareg were asked to select the label by which they prefer to be identified and were given three labels: *Libyan, Targi(a)* and *Libyan Targi(a).* Including the labels "Arab" in this question seemed to be implausible and very sensitive bearing in mind the political divisions and military conflict that erupted in 2014 which resulted in various coalitions. However, I adopted different approaches to elicit information regarding

Tuareg's self-identification as Arab. From my pilot study and the data presented in this study, it seems that Tuareg explicitly and ethnically associate themselves with Libyan identity rather than Arab identity though they showed a stronger connection not only with Libyan Arabic but also with Modern Standard Arabic (as the mother tongue) at the expense of Targia.

In the following excerpt, I cite an example of a situation I experienced while conducting an interview with one of my informants who clearly articulated his Tuareg identity in a way he sarcastically separated and distanced it from the researcher's identity i.e., the Arab identity. However, more importantly, the interviewee explicitly reflected a situation of an ongoing shifting by saying "you obliterated and changed us," not only towards the Arabic language but probably gradually to a new ethnic identity, Arab. Interestingly, my friend showed an implicit acceptance of what was said by the interviewee:

> **Interviewee:** Targia is about to disappear. This is due to the political influence and parents' use of Arabic with their children at home. See Mohammed (my host friend) for example, he speaks Arabic with his children at home.
>
> **Interviewer:** Mohammed grew up in Sebha.
>
> **Interviewee:** Not only Mohammed, see his brothers and cousins. Enter every house in Barkat, you will notice that children do not speak Targia. They use Arabic at home because their parents speak to them in Arabic. This will lead to the erasure of Tuareg identity and after 20 years, elderly people will be the only users of Targia, you (*me, the researcher, the Arab*) obliterated and changed us, hhh (laugh).
>
> **Mohammed:** you (addressing the researcher) are our guest and I can say nothing!
>
> **Interviewee:** The political factor plays the greatest role in wiping the Tuareg identity and arabizing them. **(Amb, age: 46, male, Barkat)**

Notwithstanding a significant proportion of the participants in both communities claimed Targia to be an important ingredient of Tuareg identity (see Figure 5.12), a low proportion of Barkat and Ghatian speakers chose to identify themselves as solely

Tuareg (Figure 5.16). The general picture shows a clear and gradual shift from the Tuareg identity and the attachment to the "*Libyan Targi*" or *"Libyan"* identity which mirrors the vitality and importance of the state, national identity or the Libyan nationalism at the expense of the Tuareg identity. This reminds us of Bentahila and Davies (1992)'s findings in which Berber speakers gave less importance to Berber identity compared to Moroccan national identity, even among those who speak Berber with high competence. Pandharipande (2002, p. 228) correlates the change of identity with the change in the linguistic choice. It is also notable that the "*Targi*" identity, although very little selected in either community in the higher age bands, exhibits an expansion in the youngest group similarly in both communities. It still falls far short of choice of Libyan/Targi identity, however.
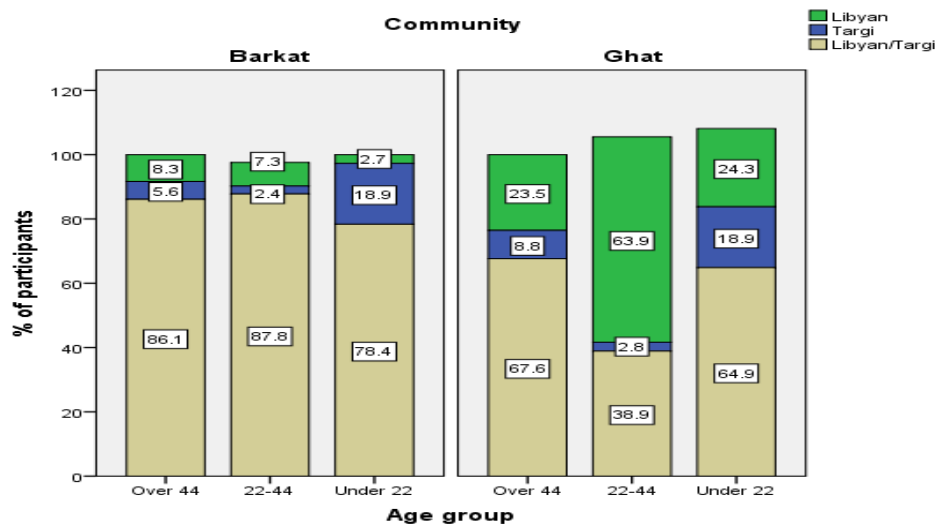
Figure 5.16: **Q: "How would you like to define yourself?" (Barkat+Ghat)**

The results demonstrated in Figure 5.16 showed that the majority of the participants of the six age groups of Barkat and Ghat communities (except the Ghatian middle-aged group) selected the label "*Libyan Targi*" to identify themselves, with an advantage to the middle-aged group of Barkat with 87.8%. The Tuareg's movements from one identity to another in certain contexts seem to be contingent on various factors such as

the salience of the situations, setting and the identity of interlocutors and eventually on the judgements of such situations (Suleiman, 2003, p. 19).

Similarly, as a result of their engagement in multiple ethnic, economic and linguistic practices, Ishelhin Berber speakers in Morocco chose to identify themselves simultaneously or alternatively as Arab, Ashelhi or Moroccan. This self-ascription might be different from one generation to another across life phases (Hoffman, 2008, p. 18).

It is also of much interest that the majority of informants of the Ghatian middle-aged group are ahead of others- Barkat in describing themselves as *"Libyan"* with 63.9%. The reason given by informants to justify their choice was mainly based on their beliefs that Libya is their state and Tuareg is their origin. It is attachment to the land or homeland and the status of feeling secure under the statehood's umbrella. It is the role of the state in the nation's make-up: "political or territorial nation within the boundary of the sovereign state" (Suleiman 2003: 34). However, it appears, as clarified in section 5.5.3 that Libya emerged first as a nation, then as a nation state after the announcement of independence in 1951.

Statistically, the difference between the two communities regarding the label *"Libyan"* is significant (Wald statistic=19.58, p<.001). This identity was chosen more in Ghat than Barkat. As for the *"Libyan Targi"* choice, there is a significant difference between the two communities (Wald statistic=16.00, p<.001): Barkat favours this identity far more than Ghat. The Targi identity was chosen more by youngest age group than others (Wald statistics=10.01 p=.007).

The gradual abandonment of Tuareg identity and the increased attachment to Libyan identity, particularly among Ghatians, embodies the Tuaregs' awareness of the salience of the nation and the statehood's belonging, from which they socially, politically and

economically benefit.[iv] It is the saliency of enjoying Libyan citizenship where the Libyan Tuareg, in contrast to their co-ethnics in neighbouring countries, are provided with free education, healthcare, houses and waged state jobs. It is also the impact of and the role of the previous regime's policy in defining Libya as a homogeneous country and including all ethnicities under the umbrella of "Arab", and accordingly under the slogan "one nation one language", i.e., Arabic language. The influence of adopting such a policy, the Arabization, and the pan-Arab movement can be clearly seen on the middle-aged groups (22-44) of both communities who have experienced these movements as all of them were born since the 1969 military coup. Ultimately, this change seems to indicate drifting away from speaking Targia and sticking to the widely spoken language in the country. In a broader sense, it appears that Tuareg identity acts at multiple levels and is influenced by various including those which are political, economic and cultural. Arabic language and ancestral link seem to be primary and effectual constituents in the formation of Tuareg identity.

The increasing emphasis on the Libyan identity at the expense of the Targia identity is clearly manifested in the Tuareg's gradual attachment to Libyan Arabic as a symbol of their Libyan identity, and simultaneously in closely relating Targia language to their ancestors instead of defining it as an aspect of ethnic identity. In what follows, we will shed light on the articulation of various nationalist ideologies among the Libyan Tuareg where the Arabic language seems to be a mainstay of Tuareg national identity.

5.5.3 Libyan Nationalism

Edwards (1985, p. 11) states that there is a clear connection between ethnicity and nationalism since most of the criteria that define ethnicity apply to nationalism.

[iv] In this connection, the Libyan Tuareg are different from their Tuareg peers living in neighbouring countries who have been marginalized and deprived of the central government's services. Libyan Tuareg are also distinct from Tuareg Ishumar who often embrace a movable identity to avoid state's loyalty.

Suleiman (2003, pp. 17-18) asserts that it is the complex relationship between nationality and ethnicity, on one side, and nation and state, on the other, that complicates the definition of nationalism. Edwards cites two concepts to define the nation, objective and subjective approaches. Objectively, certain factors such as territory, state, common language, history and religion (varying from one case to another) are deployed in defining nation. For some scholars, the application of an objective definition requires the presence of all mentioned criteria and grants them to a certain group of people to be defined as a nation whereas other scholars consider only some of these factors to define a group of individuals as a nation. Based on this mode, national consciousness[v] or the feeling of belonging to a certain nation is required as a prime ingredient in the constitution of the national identity (Suleiman, 2003). However, the objective definition is criticized for its failure in dealing with collective identity as a movable construct, relying in this on factors such as setting and identity of communicators. A case in point is what Hobsbawm (1990) points out about people who define themselves as Jews though they do not believe in the same religion and do not share the same language, culture or history (cited in Suleiman, 2003, p. 21).[vi] Suleiman tends to support Deutsch's view in the formation of nation which maintains, "what counts is not the presence or absence of any single factor, but merely the presence of sufficient communication facilities with enough complementarity to produce the overall result" (Deutsch, 1966, p. 97).

The subjective or "voluntarist approach" is essentially based on the "will" and the "belief" in characterising a group's nationhood, yet this mode was criticized for being

---

[v] According to Suleiman (2003, p. 21) claiming national consciousness, as a "deciding" factor in making up nations, "reduces national identification as an act of self-ascription to the option of belonging to a single nation or nationality when… identity is both compositionally complex and historically variable"

[vi]Deutsch (1966, p. 97) asserts "the presence of sufficient communication" as an important factor in nation construction and favours it over the other objective factors.

pliable and difficult to establish before the constitution of the nation. To avoid the criticism directed at the two mentioned approaches, scholars have adopted a boundary approach, which substantially relied on the view of expanding social factors, and devised symbols as social constructs to demarcate groups' boundaries and construct nationalistic ideology. Symbols such as language, flag, architecture, traditional costume, food and traditional festivities play a crucial role in "maintaining the internal cohesion of the group and in guarding its identity (Suleiman, 2003, pp. 22-23). Related to this respect, Human Rights indicate and stress the right of self-identification as a fundamental ingredient in defining a minority, indigenous or national. The UN adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities in 1992. The European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) (2011) defined a national minority as "a smaller group in number than the rest of population, which being citizens possess also ethnic, religious or linguistic features which are different from characteristic features of population, and which they will keep regarding their own culture, tradition, religion and language". Capotorti's definition (1977) stressed "a sense of solidarity", even if it is implicit, in defining a minority. Indeed, the "feeling of groupness", according to Edwards (1985, p. 15), is what essentially constitutes ethnicity and nationalism.

Suleiman (2003) refers to two general types of nations: the political (old) nation and cultural (newer) nation. In the formation of the *political nation*, which has properties such as designated boundaries, laws, institutions, a single political administration, the principle of parity and justice, the state comes first, and then is followed by national consciousness and then the nation. As for the *cultural or ethnic nation*, which has aspects such as assumed shared ancestral link, history, tradition, habits, and values, it is constructed by first the national consciousness, then comes the nation and finally the

state. The features related to cultural nation represent the ground for moving towards the state. Woolard (1998, p. 16) characterizes the relationship between language and nation as "a historical, ideological construct".

Most Arab states seem to be created by the influence of pan-Arab nationalism (cultural) rather than political nationalism. Libya was no exception as Golino (1970, p. 340) points out that the construction of Libya as a nation preceded the formation of the state and this was due to historical, cultural and symbolic factors. Regarding the historical factor, Golino states that the boundaries of Libya were established from the time of Ottoman Turks' penetration in 1551 but were clearly demarcated with the Italian conquest in 1911 which detached Libya from the greatest western Arab world.[vii] The French conquest of Algeria, Tunisia and other neighbouring countries, as well as the British colonization of Egypt were also influential in assuring the distinctiveness of Libya. Thus, "territorial, rather than, tribal ties" became an indicator of common identity since the presence of these colonies made roaming across North Africa and its Sahara very difficult" (Golino, 1970, p. 343). In Libya, such division led to the construction of shared identity among the occupants of the three territories: Tripolitania, Fezzan and Cyrenaica. Economically, the French colonization of Algeria and the Turkish presence in Fezzan led to a redirection of the trans-Saharan caravans towards northern ports of Libya (Tripolitania) through Ghat in the south and Ghadames in the northwest of Libya.

The emergence of the Al Sanusi movement[viii] (1842-1845) was another important historical change which played a crucial role in the establishment of the Libyan national identity through its spread to the eastern and south eastern (Al-Kufra) parts of

---

[vii] In fact, the name of Libya was officially used by Italians to refer to the current state, Libya in 1911, the year of conquest (Golino, 1970)

[viii] The Al Sanusi movement is a religious brotherhood which emerged from Oran in Algeria and was established by Muhamed Bin Ali Al Sanusi who travelled to Libya and settled on Cyrenaica in the eastern part of the country.

the country and the increase of its adherents. In fact, the Al Sanusi movement expanded to the economically prosperous kingdom, Wadai's Kingdom in Chad, whose sultan became an Al Sanusi adherent. The adherence of the Wadai kingdom to the Al Sanusi movement created a new caravan trade route beginning at Ennedi in Chad to Al Kufra Oasis, in the south east of Libya, to Jalo Oasis in the eastern middle and terminating in Benghazi, the second city in Libya.

The return of many of the Libyan elite, who were in exile in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria, after the defeat of Italy in World War II was an additional component that eased the formation of Arab Libyan national identity, as some of them were the engineers of language policy and decision makers. Non-Arab ethnic groups, particularly Tuareg and Tebu, were also affected by these historical developments and a sense of mutually recognizable nationalist identities was created in North Africa before the establishment of Libya as a state (Golino, 1970). As for the role of cultural factors, this was discussed in chapter (2) under the impact of the external factors.

Symbolically, the Al Sanusi religious movement was perceived as a "legitimate central authority" by the local tribes since this movement played a vital role in resolving the tribal contentions and stabilizing the situation in the area they settled in. Indeed, in Gharian's Conference, in 1922, King Idris was able to gain support from the leaders of Tripolitania and was assigned as "Amir" ruler of Cyrenaica, Fezzan and Tripolitania and thus became the icon of Libyan national identity. It was the 1951 Royal Declaration of Independence which led to the establishment of Libya as a "sovereign, independent" state and the institutionalization of Libyan national identity (p. 347).

Suleiman (2003, p. 9) asserts that a language constitutes a vital ingredient in the construction of national identity. He (2006, p. 51) employs the term "polycentricity"

instead of hierarchy as a model in characterizing the national identity. He uses this term to describe relationships between people of different ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and linguistic backgrounds within a national group. Suleiman indicates the role the language plays in constructing, promoting and maintaining national identity and the ideological implementation of language in nation building. He adds that national identity emerges because of conflict, stress or being insecure. Suleiman cites an example concerning the languages spoken in the Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Denmark and Norway, which are relatively mutually understandable but are treated as distinct national languages. History, politics, shaping a distinctive identity and nation building are the determinants of such differences. Indeed, Denmark and Sweden consciously adopted different orthographies, though they are linguistically similar, to mark their differences (Suleiman, 2006, p. 53). That is to say, language policy is interrelated with politics.

According to Joseph (2004, p. 98), the availability of a national language is one of the salient principles in establishing national identity. In Morocco, for instance, nationalism was strongly triggered by factors such as religion and Arabic language. Indeed, the French colonizers attempt to separate Berber from Arab in schools and to cancel Arabic and Islam classes from Berber school curricula through the Dhair Berbere Law during the 1930s led to vigorous Moroccan nationalism (Bentahila & Davies, 1992, p. 203).

Libya, essentially after the 1969 coup, was not the exception among their Arab neighbouring regimes where the Pan-Arab movement, "a supra-form of national self-definition among Arabic-speaking peoples" (Suleiman, 2003, p. 18), was implemented and Standard Arabic was adopted as the sole official language to serve the ideologies of Arab nationalists (cultural ethnic nationalism based on the assumption of common

descent). In fact, Golino (1970, p. 345) states that Arabic constitutes the most important cultural linguistic ingredient in the construction of national Libyan identity during the monarchic era (1951-1969).

Modern Standard Arabic is the medium of instruction in schools and administrative affairs though it is not a spoken language. In fact, the educational system was also implemented to stimulate Libyans' awareness of Arab nationalism and avoid what may hinder it (Golino 1979: 350). Arabic has its authenticity from its allegedly glorious history and from being the language strongly affiliated with religion. It is also the language often associated with modernization and able to meet people's future ambitions. The authentication of the Arabic language is what asserts the articulation of Tuareg's Libyan nationalism and the sense of cohesion and solidarity with other Libyans through "agentive process[es]" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 385).

In contrast, opponents of colloquial Arabic tend to relegate it and describe it as "corrupt" and "unworthy" in articulating Arab nationalism (Suleiman, 2003, p. 10). This is due to its lack of an authentic written history and codification and thus the stigmatization is attached to it. However, based on the data of this study, such views can be criticized since they do not reflect the reality. For example, Libyan Arabic is the first language the younger generation of Tuareg acquire in their childhood. Libyan Arabic seems to be functionally and symbolically able to promote unity among all Libyans regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. It is the language of social, economic and symbolic capital. Domains such as schools and mosques, which were originally reserved for Modern Standard Arabic, have increasingly become tolerant of the use of Libyan Arabic. A case in point is the inclusion of Libyan Arabic in the Friday prayer program (See section 4.5.8). In other words, Libyan Arabic has operated like "an accessible proxy" for Modern Standard Arabic (Hoffman, 2008, p. 24). Such findings

seem to be consistent with what Bentahila and Davies (2013) state about the Moroccan colloquial Arabic, which was described by Moroccan Berbers as the mother tongue since it is the first language parents transmit to their children in order to prepare them for school. Indeed, Hoffman (2008, p. 24) also points out that the Arabic language "even in its vernacular form" was affiliated with "religious piety" among Moroccans. She asserts that "the ideological elision between MSA and MA meant, and continues to mean, tolerance for MA in the media and institutions like schools, either with or at the expense of MSA". Sadiqi (1997, p. 14), as well, maintains that the prestigious status attached to Moroccan Arabic was due to religion through Modern Standard Arabic. El Aissati et al. (2011, p. 212) point to Modern Moroccan Arabic, compared to Berber, as a "supranational variety". Additionally, Moroccan Arabic is the means through which Moroccan Ishelhin (Berber group) can smoothly have access to economic and symbolic capital. More importantly, favouring the Moroccan Arabic vernacular in relation to Tashelhit emerged as a result of "Arabic's alleged ability" in foregrounding the Moroccan nationalistic ideology by which all Moroccans are unified within one nation (Hoffman, 2008, p. 165).

Given that people often possess multiple identities in different domains, we asked participants what kind of identity or other concept each language (Targia, Libyan Arabic, and MSA) symbolised for them. The only significant background differences related to gender in some instances.

