Is Libyan Arabic a corrupted language: A study of Libyans’ attitudes towards the use of Libyan Arabic (ça:mmijjah, darijah)

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Abstract
This paper aims to explore the Libyans people’s attitudes towards the linguistic status and use of Libyan Arabic dialect (ϣﺃ:mmijjah, dariżah) as it is employed on a daily basis. Libyan Arabic is often denigrated and described as a corrupted, not codified and problematic language when assessed against fusˤha:, the language of governmental affairs, religion, medium of instruction in schools and the official language of Libya. However, recent studies revealed that Libyan Arabic has crept into high domains exclusively reserved for Standard Arabic such as the mosque and the schools (1). In fact, some characters that are affiliated with and reserved for Modern Standard Arabic have been lent to Libyan Arabic via the process of “ideological elision” (14 p24). Accordingly, the current study examines the Libyans’ assessment of Libyan Arabic, its codification, its use in public domains, media, advertisements and whether this dialect is considered as a corrupted language in a diglossic setting. Sallabank (32 pp61-62) correlates language attitudes and ideologies with the way individuals perceive language vitality and practices and accordingly, with language policy.

This paper also investigates how Libyan people perceive Libyan Arabic as an in-group marker and of identity.

The results in the current study revealed that the Libyan people evaluated Libyan Arabic positively at not only the functional level but also at the symbolic level. Age group as a social factor turned to be descriptively significant since the younger age group showed more inclinations towards dariżah.

Keywords: Linguistic attitudes, Libyan Arabic, dariżah, Modern Standard Arabic, fusˤha.
الفصحى مثل المسجد والمدارس (1). وبناء عليه، تبحث الدراسة الحالية في تقييم الليبيين للغة العربية الليبية، ترميزها، استخدامها في المجالات العامة، الإعلام، والإعلانات، وما إذا كانت تقيم على أنها لغة معينة خصوصاً في بيئة ثنائية اللغة. يربط Sallabank (32، ص 61-62) الاتجاهات والأيديولوجيات اللغوية بالطريقة التي ينظر بها الأفراد إلى حيوية اللغة واستخداماتها، وبالتالي بالسياسة اللغوية.

تبحث هذه الورقة أيضًا في كيفية رؤية الليبيين للغة العربية الليبية كعلامة للهوية. كشفت نتائج الدراسة الحالية أن الليبيين قيموا اللغة العربية الليبية إيجابياً ليس فقط على المستوى الوظيفي ولكن أيضًا على المستوى الإмотفي. كما بينت الدراسة أهمية العمر كمتغير اجتماعي حيث أظهرت الفئة العمرية الصغرى اتجاهات إيجابية تجاه اللهجة العربية الليبية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الاتجاهات اللغوية، العربية الليبية الدراجة، العربية الليبية الفصحى.
1. Introduction

It is often the case that the colloquial varieties of Arabic are regularly downgraded when assessed against the claimed superior characteristics of Modern Standard Arabic. On one side, ordinary people often express “attitudinal blindness in favor of fusˤạ:” and consciously or unconsciously claim that it is the language they speak though it is not their native language i.e. it has no native speakers (18 p33). Modern Standard Arabic is the medium of instruction in schools and administrative affairs though it is not a spoken language. It 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.

On the other side, 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 and utilized by the majority of Libyans regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. 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. Libyan Arabic as a lingua franca or vehicular language is also used as a medium of interethnic communication in a multilingual setting but it might be used in intra-ethnic interactions. It is employed as a regional lingua franca in areas where non-Arab minorities live. For example, Western Libyan Arabic is used among Amazigh 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.

Davies and Bentahila (6) points out that “the public’s reactions to the new advertisements featuring written colloquial Arabic are certainly worth investigation.”

