# The Role of the Urban, Multilingual, Literate Amazigh Woman and Tarifit in Preserving Amazigh Ethnic Identity in the Rif

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## Abstract

This study investigates how Amazigh ethnic identity is being preserved in Morocco through urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women and Amazigh language, specifically Tarifit. Past scholars focused on rural, monolingual Amazigh women. Research mostly agrees that Amazigh women play an invaluable role in preserving Amazigh language and identity through means like art, teaching their children Tamazight, and oral storytelling (Belahsen et al., 2017; Gagliardi, 2020; Hoffman, 2006; Laghssais, 2021, Sadiqi, 2007). The preservation practices of rural, monolingual, illiterate Amazigh women continues to be studied, a gap in current literature exists on how urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women might be preserving Amazigh language and culture. A gap in literature also exists on how the inclusion of Tamazight in the 2011 Constitution might change the status of Tamazight as a vehicle of Amazigh ethnic identity. This study attempts to begin filling the gap by answering "what is the role of urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women and Tarifit in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity in the Rif?" Evidence indicates that urban living, multilingualism, and literacy impacted traditional forms of Amazigh cultural expression, which may impact the role that Amazigh language and women play in preserving their ethnic identity.

Keywords: Amazigh language, Amazigh women, Imazighen, ethnic identity, Tarifit, multilingual, literature, urban

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# Introduction

Ethnic identity is especially evident in Tarifit, the language spoken by the Imazighen who live in the Rif, which is a region in Northern Morocco. Amidst conquering nations, language policy shifts, and centripetal language pressures, the Imazighen—who are the indigenous people of North Africa—have continued to speak Tarifit, which is inextricably linked to Amazigh ethnic identity. Not only does the survival of Tarifit defy the usual development of languages, but the primary preservers of these languages are arguably the most marginalized population within the Amazigh community: Amazigh women (Sadiqi, 2007). How have an oral language and a people seen as the "colonized of the colonized" been not only able to survive but compete for relevance in the complex linguistic landscape of Morocco (Camus et al., 2017, p. 40)? Research has increasingly focused on answering this question, specifically on the role of monolingual, rural, illiterate Amazigh women in preserving Amazigh language and identity. In recent years, many language policies have shifted in Morocco, most notably a movement towards Arabization post Morocco's independence in 1954, the standardization of Tamazight[1] in 2003, and making Tamazight a national language alongside classical Arabic in the 2011 Moroccan constitution. In addition to these events, increasing digitalization and globalization have had a significant impact on Amazigh culture in Morocco. These events have led to an increasing number of Amazigh women becoming urban, multilingual, and literate. There seems to be a current gap in literature on how urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women might be preserving Amazigh language and ethnic identity in Morocco today. This study will attempt to begin filling in that gap.

# A History of the Imazighen in Morocco

## The Origin of the Imazighen

To best understand the key constructs in this study (Amazigh women, Amazigh language, ethnic identity, and role), it is necessary to give a brief history of the Amazigh in Morocco and an overview of Morocco's current linguistic landscape. Today North Africa is divided into the Maghrib or "Islamic West" and the Mashriq or "Islamic East" (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). The Maghrib is composed of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Mauritania. Maddy-Weitzman (2011) writes that Berber-speaking peoples have been central to the Maghrib even before the Arabs invaded in the seventh century. Though not traditionally recognized by earlier Maghribi nationalists, Berber culture and ethnicity have helped to shape North Africa into what it is today. The largest population of Berber people is in Morocco (Camus et al., 2017). This study will focus on the population of Berbers living in the Riffian city of Al

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[1] Tamazight is a word used for all Amazigh languages, including Tarifit.