Libyan Arabic was overwhelmingly seen as representing Libyan identity. It is obvious, as shown in Figures 5.17 and 5.18, that the majority of individuals of all age groups in Barkat and Ghat have espoused Libyan Arabic as a strong joint, unifying them with other Libyans and fostering their Libyan nationalistic ideology. The Tuareg's embracing of Libyan Arabic as a vital factor in their Libyan nationhood

ideology is in spite of the fact that it is not a codified or standardised language.

Moreover, it is of much interest that the respondents in both communities, though with low percentages, described Libyan Arabic as their mother tongue, and/or a symbol of their ethnic identity. It follows, then, that it is possible to state that it is not only the territorial or political factors that have motivated the Libyan Tuareg to characterize themselves as Libyans but also the Libyan variety of the Arabic language. This is what Woolard (1998, p. 17) describes as the nationalist ideology of language identity which identifies and correlates language with people "one language/one people" and plays a crucial role in supporting the struggle of ethnic minorities through presenting them as legitimate nations with distinct languages. Such ideology also has the effect of merging Tuareg into the larger Libyan nation. It is linguistic nationalism.
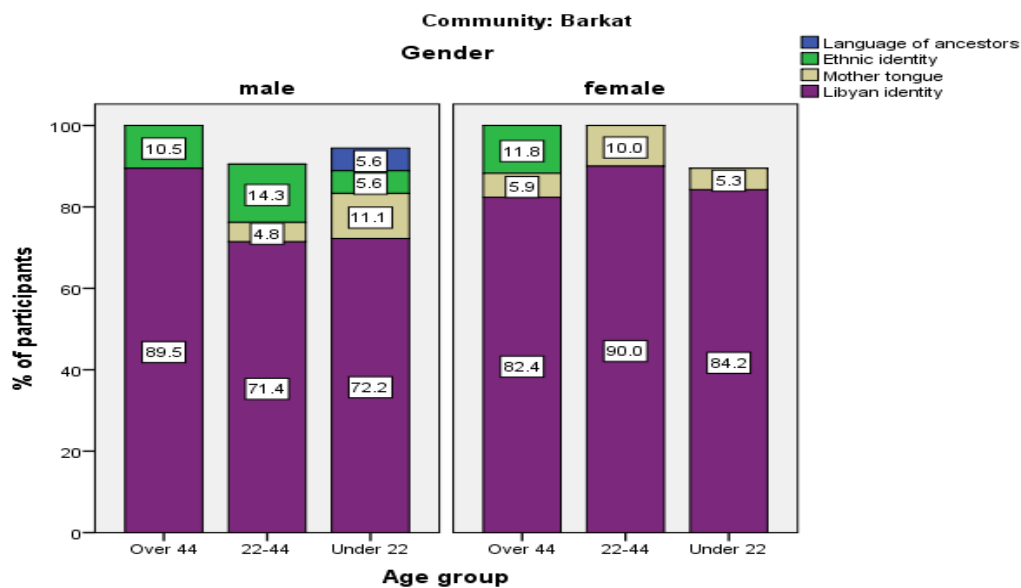
Figure 5.17: **Q: What does Libyan Arabic represent for you? By gender and age groups (Barkat)**
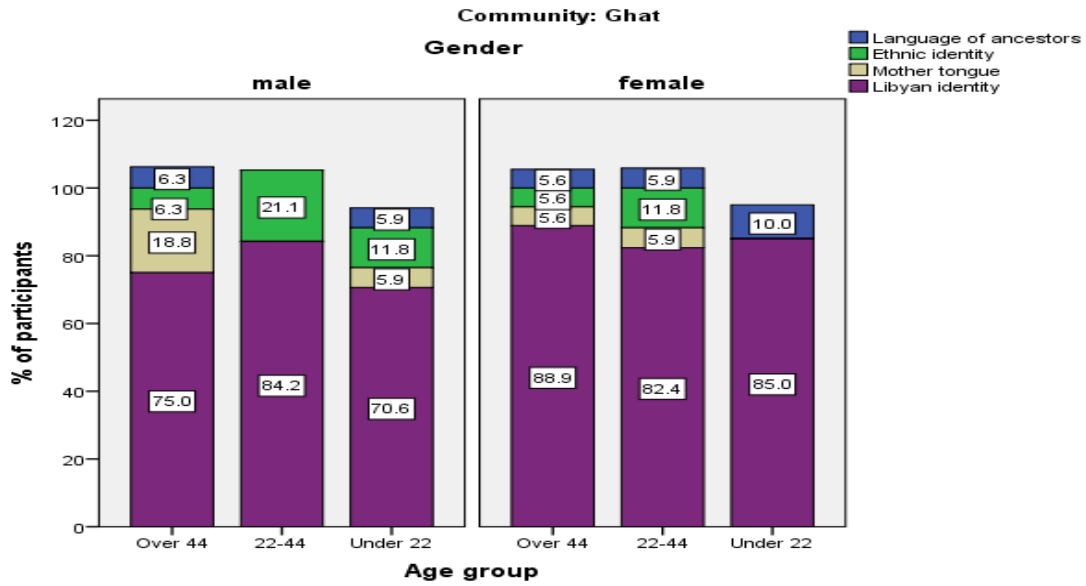
Figure 5.18: **Q: What does Libyan Arabic represent for you? By gender and age groups (Ghat)**

Females endorsed, as displayed in Figure 5.19, Libyan Arabic as a marker of Libyan identity a little more than males (Wald statistic=5.83, p=.016). Conversely males endorsed Libyan Arabic as an ethnic identity marker a little more than females (Wald statistic=6.57, p=.010).
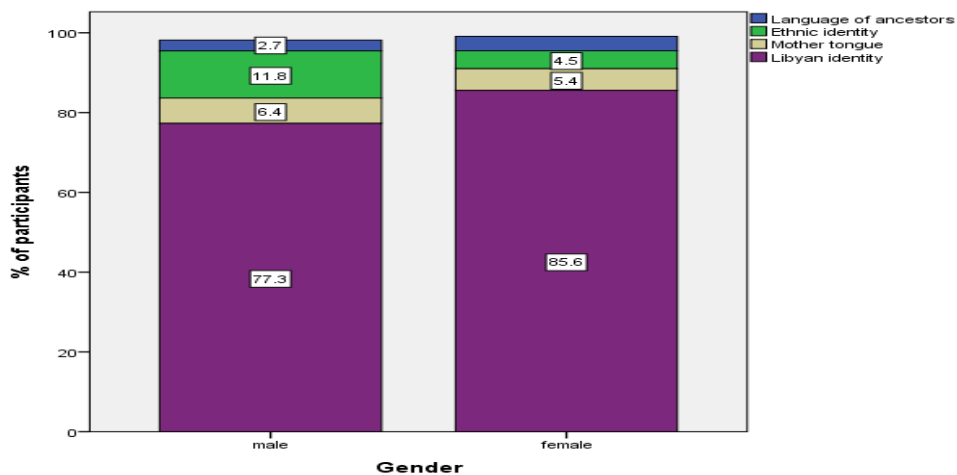
Figure 5.19: **Q: What does Libyan Arabic represent for you? By gender (Overall)**

The Tuareg's clinging to Libyan Arabic as an index of their identity is underscored by their positive assessment of Libyan Arabic as an important language. The data depicted in Figures 5.20 and 5.21 show a gradual increase (in apparent-time, i.e. across age groups) of the informants' positive evaluation of Libyan Arabic as an important language. The reasons mentioned by 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.
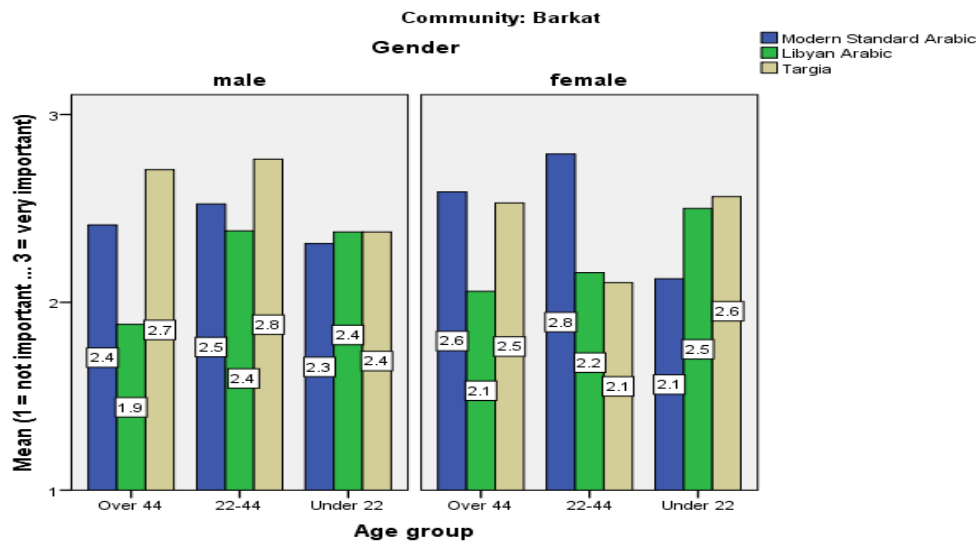
Figure 5.20: **Q: How do you evaluate the importance of the following languages? Modern Standard Arabic, Libyan Arabic, Targia. By age group and gender (Barkat)**
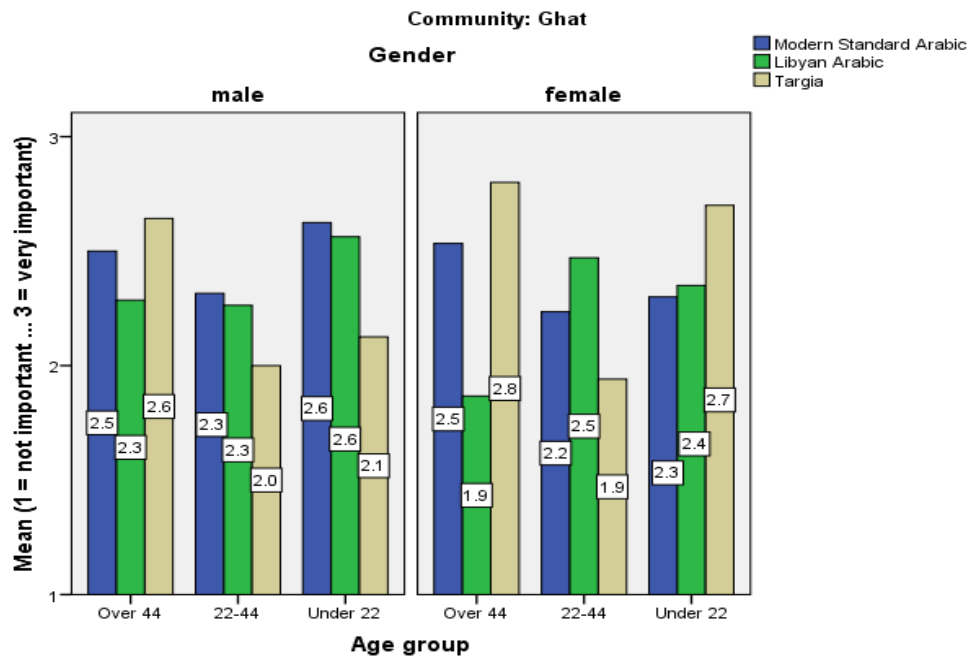
Figure 5.21: **Q: How do you evaluate the importance of the following languages? Modern Standard Arabic, Libyan Arabic, Targia. By age group and gender (Ghat)**

5.5.4 Religious ideologies and Islamic nationalism

Notwithstanding the importance of language and religion as markers of ethnolinguistic identity, less attention has been paid to such connections. Edwards (2009, p. 100) asserts that the links between language and religion can be represented in various "social and psychological" forms such as a group marker and religious language. In the case of Hebrew, it has been argued that religion played the major role in reviving it. Religion was the impetus for some Moroccan Berbers to adopt Arab identity alone or incombination with Berber or Moroccan where they feel more secure (Bentahila & Davies, 1992). Indeed, it is the feeling of being Muslim and Moroccan that led to the construction of such identity (Bentahila & Davies, 1992, p. 203). Classical and Modern Standard Arabic have been politically implemented to symbolize national unity as well as Arab nationalism. This implementation was through

connecting these languages with religion, which is widely venerated by Arab Maghreb people and thus, employed to revive Arab ethnicity (Ennaji, 1999). Furthermore, North African peoples' religious allegiance was exploited by their leaders in articulating national identity. For example, King of Morocco Al-Hassan II, called himself "*ami:r al-mu mini:n*" (commander of the faithful) (Bassiouney, 2009; Suleiman, 2003). Similarly, Qaddafi, the former leader of Libya, called himself "imam Al-Muslimeen" (the leader of Muslims).

Modern Standard Arabic, which is officially utilized as the language of Libya and of all Libyans, appears to be strongly affiliated with religion in both communities (Figures 5.22, 5.23). This association makes sense since MSA is primarily a written variety of Arabic and has a standard form across different Arab countries, with grammar that is much closer to the Classical Arabic of the Quran than that of regional spoken varieties of Arabic such as Libyan Arabic.

Unlike their co-ethnics the Moroccan Berbers, who assert their Arab identity through religion, the Libyan Tuareg seem to utilize religion to emphasize their Muslim identity rather than their Arab identity. This is in spite of the constant efforts made by the previous regime to arabize everything in the country including Tuareg identity. Indeed, in intimate settings such as the home, Tuareg often stick to Arabic when they discuss religious matters. But again, it is the influence of classical Arabic as the language of the Holy Quran, the language of the prophet and eventually the language associated with being anArab, and Islam. Interestingly enough, some respondents from the two communities chose, though with very low percentages, to describe Modern Standard Arabic as their mother tongue, a symbol of ethnic identity and the language of their ancestors.
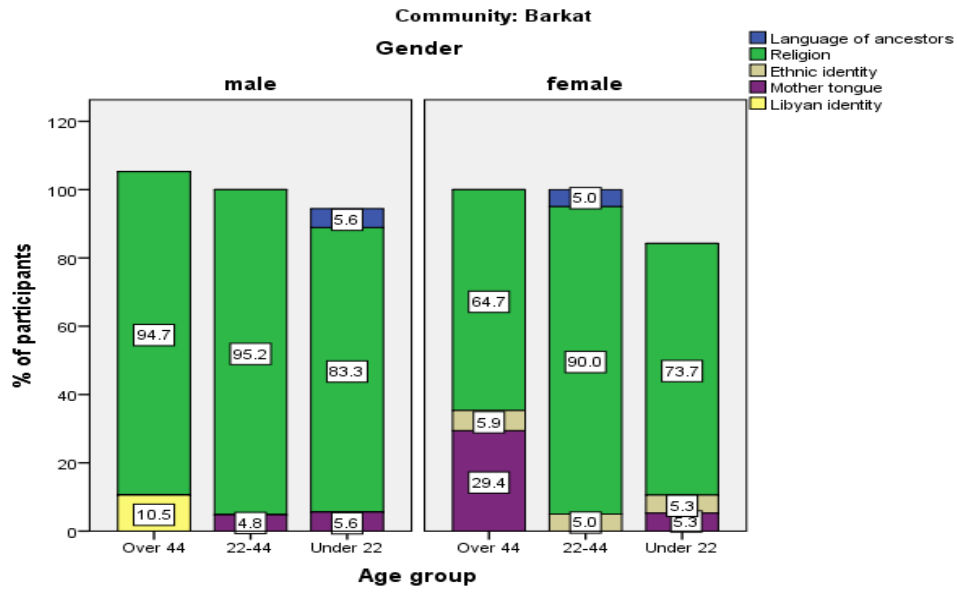
Figure 5.22: **Q: What does Modern Standard Arabic represent for you? By age groups and genders (Barkat)**
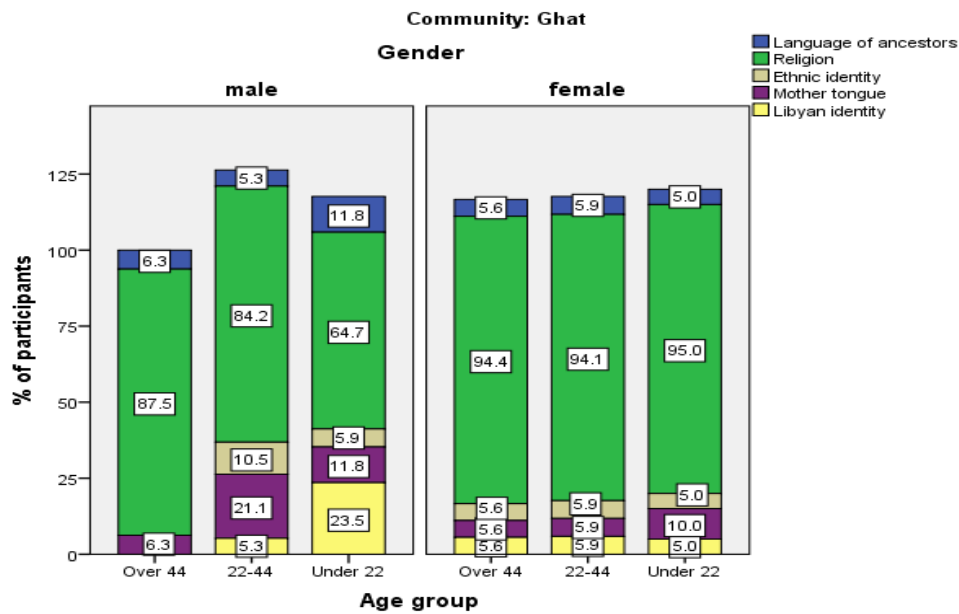
Figure 5.23: **Q: What does Modern Standard Arabic represent for you? By age groups and gender (Ghat)**

The significance of Modern Standard Arabic for Tuareg as an indicator of Islam is also signalled in the sizeable proportion of the informants in both communities who exemplified the saliency of Modern Standard Arabic and rated it as an important or very important language, see Figures 5.20, 5.21. The following reasons were given by respondents to justify their evaluation:

- Language of the Holy Quran;

- It is the language of Islam and Muslims;

- Ease the understanding of Islamic principles;

- Official language and language of administration;

- Language of reading and writing;

- The mother tongue;

- Passport in the Arab countries.

Those who relegated Standard Arabic to "not important" claimed that it is not a spoken language, yet this does not affect the high status Standard Arabic enjoys which is based on many factors other than being a spoken language.

It is necessary to spell out that lay people do not often differentiate between Modern Standard Arabic and Classic Arabic, where the latter means the language of the Holy Quran and the former refers to language of education and administration. Accordingly, the informants use Modern Standard Arabic or *fusˤħa:* to refer to classic Arabic. Indeed, the participants' claim that Modern Standard Arabic is associated with Muslims' lacking accuracy since it is not confined to Muslims.

5.5.5 Tuareg nationalism

As clarified earlier in this chapter, Tuareg identity appears to be contingent on and correlated with Libyan identity in a sense that Tuareg self-definition as Libyan Tuareg

was based first on the political, territorial or geographical factors and/or on Arabic as primary sources and then on Targia language as a secondary source or a complementary ingredient. What seems a constitutive ingredient in promoting Tuareg nationalistic ideology is their attachment to their history, culture as well as their ancestry. In fact, in Tuaregs' nationalist discourse, it is their ancestry and glorious history that often reflect their pride and the sense of Tuareg nation. As Suleiman (2003) puts it "the past plays an authenticating and legitimizing role; it signals cohesion, continuity and, therefore, a feeling of intimacy and belonging between members of the nation". It seems that the Tuareg closely correlate themselves as a separate nation with their ancestors, illustrating Suleiman's notion "vertical unity in a diachronic time" and simultaneously assimilate with other ethnicities and cultures, namely Libyan Arab, demonstrating "horizontal diversity of cultural and physical spaces in synchronic time" (p. 38).