2. Literature review

According to Garrett (13 p19) attitudes can be defined in different ways. Thurstone (35) refers to attitudes as they may include positive and negative emotional responses. Allport (2) points out that attitudes incorporate specific feeling or behavior towards certain people or object. Sarnoff (1970, p. 279) defines attitudes as "a disposition to react favourably to or
unfavourably to a class of object”. Accordingly, it seems that there is a sort of evaluation for the "social object" and this social object can be a language (13 p19). He points out that the reception and production of a language can be influenced by the speakers' attitudes. Consequently, language attitudes can influence the choice of the language that people communicate with. Language attitudes are about how individuals variably situate themselves within their social group and the way they are linked to other groups (13 p12).

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

Classical, Standard Arabic and fusʕa: 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 (29 p4) asserts that there is a “high degree of similarity between CA and 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, 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 country. 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.

2.2. Colloquial Libyan Arabic (LA)

Libyan Arabic, also known as “lahsa”, “ça:mmijjah”, “dariṣah” 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 (36 p165). In particular, Libyan Arabic is linked to the Maghrebi language group which is distinguished from other linguistic groups such as Levantine by the prefix “n” for the 1st person singular and the prefix “u” for the 1st person plural in the imperfect form of the verb (26 p53). 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 (26). 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 (24). 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 (25 p242). Indeed, linguistic differences can be also found within each dialect. For example, within the eastern dialects, the mountainous towns and cities (Al-Byda, Tobruk) have the interdental fricative sounds [θ] and [ð] whereas in Benghazi these sounds are merged with dental sounds [t] and [d] respectively.

Diglossia (High or Low)

The term diglossia (Fr. diglossie) was introduced by Marcais who applied it to the linguistic situation in Greece and was then generalized by Ferguson (9 p325- 36 p189). 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 (21 p60). The institutional support attached to H and L languages is based on the domain in which they are acquired (27 p33). Ferguson (9) 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 fus‘ha; represents a High variety and is used in certain fields whereas Colloquial Arabic, also known as ṣammijjah, dariżah or dialect, embodies a Low variety and has its own markets. Simply, diglossia is a linguistic correlation between fus‘ha: and ʕammijjah (36).

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 (9 p331). 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-Arab speakers. However, Ferguson’s notion of classical diglossia concerning the use of Arabic and other languages has been redefined (36 p190). 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 (10), 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 (11- 27). 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 (10 p30). Nercissians (21 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 (15 p48) points to the creation of intermediate Arabic varieties between standard Arabic and Arabic dialects. Romaine (27 p35) maintains that the emergence of middle language results from the intensity of contact between the H and L language. Holes (15) 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. Boussofara (3) adopts the idea of “Arabic diglossic switching”, an approach applied by Walters (37) 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. Fasold (8 p54) 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.

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is characterized as an “H” language compared to the Libyan Arabic which is treated as Low. However, the connectedness of Libyan Arabic vernacular with H Arabic through a diglossic situation has empowered it. Libyan Arabic seems to be functionally and symbolically able to promote unity among all Libyans. 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. In other words, Libyan Arabic has operated like “an accessible proxy” for Modern Standard Arabic (14 p24). Hoffman (14) 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 (30), as well, maintains that the prestigious status attached to Moroccan Arabic was due to religion through Modern Standard Arabic.
3. Methodology

3.1 Quantitative Method

3.1.1 Questionnaires

According to Chambers (5), the employment of questionnaires is an efficient method in which data can be collected from a large number of participants in a short time (20 p52). The questionnaire can be easily distributed and collected (28 p302). In the current study, the questionnaires were constructed to elicit language attitudes (12 p25). 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. Another vital advantage of using questionnaires is that they can help to obtain language attitudes (12 p25) and investigate the influence of identity (32 p71).

The questionnaires were distributed on participants by hand and through emails to save the time and were written in English and translated into Modern standard Arabic. This is due to the participants lack of competency in English as well as their desire to present their attitudes effectively in Arabic rather than English. The questionnaire in this study was designed to include various types of questions, response formats and techniques such as rating scales and yes/no questions. Closed questions, for instance, have the advantage of coding the responses easily on a computer and hence save time. This type of questions can be employed to obtain attitudes (12).