Hoceima, who are also referred to as "Riffi" or "Riffi Berbers." The "Rif" or "Rif Mountains" is located on Morocco's coast, bordered by the Mediterranean sea and Spain on the north, and the Atlantic Ocean on the west. Al Hoceima is on the northern edge of the Rif Mountains. Until recently, much of Berber language has been transmitted only orally, which means that the majority of Berber history has been written by outsiders who often depicted them as semi-savages (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). The Berbers have appeared in history by a myriad of names. The Greek, Roman, and eventually Arab conquerors referred to them as "Africans," "Numidians," "Moors," *barbaroi* meaning "barbarians" and *barbar* meaning "babble noisily" after the language they spoke (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 2). Around the 1990s, Berber people started to refer to themselves as *Amazigh*, meaning "free man" (Crawford & Hoffman, 2006, p. 117, & Maddy-Weitzman, 2011, p. 2). Amazigh is the adjectival form of the noun *Tamazight* (pl. Imazighen), which is also used to refer to all Berber languages (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011). Berbers were first written into documented historical record by the chroniclers of the conquering Arab Muslim armies in the seventh century. These armies brought Arab culture, Arabic language, and Islam to North Africa (Maddy-Weitzman, 2011).

## European Colonization and Arabization

European colonization of North Africa caused specific borders to be drawn in the Maghreb, which isolated the Berber people into separate countries (Almasude, 2001). In Morocco, the French Protectorate from 1912 to 1956 not only introduced French but also attempted to reinforce the distinction between "Berbers" and "Arabs" to cause division and remain in power. French became the language of prestige, the medium of instruction in schools, and began to dominate Moroccan society. Through a myriad of strategies, the French elite began promoting the association of Arabic/Arab with Islam and Amazigh with shallow Islam, creating a tangled linkage of language, culture, law, and identity (Kabel, 2018). The legitimization of these ethnic differences became a "cornerstone of colonial administration" (Kabel, 2018, p. 486). Ultimately, French colonial policy resulted in the ethnicization of Amazigh identity and the politicization of language, making both "identity" and "language" politically charged categories in Morocco (Kabel, 2018). Indeed, Soulaimani writes that the current Amazigh/Berber language and identity debate did not exist in pre-colonial Morocco (Soulaimani, 2016). Though Morocco is now free from French rule, the French language and effects of colonialism still impact Moroccan society today.

The wake of European colonization in Morocco left a linguistic soil ripe for Arab politicians to plant the seeds of

Arabization. The overarching goal of Arabization in Morocco was to eradicate the vestiges of European colonization efforts, advance the Arabic language, preserve Arab-Muslim values, and strengthen national identity (Loutfi, 2020). This seeming attempt to create a monolingual nation ignored Morocco's two mother tongues: Darijah (Dialectal Moroccan Arabic) and Tamazight (Berber languages) (Marley, 2004). Literate Arabic grew in prestige in political, administrative, legal, religious, and media spheres. A combination of European colonization and Arabization acted as the wet cement that eventually solidified the association of written Arabic with men and oral Tamazight with women.

Amidst post-colonialism and Arabization efforts in the 1970s, many scholars questioned whether the seemingly isolated and disconnected Berbers would ever be able to form a significant political force in the unstable political climate of independent Morocco (Crawford & Hoffman, 2000). Berbers shared the same religion as the dominant Arabic-speakers and lacked their own written language, which was thought to be necessary to form a linguistically defined ethnic identity (Crawford & Hoffman, 2000). Increasingly the Imazighen people were associated with tribalism, a mindset that would need to be eradicated to form a more powerful nation-state (Kabel, 2018). During the thrust of the Arabization movements, there were no attempts to standardize or develop Amazigh varieties. Urbanization, poverty, lack of resources, and exclusive language policy negatively impacted Amazigh vitality (Kabel, 2018).

## Modern Amazigh Cultural Movements

Despite these factors, in the 1990s a transformative cultural revival for the Berber people began (Crawford & Hoffman, 2000). Amazigh leaders felt threatened by the Arabization project (Zakhir & O'Brien, 2017). They saw it as an attempt to marginalize the use of Tamazight. Amazigh activists argued that Tamazight should be recognized as a national language and not simply a dialect of Arabic (Becker, 2006). The Imazighen in Morocco began to identify with Imazighen in other countries and joined a transnational Amazigh group called the World Amazigh Congress (Becker, 2006). In 2001, King Muhammad VI established the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture or *Institut royal de la culture amazighe* (IRCAM), which promoted the study of Tamazight and Amazigh culture (Becker, 2006). Books on Amazigh people began to be published, and internationally accessible websites promoting Amazigh culture were created. Scholars Crawford and Hoffman (2000) summarize these Amazigh cultural movements with the following: "Imazighen are literally writing themselves into the histories they contend have ignored or misrepresented them" (p. 119). One of the most significant results of the Amazigh cultural movement was the inclusion of standardized Tamazight as an official language of Morocco alongside Standard Arabic in the 2011 Moroccan Constitution. Today, Tamazight and Moroccan Arabic are the two mother tongues of Morocco with Classical Arabic and a standardized version of Tamazight as the official languages. French, Spanish, and English are also spoken widely.