The clear attachment to ancestry as a unique indicator of Tuareg ethnicism can be also observed from matching Targia to ancestry. Targia equally predominantly was chosen as representing the Tuareg ancestral language in Barkat and Ghat (Figures 5.24, 5.25). This was, however, endorsed more by females than males (Wald statistic=9.24, p=.002, Figure 5.26). It is interesting that it is the younger age group of the participants of both communities who showed a stronger connection with Targia as the language of their ancestors.
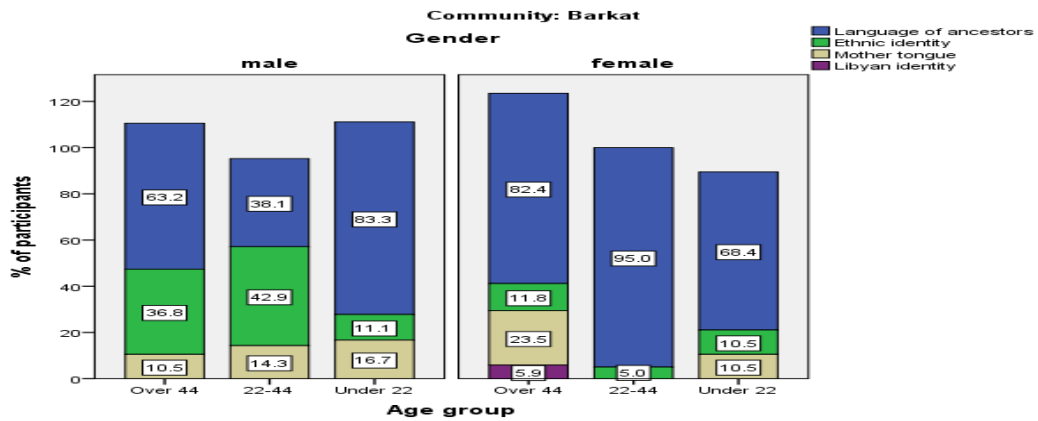
Figure 5.24: **Q: What does Targia represent for you? By age groups and gender (Barkat)**
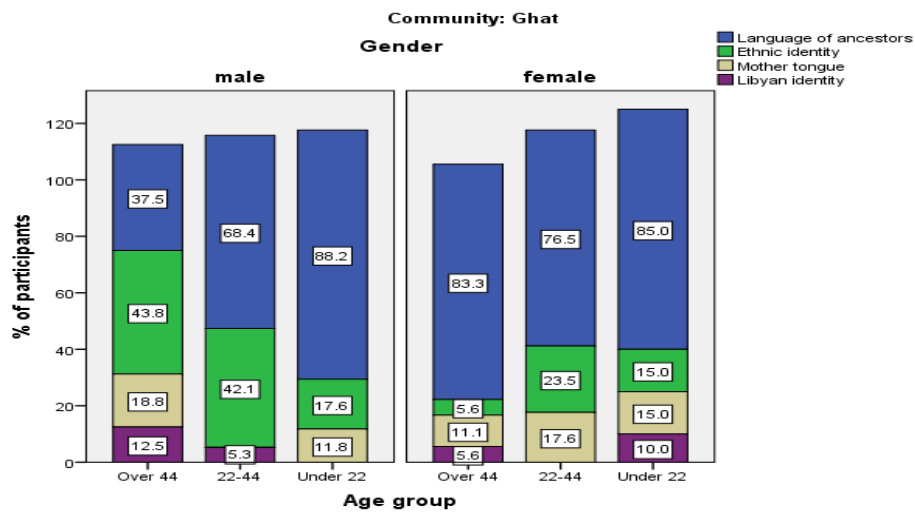
Figure 5.25: **Q: What does Targia represent for you? By age groups and gender (Ghat)**
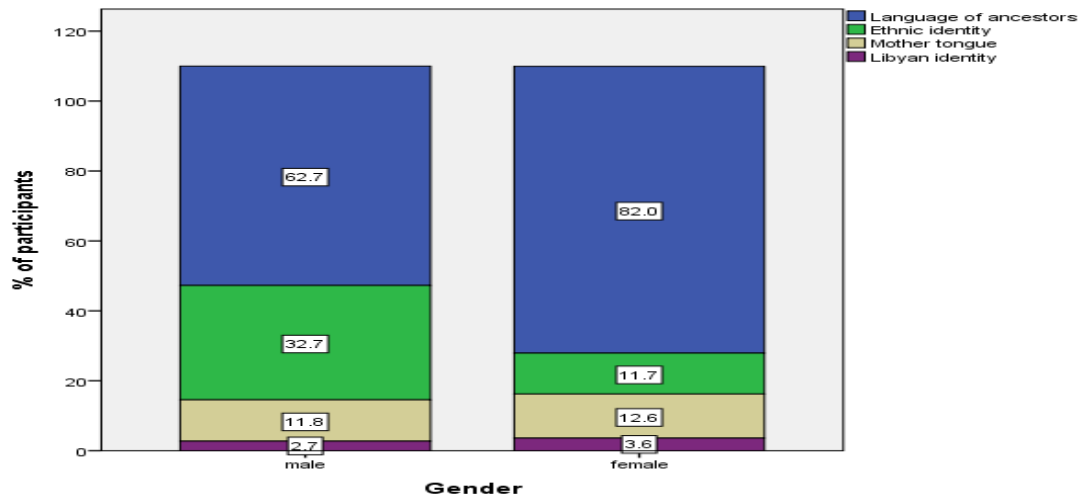
Figure 5. 26: **Q: What does Targia represent for you? By gender (Over all)**

Targia does not seem to be necessarily equated with being the mother tongue of

Tuareg or a clear reflection of their ethnic identity. Few percentages of the two

communities' informants claimed Targia to be their native language or an index of

their ethnic identity. It is of much interest that the males of the middle and older age

groups reported the highest percentage of considering Targia as an indicator of their

ethnic identity. Males again saw Targia more as an ethnic identity symbol than females

did (Wald statistic=11.87, p=.001). These results seem to be consistent with females'

lower inclination to consider Targia as a central ingredient of their Tuareg identity (see

Figure 5.12). A tentative explanation for such advantage can be related to males'

frequent engagement in the process of revitalizing Tuareg heritage by, for instance,

preparing and organizing Tuareg festivities, cultural and traditional events and

establishing civil associations that are concerned with reviving Tuareg culture and

language. Such activities would have probably increased these groups' awareness of

the importance of associating themselves with Targia as an ethnic identity.

It is possible, then, to state that having a common ancestry and history among Libyan Tuareg appears to be an important ingredient in the articulation of Tuareg ethnicity. This view can be clearly spotted through the constant reference the Tuareg make to their ancestry including, their ancestral link, history, traditions, habits and linking Targia to their ancestors. For instance, ancestry was frequently invoked in Tuareg's justification for their positive attitudes towards preserving Targia and passing it down to their children. Targia's connection with the ancestral link reflects the strong relation between the ethnic language and the ethnic group's history as Dorian (1999, p. 32) states. This close affiliation can be seen from the indigenous names of Tuareg geographical places that associate Tuareg with the region and also the names of the battles Libyan and Algerian Tuareg had against French colonization. The monument of Isyan is a witness, according to Libyan Tuareg, to these battles which they are proud of.

5.5.5.1 Tribal and regional affiliation

Tuaregs' affiliation with Algerian Tuareg raises a broader identity issue for Libyan Tuareg. As we made clear in Chapter 2, Libyan Tuareg have a very strong association with Algerian Tuareg. Historically, this link dates back to the time when Tuareg in the two countries were under the umbrella of the Ajjer Confederation which extends from Tamanrasset province in southern Algeria to Awbari in south western Libya. The data in this study revealed that Libyan Tuareg assert their blood relationship with Algerian Tuareg via referring to their struggle during the colonization period, the relatives they have on the Algerian side, the mutual visits they often make, and the affinity relationship where in many cases the bride and the groom in weddings, for instance, are from the two states. It is also of much interest that the interviewees made a clear liaison with Algerian Tuareg through the language, Targia or Tamaheq and

simultaneously linguistically distanced their identity from other Tuareg, Malian and

Tuareg of Niger. Approaching Algerian Tuareg was via claiming similarity and

comprehensibility of the language and also by raising the difficulty and differences in

understanding Tuareg varieties spoken in Mali and Niger. In what follows, the

interviewed informants, particularly those of the older generation, made an obvious

association with Algerian Tuareg through their relationship but more interestingly via

language:

> The same federation, the same dialect, the same words and the tribes are
> the same and mixed, for example the tribes of Magrrasen in Maknusa area
> is the same as the ones in Janet in Algeria and also the tribes of Jarajyon in
> Tahala in Libya are the same as the ones in Illizi in Algeria. They are very
> close to each other. **(Ali, male, age: 71, Ghat).**

> For Algeria, from Tasili to Targa in Awbari, they speak Tamaheq, no
> differences, the same tongue, the same dialect. However, Tamasheq,
> spoken in Mali, is different, different pronunciation, terms and meaning.
> But I understand it. I want to raise your attention to the difference between
> Tuareg dialects, like in Arabic and the language of Ajjer is the mother of all
> Tuareg languages. **(F, age: 51, female, Ghat)**

> **Interviewe**r: Do you understand Targia spoken in Algeria, Mali and Niger?

> **Interviewee:** We understand to some extent, they are different dialects,
> vocabulary and different pronunciation. 80% of their speech is
> understandable. Regarding Algerian Targia, it is very close to our dialect
> and I am talking about Janet and Illizi in particular. During the French
> colonization, these two towns were administratively related to Ghat and we
> have relative and affinity relationships. **(M, age: 71, male, Barkat)**

> To this day, there are Algerian Tuareg who come to the Civil Registry of
> Ghat to get their birth certificates. **(k, male, age: 45, Barkat)**

However, this tribal identity is lowered when assessed against the Libyan

nationalism which is situated at the top of the pyramid.

To conclude this section, the results depicted in Figures 5.20 and 5.21, showed that

the majority of Barkat and Ghatian Tuareg rated Targia as an important or very

important language because of its strong linkage to social settings and its attachment to

their ancestors. Those who downgraded Targia claimed that Targia is a dialect and is

not spoken by all Libyans. In fact, the alleged positive aspects of Targia are downgraded when they are assessed against the claimed superior characteristics of Arabic language.

5.5.6 Boundary pointers

As mentioned earlier, Berber speakers in general may rely on other indices such as ancestral links, archaeological monuments, history, the traditional jewellery and costume, their own script, flag and even their traditional food, in redefining themselves (El Aissati, 2001). These symbols which play a crucial role in the construction of the Tuareg ethnic ideology, were described by Suleiman (2003, p. 23) as the "boundary pointers".

For instance, I experienced an incident when members of the Tuareg Youth Association were teasing me and suggested in friendly fashion that I should wear the traditional Tuareg costumes in order to be Targi, though my female research assistant was the only one who declined this idea by addressing those present, "What shall you do about the language?" However, my observation during the fieldwork revealed that the traditional Tuareg costume has become confined to elderly people. For the middle age group, traditional clothes are only worn in traditional, tourist and social events such as the "contract" (wedding) and Tourist Ghat Festival. The shift is clear towards the Libyan traditional costume though the Tuareg traditional costume still symbolically functions as a sign of Tuareg identity (Figures 5.27, 5.28, 5.29)

Figure 5. 27: **A celebration of the Child Day, taken by a friend in Barkat**

Figure 5.28: **Tuareg traditional costume, a picture taken during the pilot study (Three Tuareg people with the researcher in the middle) in Isyan**

Figure 5.29: **Lunch meal in a Wedding (العقد), taken by the researcher in Ghat**

Another example of these boundary pointers is the symbolic use of orthography (Suleiman 2003, p. 31). The common orthography implemented in China is a case in point of articulating a shared identity and maintaining a mutual understandable written language among speakers of different languages (Suleiman, 2006, p. 54). El Aissati and El Ayoubi (1996) surveyed, in a small scale study, the attitudes of 125 Berber informants from Morocco, Spain, Germany and the Netherlands towards the use of three different scripts: Arabic, Latin and Tifinagh. They found that the respondents expressed their preferences to use Tifinagh, their native writing system, at the expense of the other orthographies. According to El Aissati (2001, p. 67), the preference for the use of Neo-Tifinagh can be taken as an indicator of an "autonomous identity". In a study conducted among primary school teachers of Amazigh (Berber) language in Morocco, one of the teachers demarcated a distinctive Amazigh identity via the Tifinagh script by saying "it belongs to Amazigh" or "symbolizes that Amazigh is unique" (El Aissati et al., 2011, p. 223).

In the case of the Libyan Tuareg, their indigenous alphabet, Tifinagh, has a very limited use and alternatively Arabic script is often, if not always, utilized when Tuareg people have the desire to write in Targia. In fact, Tuareg's own script is very strictly employed for emblematic purposes. My observations indicate that most, if not all, street signs, commercial signage and advertisements, as well as political banners were written in Arabic. Due to the spread of the French language in Niger and Mali and the Tuareg's tendency to use Latin, in contrast to the Libyan Tuareg, the government in these countries supported the implementation of the Latin orthography.

The only written example, except for the inscriptions, I came across in Tifinagh, though accompanied with Arabic and Teda (Tebou's language), was a call for the peaceful coexistence among the various ethnicities living in the southern part of Libya, namely, among Tuareg, Arab and Tebou (Figure 5.30). It also symbolizes the three distinctive identities (Arab, Hausa, and Tuareg) through their traditional costume and languages. Another picture taken during my research was written in Arabic and English and implies a political announcement to elect the members of the Constitutional Assembly (Figure 5.31). Although they seem to have lost one of the elements (Tifinagh) that characterize the symbolic autonomy differently from the Berbers of Kabyle (Chaker, 1997 as cited in El Aissati, 2001), the Tuareg still have other indices such as traditions and habits through which they formulate their distinctive identity, similar in that to Moroccan Berbers.

Figure 5.30: **Traditional costume of Tuareg, Arab and Tebou accompanied by the three languages, taken by the researcher in Ghat**

Figure 5.31: **An advertisement to elect the members of the Constitutional Assembly written in Arabic (English included), taken by the researcher in Ghat**

One of the interviewees recounted that they established the "Tifinagh Forum" but unfortunately, the focus was not on the language:

> **Interviewee:** We, as a group of youths, have founded the Tifinagh Forum and our goals were to maintain Tuareg identity, traditions and record our history.

> **Interviewer:** what have you done for the language?
>
> **Interviewee:** Unfortunately, we have not made any efforts regarding the language, just recording poems, stories and traditions. **(Y, age: 30, male, Barkat)**

Regardless of the elderly people's report about their knowledge of Tifinagh though being limited, the majority of the participants recounted that they have no idea about the Tuareg indigenous writing system. Indeed, some mentioned they did not even know that the name of the Tuareg alphabet was "Tifinagh". In what follows, interviewees enumerated their experience of the Tifinagh:

> **Interviewer:** Can you write in Targia?
>
> **Interviewee:** Never, it is very rare to find Libyan Tuareg writing in Targia, but writing in Tifinagh is widespread in Mali, Niger and even Algeria. **(Age: 47, male, Ghat)**
>
> **Interviewer:** Can you write in Tifinagh?
>
> **Interviewee:** They said there is Tifinagh. Some people can write in Targia but I can't. There is no interest. It was neglected. **(M, age: 71, male, Barkat)**

This being said, however, the majority of Tuareg respondents expressed their desire to write in Targia (See section 5.3)

An essential, but relatively new symbol of Berber identity is their own flag. El Aissati (2001, p. 59) maintains that it is "an extremely important cultural and possibly political new sign" of Berber identity. The three colours of the flag embody a territorial relationship for Amazigh people. That is, the yellow colour represents the desert, the green colour reflects the agrarian land and the blue colour refers to the Mediterranean Sea. The red letter in the centre of the flag mirrors the "colour of struggle, of combat, of blood" (Figure 5.32). In Libya, the Berber flag seems to be a primary ingredient of Berber identity in towns such as Zuwara, Nefusa Mountain towns, and Awbari, a Tuareg town. Their own flag is often raised accompanied by the national Libyan flag in

national and public festivities and even on the Libyan Tunisian border checkpoint where the Berber town, Zoura, is located. Here, I quote what Hisham Al-Hares, an Amazigh former Libyan fighter during the 2011 uprising from one of the Nefusa towns, said to the BBC TV channel about the importance of the Berber flag. "The flag represents our identity and our culture," he stated.[ix]

For the Ghatian and Barkat Tuareg, it appears that this flag does not strongly correlate with their identity. During the time of my fieldwork, I never spotted the Amazigh flag in any place in the two towns. It is just the national Libyan flag wherever you go. In fact, Tuareg individuals rarely, if ever, talk about this flag as a sign of their ethnic identity or even associate it with any historical events. This reflects their loyalty and strong attachment to the national Libyan flag and consequently, to Libyan nationalism.

Figure 5.32: **Flag of Amazigh**

5.5.7 Participant attitudes in relation to language use

In order to provide some answers to RQ3 (See section 1.4), we considered some of the relationships among the variables we have quantified above. Of the variables mentioned in RQ3 we have measures of attitude to Targia and its utilization. In order to represent attitudes to Targia we took three variables (self-desire, desire for child to learn Targia and teaching Targia in school) considered in sections 5.3, 5.4 and, since

[ix] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16289543

they were highly correlated with each other, generated factor scores representing the shared variance in all three in one score for each participant. This one score captures 67.4% of the information in all three items separately.

In order to represent utilization of Targia, we revisited Chapter 4 and chose some key variables related to use of Targia. These were: overall language use of Targia (section4.4.1); the total number of interlocutors a participant chose as most using Targia with (section 4.2.2); the total number of places the participant chose as most using Targia in (section 4.5.1). These correlated well with each other so we generated a factor score to represent them all in one measure (shared variance 61.5%).

5.5.7.1 Relationship between attitude to, and use of, Targia

The statistical analysis showed that the correlations between attitudes and language use fall across age groups. In the oldest age group attitude to and use of Targia correlate much more strongly ($r=.408$, $p=.001$). In the middle age group this drops but is still significant ($r=.245$, $p=.037$). In the lowest age group, however, the relationship is weak and no longer significant ($r=.159$, $p=.196$). This suggests that attitudes and use have become progressively disconnected over the generations.

5.5.7.2 Relationship between attitudes and identity

Participants with a more positive attitude to Targia do quite strongly ($r=.455$), and highly significantly, see speaking Targia as essential to Tuareg identity. The correlation was significantly far stronger in Ghat than Barkat, however ($r=.606$ versus .197: difference between correlations $p<.001$). There was, furthermore, a significant ($p=.011$) falling off in correlation of attitude to Targia with this belief over age groups: over 44: $r=.577$ ($p<.001$); 22-44: $r=.486$ ($p<.001$); under 22: $r=.212$ ($p=.085$).