The Questionnaires were divided thematically into two parts: the first was designed to elicit demographic information about the respondents such as age, gender, and occupation, and was numbered from 1-4. Many of our questionnaire items (5 to 18) seek information about the Libyans’ attitudes towards the use of Libyan Arabic, its appropriateness, codification and evaluation. The questionnaires end with an open-ended question to give the respondents more space to reflect their opinions, and in case adequate information might not be captured from the closed questions (22 p100-34 p94). The quantitative data was codified in excel and analyzed using the Pivot Table.

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

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

The implementation of a stratified sampling method is based on the differences between social groups. Hence, social factors such as age group, gender, and the proportion of informants need to be determined in advance for the study. Stratified sampling was applied in this study. Eckert (7 p55) identifies two ways of grouping individuals: the etic approach in which speakers are divided into equal age spans such as decades. In the second method, speakers are identified emically, based on shared experience or history.

A clear generalization can be drawn even in the case of strict representativeness. Because linguistic behavior is “more homogeneous” relative to other types of behaviors explored by surveys, a large sample in linguistic surveys is not a prerequisite (19 p21- 33). Labov (16 p180) states that the linguistic behavior produced from a larger sample can also result from a smaller one. Milroy (19 p20) asserts that “it is by no means clear that strict representativeness would necessarily give greater insights into sociolinguistic structure”. The sample size in social science often requires, at least, 4 participants for every cell, but for the reasons above, sociolinguists sometimes use a smaller number.

The study consists of 31 informants, 16 Males and 15 Females. They are deliberately distributed in a quite balanced way across different age groups. The participants of this study live in Al-byda city and are stratified etically, 17-27, 28-38, 39-49, 50-60, 61-71. They are all Libyans of Arab origin.

4. Results and data analysis

The analysis of the data utilized in this section is mainly based on the data captured from the questionnaire. We begin the analysis by asking participants about the language they consider as their mother tongue language. Figure 4.1 shows, as expected, that more than half of the informants (60%) considered MSA as their mother tongue. *fusˤha:* is the language of the Holy Quran was the main reason mentioned by participants to justify They justified their selection. However, it is of much interest that 40% of the respondents reported that Libyan colloquial Arabic is their mother tongue. This is in spite of the fact that it is not a
codified or standardized language. The reasons given by the participants to justify their selection included:

- Libyan Arabic is the first language parents transmit to their children,
- It is the means of communication with all Libyans;
- The easiest and the most understandable;
- Represents the Libyan identity;
- Language spoken on a daily basis;
- Language spoken at schools and work;
- The language of their ancestors.

Davies and Bentahila (6) state that Moroccan colloquial Arabic was described by Moroccans as the mother tongue since it is the first language parents transmit to their children in order to prepare them for school.

![Figure 4.1: Q: Which language is considered your mother tongue?](image)

When the above Figure split into age groups, it is interesting to observe that the younger - aged groups (17-27 and 27-37) selected Libyan Arabic as their mother tongue compared with the other aged-groups Figure 4.2. This possibly reflects this group’ awareness of the salience of Libyan Arabic in their daily life.
Figure 4.2: Q: Which language is considered your mother tongue? By age.

When asked, whether the MSA is different from Libyan Arabic, a significant proportion of participants (around 50%) claimed that these two languages constitute one and the same language (Figure 4.3). Such percentage reflects informants’ beliefs that the claimed superior characteristics affiliated with and reserved for classic and Modern Standard Arabic have been lent to Libyan Arabic via the process of “ideological elision” (14 p 24).

Figure 4.3: Q: Do you think that Modern Standard Arabic is different from Libyan Arabic? By age.