## Amazigh Language

There are three main dialects of Amazigh language, all of which are spoken in Morocco: Tashelhit, Tamazight, and Tarifit. Tarifit is spoken in the Rif Mountains of northern Morocco; Tamazight in the Middle Atlas Mountains and southern desert oasis; and Tachelhit in the Sus Valley, High Atlas Mountains, and Anti-Atlas Mountains (Becker, 2006). Speakers of Tamazight and Tachelhit can communicate with one another, but it is difficult for Tamazight/Tachelhit speakers to communicate with Tarifit speakers (Becker, 2006). All three languages can be referred to under the umbrella term "Tamazight." Tamazight is an oral language and, until recently, had not been codified, though some Moroccan archives contain centuries-old manuscripts with Amazigh language written in Arabic script (Soulaimani, 2019). Berber has been influenced by French, Standard Arabic, and Dialectal Arabic but has remained distinctive. Part of Tamazight's survival is owed to the Imazighen's pride in their language, as well as their geographical location; many Imazighen communities have traditionally lived in villages that were isolated from urban populations (Camus et al., 2017). The participants in this study speak Tarifit.

## Tamazight and Identity

Much of current literature agrees that the Amazigh language is inextricably tied to Amazigh culture and identity (Lafkioui, 2013 & Ennaji, 2010 & Marley, 2004). Because of centuries of intermarriage and living alongside one another, Berbers and Arabs are often distinguishable only by whether they speak Arabic or Berber natively. Ennaji (2010) writes that "race, political affiliation, and social class are not as crucial as language in determining ethnic groups in the Maghreb; it is impossible to distinguish a Berber from an Arab on the basis of race" (p. 408). The reality that Arabic is required for the practice of Islam means that many Imazighen use some degree of Arabic and feel themselves to be Arab as well as Amazigh (Camus et al., 2017). Increasing Arabic/Tamazight bilingualism has made it harder to distinguish between Arabs and Berbers, but several scholars, including Ennaji (2010), agree that "Berber speakers form an ethnic group in their own right because non-Berbers very rarely speak Berber" (p. 408). Marley (2004) writes that Tamazight is still a "language with symbolic value, which shapes the mental world of Berber speakers and defines their collective cultural identity" (p. 27).

## Tamazight, Tifnagh, and Language Policy

The establishment of IRCAM by King Mohammad the VI, the inclusion of "Standard Amazigh" language into the 2011 Moroccan Constitution, the

Tifinagh script, and the 2003 introduction of language into educational policies have all impacted the oral nature of Tamazight. One of IRCAM's primary jobs was to choose a script for a standardized Amazigh language which would supposedly combine all the dialects of Tamazight. "Tifinagh" was chosen as the script for this de-dialectalized version of Tamazight by a division within IRCAM. Tifinagh is an ancient script related to the ancient Libyan system of writing discovered in North Africa (Soulaimani, 2016). The origins of the script are contested, with some scholars saying Tifinagh is originally Phoenician and others saying it is exclusively Amazigh (Soulaimani 2019). Some Berber peoples outside of Morocco are more frequent users of Tifinagh; for example, Tifinagh is closely associated with the writing of Tuareg, which is an Afro-Asiatic language of the Amazigh family currently spoken in Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Algeria (Soulaimani, 2019). Some scholars note that the "Tifinagh" alphabet does not seem to be a linguistic vehicle of Amazigh culture in Morocco (Camus et al., 2017). In fact, Tamazight is often written using the Latin alphabet. On the other hand, however, Fatima Tabaamrant, a well-known Moroccan artist and Amazigh woman born in 1963, has written songs about the Tifinagh alphabet. In one such song she sings, "For the promotion of my identity / The Tifinagh alphabet / Is deeply rooted in my heart / Glory and grandeur for our culture" (Yacine, 2001). In short, even though Tifinagh has been chosen as the official script of Tamazight in Morocco, a live debate currently persists over this decision and Tifinagh's relation to Amazigh language/identity (Soulaimani, 2016).