When asked what language expresses their own personal identity, however, those with more favourable attitudes to Targia did not necessarily choose Targia (r=.176, significant). This result differs (descriptively at least) between Barkat and Ghat with the former producing low and nonsignificant correlations for all three options. In Ghat, however, the correlations are all significant: with Targia r=.220, Targia/Libyan Arabic r=.219. Age groups were rather similar: just the oldest age group showed greater evidence of a positive relationship between attitude to Targia and claimed association of Targia with identity (r=.281, p<.020).

Turning to ethnic/national identities, out of the three identities (*Targi, Libyan, Libyan Targi*) which participants could define themselves as having in ethnic/national terms, positive attitude to Targia is not markedly correlated positively with claim of purely Targi identity (r=.052). Rather it is positively correlated significantly, but not very highly, with claim of joint Libyan Targi identity (r=.210).

Notably, if the communities are looked at separately, this pattern seems to be almost entirely due to Ghat, where claimed Libyan Targi identity correlated positively (r=.267, p=.007). By contrast, in Barkat the correlations are all low and nonsignificant (though the differences between Barkat and Ghat correlations are not in fact significant). Furthermore, this pattern is more pronounced in the middle age group than the others.

Overall, the evidence is that a simple link between more positive attitudes to Targia and greater claimed 'Targi identity' does not exist. Positive attitudes to Targia rather link to claimed combined 'Libyan/Targi identity' and to claims of both Targia and Libyan Arabic as representative of ethnic identity. Furthermore, the connection of attitude with identity seems to be often more substantial in Ghat than in Barkat. This may be because of greater ethnic diversity in Ghat, Tuareg are more used to

differentiating themselves and seeing "Targi" as an index of difference from other groups

To conclude, we bring together representative variables from the demographics, attitudes and identities in order to see, when they are assessed against each other in the same analysis, which among them has the most substantial relationship with how much Targia is used. To this end, we used the generalised linear model to perform an analysis akin to multiple regression, but allowing interactive effects to be included.

The result, in Table 5.1, shows that considered in this way, gender and educational level do not have a significant independent impact on use of Targia (p levels are too high). Of the remaining variables, as indicated by the size of the Wald statistic, age group has the most marked effect followed by community and the interactive effect of those two. These demographic variables therefore outweigh the effects of attitude and identity. Of those, identity wins out over attitude, and, of the two contrasting identity variables which we included, it is whether or not a person defines their ethnic/national identity as Targi that has the greater impact compared with whether they see the Targia language as expressing their personal identity.

Table.5 1: **Eight key predictors of Targia use assessed against each other**

Effect	Wald statistics	df	p
(Intercept)	.248	1	.619
Community	17.384	1	.000
Age group	23.664	2	.000
Educational level	1.716	1	.190
Community * Age group	12.959	2	.002
Gender	.123	1	.726
Attitude to Targia	7.617	1	.006
Targia expressing identity	8.097	1	.004
Defining self as Targi	11.299	1	.001

The interactive effect of age group and community together (Figure 5.33) follows the pattern we saw many times in the results above, showing use of Targia falling across age groups successively in Barkat but following a U shape in Ghat, ending up at a similar low level of use in the youngest age group.
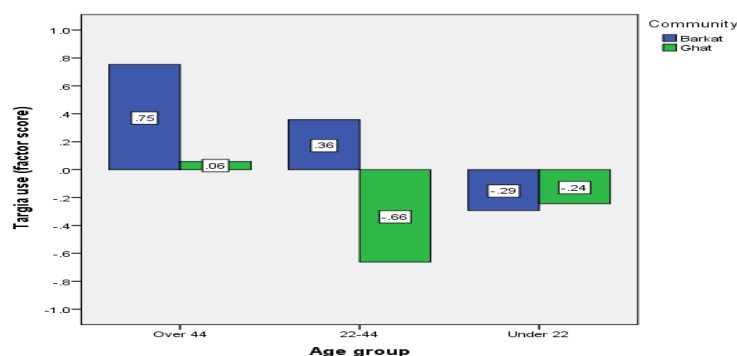
Figure 5.33: **The use of Targia in relation to the interactive effect of age group and community together (Barkat + Ghar)**

5.5.8 Summary

This chapter examined Libyan Tuaregs' attitudes and ideologies towards Targia and Arabic and how such attitudes and ideologies have influenced Tuareg linguistic behaviour and led to the demarcation of hierarchical levels of identity.

5.5.8.1 Tuareg attitudes and ideologies

The results detailed in this chapter have shown that the majority of participants in both communities reported positive attitudes (beliefs) towards preserving, learning and passing Targia on to children. Such favourable beliefs towards retaining Targia reflect its symbolic, traditional, historical values, yet not the economic and educational values. However, these attitudes seem to be inconsistent, as Edwards (1994, p. 97) states, with the linguistic behaviour of Tuareg, which revealed an intergenerational disruption of transmitting Targia and a decline in using it in all domains. In their discussion of what

Fishman calls the "prior ideological clarification" (1991, 2001), Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998, p. 63) state that the response "*yes*" for the necessity to preserve a native language may imply emotional and political answers. However, the real answer might be "*No*" if we consider the implicit continuous feeling of being insecure regarding this language. The respondents' expectations that other people will restore the language on behalf of them are what often make their answer "*yes*".

Contrary to the clear desirable indicated beliefs towards maintaining and learning Targia, the Tuareg expressed less enthusiasm towards teaching Targia in public or private schools. Tuareg state that Targia can be only taught as a cultural subject in private schools but not in state schools. Further attitudinal analysis of the interview data revealed that Tuareg hold negative attitudes and ideologies towards Targia particularly when it is assessed against Arabic. This is what Edwards (1994, p. 98) maintains when he distinguishes between "attitude" and "belief". The answer "yes" for learning and preserving Targia indicates Tuaregs' beliefs though more analysis of the interviews showed that Tuaregs' feeling revealed negative attitudes towards Targia.

Ideologies such as the superiority of Arabic, and Arabic as the single language that should be taught in – and associated with – schools, echo the rooted ideologies imposed from the top (the state) and adopted by the grassroots. In fact, the existence of the contradictory ideologies among Libyan Tuareg seems to be a reflection of what King (2000, p. 180) characterizes as "competing ideologies". She maintains that the articulation of simultaneous pro/anti- Quichua ideologies among Saraguros people in Ecuador with infrequent use of Quichua within the home domain is understandable within the frame of "the competing ideologies surrounding Quichua".

It has also been revealed that it is the older age group of Barkat and the younger and older age groups of Ghat who expressed the most positive attitudes to raise Targia to

official recognition. However, the least inclination towards promoting Targia to the official status was claimed by the middle-aged group. Indeed, the middle-aged groups of Barkat and Ghat exemplified the least tendency towards teaching Targia at schools.

Regarding gender differences, the data revealed that in general, it is often the male respondents of the two communities who expressed more positive attitudes towards preserving, teaching, learning and raising Targia to the official status. In particular, they are the females of the middle-aged groups who expressed the least enthusiasm towards employing Targia in schools. These undesirable attitudes are congruent with a common sociolinguistic finding that females are more favourable to whatever language choice has power as the prestige, standard or high variety (Coates, 1993, 2015; Gal, 1978; Romaine, 1978), while males tend to embrace solidarity with the group that speaks the nonstandard, regional or low variety. The only exception to this trend is the females of the Ghatian younger age group who have always reported positive attitudes concerning the maintenance of, the official recognition, learning, and teaching of Targia. These favourable attitudes seem to be incompatible with this group's real linguistic behaviours discussed in the previous chapter and may be linked to use of the female researcher.

5.5.8.2 Tuareg identity

The data in this chapter have also shown that Libyan Tuareg identity operates at different hierarchical degrees where Libyan nationalism is situated at the top, followed by the tribal and regional associations. Such hierarchical affiliations essentially resulted from the previous regime's policy of imposing a hegemonic ethnicity in which Libyan Arab was the only ethnic identity recognized in the state. This is what Irvine and Gal (2000) describe as the process of *erasure*, or as Bucholtz & Hall (2004, p. 380) put it, "the elimination of details that are inconsistent with a given ideological

position". In other words, the state's nationalism has diminished Tuareg ethnic identity though some form of official recognition, the 2011 Constitutional Declaration, was obtained from struggling against nationalism by Tamazight speakers in western Libya.

Tuareg identity is manifested in, constructed and valued by several components among which Targia is one but not the most important and predominant. Tuareg identity is symbolized by indices such as the ancestral link, cultural heritage; habits, traditions, jewellery, poems, theatre, food, traditional costumes, public festivals and songfests or what is known as *boundary pointers*. That is to say, Targia language, on one hand, cannot be taken as the single ingredient to articulate Tuareg ethnic identity but can be conceived as a complementary ingredient for Tuareg identity. In this vein, Al-Wer (1999, p. 253) mentions that the emphasis on "non-linguistic community traits as markers of separate ethnic identity" is one of the reprecussions that result from language loss. Thus, Tuareg individuals who have passive command of Targia are still able to claim Tuareg identity, though not fully, based on boundary constituents i.e., their ancestry, origin, history, archaeological inscriptions, and cultural traditions. Indeed, having a common ancestral link and history appears to be the most influential element in the formation of Tuareg ethnic identity. Pandharipande (2002, p. 228) states that the cultural identity can be preserved without the language.

Furthermore, the results suggests that Targia is not identified as the mother tongue of Tuareg and singled out as a reflection of their ethnic identity since very low proportions of the participants of the two communities attached to Targia as a native language or as a representative of their ethnic identity.

Arabic, on the other hand, has been employed by Qaddafi's governments and perceived and valued by the Tuareg as an essential element of Libyan Arab identity. This essentialism seems obvious from Tuareg's attachment to Libyan Arabic and

mixed language (Arabic-Targia) as the languages they utilize to express themselves best. In particular, they are the middle-aged groups of Ghat and Barkat who claimed Libyan Arabic as the most preferable language to express themselves. In fact, the middle-aged groups in both communities showed the least interest in embracing Targia as a core constituent of Tuareg identity. Paradoxical as it may seem, the Ghatian younger age group who claimed high competence in and favourable attitudes towards Targia, reported that Libyan Arabic is the best language they utilize to express themselves.

It can be stated that for Tuareg, Libyan Arabic operates in a similar way to the situation in neighbouring countries such as Morocco, at not only the functional level but also at the symbolic level; in a way it has promoted Tuareg nationalistic ideology and become a unifying primary element of their identity with all Libyans. Moreover, some characters that are affiliated with and reserved for Modern Standard Arabic have been lent to Libyan Arabic via the process of "ideological elision" (Hoffman, 2008, p. 24).

Religion, Classical and Modern Standard Arabic have been politically exploited to enforce the Libyan and Arab national unity through the embracing of the Arab nationalist movement, the obliteration of other ethnicities and languages as well as the recognition of Arabic as the sole official language in the state. It is clear that the Tuareg strongly associated Modern Standard Arabic with religion and Muslim identity.

The strong attachment to the Libyan identity appears also from not only their self-ascription using the label *"Libyan Targi"*, but also from the gradual attachment to the label "Libyan" as in the case of the Ghat community, particularly the middle-aged group. The Tuareg's attachment to Libyan identity also reflects their awareness of the particular importance of the state, the land they share and belonging to the Libyan

nationhood, which represent a secure shelter under which they can be protected and economically save their lives. It is the effectual role of the state in making-up the Tuareg identity. Such affiliation echoes one of the strategies or "tactics" described by Bucholtz and Hall (2004, p. 383) as "adequation" or "equation" through which Tuareg's identification is based on what are conceived as similarities with the Libyan Arab community at the expense of the differences in order to, for example, achieve social and political alliance.

Consistent with the results detailed in this chapter ,and in contrast to males, female informants of the two communities, regardless of the younger generation, expressed less tendency towards the realization of Targia as a primary constituent of their identity. Alternatively, women regarded Targia more as the language of their ancestors compared to men who associated Targia less with their ancestors but more with their ethnic identity. However, once again, it is the younger generation of Ghat who expressed the most positive attitudes towards regarding Targia as an indicator of their ethnic identity.

Chapter 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the Main findings

The findings obtained from the current study indicate that three clear facets of language shift have been caught in examining a case of language shift among Tuareg via the synergistic application of the theoretical approaches discussed in chapter one (Batibo: 1997, 2005; Fishman, 1991; Giles et al., 1977; Sasse: 1992).

The first aspect is the influence of the external factors i.e., the political, socioeconomic and cultural forces which have sparked off the shift from Targia towards Arabic through the pressure the latter powerful language, Arabic, exercises on the weaker or underprivileged language, Targia. Here, it is vital to refer to and remind readers of what Mackey (1980, p. 39 as cited in Brenzinger, 1992, p. 223) states: in general, causes of shift and maintenance are "multiple and interrelated". The pressure is caused at the first level by the intensive political and socioeconomic factors in Libya. Socioeconomically, Arabic, Libyan or Modern Standard Arabic, has become affiliated with the economic advancements, social mobility, administration, education and media while Targia has lost much of its economic control in its environments, see section 2.5.1.2. Thus, Arabic has attracted Tuareg speakers to adopt it as a *lingua franca* among the older age group and as the first and native language by the middle-aged and the younger generations. Having access to the economic advantages and social mobility required the Tuareg, the marginalized group, to assimilate into the stronger group and hence, master Arabic, that is, the engagement in the "greater general good" (Fishman, 1991, p. 63).

Furthermore, the rapid urbanization and modernization Libya has experienced since the discovery of oil placed more pressures on the Tuareg community and accelerated the attachment to Arabic at the expense of Targia. Modernization, urbanization, in addition to the water depletion that hit the area, have played an influential role in

transferring the Tuareg from a community whose economy is based mainly on subsistence agriculture and other craftsmanship such as blacksmithing, to a state job community. This has brought them into more and easier contact with the predominant (Arab) group, and the dominant language, Arabic, see section, 2.5.2. Relying on the employment and services provided by the state made acquiring Arabic a priority for Tuareg families. Batibo (2005, p. 94) refers to the impact of the less rewarded economies in Africa such as agriculture, fishing, hunting and gathering, as conditions that may support language shift and make communities more dependent.

Politically speaking, on one hand, the status Arabic has obtained as the sole official and widely spoken language in the country and the absence of Targia's official recognition in public and official institutions, on the other hand, promoted Arabic to the top position of the linguistic pyramid, see sections 2.5.1.1, 2.5.1.2, 2.5.1.2.1. Such promotion has increased the pressure on Tuareg speakers to drift away from their native language, Targia, and cling to Arabic, that is the influence of language policy (Sasse, 1992). Accordingly, learning Arabic has become a prerequisite to practice and participate in any type of civil or political rights, for instance, to be appointed in the local General People's Committee, in the local People's Congress or in any administrative or political position. This democratic participation, according to the previous regime's philosophy, has triggered the Tuaregs' shift towards Arabic via rewarded political, social and economic transactions administered by the government (Fishman, 1991, pp. 62-63). The increased participation in the previous political order led to more dependence on it socially, economically and politically.

Related to the political pressure is the "cultural dislocation" as Fishman (p. 62) puts it, which is manifested in the ban on teaching Targia or using it in official and public places. As Giles et al. (1977, p. 315) maintain regarding the importance of the

institutional support, it is abundantly clear that the lack of institutional support, formal or informal, is one of the crucial forces that has negatively affected the linguistic vitality of Targia and its existence. Although Targia language has recently gained some official recognition, as a national language, in the Constitutional Declaration, it seems obvious that the Tuareg community has not exploited such official upgrading and could not interpret it on the ground in an actual implementation of, for instance, teaching Targia at schools, unlike their co-ethnics, Berbers (Tamazight speakers), see section 2.5.1.3. Comparatively, Tuareg appear to stand many steps behind the Tamazight speakers in the Nefusa Mountains and Zuwara who could, based on the constitutional recognition and their independent and informal support, launch not only cultural but also school-based Tamazight language teaching programs and use it in other domains. In fact, on the 22nd of Feb 2017, the Supreme Council of Libyan Amazigh has themselves announced Tamazight to be an official language used in the official and public institutions in Amazigh areas.

As a consequence of the colonization period, the ethnolinguistic map of Tuareg, their distribution and their concentration have been redrawn. The Tuareg have been dispersed into several states and thus their linguistic vitality has been negatively affected by such a split. The emergence of Libya as an independent state in 1951 and the other neighbouring states created a new political and linguistic situation in which not only Libyan Tuareg but also Tuareg in neighbouring countries have become minorities. Such demographic distribution has politically, socioeconomically and linguistically weakened these minorities and forced them either to a complete assimilation as the case of the Libyan Tuareg and probably Algerian Tuareg or to total marginalization and isolation as in the case of their co-ethnics in Mali and Niger who are away from the central governments and engaged in military conflicts against them

though these countries have recently witnessed some political reforms. The Libyan Tuareg decided to assimilate into the wider community, Arabs, and enjoy, like other Libyans, prestigious political position, free education, healthcare, employment and the state's services. This reflects what Al-Wer (1999, p. 265) describes as "pragmatic options" which motivated the shift towards Arabic among the Circassian community in Jordan. Indeed, rapid modernization and urbanization and the relatively and comparatively better life Libyan Tuareg enjoyed is the main reason for other Tuaregs' successive waves of migration from the neighbouring countries to Libya.

Culturally, religion seems to be a vital factor in encouraging Libyan Tuareg to adopt and learn Arabic not only in its sacred and classical form but also in its dialectal code. This is obviously perceptible in parents' decision to pass Libyan Arabic on to children as the first and native language and use it in both primary (home) and secondary (institutions) domains. Religion is also a constitutive ingredient in forging and sharing Islamic identity with the Islamic world. The Tuareg's attachment to Arabic was obvious from the construction of Libyan identity functionally through Libyan Arabic and symbolically via Modern Standard Arabic but also through other ingredients such as the affiliation with the state (See section 5.5.3). However, Tuareg have remained loyal to their ethnic identity through the emblematic attachment to their history and ancestral link, which according to Giles et al. (1977) is crucial in retaining a code of solidarity (See section 5.5.8.2).

The second aspect of applying the discussed approaches in chapter one are the effects resulting from the influence of external factors which have affected the linguistic behaviour of the Tuareg, Tuareg people's attitudes towards the use of both Targia and Arabic, and Targia's domains of use.

The data have shown that one of the prominent effects is the disruption of intergenerational transmission among Tuareg in both communities which according to Sasse (1992) constitutes and sets off the primary shift. Such a shift can be seen through parents' deliberate decision to prioritize and transmit Libyan Arabic as the first language to their children at the expense of their native language Targia. This disruption has also been applied by preventing offspring from speaking Targia at an early stage of their childhood at home or using it with their parents for at least the first 12 years of their childhood. Indeed, children who speak Targia at home are likely to be berated or hit by their parents, see section 4.2.2.1. The disruption of passing on Targia was motivated by the constructed ideologies and negative attitudes the Tuareg retain towards it, particularly when assessed against Arabic. For instance, they believe Targia suffers from lexical impoverishment, is incorrect, not codified, has no grammar or economic benefits, see sections 4.5.4, 4.5.4.1, 5.4. This is in spite of the fact that the Tuareg have expressed overt positive attitudes towards preserving and acquiring Targia. It has retained restricted symbolic value as it is associated with Tuareg history, ancestors, and some sort of functional values for its utilization in social and cultural events. However, the linguistic behaviour of Tuareg seems not to respond to such sentiments but rather to the negative language ideologies they retain towards Targia. By contrast to Targia, Arabic has been positively assessed due to its great functional and symbolic values as it is linked with the Holy Quran, religion, liturgical practices, education, good attainment at schools, administration, nationalism and language of communication (Libyan Arabic).