Moving to questions (8,9), which are about the languages that is easier to use and most used in the speakers’ daily life, it seems that the majority of the respondents, as shown in Figure 4.4, reported Libyan darižah as the most accessible language compared to fusˤha:. This reflects the saliency of Libyan Arabic “lahża” since it is the first language acquired by the Libyans (their native language) and suggests that it is prioritized when it comes to the daily use.
In spite of their expressed favorable attitudes towards Libyan Arabic, the mother tongue of Libyan speakers and the easiest language to be used, Figures 4.1, 4.4, participants expressed less interest and enthusiasm towards using it on billboards, in advertisements, shop names and streets’ signs. Individuals claimed that Modern Standard Arabic is more influential than darižah when used in public loci since the latter language may distort the former Figure 4.5. Less than 30% expressed their disinclination towards the utilization of Libyan Arabic in these domains Figure 4.6. Such results seem to be congruent with the respondents’ beliefs who claimed that MSA is their mother tongue language (See Figures 4.1, 4.2), and accordingly, echo their conception and social experience that these loci are for the use of MSA.
Language codification represents the second phase of language planning and may imply the amendments of linguistic items, standardizing grammar, spelling, vocabulary, script and levels of formality. Lambert (17 p4) points out that this phase is a primary domain of language policy. More growing positive attitudes towards Libyan Arabic can be observed from respondents’ expressed inclinations (50%) towards the possibility of darijžah’s codifications, standardization and upgrading it to the status of modern though opponents to colloquial Arabic claim that such developments would undermine the status of fusˤha: and thereby “threaten the unity and cultural legacy enshrined in this variety” (6 p92) (See Figure 4.7).

This suggest that the speakers’ perception of Libyan Arabic as a corrupted language is no longer existed. Such beliefs seem to be consistent with participants’ response to the question “Is Libyan Arabic a corrupted language?” Figure 4.8.
Similar to the above positive attitudes towards Libyan Arabic, Figure 4.9 showed that more than half of the participants (about 52%) selected Libyan Arabic as the most appropriate and legitimate language to be used in social media. In particular, it is the participants of the younger aged-groups who are a few steps ahead of other groups in embracing dariżah as the preferred language in social media Figure 4.10. These results seem to be Congruent with the younger aged group attachment to Libyan Arabic as their mother tongue and reflect a gradual increase (in apparent-time, i.e. across age groups) of the informants’ positive evaluation of Libyan Arabic as an appropriate language (See Figure 4.2).
When asked about the language(s) they use to express themselves best, respondents claimed Libyan Arabic as the most desirable language to express their interests (about 52%) whereas fus'ha reported to be the least preferred language Figure 4.11.

Language is “central to the production of identity” (4) and plays an important role in interpreting, proclaiming and expressing identity in various social contexts (23 p2). 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 (31 p138). 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.

We asked some questions following up on that connection. Answering the question, “Which language does represent your identity?” allowed speakers to choose one of the two languages “fus’haha:” or “darizah” that they feel expresses their own identity. Figure 4.12 showed that there is a noticeable embracing for Libyan Arabic (about 45%) as an indicator of Libyan identity. Reasons such as “darizah” is the easiest and the most understandable were mentioned by respondents to justify its salience whereas “fus’haha:” is the most eloquent and effective language, holds educational value, language of religion, were invoked in the justifications for the respondent’ choices. Interestingly enough and consistent with the above results, most of the participants of the younger aged group chose to describe Libyan Arabic “ca:mmijjah” as the best choice to represent their identities (See Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.12: Q: Which language does represent your identity?
To conclude this section, our informants were asked to rate the two languages in a pyramid form high to low and it seems that they assessed “fus’ha:” slightly higher than Libyan Arabic “darįżah” Figure 4.14. Such assessment mirrors the hierarchical linguistic relationship between Libyan Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, most powerful and prestigious language.

Figure 4.13: Q: Which language does represent your identity?

Figure 4.14: Q Rating Modern Standard Arabic (fus’ha:) and Libyan.
5. Conclusion and recommendation

The data revealed that Libyans have a stronger connection, not only with Modern Standard Arabic, the superior language, but also with Libyan Arabic and considered it as their mother tongue language.