Kabel (2018) claims that the standardization of Tamazight and its appearance in the school system may be contributing to Amazigh "devitalization." Devitalization emerges "at the intersection of colonial histories, state policy, institutionalized language hierarchies, language planning designs and effects, cultural politics, and the 'structures of linguistic feelings'" (Kabel, 2018, p. 486). Kabel (2018) argues that this standardization process discarded sociolinguistically valid principles of authenticity relating to actual language practice. He also warns that this sterilized version of Tamazight risks creating new dimensions of diglossia between illiterate and literate Imazighen, which would particularly impact illiterate Amazigh women. According to Kabel (2018), even the way standardized Tamazight is being presented in school is making it purely a language of communication, not a medium of instruction, which could further the potential for Amazigh devitalization.

## Tamazight and Social Media

In recent years, the existence of the Internet has strengthened Amazigh cultural movements. Through access to an international audience, it has also added to the prestige of the language and begun to reverse the seeming decline of Tamazight speakers (Marley, 2004 & Mnouer, 2021). Hoffman (2006) writes that there is now little danger for Tamazight to "die" in the immediate future. Amazigh youths have begun using their social networks to revive Amazigh culture and language (Camus et al., 2017 & Mnouer, 2021). Despite the increasing role of the Internet in language/culture preservation practices, Camus et al. (2017) write that “the spoken language remains the most conspicuous identity marker” (p. 36). Many scholars interested in the Imazighen are now able to find a wealth of cultural information on Amazigh websites, especially because most of the Amazigh websites are written in English or French. Despite some of the complications of the past several decades, it remains an impressive feat that, in the face of conquering nations and dominant world languages, Tamazight has continued to persist. Sadiqi (2007) writes that the survival of Tamazight is “an exception to the usual development of languages'' (p. 27). Along with other scholars, Sadiqi (2007) insists that Tamazight’s survival is owed first and foremost to Amazigh women.

## Amazigh Women

While often referred to as the victims of marginalization and discrimination, much of current literature agrees that Amazigh women have played, and continue to play, a significant role in preserving Berber culture and the Amazigh language itself (Belahsen et al., 2017; Gagliardi, 2020; Hoffman, 2006; Laghssais, 2021, Sadiqi, 2007). Sadiqi (2007) writes that the fate of Amazigh has been closely tied to the fate of its women. Throughout the history of the Amazigh people, Amazigh women have been queens, leaders, saints, warriors, and politicians (Aissi, 2019). In fact, Amazigh families were once considered matriarchal, with the heritage lines marked through the women. While Amazigh women have had powerful positions among their tribes, until recently they have been marginalized as Moroccan citizens largely because of linguistic barriers (Aissi, 2019). Amazigh women, whether willingly or unwillingly, have occupied the role of cultural preservers largely because of being monolingual, illiterate, and living in rural areas. Amazigh women preserve culture through a multitude of ways, including making art, poetry, raising children, singing songs, carrying on traditions, and—most notably for this study—speaking Tamazight and preserving oral literature.