The cessation of transmitting Targia has affected Tuareg competence in speaking Targia, particularly among the younger generation since their exposure to Targia has become restricted to occasional situations, particularly in the Ghatian community.

Thus, giving up Targia resulted, particularly in Ghat in *semi-speakers* or *passive speakers* whose competence is imperfect. Indeed, in a later stage, it is the children's decision that would accelerate the shift because of the psychological pressure they may be undergoing when they communicate with or use the language in the presence of older people, the most proficient speakers in the community.

Although the analysis of the *Structural Consequences* is beyond the scope of this study, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, certain symptoms of Targia laxity have been observed. One of them is what seems to be an intensive borrowing from Arabic as well as the gap and the lack of acquiring and using vocabulary in certain domains, disciplines, such as in politics, as a result of Arabic invasion of Targia's domains (See section 4.5.3.5).

Another sign of language shift which has been revealed by the results is the decline of the domains of using Targia in favour of Arabic since Libyan Arabic has encroached upon most of the domains that were restricted for Targia. This invasion expanded to intimate domains such as the family domain. In fact, the present study showed that Libyan Arabic has also crept upward into the H domains, i.e., the fields specified for Modern Standard Arabic such as schools and mosques (See sections 4.5.4, 4.5.8).

The pressure Arabic has increasingly exerted on Targia, as a consequence of the Arabic-only policy, and the increased encroachment of the former on the latter's domains reflected the gradual shift from Targia towards Libyan Arabic. According to Batibo's approach discussed in Chapter one, the data suggests that the majority of the Libyan Tuareg are presumed to be at stage three, with a bilingual and diglossic situation where Arabic language either in its dialectal (spoken) or standard (written) form, dominates most domains of language use. This predominance is due to the supreme status and weight Arabic has gained, officially and nationally, over other

languages. It is prestigious and powerful, and the language the Tuareg themselves feel at ease with when using it. The spread of Libyan Arabic has prevailed upon inter-ethnic communications as well as having invaded the intra-ethnic interactions such as the home and the street domains. Accordingly, Libyan Arabic has progressively become the *primary* language while the use of Targia has declined to the status of *secondary* language. The Libyan Arabic invasion of intra-ethnic communication has led to language shift, or as El Kirat (2007) puts it, when characterizing the influence of the intra-ethnic shift in Morocco and other North African countries, "destabilized the situation to the extent that bilingualism has disappeared, or is disappearing" (p. 711).

The assessment of Tuareg use of Targia at this phase also includes the widespread phenomena of code mixing (Arabic-Targia), see section 4.2.2.1. In this vein, although Batibo (2005) refers to the status of some Berber languages spoken in Libya in towns such as Awjilah, Ghadames, as highly endangered languages, and in Sokna as nearly extinct, he did not give an assessment of the status of Tamaheq (Targia) spoken in Libya. However, he indicates the status of Tamasheq and Tamajeq, Tuareg languages, respectively, spoken in Mali and Niger as less endangered.

Based on the data drawn from the interviews, observation, and questionnaire, I suggest a general trend of the patterns of Tuareg linguistic choice concerning Targia and Arabic in certain domains. The following implicational Table 6.1 generalizes the language choice patterns in five important domains across sex and age for the two communities. It is derived from the use of implicational scaling in Gal (1978). The sex and age groups are scaled along the vertical axis while the domains are depicted along the horizontal axis and according to my hypotheses of the use of Targia, decreasing is from left to right. The table indicates the functional distribution (functional transparency) of Targia and Arabic across certain domains.

Table.6 1: **language choice patterns in five important domains across sex and age of the two communities**

Barkat					
Age+ Gender	Home	Social events	Street	School	work
Older Males	T	T	T/LA	T/LA	LA
Older Females	T	T	T/LA	T/LA	LA
Middle Males	T/LA	T	T/LA	LA	LA
Middle Females	T/LA	T	T/LA	LA	LA
Younger Males	T/LA	LA	T/LA	LA	LA
Younger Females	T/LA	LA	LA	LA	LA
Ghat					
Age+ Gender	Home	Social events	Street	School	work
Older Males	T	T	T/LA	LA	LA
Older Females	T	T	LA	LA	LA
Middle Males	T/LA	T/LA	T/LA	LA	LA
Middle Females	T/LA	T/LA	LA	LA	LA
Younger Males	LA	LA	LA	LA	LA
Younger Females	LA	LA	LA	LA	LA

It is true that Targia is utilized in several domains, even in those reserved to Arabic language such as work and school, yet this functional load is marginal and conditional depending on factors such as the role-relationship and the setting. However, what seems influential is the domination and control of a given language in certain domains and the speakers' perception of its legitimacy and appropriateness in that field (Pandharipande, 2002, p. 217). The data revealed that Arabic has a heavy functional transparency and is conceived as the most appropriate as well as legitimate language in

the public and official institutions (See sections 4.5.4.1, 5.4.1). Indeed, the data presented in this table is consistent with the overall pattern of language use across the two communities where Libyan Arabic has gradually taken over Targia domains. The domination of Libyan Arabic clearly appears among the Ghatian speakers whereas the use of mixed language is a clear phenomenon across the Barkat community. 'Street' is an example of how Ghat is in advance of using Libyan Arabic compared to Barkat. The table also indicates that females of the older and middle-aged groups of Ghat as well as the younger age group of Barkat use Libyan Arabic more than male peers in this domain (See section 4.5.5). Compared to home, social events imply more utilization of Targia among the middle age group who are in the position of parents. This reflects their language strategy to prioritize and use Arabic at home when they converse with their children.

The analysis detailed in the current study has also shown that Libyan Tuareg identity acts at multiple hierarchical levels where the Libyan nationalistic ideology is situated at the top, followed by tribal and regional affiliation (See sections 5.5.2, 5.5.5.1, and 5.5.8.2).

Tuareg identity is articulated by a set of constituents in which Targia language is perceived as a complementary ingredient. The results have revealed that a low proportion of Tuareg claimed Targia as their mother tongue or as representative of their ethnic identity. In other words, Tuareg who cannot master Targia and have low competence, for instance, semi-speakers or passive speakers, are still able to claim Tuareg ethnic identity based on other elements (See section 5.5.2). Therefore, there is no strong association between speaking Targia and being "*Targi*". The indicators that can be employed to symbolize Tuareg identity may include other tools such as the

Tuaregs' pride in their glorious history, culture, traditions and ancestors (See sections 5.5.5, 5.5.6).

To conclude, it seems that the overall results indicate a gradual shift from Targia to Libyan Arabic regardless of the community. In fact, the statistical analysis revealed that in some cases the differences between the two communities are insignificant, yet when they are mingled together in one community, divided into three age groups, the differences turn out to be significant. This suggests that the shift towards Arabic is no longer confined to the community that is more urbanized and ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous (Ghat). The argument here is that shift has spread across age groups and genders of the two communities to the extent that some significant differences can be only seen when the two communities are statistically examined as one community.

External factors such as the political and socio-economic have proved to be effectual forces and the main triggers in the process of language shift among the Libyan Tuareg (See also the summary of Chapter 2). Consequently, these forces have led on to attitudinal factors and the articulation of particular ideologies, which in turn, have driven the changes in the linguistic behaviour of the Tuareg people towards the attachment of Arabic at the expense of Targia (See the summaries of Chapters 4-5).

Although the Tuareg are very optimistic regarding the maintenance of Targia, as they claimed that it is taken for granted, such optimism lacks reasonable grounds since no serious initiatives have been made to retain it despite the political actions taken in 2011 concerning Targia's recognition.

6.2 Contribution to the understanding of the process of language maintenance and language shift, and recommendations for future studies

Broadly speaking, there is no doubt that language maintenance and revitalization are very difficult and not straightforward tasks, and certainly cannot be successful without a clear description of the situation and understanding the causes of language shift and its progress. The latter have been the goals of this thesis and indeed, it is the "top priority" to begin with (Crystal, 2003, p. 92). According to UNESCO (2003, p. 3), "there is an urgent need in almost all countries for more reliable information about the situation of the minority languages as a basis for language support efforts at all levels". It is my intention and my ethical obligation to take part in any planned and future programs to retain, develop and promote the Targia language and campaign for its rights and official status.

It is hoped that the findings gained from this research will make a contribution to develop a theoretical framework to diagnose and assess the vitality of endangered languages.

At the local level, I am quite confident that the conducting this research itself has raised and gauged the awareness of the Tuareg regarding the situation and the endangerment of Targia in Barkat and Ghat communities which might be a contribution for any revitalization initiatives in the future. However, such awareness would be only successful when a real role for the unprivileged language at the local and national levels is confirmed (UNESCO, 2003). I am also optimistic that conducting this research would result in attracting the international consciousness of Targia's status and thus gaining more support for its revitalization.

There is certainly a need for further research, which ought to include the descriptions of the structure, and structural change, of Targia itself.

It is also obviously desirable for efforts to be made to maintain Targia in its present situation, and to try to restore and revitalize it. If such goals are to be achieved, some possible steps can be taken such as introducing Targia politically and educationally, as well as culturally through the establishment and the activation of associations concerned with Tuareg culture and language. For the Tuareg community, such initiatives of maintenance and restoration could be upheld by the initial official recognition Targia and Tuareg people have gained in the Constitutional Declaration, which guarantees their political, cultural and linguistic rights. However, without the true desire of the Tuareg themselves, their consent, their involvement and indeed their ownership, such efforts would not be crucially successful.

Further research on rural dwelling Tuareg and other sedentary Tuareg, such as those who live in Awbari and Daraj, are strongly recommended to examine their linguistic situation and to compare with Ghatian and Barkat Tuareg.

REFERENCES

Abdulaziz, A. S. (2014). *Code Switching Between Tamazight and Arabic in the First Libyan Berber News Broadcast:* An Application of Myers-Scotton's MLF and 4M Models. Ann Arbor : ProQuest.

Agar, M. H. (1996). *The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography*. San Diego : Academic Press.

Alexander, V. D., Thomas, H., Cronin, A., Fielding, J., & Moran-Ellis, J. (2016). In N. Gilbert, & P. Stoneman (Eds.), Mixed methods. *Researching social life* (pp. 120-138). London: Sage.

Allport, G. (1935). The historical background of modern social psychology. In G. Lindzey (Ed.), *Handbook of social psychology. I.* Theory and method. II. Special fields and applications (pp. 3-56). Cambridge: MA, Adison-Wesley.

Almasude, A. (1999). The New Mass Media and the Shaping of Amazigh Identity. *Revitalizing indigenous languages*. Papers presented at the Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium (5th, Louisville, KY).

Al-Rumi, A. (2009) Libyan Berbers struggle to assert their identity online. *Arab Media & Society.*Retrieved from:

http://beta.arabmediasociety.com.preview.sqgd.net/articles/downloads/ 20090506151750_AMS8_Aisha_al-Rumi.pdf

Al-Wer, E. (1999). Language and identity: the Chechens and the Circassians in Jordan. *Dirasat, Proceedings of F.I.C.A.E.C.C.S, Special Issue*.

Asker, A., & Martin-Jones, M. (2013). A classroom is not a classroom if students are talking to me in Berber: language ideologies and multilingual resources in secondary school English classes in Libya. *Language and Education*, *27*(4), 343-355

Bagamba, A. (2007). *A study of language shift in rural Africa: The Hema of the north-east of the Democratic Republic of Congo*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Essex, Colchester, Essex.

Bailey, G. (2002). Real and Apparent Time. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *Handbook of variation and change* (pp. 312-332). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Bassiouney, R. (2009). *Arabic sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh University Press.

Batibo, H.M. (1997) The fate of the minority languages of Botswana. In B. Smieja, & M. Tasch, (Eds.), *Human contact through language and linguistics* (pp. 243–52). Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Batibo, H. (2005). '*Language decline and death in Africa: Causes, consequences, and challenges* '(Vol. 132). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Belalimat, N. (2010). The Ishumar Guitar: Emergence, circulation and evolution, from the diasporic performaces to the world scene. In I. Kohl, & Fischer. (Eds.). Tuareg society within a globalized world: Saharan life in transition (pp.155-170). IB Tauris.

Benkato, A., & Pereira, C. (2016). An annotated bibliography of Arabic and Berber in Libya. *Libyan Studies*, *47*, 149-165, doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/lis.2016.3

Benrabah, M. (2013). *Language conflict in Algeria: From colonialism to post-independence*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Bentahila, A. & Davis, E. (1992). *Convergence and divergence: Two cases of language shift*

in Morocco. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert, & S.Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority language* (pp. 197-210). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Boukous, A. (1995). La langue berbère: maintien et changement. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *112*(1), 9-28.

Boukous, A. (1997). Situation sociolinguistique de l′ Amazighe. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *123*(1), 41-60.

Boukous, A. (2011). *Revitalizing the Amazigh language: Stakes, challenges, and strategies*. Rabat: Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Boussofara-Omar, N. (2006). Diglossia. In K. Versteegh, M. Eid, A. Elgibali, M. Woidich, & A. Zaborski, (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics* (Vol, 1, pp. 629-637). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.

Boxer, D. (2002). *Applying sociolinguistics: Domains and face-to-face interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Brenzinger, M. (1992). *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa* (Ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brenzinger, M. & Dimmendaal, G. (1992). The social context of language death. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations, with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 3-6). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Brenzinger, M. (2007). Language endangerment in northern Africa. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language diversity endangered* (pp. 123-139). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Boberg, C. (2004). Real and apparent time in language change: Late adoption of changes in Montreal English. *American Speech*, *79*(3), 250-269.

Bucholtz, M. (2003). Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity. *Journal of*

Sociolinguistics, *7*(3).

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Language and identity. In A. Duranti, (Ed.). *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, (pp. 369-394). Malden, Massachusettes: Blackwell Publishing.

Campbell, L., & Muntzel, M. C. (1989). The structural consequences of language death. In N. Dorian (Ed.), *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death* (pp.181-196). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chaker, S. (1994). Pour une notation usuelle à base «tifinagh». *Etudes et documents Berbères*, *11*, 31-42.

Chaker, S. (1997). La Kabylie: un processus de développement linguistique autonome. *International Journal of the sociology of Language*, *123*(1), 81-100.

Chambers, J. K. (1994). An introduction to dialect topography. *English World-Wide*, *15*(1), 35-53.

Chambers, J. K. (2009). *Sociolinguistic theory: Linguistic variation and its social significance.* Rev.ed. Chichester: WileyBlackwell.

Cheshire, J. (1987). Age and generation-specific use of language. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. Mattheier, P. Trudgill (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: An international handbook of the science of language and society* (pp.761-780).

Choi, J. K. (2003). Language attitudes and the future of bilingualism: The case of Paraguay. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *6*(2), 81-94.

Cline, W. (1953). Berber dialects and Berber script. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, *9*(3), 268-276.

Coates, J. (1993). *Women, men and language: A sociolinguistic account of gender differences in language*. London: Longman Group.

Coates, J. (2015). *Women, men and language: A sociolinguistic account of gender differences in language* (2nd ed.). London: Longman Group.

Constitution of Libya (1951). Retrieved from:

http://securitylegislation.ly/sites/default/files/files/lois/13%20Constitution%20of%201951_EN.pdf

Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2003). *Language Death* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dauenhauer, N. M. & Dauenhauer, R. (1998). Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska. In L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Language loss and community response* (pp. 57-98). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davies, E. E., & Bentahila, A. (2013). Language attitudes in the Maghreb countries of north West Africa. In H. Giles & B. M. Watson (Eds.), *The social meanings of language, dialect and accent: International perspectives on speech styles* (pp. 84-104). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Declaration of the Establishment of the Authority of the People. (1977). Retrieved from:

https://rcmlibya.files.wordpress.com/2012/08/sebha-declaration.pdf

Declaration on the Right of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. (1992). Retrived from:

http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuideMinoritiesDeclarationen.pdf

De Houwer, A. (1999). Environmental factors in early bilingual development: The role of parental beliefs and attitudes. In G. Extra, & L. Verhoeven, (Eds.), *Bilingualism and migration* (pp. 75-96). New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

De Klerk, V. (2001) The cross-marriage language Ddilemma: His Language or hers? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 4*(3), 197-216, doi:

10.1080/13670050108667728

Detaramani, C., & Lock, G. (2003). Multilingualism in decline: Language repertoire, use and shift in two Hong Kong Indian communities. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *24*(4), 249-273.

Deutsch, K. (1966). *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, (2nd ed.). Cambridge: MA, MIT Press.

Dorian, N. C. (1981). *Language death: the life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Dorian, N. C. (1982). Defining the speech community to include its working margins. In S. Romaine, (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities* (pp. 25–35). Arnold.

Dorian, N. C. (1989). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dorian, N. C. (1998). Western Language ideologies and small-language prospects. In L.A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Current issues and future Prospects* (pp. 3–21). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dorian, N. C. (1999). Linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.), *Handbook of ethnic identity* (pp. 25-41). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Drager, K. (2013). Exprimental methods in socilinguistics. In J. Holmes and K. Hazen (Eds.), *Research methods in sociolinguistics: A practicak guide* (pp. 58-73). Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Dupree, L. (1958). The non-Arab ethnic groups of Libya. *Middle East Journal*, *12*(1), 33-44.

Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eckert, P. (1980). Diglossia: Separate and unequal. *Linguistics*, *18*(11-12), 1053-1064.

Eckert, P. (1989) *Jocks and Burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school*. New

York: Columbia University Teachers College.

Eckert, P. (1997). Age as a sociolinguistic variable. In F. Coulmas, (Ed.), *The Handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 151-167). Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, P. (1998). Gender and sociolinguistic variation. In J. Coates, (Ed.), *Language and gender: A reader* (pp. 64-75). Wiley-blackwell.

Edwards, J. (1985). *Language, society and identity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Edwards, J. (1992). Sociopolitical aspects of language maintenance and loss: Towards a typology of minority language situations. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert & S. Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages* (pp. 37-54). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism*.London: Routledge.

Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

El Aissati, A. E. (2001). Ethnic identity, language shift, and the Amazigh voice in Morocco and Algeria. *Race, Gender & Class*, 57-69.

El Aissati, A., & El Ayoubi, M. (1996). Résultats de l'enquête de la table ronde d'Utrecht. *Adrar-Nieuwsbrief '* 3/3 [novembre 1997]: 3-7.

El Aissati, A. E., Karsmakers, S., & Kurvers, J. (2011). We are all beginners: Amazigh in language policy and educational practice in Morocco. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 41*(2), 211-227, doi: 0.1080/03057925.2011.547289

El Kirat El Allame, Y. (2004). *The lexical and morphological structure of the Beni Iznassen Amazigh language in the context of language loss*. (Doctoral dissertation). University Mohammed V, Rabat, Morocco.

El Kirat El Allame, Y. (2007). Language shift: Amazigh. In K. Versteegh, M. Eid, A. Elgibali, M. Woidich, & A. Zaborski, (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics* (Vol. *2,* pp. 707–716). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2001). Participant observation and fieldnotes. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 352-368). California: Sage.

Ennaji, M. (1997). The sociology of Berber: Change and continuity. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *123*(1), 23-40.