The results also showed that Libyan Arabic is conceived as the most appropriate and legitimate language in certain domains such as social media. Interestingly enough, the analysis detailed in the current study has shown that Libyan Arabic retains a special status and is perceived as a symbol of identity and the idea of considering it as a stigmatized and corrupted language is no longer existed. In particular, the younger age group expressed more enthusiasm and positive attitudes towards Libyan Arabic as the mother tongue, the most appropriated language in social media and as a representative of their identity.

This study hopes to inspire and encourage linguists in general and sociolinguists in particular to conduct more studies to examine the linguistic situations and status of Libyan Arabic since this seems to be a mature area for such studies.
References


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Appendix A

An invitation letter
You are invited to take part in a study examining the Libyan people’s attitudes towards the linguistic status and use of Libyan Arabic dialect (ça:mmijjah, darižah). All personal information given will be confidential. Names of the participants will be known only by the researchers and remain anonymous otherwise. Your participation and corporation is really appreciated to achieve the aim of this study. Please feel free to ask whatever question you have before filling in the questionnaire.

Researcher: Salah Adam

Email: salahadam2013@yahoo.com

Research assistant: Khawla Rasheed
Appendix B

Participants’ consent forms Please tick the appropriate:

- I have read and understood the information given about the project.
  Yes/No

- I have been given the opportunity to discuss about the project and my involvement in it.
  Yes/No

- I agree to participate in this research.
  Yes/No

- I understand that my participation is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part in.
  Yes/No

Participant’s Full name:..........................................................

Signature:..........................................................................

Participant’s contact details:..............................................
Appendix C

Questinnaire

Demographic information
1-Gender: Male – Female
2-Age
17-27, 28-38, 39-49, 50-60, 61-71
3-What is your educational level:
   Primary – Preparatory – Secondary – University – Higher studies
   Other........................................................................................................................
4-Occupation:

Attitudes
5-What languages do you speak?
   Modern Standard Arabic (fusṭa): - Libyan Arabic (dariṣah)
   Other........................................................................................................................
6-What is your mother tongue language?
   Modern Standard Arabic (fusṭa): - Libyan Arabic (dariṣah)
7-Do you think that Modern Standard Arabic is different from Libyan Arabic?
   Yes – No
   Why:........................................................................................................................
8-Which language is easier to use in your daily life?
   Modern Standard Arabic (fusṭa): - Libyan Arabic (dariṣah)
9-Which language is used most in your daily life?
   Modern Standard Arabic (fusṭa): - Libyan Arabic (dariṣah)
10-Do you agree to use Libyan Arabic on billboards, advertisements, shop names and streets’ signs?
   Yes – No
   Why:........................................................................................................................
11- Do you think that the use of Libyan Arabic on billboards, in advertisements, shop names and streets’ signs is more influential than the use of Modern Standard Arabic?
Yes – No
Why:........................................................................................................

12- Do you think that Libyan Arabic can be codified?
Yes – No
Why:........................................................................................................

13- Which language is more appropriate for use in social media?
Modern Standard Arabic (fus'ha:) - Libyan Arabic (dariżah)

14- Which language do you prefer to use in social media and when emailing your friends and relatives?
Modern Standard Arabic (fus'ha:) - Libyan Arabic (dariżah)
Why:........................................................................................................

15- Which language do you use to express yourself best?
Modern Standard Arabic (fus'ha:) - Libyan Arabic (dariżah)
Why:........................................................................................................

16- Which language does represent your identity?
Modern Standard Arabic (fus'ha:) - Libyan Arabic (dariżah)
Why:........................................................................................................

17- Where to place Modern Standard Arabic (fus'ha:) and Libyan Arabic on the following Pyramid:

18- Is Libyan Arabic (dariżah) a corrupted language?
Yes – No
Why:........................................................................................................

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