## Amazigh Women, Oral Literature, and the Internet

Oral literature includes music, songs, dances, stories, proverbs, and riddles (Sadiqi, 2007). Music and song are two particularly significant forms of Amazigh oral literature. Sadiqi (2007) writes that the “soul of Amazigh is indisputably expressed” through music and song (p.29). Sadiqi (2007) also writes that oral tradition “draws on the realms of the wondrous in which women escape from their traditional roles, proving that women have a knowledge which is not always the prerogative of men” (p. 27). Yacine (2001) likewise asserts that oral poetry has given Amazigh women an escape from traditional roles. She credits poetic expression with the ability to give Amazigh women “the opportunity to get out of the home sphere,” which causes “an inversion of hierarchies'' (p. 105). Oral literature is a large part of not only Amazigh heritage but also Moroccan history (Sadiqi, 2007). Sadiqi (2007) posits that oral literature is deeply feminine. Macdonald (2021) writes that “in the absence of the written word, Berber women are the guardians of language and other elements of Berber culture” (para. 14). It seems that throughout centuries of outside conquerors recording Amazigh history, oral literature from the mouths of Amazigh women has preserved the insider records of the Imazighen.

Lafkioui (2008) points out that the increasing presence of literacy and electronic media is changing the oral character of the Amazigh language. Lafkioui (2008) illustrates this change through a study of the reconstruction of an Amazigh oral poem on an Amazigh website. She concludes that the Internet is generating “new dimensions of Amazigh orality,” most notably increasing its prestige, making it accessible to the world and recontextualizing oral literature from an oral, local, interactive context to a digital, trans-local context (Lafkioui, 2008, p. 1). Despite this recontextualization, Lafkioui (2008) notes that oral literature still seems to have the same sociocultural function of transmitting and exchanging Amazigh cultural tradition.

## Amazigh Women, Language Policy, and Literacy

Aissi (2019) asserts that the inclusion of Tamazight as an official language in the 2011 Constitution has allowed the monolingual Amazigh woman to gain political recognition. She concludes her study with the powerful statement “the revival of this language means the demise of the Amazigh women’s marginalization in Morocco and the rise of their political, social and economic rights” (Aissi, 2019, p. 14). Similar to Aissi (2019), Sadiqi (2007) believed that the standardization of Amazigh languages and their inclusion in the education system would be directly proportionate with the promotion of women in Morocco. In contrast to Aissi (2019) and Sadiqi (2007), Becker (2006) wrote that the traditional gap between political agenda and rural Amazigh life that has particularly marginalized monolingual women is one of the major reasons for the survival of Amazigh culture and language (Becker, 2006). This gap has led to the association of illiteracy and Amazigh languages with women, which has ensured that monolingual Berber women continue to speak Amazigh languages, and thus preserve oral traditions (Becker, 2006). In essence, the role of Amazigh women as preservers of Amazigh culture has traditionally been intensified by being monolingual, illiterate, and living in rural areas.

## Ethnic Identity and Role

Amazigh “ethnic identity” and “role” form a contextualized definition based on the Amazigh people, language, and women. Becker (2006) writes that female Berber artists create and wear the artistic symbols of Berber identity, which has made the female body itself a symbol (Becker, 2006). She also writes that as concepts of Berber ethnicity have changed, “women’s arts have been transformed from localized ethnic symbols to symbols that represent a transnational Berber identity” (Becker, 2006, p. 2). Lafkiou (2008) ties Tarifit as a symbolic marker to Amazigh group identity, which stands in “opposition to various other local and trans-local group identities for instance…the Arab-Islamic identity” (Lafkiou, 2008, p. 112-113). Echoing similar sentiments, Weiztman (2011) defines modern Berber identity as “an ideal and, increasingly, as a movement” that “serves as a tangible counterpoint to both state-dominated political and social life and opposition to Islamist currents'' (Weiztman, 2011, p. 10).

In summary, Amazigh ethnic identity is both symbolized and preserved by Amazigh women and Amazigh language. More recently, it appears Amazigh ethnic identity has been shifting to a transnational movement, which opposes other ethnic identities, especially Arab-Islamic identities. For the purposes of operationalization, “ethnic identity” will be defined in this study as “attitudes regarding group membership” (Beker, 2006) and “role” will be measured by the connections between ethnic identity, Imazighen (specifically women), and Tarifit. In light of the Internet’s impact on oral literature and the 2011 Moroccan Constitution specifically, there appears to be a gap in how urban, multilingual, educated Amazigh women are currently preserving Amazigh language and culture. This case study will attempt to begin filling this gap.