Ennaji, M. (1999). The Arab world (Maghreb and Near East). In J. A. Fishman, (Ed.), *The handbook of language & ethnic identity* (pp. 382-395). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Escribano, G. (2015). A political economy perspective on North African transitions. In Y. H. Zoubir, & G. White, (Eds.), *North African politics: Change and continuity* (pp. 3-16). London: Routledge.

European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission). (2011). Retrieved from:http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=cdl(2011)018-e.

Fader, A. (2006). Learning faith: Language socialization in a community of Hasidic Jews. *Language in Society*, *35*(02), 205-229.

Fase, W., Jaspaert, K., & Kroon, S. (1992). *Maintenance and loss of minority languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

El Mallakh, R. (1969). The economics of rapid growth: Libya. *Middle East Journal*, *23*(3), 308-320.

Fasold, R. (1984). *The sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ferguson, C. (1959). Diglossia. *Word, 15,* 325–340.

Ferguson, C. (2003). Diglossia. In C. B. Paulston, & G. R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The essential readings* (pp. 345-357). Malden, Oxford: Blackwell.

Fielding, N., & Thomas, H. (2001). Qualitative interviewing. In N, Gilbert, (Ed.), *Researching social life* (pp. 123-144*)*. London: Sage.

Fishman, J. A. (1965). Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La linguistique*, *1*(2), 67-88.

Fishman, J. A. (1966). *Language loyalty in the United States*. The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, *23*(2), 29-38.

Fishman, J. A. 1987. Language spread and language policy for endangered languages. In *Proceedings of the Georgetown University round table on language and linguistics* (pp. 1-15. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1989). *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J.A. (1991) *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved?: reversing language shift, Rev.: A 21st century perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, J. A. (2003). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. In C. B. Paulston, & G. R. Tucker (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: the essential readings* (pp. 359-366). Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell.

Gabsi, Z. (2011). Attrition and maintenance of the Berber language in Tunisia. *International journal of the Sociology of Language*, *211*, 135-164.

Gal, S. (1978). Peasant men can't get wives: Language change and sex roles in a bilingual community. *Language in Society*, *7*, 1-16.

Gal, S. (1979). *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.

García, O. (2012). Ethnic identity and language policy. In B. Spolsky, (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of language policy* (pp. 79-99). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garcia, P. (2005). Parental language attitudes and practices to socialise children in a diglossic society. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *8*(4), 328-344.

Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garrett, P., & Williams, A. (2003). *Investigating language attitudes: Social meaning of dialect, ethnicity and Performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Gilbert, N. (2008). *Researching social life* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

Gilbert, N. (2016). Research, theory and method. In N. Gilbert, & P. Stoneman (Eds.), *Researching social life* (pp. 25-42). London: Sage.

Giles, H., Bourhis, R. Y., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations (*pp. 307-348). London: Academic Press.

Golino, F. R. (1970). Patterns of Libyan national identity. *Middle East Journal*, *24*(3), 338-352.

Grenoble, L. A., & Whaley, L. J. (1998). Toward a typology of language endangerment. In L.Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Language loss and community response* (pp. 22-54). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Language and social identity*. Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. and Cook-Gumperz, J. (1982). Introduction: language and the communication of social identity. In J. J. Gumperz, (Ed.), *Language and social identity* (pp. 1–22). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gumperz, J. J., & Hymes, D. H. (1972). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Gussenhoven, C. (2015). Zwara Tamazight (Berber, Afroasiatic). *Ms submitted to Journal of the International Phonetic Association. Sound files*, *2*.

Hassan, B. (2009). *Ideology, identity, and linguistic capital: a sociolinguistic investigation of language shift among the Ajam of Kuwait*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Essex, Colchester, Essex.

Haugen, E. (1966). Linguistics and language planning. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics.* (pp. 50-71). The Hague: Mouton.

Heath, J. (2005). *A grammar of Tamasheq (Tuareg of Mali).* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Heller, M., & Levy, L. (1992). Mixed marriages: Life on the linguistic frontier. *Multilingua-Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, *11*(1), 11-44.

Heller, M., & Martin-Jones, M. (2001). In M. Heller, & M. Martin-Jones, (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 1-28). Westport, CT: Ablex.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* Cambridge: Cambridge UniversityPress.

Hoffman, K. E. (2006). Berber language ideologies, maintenance, and contraction: Gendered variation in the indigenous margins of Morocco. *Language and Communication, 26,* 144–167.

Hoffman, K. E. (2008). *We share walls: Language, land, and gender in Berber Morocco*. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Holes, C. (2004). *Modern Arabic: Structures, functions, and varieties*. Washnigton, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Holmes, J. (1992). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. Harlow: Adison Wesley Longman.

Hornberger, N. H. (1988). *Bilingual education and language maintenance: A southern Peruvian Quechua case*. Holland: Foris Publications.

Hornberger, N. H. (2006). Frameworks and models in language policy and planning. In T. Ricento, (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 24-41). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Hornberger, N. H., & Coronel-Molina, S. M. (2004). Quechua language shift, maintenance, and revitalization in the Andes: The case for language planning. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 9-68.

Irvine, J. T. (2001). "Style" as distinctiveness: the culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation. In P. Eckert, & J. Rickford (Eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation* (pp. 21-43). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Irvine, J. T., and Gal, S. (2000). Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In P. V. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, polities, and identities* (pp. 35–84). Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Ishizawa, H. (2004). Minority language use among grandchildren in multigenerational households. *Sociological Perspectives*, *47*(4), 465-483.

Jaffe, A. (2009). *The production and reproduction of language ideologies in practice*. In N. Coupland, & J. Adam (Eds.), *The New sociolinguistics reader* (pp. 390-404). Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Janse, M. (2003). Language death and language maintenance: problems and prospects. In M. Janse, & S. Tol (Eds.), *Language death and Language maintenance: Theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches* (pp. x-xvii). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jenkins, R. (1997). *Rethinking ethnicity: Arguments and explorations* . London: Sage.

Joffé, G. (2014). Minorities in the new Libya. In M. Ennaji, (Ed.), *Multiculturalism and democracy in North Africa: Aftermath of the Arab spring* (pp. 283-308). Abingdon: Routledge.

Johnstone, B. (2000). *Qualitative methods in sociolinguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Joseph, J. (2004), *Language and identity.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, UK & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kamada, L. (1997). Bilingual family case studies, Vol. 2. *Monographs on bilingualism No.5*. Japan Association for Language Teaching. Tokyo.

Keenan, J. (2004). *The lesser gods of the Sahara: Social change and contested terrain amongst the Tuareg of Algeria*. Frank Cass Publisher: Great Britain.

King, K. A. (1999). Language revitalisation processes and prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes. *Language and Education*, *13*(1), 17-37.

King, K. A. (2000). Language ideologies and heritage language education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *3*(3), 167-184.

King, K. A., Fogle, L., & Logan-Terry, A. (2008). Family language policy. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, *2*(5), 907-922.

Kloss, H. (1969). *Research possibilities on group bilingualism: a report*. Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism.

Kohl, I. (2010). Saharan "Borderline"-strategies: Tuareg transnational mobility. In T. Grätz, (Ed.), *Mobility, transnationalism and contemporary African Societies* (pp. 92-105). *Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing*,.

Kohl, I. (2013). Vagabonds or Elites? The mobile lifestyle of contemporary Tuareg. *Two Homelands*, *38*, 73-86.

Kohl, I. (2014). Libya's 'Major Minorities'. Berber, Tuareg and Tebu: Multiple Narratives of Citizenship, Language and Border Control. *Middle East Critique*, *23*(4), 423-438.

Kohl, I. & Fischer, A. (2010). *Tuareg society within a globalized world: Saharan life in transition*. IB Tauris.

Kossmann, M. (2013). *The Arabic influence on northern Berber*. Brill, Leiden: the Netherlands.

Koufogiorgou, A.(2004). *Vlach-Aromanian in Metsovo: A sociolinguistic investigation of a case of language shift in Greece*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Essex, Colchester, Essex.

Krause, G. A. (1884). *Proben der sprache von Ghat in der Sahara: mit haussanischen und deutscher Übersetzung*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus.

Krauss, M. (1992). The world's languages in crisis. *Language*, *68*(1), 4-10.

Krauss, M. (1997). *The indigenous language of the North: A report on their present state*. Senri ethnological studies, 48, 1-34.

Krauss, M. (2007). Classification and terminology for degrees of language endangerment. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language diversity endangered* (pp. 1-8). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kroskrity, P. V. (2004). Language ideologies. In A. Duranti, (Ed.). *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, (pp. 496-517). Malden, Massachusettes: Blackwell Publishing.

Labov, W. (1966). *The Social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington D.C.: Center for applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1984). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. In J.

Baugh & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Language in use: Readings in sociolinguistics* (pp. 28–53). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Labov, W. (1994). *Principles of linguistic: Internal factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Labov, W. (2006). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lambert, R. D. (1999). A scaffolding for language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *137*(1), 3-26.

Lanfry, J. (1972). Deux notes sur le berbère de Ghadamès. *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'etudes chamito-Sémitiques* 16, 175-184.

Lanfry, J. (1973). *Ghadamès II: Glossaire (parler des Ayt Waziten)*. Algiers.

Legère, K. (1992). Language shift in Tanzania. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations, with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 99-116). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Levon, E. (2013). Ethnographic fieldwork. In C. Mallinson, B. Childs, & G. Van Herk (Eds.), *Data collection in sociolinguistics: Methods and applications* (pp. 69-79). New York: Routledge.

Lewis, M. P. & Simons, G. F. (2009) *Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS.* SIL International 7500 W. Camp Wisdom Rd. Retrieved from: http://www.sil.org/~simonsg/preprint/EGIDS.pdf

Libya's Constitution (1969). Retrieved from https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=libyan+constitution+1969&gws_rd=cr&ei=R6Ff WYSDAc_JwQL496vQDw

Lyon, J., & Ellis, N. (1991). Parental attitudes towards the Welsh language. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, *12*(4), 239-251.

Macaulay, R. K. S. (1977). *Language, social class, and education.* Edinburgh: Edinbrugh Up.

Macaulay, Ronald K.S. (2009). *Quantitative methods in sociolinguistics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Libyan Interim Constitutional Declaration. (2011). Retrieved from:

https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=Libyan+Interim+Constitutional+Declaration.+(20 11).+Retrieved+from:&gws_rd=cr&ei=Q5VvWd6tCMHTwQKAoaTIBA

Mason, J. P. (1982). Qadhdhafi's" revolution" and change in a Libyan oasis community. *Middle East Journal*, *36*(3), 319-335.

McCarty, T. L. (2011). *Ethnography and language policy*. New York: Routledge.

McIntyre, J. A. (1991). Lexical innovation in Hausa (Niger, Nigeria). In G. Utta, & W. Ekkehard (Eds.), *Symposium on language standardization* (pp. 11-20). UNESCO Institute for Education & Hamburg University.

Mkilifi, M. A. (1972). Triglossia and Swahili-English bilingualism in Tanzania. *Language in Society*, *1*(02), 197-213.

Migdalovitz, C. (1989). *Libya: A country study*. United States: Headquarter Department of the Army.

Milroy, L. (1987). *Observing and analyzing natural language. A critical Account of sociolinguistic methods*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Milroy, L. & Gordon, M. (2003*). Sociolinguistics: Methods and interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation. (2010). United Nations, Human Rights: NewYork & Geneva. Retrieved from:

http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/MinorityRights_en.pdf

Mitchell, T. F., (2009). *Zuaran Berber (Libya): Grammar and Texts* (Berber Studies 26). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Mohanty, S. P. (2000). The epistemic status of cultural identity. In P. M. L. Moya, & M. R. Hames-Garcia (Eds.), *Reclaiming identity: Realist theory and the predicament of postmodernism* (pp. 29–66) .Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moser, C. A. & Kalton, G. (1971). *Survey methods in social Investigation*. London:

Heinemann.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1992a) Code-switching as a mechanism of deep borrowing, language shift, and language death. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language death: Factual and theoretical exploration, with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 31–58). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Nehlil, M. (1909). *Etudes sur le dialecte de Ghat*. Paris: Leroux (Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Alger, Bulletin de correspondance africaine).

Nercissians, E. (2001). Bilingualism and diglossia: patterns of language use by ethnic minorities in Tehran. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *148*, 59-70.

Newman, P. (2003). The endangered languages issue as a hopeless cause. In M. Janse, & S. Tol (Eds.), *Language Death and language maintenance: Theoretical, practical and descriptive approaches* (pp. 1-13). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Newell, R. (1993). Questionnaires. In N. Gilbert, (Ed.), *Researching social life* (pp. 94-115*).* London: Sage.

Nicholas, S. E. (2011). "How are you Hopi if you can't speak it?" An ethnographic study of language as cultural practice among contemporary Hopi youth. In T. L. McCarty (Ed.), *Ethnography and language policy* (pp. 53-75). New York: Routledge.

Omoniyi, T. (2006). Hierarchy of identities. In T. Omoniyi, & G. White, (Eds.), *Sociolingistics of identity* (pp. 15-20)*. London: Continuum*.

Owens, J. (1983). Libyan Arabic dialects. *Orbis*, *32*, 97-117.

Owens, J. (1984). *A short reference grammar of Eastern Libyan Arabic*. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.

Pandharipande, R. (1992). Language shift in India: Issues and implications. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert, & S.Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority language* (pp. 253-275). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Pandharipande, R. (2002). Minority matters: Issues in minority languages in India. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, *4*(2), 213-234.

Pereira, C. (2007a). Libya. In K. Versteegh, M. Eid, A. Elgibali, M. Woidich, & A. Zaborski, (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics* (Vol. 2, pp. 52-58). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.

Pereira, C. (2007b). Urbanization and dialect change: The Arabic dialect of Tripoli. In C. Miller. E. Al-Wer. D. Caubet. & J. C. E. Watson (Eds.), *Arabic in the city: Issues in dialect contact and language variation* (pp. 5-77). Abingdon: Routledge.

Potowski, K. (2013). Language maintenance and shift. In R. Bayley, R. Cameron & C. Lucas (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of sociolinguistics* (321-339). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Prasse, K. (1995). *The Tuaregs: The blue people*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Pütz, M. (1991). Language maintenance & language shift in the speech behaviour of German-Australian migrants in Canberra. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, *12*(6), 477-492. doi: 10.1080/01434632.1991.9994477

Rasmussen, S. (1992). Disputed boundaries: Tuareg discourse on class and ethnicity. *Ethnology*, 351-365.

Rasmussen, S. J. (1998). Within the Tent and at the Crossroads: Travel and gender identity among the Tuareg of Niger. *Ethos*, *26*(2), 153-182.

Rasmussen, S. J. (2004). Reflections on witchcraft, danger, and modernity among the Tuareg. *Africa*, *74*(03), 315-340.

Rasmussen, S. J. (2010). The slippery sign: Cultural constructions of youth and youthful constructions of culture in Tuareg Men's Face-Veiling. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 463-484.

Reid, E. (1978) Social and stylistic variation in the speech of children: Some evidence

from Edinburgh. In P. Trudgill (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* (pp.158–72). London: Arnold.

Ritchie, W. C. & Bhatia, T. (2013). Social and Psychological Factors in Language Mixing (2nd ed.). In Tej K. Bahatia, & W, C. Ritchie.*The handbook of bilingualism* (Eds.), (pp. 375-390). UK, US: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd.

Rodd, F. (1926). The origin of the Tuareg. *Geographical Journal*, 27-47.

Romaine, S. (1978) Post-vocalic /r/ in Scottish English: Sound change in progress. In P. Trudgill (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* (pp. 144–57). London: Arnold.

Romaine, S. (1989*). Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher.

Romaine, S. (1995*). Bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publisher

Romaine, S. (2013). The Bilingual and Multilingual Community (2nd ed.). In Tej K. Bahatia, & W, C. Ritchie(Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism* (pp*. 445*-465). UK, US: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd.

Ronen, Y. (2013). Libya, the Tuareg and Mali on the eve of the 'Arab spring' and in its aftermath: An anatomy of changed relations. *The Journal of North African Studies*, *18*(4), 544-559.

Rottland, F., & Okombo, D. O. (1992). Language shift among the Suba of Kenya. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations, with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 273-284). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ryding, K. C. (2005). *A reference grammar of modern standard Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Sadiqi, F. (1997). The place of Berber in Morocco. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *123*(1), 7-22.

Sadiqi, F. (2003). *Women, gender, and language in Morocco* (Vol. 1). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.

Sallabank, J. (2006). Guernsey French, identity and language endangerment. In T. Omoniyi, & G. White, (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics of identity.* (pp. 131-156)*. London: Continuum.*

Sallabank, J. (2010). Language endangerment: Problems and solutions. *Source: eSharp, Special Issue: Communicating change: Representing self and community in a technological World*, 50-58.

Sallabank, J. (2011). Language endangerment. In R. Wodak, B. Johnstone. P. E. Kerswill (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 496-512). London: Sage Publications.

Sallabank, J. (2013). *Attitudes to endangered languages: Identities and policies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sankoff, G. (1980). A quantitative Paradigm for the Study of Communicative Competence. In G. Sankoff. (Ed), *The social life of language* (pp. 47-79). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Santos, S. (2003). The Tuareg: Place and People in Self–Determination. *Presented at the Institutional Analysis and Development Mini-Conference* (pp.2-24). Bloomington, Indiana :Indiana University

Sarnoff, I. (1970). Social attitudes and the resolution of motivational conflict. In M. Jahoda, & N. Warren, (Eds.), *Attitudes: Selected readings* (pp. 279-84). Harmondsworth: Penguin

Sasse, H.-J. (1992) Theory of language death. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.), *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations, with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 7-30). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sayahi, L. (2014). *Diglossia and language contact: Language variation and change in North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sebba, M. (2011). Societal bilingualism. In R. Wodak, B. Johnstone. P. E. Kerswill (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 445-459). London: Sage Publications.

Serra, L. (1968). Quelques remarques comme suite aux premiers textes en dialecte Berbère de Zouara (Tripolitaine)'. *Annali*, 444-447.

Shaaban, K. (2007). Language policies and language planning. In K. Versteegh, M. Eid, A. Elgibali, M. Woidich, & A. Zaborski, (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics* (Vol. 2, pp. 694-707). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.

Silverstein, M. (1979). Language structure and linguistic ideology. In R. Clyne, W. Hanks and C. Hofbauer (Eds), *The elements: A parasession on linguistic units and levels* (pp. 219–259). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Simmons, R. (2001). Questionnaires. In N. Gilbert, (Ed.), *Researching social life* (2nd ed.) (pp. 85-104). London: Sage.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

St John, R. B. (2014). Multiculturalism and democracy in post-Qaddafi Libya. In M. Ennaj (Ed), *Multiculturalism and democracy in North Africa: Aftermath of the Arab spring* (pp. 277-292). Abingdon: Routledge.

Steger, M. B. (2003). *Globalization: a very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stevens, G. (1985). Nativity, intermarriage, and mother-tongue shift. *American Sociological Review*, 74-83.

Suleiman, Y. (2003). *The Arabic language and national identity: A Study in ideology*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Suleiman, Y. (2006). Constructing languages, constructing national identities. In T. Omoniyi, & G. White, (Eds.). *Sociolingistics of identity*. (pp. 50-71). *London: Continuum.*

Tagliamonte, S. (2012). *Variationist sociolinguistics: Change, observation, interpretation*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Tandefelt, M. (1992). Some linguistic consequences of the shift from Swedish to Finnish in Finland. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert, & S.Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority language* (pp. 149-168). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Taumoefolau, M., Starks, D., Davis, K., & Bell, A. (2002). Linguists and language maintenance: Pasifika languages in Manukau, New Zealand. *Oceanic Linguistics*, *41*(1), 15-27.