# Methods

## Participants

All three participants in this case study are literate, multilingual, Amazigh women who live in the urban city of Al Hoceima in Morocco. The participants in the study will be referred to by the pseudonyms Fatima, Sakina, and Takama. Fatima and Sakina are unmarried Amazigh women in their twenties. Takama is an older, married Amazigh woman who is a practicing speech therapist. Fatima speaks Darijah, Tarifit, English, French, and Spanish. Her father speaks Tarifit and her mother speaks Darijah. Sakina speaks Tarifit, French, English, and Darijah. Both her parents speak Tarifit. Takama grew up in Targuist, which is an Arabic-speaking town on the edge of the Rif with its own dialect of Amazigh language. She has lived in Al Hoceima for eleven years now. She speaks Tarifit, Darijah, French, and a little English. She and her husband speak Tarifit in the home. These people were asked to participate in this case study because they are Amazigh women who are multilingual, literate, live in an urban area of Morocco; and because they are friends of a personal contact of mine.

## Participant Procedures

These participants were a convenience sample because they were contacts of a friend. All participants received a consent form, which they had time to read and sign. Because of both language barriers and time, each participant was interviewed with a slightly different method. Fatima was interviewed over a Zoom call that was recorded and transcribed. Sakina was interviewed through a combination of texts and voice memos over WhatsApp that were transcribed. Takama was interviewed by a personal contact in Morocco, who translated Takama's responses from Tarifit into English and sent voice memos over WhatsApp summarizing Takama's responses. IRB approval was obtained for this project before the interviews were conducted.

## Instruments Used

The measures used to collect data in this case study were interview questions. The structure of the questions allowed for semi-structured, in-depth, content-oriented interviews, modeled after Duff's (2007) suggestions. A content-focused interview is most concerned with the narrative reconstructions of a person's life, so additional follow-up questions were asked to each participant depending on her answers. Some of the specific questions asked in this study were modeled after Bell's (2014) suggestions for conducting language attitude research. Bell (2007) proposes that the simplest way to do language attitude research is to ask participants directly about their language attitudes (p. 259). In addition to Duff (2007) and Bell (2014), the process for developing this case study followed the recommendations outlined by Paltridge and Phakiti (2010), specifically coming to the study with a question/curiosity, situating the case in a particular context, and member checking. To increase validity, the final paper was also sent to one of the participants, who affirmed the findings and conclusions of this study. Because these interviews were semi-structured, in-depth, content-oriented interviews, some leading or clarifying questions were asked to each participant. Not every interview used every question or followed the exact order of the questions in the Appendix.

## Research Design

The methodology for this study arose primarily from Duff's (2007) suggestions on how to conduct phenomenological research with a content-focused interview. This approach focuses on "lived experiences" such as language, culture, or education. Thematic analysis was conducted on the current literature presented in the literature review. The literature was coded into the following categories: Arabization, Tarifit/Amazigh culture, multilingualism (French, Moroccan Arabic, Classical Arabic/Modern Standard Arabic), diglossia/power imbalance, language policy, education, orality/literacy, Internet, Amazigh women/role, preservation, and identity. These themes were chosen because they repeatedly emerged in the articles, journals, and books that were read for this study. Considering the reality that there is very little research on urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women, this study was designed with the mindset of a grounded theorist. Hadley (2019) defines the mindset of a grounded theorist as a researcher who enters "a particular social arena in a spirit of intellectual humility, and stays open to all possibilities as one asks questions." The research, design, data collection, and data analysis of this study were all approached with a spirit of curiosity. Ultimately this case study was a project of discovery.

## Analysis Process

The analysis of data for this study was informed by Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM), particularly as defined by Glaser (Walker & Myrick, 2006). The data was coded in two phases: substantive and theoretical. The substantive coding consisted of two subphases: open coding and selective coding. The data was open-coded into the categories of multilingualism, urbanization, identity, women, and oral/literate Tarifit. These codes mirrored many of the themes that emerged in reviewing the current literature for this study. The data was then selectively coded around the core categories of form and role. In the last phase of the analysis, the theoretical codes of revitalization, preservation, and devitalization were used to conceptualize how the substantive codes were related in order to produce a cohesive theory.