The General people's Committee for Education. (2008*).* The development of education national report of Libya. *Paper presented to the International Conference on Education session 48*. Geneva. Retrieved from http://www.ibe.unesco.org/National_Reports/ICE_2008/libya_NR08.pdf

Thiers, J. (1989). *Papiers d'identité (s)*. Levie: Albiana.

Thurstone, L. L. (1931). The measurement of social attitudes. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, *26*(3), 249.

Tollefson, J. W. (2006). Critical theory in language policy. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method* (pp. 42–59). Oxford: Blackwell.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (1991). Language maintenance and language shift: preservation versus extinction. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *1*(1), 61-69.

Trudgill, P., & Tzavaras, G. A. (1977). Why Albanian-Greeks are not Albanians: language shift in Attica and Biotia. In H. Giles, (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, (pp. 171-184). London: Academic Press.

UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on. (2003). *Language vitality and endangerment*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf

Versteegh, K. (2014). *The Arabic language*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Walters, K. (1966). Diglossia, linguistic variation, and language change in Arabic. In M. Eid (Ed.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics VIII*, (pp. 157-197). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Williams, G. (1987). Bilingualism, class dialect, and social reproduction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *66*, 85-98.

Woolard, K. A. (1998). Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiery. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. A. Woolard, & P. V. Kroskrity, (Eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory* (pp. 3-47). New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *23*(1), 55-82.

Yagmur, K., Bot, K. D., & Korzilius, H. (1999). Language attrition, language shift and ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish in Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *20*(1), 51-69.

Zwickl, S. (2002). *Language attitudes, ethnic identity and dialect use across the Northern Ireland border: Armagh and Monaghan*. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: An invitation letter

You are invited to take part in a study examining language shift among Libyan Tuareg. All personal information given will be confidential. Names of the participants will be known only by the researcher 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.

You can also contact either the researcher (Salah Adam) or the supervisor (Prof Peter Patrick) by email of phone

Supervisor: Professor Peter Patrick
Tel: +44 (0) 1206 825759
Email: patrickp@essex.ac.uk

Researcher: Salah Adam
Tel: 00218922606552
Viber: 00447884966297
Email: salahadam2013@yahoo.com
WhatsApp: 00218922606552

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

- I agree to be audio-recorded

Yes/No

- I agree that I have the right to ask questions at any time.

Yes/No

- I agree that my participation is voluntary and I do not have to give a reason for my withdrawal.

Yes/No

- I agree that any information given in this research will be confidential.

Yes/No

- I agree that the anonymity and confidentiality of the information I provide are explained to me by the researcher.

Yes/No

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

Child's Consent {signed by parent/Guardian}

Please tick the appropriate:

- Parent / Guardian has read and understood the information given about the project on behalf of the child.

Yes/No

- Parent / Guardian has been given the opportunity to discuss about the project and the child involvement in it.

Yes/No

- Parent / Guardian agrees about their child participation in this research.

Yes/No

- Parent / Guardian understands that the child participation is voluntary; the child can withdraw from the study at any time and they do not have to give any reasons for why the child no longer wants to take part in.

Yes/No

- Parent / Guardian of the Child recorded agrees to be audio-recorded

Yes/No

- Parent / Guardian agrees that they and their child have the right to ask questions at any time. Yes/No
- Parent / Guardian agrees that the child participation is voluntary and they do not have to give a reason for the child withdrawal.

Yes/No

- Parent / Guardian agrees that any information given in this research will be confidential. Yes/No
- Parent / Guardian agrees that the anonymity and confidentiality of the information the child provides are explained to them by the researcher.

Yes/No

Appendix C: Questionnaire

Demographic information

1-Gender: Male – Female

2-Age

3-Where do you live?

4-What is your educational level:

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

5-Occupation:

Language use, transmission, proficiency and frequency

6- What of the following languages do you speak? Please specify.

Arabic

Targia

Hausa

Other

7- How proficient are you in the following languages:

Arabic: Not at all –little – quite well – fluent

Targia: Not at all –little – quite well – fluent

Hausa: Not at all –little – quite well – fluent

Other........................... not at all –little – quite well – fluent

If you cannot speak Targia go to question (19)

8- Where did you learn Targia?

Home – School – Street

 Other (please specify)……………………………………………………………………...

9- From whom did you learn Targia?

Father – Mother – grandmother – grandfather – Siblings- Street Friends – Relatives – other...

10- Who did/ do you think play a major role in passing on Targia language to the next generations?

11- With whom do you speak Targia most?

Mother – Father – Spouse – Siblings – Classmates – Street Friends – Relatives- old people-
Other...

12- Where do/ did you speak most in Targia?

Work – Home – School- university- Religious assembly- Mosque – Shopping – Social gatherings – Other (please specify).......................

13- Are there specific topics you would choose to talk about in Targia?

Yes:
Example……………………………………………………………………………….

No

14- Can you write in Targia?

Yes: Very well – Quite well – Not very well

No: cannot write any.

If the answer is "No"

Why..

15- What is the name of Targia variety do you speak?

....

16-Is the variety of Targia you speak understandable by neighbouring Tuareg in Algeria- Niger and Mali?

Yes – No

………………………………………………………………………………………………

17- Do you understand other varieties of Tuareg languages?

Yes- No

………………………………………………………………………………………………

18- Do you understand Berber language spoken by Libyan Amazigh in Nafousa Mountain, Zoura, Ghadames, or even spoken in Algeria and Morocco?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

19- Can you write in Arabic?

Yes: Very well – Quite well – Not very well

No: Cannot write any.

If the answer is "No"

Why...

20- How often do you use the following languages:

Targia: Never – Seldom – Sometimes – Often - All the time

Arabic: Never – Seldom – Sometimes – Often - All the time

Other:…………….   Never – Seldom – Sometimes – Often - All the time

21-What language did/ do you use when you talk to your teacher?

Arabic-Targia
Other..

For Parents only

22- If you have children, what language(s) do/ did you use when you speak to them?

Targia

Arabic

23- What language do your children use when they speak to you?

Targia

Arabic

Mixed (Arabic- Targia)

Other..

For all participants

24-Do you speak a mixed language (Arabic- Targia)?

Yes – No – Sometimes

25-Why do you use mixed language?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

26- Do you use Targia (as a secret language) among non-Tuareg speakers?

Yes – No - Sometimes

Why..

27-Do you think that Targia is spoken less these days?

Yes – No

Why..

If you cannot speak Targia

28- Are there any Tuareg words you often use?

Yes – No

29- If the answer is "yes'', in which domains are those words used?

Home – Work- school- university- Farming – Shopping – religious assemblies - Social gatherings – Greetings and fare well.

Other..

Example:
……………………………………………………………………………………………

30- What language(s) did/do your parents speak?

Father: Targia – Arabic – Mixed (Arabic- Targia)

Other, please specify...

Mother: Targia – Arabic – Other, please specify...

31- What language(s) did/do your parents use when they speak to you?

Father: Targia – Arabic –Mixed (Arabic- Targia).

Other..

Mother: Targia – Arabic – Mixed (Arabic -Targia).

 Other...

32- Where do your Father speak the following languages:

Targia: Home – Work – Religious gatherings – Mosque- Social gathering

Other..

Arabic: Home – Work – Religious assemblies – Mosque- Social gatherings

Other..

33- Where do your mother speak the following languages?

Targia: Home – Work – Religious assemblies – Social gatherings –

Other..

Arabic: Home – Work – Religious assemblies – Social gatherings –

Other...

34- What language do/did your grandparents speak?

Arabic - Targia

Other………………………………………………………………………………….

35- What language did/ do your grandparents or elderly people use when they speak to you?

Grandfather: Arabic – Targia – Mixed (Arabic- Targia)

Other ....

Grandmother: Arabic – Targia – Mixed (Arabic- Targia)

Other..

Elderly people: Arabic – Targia – Mixed (Arabic- Targia)

Other..

36- Was Targia language used in the past in public and official institutions (post office – Courts, universities or street advertisements, streets' signs or on billboards?

Yes – No

Language attitudes

37- Do you think that Targia language and culture should be preserved?

Yes – No

Why..

38-Are you satisfied about the 2011 temporary constitutional declaration which has guaranteed the cultural and linguistic rights of Tuareg people?

Yes – No - Unsure

Why..

39- Do you think that Targia language should be officially recognized in the forthcoming constitution?

Yes – No - Unsure

Why..

40- Do you think the official recognition of Targia in the forthcoming constitution may encounter linguistic or administrative difficulties?

Yes – No – Unsure

Why..

41. Do you think that all Libyan Tuareg speak one variety?

Yes - No

42-Do you think that Tuareg language should be taught in public and private schools in the areas where Tuareg live?

Yes – No - Unsure

43- Do you think that the Libyan government should use Targia language in public domains, streets' signs, and air and land ports all over the country?

Yes – No- Unsure.

44- Do you think that the Libyan government should contribute the establishment of Targia TV and radio channels?

Yes - No

45- Would you like to speak and write well in Tuareg?

Yes – No

Why...

46-Would you like to see your children speak and write in Targia?

Yes – No

Why:...

47- Do you think that the use of Targia language has been influenced by the presence of Arabic as predominant and official language?

Yes – No

Why...

Ethnicity and Language identity

48- How would like to define yourself?

Libyan

Targi

Libyan Targi

Other..

Why...

49- Which language do you use to express yourself best?

Standard Arabic

Targia

Libyan Arabic

Other..

50-Do you think speaking Targia is an essential component of Tuareg identity?

Yes - No

Why...

51- How do you rate the importance of using the following languages?

Standard Arabic: Very important – Important – Not important

Why...

Targia: Very important – Important – Not important.

Why:
…………………………………………………………………………………………………

Libyan Arabic: Very important – Important – Not important.

Why……………………………………………………………………………………………

Other: ……………………………………. Very important – Important – Not important.

52-What do the following languages represent (for you):

1-Standard Arabic:

The language of my ancestors

Ethnic identity

My mother tongue

Libyan identity

Religion

2-Libyan Arabic:

The language of my ancestors

Ethnic identity

My mother tongue

Libyan identity

3-Targia language:

The language of my ancestors

Ethnic identity

My mother tongue

Libyan identity

Tuareg awareness of the national and international efforts of Targia preservation

53- Have Tuareg people made any national or international efforts to revitalize and preserve Targia?

Yes – No   - I do not know

54-What do you believe the most effective way to preserve Targia?

School programs

Heritage organization

Media

Other (Please specify)..

55- Would you like to add any comments?

....
....
....
....
....

Appendix D: : A completed questionnaire

Essex University

موافقة المشارك في البحث

<u>-يرجى وضع علامة على الخيار المناسب</u>

(نعم) / لا   لقد قرأت وفهمت المعلومات المعطاة حول المشروع

(نعم) / لا   لقد أعطيت الفرصة لمناقشة المشروع و مشاركتي فيه

(نعم) / لا   أنا أوافق على المشاركة في هذا البحث

(نعم) / لا   أفهم أن مشاركتي طوعية ؛و يمكنني الانسحاب من الدراسة في أي وقت من دون
إعطاء أية أسباب لذلك.

(نعم) / لا   لامانع لدي من أن أسجل مقابلة مع الباحث

(نعم) / لا   أوافق على أن لدي الحق في طرح الأسئلة في أي وقت

(نعم) / لا   أوافق على أن مشاركتي طواعية و لست ملزما بإعطاء أي سبب لانسحابي

نعم / (لا)   أوافق على أن المعلومات الواردة في هذا البحث سوف ستعامل بخصوصية وسرية

(نعم) / لا   أوافق على عدم الكشف عن هويتي وخصوصية المعلومات التي اقدمها شرحت لي
من قبل الباحث

التوقيع:...

التاريخ:...

تفاصيل الاتصال بالمشارك اذا كانت لديه الرغبة بأن يترك بياناته:

....
....
....
....

2

رقم المشترك في الدراسة:...

1.الجنس: (ذكر) - أنثى – ضع دائرة

2.العمر:........... ٤٥ سنة

3.السكن:........... غات الطريقة

4.ما هو مستواك التعليمي:

الابتدائية - الإعدادية - الثانوية - الجامعية - الدراسات العليا

أخري:..

5.الوظيفة:........... موظف بمطار غات

6.أي من اللغات التالية تتحدث بها ؟

العربية:........................... ✓

الطوارق:........................... ✓

الهوسا:........................... ✓

أي لغات أخرى(نرجوا التحديد)...........................

7.مامدي اتقانك للغات التالية:

العربية: بطلاقة – جيدة جدا –أجيدها قليلاً - لا أجيدها على الإطلاق

الطوارق : بطلاقة – جيدة جدا –أجيدها قليلاً - لا أجيدها على الإطلاق

الهوسا........... أجيدها قليلاً

لغات أخرى(نرجوا التحديد) .... ✓ .... : بطلاقة – جيدة جدا –أجيدها قليلاً - لا أجيدها على الإطلاق

....

*اذا كنت لا تتحدث التارقيه، نأمل التوجه للاجابة عن سؤال19

8.أين تعلمت لغة الطوارق ؟........... ليبيا

البيت - المدرسة – الشارع...........................

مكان آخر (نأمل التحديد)...........................

3

9.ممن تعلمت لغة الطوارق ؟

الأب - الأم - الجدة - الجد - الأصدقاء –الأقارب - الاخوة

آخرين:...

10.من الذي تعتقد أنه يلعب دورا رئيسيا في تعليم التارقية للأجيال ؟

.... الجميع بالاخص جداتنا و امهاتنا ....

11.مع من تتكلم اللغة التارقية في معظم الأوقات؟

الأم – الأب - الزوج - الزوجة - الأخوة – الأصدقاء في الشارع – أصدقاء الفصل الدراسي- الأقارب – كبار السن كالأجداد

- آخرين ....

12.أين تتحدث التارقيه في معظم الأوقات؟

العمل- البيت – المدرسة – الجامعة – التجمعات الدينية – التسوق- المسجد – المناسبات الاجتماعية – المناسبات الدينية

أي مكان أخر (تأمل التحديد)...

13. هل يوجد أي موضوع تفضل استخدام التارقية عندما تريد التحدث عنه؟

(نعم)   لا

أمثلة:.. الحديث مع الاصدقاء حلنا لمعرفتي خاصير بعفير ..

14.هل تجيد الكتابة باللغة التارقية؟

نعم   (لا)

اذا كان الجواب نعم:...

ماهي درجة الاجادة:

ممتازة – جيدة جدا – جيدة   - قليلاً

15.ماذا تسمي لغة أو لهجة الطوارق التي تتحدثها ؟ ....تماهق..........

16. هل اللغة اللهجة التارقية التي تتحدثها يفهمها طوارق النيجر ومالي والجزائر؟

نعم   (لا)

17. هل يمكنك فهم لهجة طوارق النيجر، مالي والجزائر؟

نعم   (لا)

اذا كانت الاجابة نعم ماهي درجة الفهم:

ممتازة – جيدة جدا – جيدة   - قليلاً

4

18. هل يمكنك فهم اللهجات الأمازيغية المتحدث بها في في جبل نفوسه، زواره، غدامس أو حتى في التي يتحدث بها في الجزائر والمغرب؟

نعم   (لا)

اذا كانت الاجابة نعم ماهي درجة الفهم:

ممتازة   – جيدة جداً   – جيدة   – قليلاً

19.هل تجيد الكتابة باللغة العربية ؟

(نعم)   لا

اذا كان الجواب نعم:...

ماهي درجة الاجادة:

(ممتازة)   – جيدة جدا   – ليست جيدة   – لا يمكنني الكتابة

'' إذا كان الجواب '' لا

لماذا:...

20.كيف في في العادة تستخدم اللغات التالية:

التارقية:

(في كل الأوقات)   – في كثير من الأحيان   – في بعض الأحيان   – نادرا   – لأستخدمها أبدا

العربية:

في كل الأوقات   (– في كثير من الأحيان)   – في بعض الأحيان   – نادرا   – لأستخدمها أبدا

لغة أخرى.............................

في كل الأوقات   – في كثير من الأحيان   (في بعض الأحيان)   – نادرا   – لأستخدمها أبدا

25. ماهي اللغة التي تستخدمها عندما تتحدث لمعلمك في المدرسة؟

(العربية)   التارقية   أخرى.............................

الأسئلة التالية للآباء والأمهات

21.إذا كان لديك أطفال ما هي اللغة كنت تستخدمها / أو تستخدمها الآن عند التحدث إليهم؟

التارقية

(العربية)

مزيج من العربية والتارقية

5

أخرى...

لماذا:...

22.ما هي اللغة التي يستخدمها/ كان يستخدمها أطفالك عند التحدث إليك؟

التارقية

(العربية)

مزيج من العربية والتارقية

أخرى:...

23. هل تتحدث لغة ممزوجة بين العربية والتارقية عندما تتحدث العربية أو التارقية؟

نعم   لا   (أحيانا)

24. لماذا تستخدم لغة ممزوجة بين العربية والتارقية عندما تتحدث أي من اللغتين؟

....

25. هل تستخدم التارقية في المجالس التي يوجد بها غير الناطقين بالتارقيه؟

نعم   -   (لا)   -   أحيانا

لماذا... تقتصر على مشجع العربية ....

26.هل تعتقد أن التارقية تستخدم بصورة قليلة هذه الأيام؟

(نعم)   لا

لماذا... لعله الأكثر اهتمام بها ....

<u>اذا كنت لا تجيد التحدث بالتارقية</u>

27. هل يوجد أية كلمات تارقية تستخدمها في الغالب عند التواصل مع الناس ؟

(نعم)   لا

28.اذا كانت الاجابة "نعم" في أي المجالات تستخدم هذه الكلمات؟

(شؤون البيت) – الزراعة – (المناسبات الاجتماعية) – التسوق – العمل – المدرسة – الجامعة –
المناسبات الاجتماعية   – تحية الناس وتوديعهم

أخرى...

امثلة الأخذ الجلسات مع الخبازين ....

29.ما هي اللغة التي يتحدثها والداك؟

الأب : (التارقية) – العربية   – مزيج من العربية والتارقية –
أخرى...

6

الأم : (التارقية) – العربية – مزيج من العربية والتارقية –
أخرى..

30.ما هي اللغة التي استخدمها /أويستخدمها والداك عند التحدث إليك ؟

الأب : (التارقية) – العربية – مزيج من العربية والتارقية.
أخرى..

الأم : (التارقية) – العربية – مزيج من العربية والتارقية
أخرى..

31.أين يتكلم والدك اللغات التالية:

التارقية : (البيت) – العمل – في المناسبات الدينية – المسجد (في المناسبات الاجتماعية)
أخرى..

العربية: (البيت) (العمل) – في المناسبات الدينية (المسجد) (في المناسبات الاجتماعية –
أخرى..

32.أين تتكلم أمك اللغات التالية ؟

التارقية: (البيت) – العمل – في المناسبات الدينية (في المناسبات الاجتماعية)
أخري..

العربية: البيت – العمل (في المناسبات الدينية) – في المناسبات الاجتماعية –
أخرى..

33.ما هي اللغة التي يتحدث بها أجدادك ؟

الجده : العربية (التارقية) – مزيج من العربية والتارقية –
أخرى..

الجد : العربية (التارقية) – مزيج من العربية والتارقية –
لغة أخرى.............................

34.ما هي اللغة التي كان يتحدث بها/أو يتحدث بها أجدادك أوكبار السن اليك؟

الجده : العربية (التارقية) – مزيج من العربية والتارقية –
أخرى..

الجد : العربية - (التارقية) – مزيج من العربية والتارقية –
لغة أخرى..

كبار السن : العربية (التارقية) – مزيج من العربية والتارقية – لغة أخري.............

35.هل كانت لغة الطوارق مستخدمة في المؤسسات العامة والرسمية في الماضي (مكتب البريد مثلا- المحاكم- الجامعات) أو في الاعلانات التجارية واللافتات وعلامات الطرق؟

نعم - (لا)

7

36.هل تعتقد أنه ينبغي الحفاظ على لغة وثقافة الطوارق في ليبيا؟

نعم -   لا   غير متأكد

لماذا: لأنها مهتم بها الموروث الثقافي والحضاري الليبي

37.هل أنت راض عن الإعلان الدستوري المؤقت في سنة 2011 والذي اعتبر فيها الأمازيغية والتارقية لغات قومية في البلاد؟

نعم -   لا   غير متأكد

لماذا: لكنه ليس ستحقاقي كامل

38.هل تعتقد أن التارقية ينبغي الاعتراف بها كلغة رسمية في الدستور الجديد؟

نعم -   لا   غير متأكد

لماذا: لكنه لا يريد بسم لغة الحراك

39.هل تعتقد أن الاعتراف الرسمي بلغة الطوارق أوحتي الأمازيغية (التمازيغات) كلغات رسمية قد تواجه صعوبة تعدد اللهجات المتحدث بها والمتفرعة من هذه اللغة أوحتي صعوبات ادارية؟

نعم   - لا   - غير متأكد

لماذا:
....
....

40. هل تعتقد أن الطوارق في ليبيا يتحدثون لهجة واحدة أو لغة واحدة؟

نعم   لا   -غير متأكد

41.هل تعتقد أن اللغة التارقية يجب أن تدرس في المدارس العامة والخاصة في المناطق التي يقطنها الطوارق؟

نعم   -لا   -غير متأكد

42.هل تعتقد أن الحكومة الليبية ينبغي عليها علي الأقل استخدام اللغة التارقية في الأماكن العامة والمطارات والمواني الحدودية وإشارات المرور في الشوارع في المناطق التي يقطنها الطوارق بجانب اللغة العربية؟

نعم   لا

43.هل تعتقد أن الحكومة الليبية ينبغي عليها أن تسهم في إنشاء قناة تلفزيونية وراديو خاصة بالطوارق؟

نعم -   لا

لماذا: لأحد اللغة جزء من الحضارة الليبية من لوحة الحكام خاص

44.هل ترغب في اجادة التارقية تحدثا وكتابة؟

نعم -   لا

8

لماذا: لغة لها حضاره لابد أن نفتخر بها

45. هل ترغب بأن ترى أطفالك يجيدون التارقية تحدثا وكتابة؟

(نعم) - لا

لماذا لغة الأجداد

46. هل تعتقد أن استخدام التارقية قد تأثر سلبياً بوجود اللغة العربية الفصحى كلغة رسمية أو اللهجة الليبية الدارجة والأكثر استخداماً في البلاد؟

نعم (لا)

لماذا لأن اللغه الكارقيه لهم علاقه بافهمهم للادبين بها

47. كيف تود أن تعرف نفسك؟

ليبي

تارقي

(تارقي ليبي)

أخرى:

لماذا:

48. ما اللغة التي تستطيع أن تعبر بها عن نفسك بشكل أفضل ؟

التارقية

(العربية الليبية)

العربية الفصحى

مزيج من العربية والتارقية

أخرى:

لماذا:

49. هل تعتقد أن التحدث بالتارقية مكوناً وعنصراً أساسياً وضرورياً في هوية التارقي أو التارقيه لاعتبارهم من الطوارق؟

(نعم) لا

لماذا لأن اللغه التارقيه هي بارتبا بهم بقامه حضاره الليبيه

9

50.كيف تقيم استخدام اللغات التالية من حيث أهميتها في مجالات الحياة اليومية:

اللغة العربية الفصحى: هامه جدا - هامه - غير مهمة

لماذا: لغة القرآن ....

العربية الليبية الدارجة: هامة جدا - هامة - غير مهمة

لماذا: ....

التارقية : هامة جدا - هامة - غير مهمة

لماذا: من اجل حفظ الحضارة و التراث و الحضارة ....

لغات أخرى: .... هامة جدا - هامة - غير مهمة

لماذا ....

51. ماذا تمثل لك اللغات أو اللهجات التالية:

- العربية الفصحى: لغة الأجداد - الدين ولغة القرآن الكريم - الهوية العرقية - اللغة الأم - الهوية الليبية

- اللهجة الليبية العامية: لغة الأجداد - الهوية العرقية - اللغة الأم - الهوية الليبية

- التارقية: لغة الأجداد - الهوية العرقية - اللغة الأم - الهوية الليبية

52. هل قام الطوارق في ليبيا بأية مجهودات محلية أو دولية لاحياء والمحافظة علي استخدام التارقية؟

نعم - لا - لأعلم

53. ماالذي تراه بأنه الوسيلة الافضل للحفاظ على لغة وثقافة الطوارق؟

- البرامج المدرسية والتعليمية

- المنظمات والمؤسسات التراثية

- وسائل الإعلام

أخرى، يرجى التحديد: ....

54. هل ترغب في إضافة أي تعليق؟

.... اشكر جميع القائمين على هذا المجهود ....

.... والله لتوفيق ....

10

Appendix E: A complete interview

الباحث: نحن أستاد محمد نحاولوا اندردشو زي ماقتلك على استخدام اللغة التارقية ونبدوا نسألوا عن عملك, وين العمل؟

المشارك م:اني عسكري.

الباحث: ايش اللغه اللي تهدرز بيها أغلب الاوقات؟

محمد: أغلب الاوقات عربي.

الباحث: لودخلنا على البيت, في البيت محمد ايش اللغة اللي تهدرز بيها مع شيابك, الوالد والوالده في البيت؟

محمد: لا في البيت طبيعي نتكلم تارقي سواء مع الأب أو الأم.

الباحث: مع الأخوة داخل البيت والأخوات ايش اللغة اللي تستخدموها؟

محمد: نفسه حتى هو تارقي.

الباحث: مافيش استخدام العربي داخل البيت يعني مثلا أو مزيج العربي والتارقي؟

محمد: لا فيه مزيج يعني ممزوجة بعد نتكلم معاهم في الحوش يعني فيه توا باعتبار خوتي الصغار مواليد التسعينات ومواليد 2000 هذوما ايركزوا على العربي اكثر من التارقي وحتى بعد تجي تتحاور معاهم , تتحاور معاهم بالعربي أكثر ماتتحاور معاهم بالتارقي.

الباحث: يعني الجيل الصغير أكثر حوارك معاهم بالعربي؟

محمد: ايه, ايه.

الباحث: طيب هما ايردوا عليك بالعربي أو بالتارقي؟

محمد: بالعربي ايردوا بالعربي ومرات مختلط.

الباحث: بالنسبة للاخوه والأخوات اللي في جيلك؟

محمد: هذوما تارقي.

الباحث: في ظنك ليش العيال مثلا يمزجوا فيها ويخلطوا فيها لما يحكوايمزجوا عربي بالتارقي؟

محمد: لان قبل صح كانت تارقيه بس يعني اتجي للشيابين وكذا تلقاهم حتى اللغة العربية موش متلقينها واجد والمصطلحات امتاعهم كلها تارقيه.

الباحث: انعم.

محمد: بعدين اشوي بدت الناس اتخلط بالعربيه وبدت الشياب كلها تتعلم بالعربي وفي الحوش يسمع الكلام كله بالتارقي وبدت كلمه ايجيبها بالتارقية وبالعربي وفيه مصطلحات تارقيه قديمه راحت واختفيت والمصطلح اللي يبدا موش فاهمه بالتارقي بيتكلمه بالعربي يعني حتى تجي المصطلحات القديمه تذكرها قدامهم الأجيال هدي يبدا يضحك يعني بدت حاجه غريبه.

الباحث: بالنسبه لمحمد لما يهدرز مع الشياب فيه اي مشكله في المصطلحات بالتارقي مافيش اي صعوبه؟

محمد: لا عادي فيه صعوبه حتى جيلنا وجيلهم يختلف يعني فيه مصطلحات قديمه يعني هما عاشو فترة الاستعمار وكذا وبدت اللغه امتاعتهم يعني هنا في غات تارقي وفيه بعض المصطلحات, مصطلح تلقاه بالفرنسي مرات تلقى المصطلح جايبينا من دزاير في جانت واليزي متداول أكثر من غات.

الباحث: باهي نطلعو شويا برا الحوش وخلينا انجو للمناسبات الاجتماعيه, شنو اللغة المستخدمه في الأفراح والطهور, الأسبوع شنو لغة الحوار مع الاقارب؟

محمد: لا بالنسبه للأجياله نفسها اللي من جيلك طبيعي بنتكلم معاه تارقي وطبيعي اللغة فيها اختلاط.

الباحث: بالنسبه للهوسا هل تخش عندكم في التارقي والعربي لأني سمعت فيه هوسا؟

محمد: لا مع التارقي لا لا لكن هوسا مع العربي ممكن وبعد واللي يتكلم هوسا تلقى عنده مصطلح عربي.

الباحث: تقدر تهدرز هوسا محمد؟

محمد: شوي شوي موش واجد.

الباحث: تمام.

الباحث: انجو ونطلعو من الحوش ونخشو للعمل العمل ايش لغة التحاور في داخل العمل؟

محمد: العمل معظمه عربي.

الباحث: فيه استخدام شوي للتارقي؟

محمد: بالنسبه لي اني اني كاداري أغلب اللي بتتكلمه عربي ولكن بالنسبه للجنود والأفراد تارقيه مختلطه يعني فيه طوارق الصحراء متمسكين باللغه أكثر منا فطبيعي بنتكلم معاهم بالتارقي يعني.

الباحث: يعني حسب الأشخاص؟

محمد: ايه حسب الاشخاص.

الباحث: بالنسبه للجدود, اجدودك, كيف يكون الحوار معاهم يعني بأي لغه شنو اللغة؟

محمد: لا جدودي حتى تارقي تارقي.

الباحث: تارقي تارقي, مافيش عربي بكل؟

محمد: تارقي تارقي.

الباحث: لولاد الصغار وخوتك الصغار مثلا لما يحكو مع اجدودك كيف التحاور معاهم؟

محمد: بالنسبه للجدود ايحاولو ايكلموهم عربي ومرات ايقولولهم كلمة بالتارقي ممكن مايفهموهاش.

الباحث: فيه صعوبه في التواصل بينهم هكي بالتارقي؟

محمد: الأولا الصغار اللي هم صغار زي أولاد خوي فيه صعوبه في التعامل امعاهم حتى مرات اللي بيقوله شي مايكلماش شخصيا ويكلمك انت كلامه بيش اتوصله المعلومهاللي يبيها.

الباحث: اكويس, ايش اللغة التي تعبر بيها عن نفسك, اي لغه تراها تعبر بيها عن نفسك بطريقه أفضل, يعني ما تلقاش فيها أي مشكله لما تحكي؟

محمد: لا نتكلم عربي أكثر شي.

الباحث: باهي خلينا انجو للكتابه, محمد عندك اية خلفيه على الكتابه بالتارقي؟

محمد: ماخذيناهاش يعني التارقي توارثناه من الجدود بالفطره.

الباحث: مامرش عليك حد يكتب بالتيفيناغ من الجدود؟

محمد: ممكن الشياب الكبار يحسبو في الأعدادفي التجاره.

الباحث: خلينا نحطوا على الدول المجاوره, بالنسبة للتارقيه مالي, الجزائر, انتو شنو تسموها التارقيه؟

محمد: تارقي يعني مثلا تارقي.

الباحث: يعني في مالي ايسموها تماشق.

محمد: تارقي.

الباحث: لو جينا للتارقية اللي يحكو بيها في مالي, والجزائر والنيجر, بالنسبه لمحمد لما يحكي قدامك واحد من الجزائر او مالي والنيجر هل تستطيع فهم الكلام اللي يحكو فيه؟

محمد: بحكم مخالطتي بيهم جماعة مالي معظم المصطلحات يعني فهمتها منهم لكن اللهجه تختلف؟

الباحث: باهي لو سالتك في الثلاث هذين, لهجات أو اللغات, أقرب وحده بالنسبة لك تراه ساهل بالنسبة لكي؟

محمد: بالنسبة لي دزاير أكثر بحكم الاختلاط بيهم.

الباحث: كيف؟

محمد: فيه أقارب وكانت ناس غات أكثر شي يمشو الى جانت, امتاعين مالي ولاخر توا عرفناهم ماعرفناهم من قبل.

الباحث: الأمازيغية اللي يحكو فيها في جبل نفوسه وزواره, هل يامحمد اللهجات هذين مفهومه لك؟

محمد: الامازيغيه وجماعة زواره مثلا المدينه القديمه نسميها أغرم وهم ايسموها أغرمو عندهم الشعير هم ايقولوله تمزين ونحن انقولوله تمزن.

الباحث: باهي هل هي مفهومه؟

محمد: لا, هم عندعم سرعه ومرات يتكلم معاك بسرعه ماتفهماش ولكن مع جماعة مالي والنيجر ممكن يفهموا بعضهم أكثر.

الباحث: هل اطلعت على الاعلان الدستوري؟

محمد: اطلعت على الاعلان الدستوري وعندي كتاب ليه.

الباحث: طبعا هو يحكي على جزئية الاعتراف بالحقوق الثقافيه للمكونات الثقافيه, ايش مدى الرضا عن هذه الفقره؟

محمد: فقره ايجابيه وحق لكل المكونات تحتفظ بالموروث امتاعه الثقافي وتبدا فيه مهرجانات وتسمي الاولاد نفس التسميات القديمه هذي كي ماسمو الأجداد مع اعتبار اللغة العربيه لغة القران يعني ولكن موش القصد اللغه العربيه, اللغه العربيه هي الأم ولكن مع هذا التارقي مايتهمش.

الباحث: يعني لوقلنا هل تعتقد أن التارقيه يعني تدرس في المدارس كماده ثقافيه في المدارس الليبيه في الاماكن اللي يسكن فيها الطوارق يعني كيف الرغبه؟

محمد: حسب الرغبه, يعني اندير له مدارس خاصه اللي يبيبي يتعلم التارقي يتعلم التارقي توا في المجتمعات موش محتاجه بيش تقعد تتعلم تارقي, تتعلم هوسا يعني حتي اللي يتعلم تارقي زمان ماعنداش لغه ثانيه غير قصدي اللغه امتاعه وفي ليبيا يا بتتعلم عربي يابتاخذ لغات ثانيه بيش تتعامل مع الناس الثانيه

الباحث: هل فيه رغبه أن الطوارق أو حتى الاطفال تتعلم الكتابه بالتارقي يعني؟

محمد: أفضل كان تعلموا الكتابه ولكن فيه قصة ان الشعراء اللي يشعروا ماكتبوش بالتارقي.

الباحث: هل في ظنك يامحمد أن التارقيه في ليام هذي قل استخدامها أو استخدامها في ازدياد؟

محمد: لا في تناقص.

الباحث: كيف عبر الأجيال مثلا؟

محمد: عبر الأجيال, بالنسبه للأجيال اللي أكبر مني في الستينات وجيل السبعينات فيه اللي يتكلم معاك التارقي أو العربي.

الباحث: شن رايك الوسيله الأفضل للمحافظه على لغة الطوارق, كيف المحافظه على هل اللغه؟

محمد: ان تكون مثلا مسموحه أن يتكلم بيها وتسمي التسميات, تكون فيه مهرجان بالتارقي وتحتفظ بالمهرجان امتاعك وعندك نشاطات وتحتفظ بالفن ويكون حتى هو مدعوم من الدول وعندك الاذاعه المحليه ويكون مدعومه من الدوله.

الباحث: فيه أي برامج يعني بالتارقي في الاذاعه المحليه؟

محمد: قبل قدمو برامج بالتارقي.

الباحث: زي شنو برامج زي شنو؟

محمد: برامج فكاهيه, يجيبوا حتى فنانين ايغنوا بالتارقي ويجيبوا فيه ناس يحكو في تاريخ قديم, المدينه القديمه وتاريخ غات ومسابقات المصطلحات القديمه وحتى اللي ما يعرفهاش ايتابع فيها هذا من سنه أو سنه ونصف.

الباحث: سامحنا قعدنا سؤال في جرة سؤال ماعش خليناك تشرب, اشرب اشرب(ميه).

محمد: لا عادي عادي.

الباحث: هل البرامج هذين مازالت مستمره وهل مازالت مستمره مثلا برامج عزيز وبرامج جمعية امرجه؟

محمد: توا وقفن البرامج لان الشخص أو المجموعه وقفت حتى الدعم.

الباحث: هل تعتقد هذه الجمعيات مثلا جمعية أمرجا يمكن ان تساهم في التراث؟

محمد: بامكانها فيه, فيه شياب ملمين بالأفكار هذي.

الباحث: في تقديرك وانت من سكان مدينة غات شن هي أكثر الاماكن والمواقف اللي تستخدم فيها التارقيه بكثره؟

محمد: في المناسبات الناس كلها تتحدث تارقي.

الباحث: بالنسبه للاولاد؟

محمد: مرات عربي ومرات تارقي وفيه بيوت التنشئه امتاعها معروفه من البدايه عربي.

الباحث: عندك أية اضافه تحب اتضيفها بحكم انك عسكري وجوال؟

محمد: لا ماعنديش

Appendix F: A list of interview questions

1- Do you speak Targia?

2- What language do you use at home?

3- What language do you use at home when you speak to your children or grandchildren?

4- If you speak to your children in Targia how do they reply, in what language?

5- What language do your children use when they speak to their siblings?

6- What language do your children use when they speak to their grandparents?

7- What language do children use in the street?

8- Do you encounter any difficulties regarding the language when communicate with old people?

9- What is the language used at work?

10- What language do you often use in social events, such as weddings, mournings…etc?

11- What language used in the street?

12- Can you write in Targia?

13- What do you call Targia spoken in Ghat?

14- Do you understand Targia language which is spoken in Mali, Algeria and Niger and to what extent it is understandable?

15- What is more understandable in the three dialects, Algerian, Nigerian or Malian?

16- Is Amazigh language, spoken in Libya, Algeria and Morocco, understandable for you?

17- Are there any differences between the Targia spoken in Ghat, El-Berkat, Isyan, Feiwat and Tahala?

18- Are there any linguistic differences between the language spoken by oldest

generation and the younger generation?

19- Why do you think that the youngest generation use a mixed language?

20- Do you think that the use of Targia has declined or is still alive and used on

daily basis?

21- Which language do you use to express yourself best?

22- What do you think the best way to revitalize Targia?

23- What do you think of the Temporary Constitutional Declaration?

24- Do you think Targia language should be taught in the area where Tuareg live at

least as a cultural subject?

25- Would you like to add anything?