The purpose of GTM is not to verify an existing theory but rather to expand existing research or develop new perspectives on a little-researched topic (Hadley, 2019). According to the work of Glasser and Strauss, "grounded" means "rooted in firsthand evidence" and "theory" means "an explanatory model" that fits the data and can be understood by both academics and laymen (Hadley, 2019, p. 265). Hadley (2019) reminds his readers that, even in the final analysis, grounded theories are not proven but are rather suggestions. The theories that result from GTM are merely an "integrated set of hypotheses, not findings." Thus, the findings in this case study should not be viewed as generalizable or conclusive but rather as a collection of observations and hypotheses intended to lead to further research.

# Findings/Discussion

To reiterate, before presenting the results of this study, the research question is "what is the role of urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women and Tarifit in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity in the Rif?" Because of the narrative nature of this case study, the findings and discussion section have been combined. The results of this study indicated the significance of an unexpected construct: form. "Form" will be defined in this study as the medium used by Amazigh women to preserve ethnic identity. "Role" is defined in this study as connections between ethnic identity, Imazighen (specifically women), and Tarifit. This portion of the paper will walk through the participants' attitudes towards being Amazigh (ethnic identity); the impact of urban living, multilingualism, and literacy on the forms of Amazigh cultural expression used by the participants in this study; the resulting role Amazigh women play in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity with these forms; and the current forms and function of Tarifit in the city of Al Hoceima.

## Amazigh Ethnic Identity

This study defined ethnic identity as "attitudes towards group membership" (Beker, 2006). All three women's attitudes towards Amazigh ethnic identity were positive and resembled the definitions found in current literature—that is, Amazigh ethnic identity as increasingly transnational. However, not all three participants saw Amazigh ethnic identity as oppositional to Arab ethnic identity (Becker, 2006 & Lafkiou, 2008 & Weiztman, 2011). For Fatima, being Amazigh is an "...identity like what you are. Like when I say 'Amazigh,' I feel proud of course. I feel like it represents a long history, a rich culture,… and a lot of other things. You feel like you are a part of something." She also stressed that, despite the fact that "people always mistake us for Arabs," the Imazighen are definitely *not* Arab. According to Fatima, some Imazhighen, though they know they are Amazigh, will refer to themselves as "we Arabs." The reality that some Imazighen feel themselves to be Arab *and* Amazigh resonates with Camus et al.'s (2017) insight, which holds that the prevalence of Arabic and Islam have impacted how the Imazighen see themselves.

Takama viewed being Amazigh as an identity that she is proud of and is teaching her children to be proud of, too. She also stressed that she is Moroccan as well as Amazigh, and that there is now little to no tension between the Imazighen and Arabs. When asked how she would explain who the Imazighen are, Sakina responded, "Amazigh people are one of the oldest indigenous tribes in the world. We were the natives in North Africa before Morocco existed, also before the Arabs attacked us." Like Fatima, Sakina made sure to distinguish the Imazighen from Arabs. When asked what it means to her personally to be Amazigh, Sakina answered, "It means a lot to me, to be honest. It's an honor to be part of the Imazighen! Our people are not really known in the world, but that doesn't stop me from being a proud Amazigh woman, and I'm proud of this language and culture, and grateful to my family who kept the roots of Amazigh in me." While both Sakina and Fatima made mention to the Imazighen in a transnational context and not just local, they both expressed pride in their Amazigh ethnic identity regardless of what the wider world does or does not know about them. As will be seen, some of the contemporary forms for Amazigh cultural expression seem to fit a more transnational, distinct-from-Arab view of Amazigh ethnic identity.

## Role of Amazigh Women

Consistent with the literature, all three participants either explicitly or implicitly communicated that Amazigh women have an important role in Amazigh culture (Belahsen et al., 2017; Gagliardi, 2020; Hoffman, 2006; Laghssais, 2021, Sadiqi, 2007). Fatima stated that "...a lot of the Amazigh culture is based on women." She also expressed her pride in the Amazigh queens that once ruled Amazigh societies. According to Fatima, "...they [Amazigh women] are very important. We are [important]." Takama implicitly communicated the importance of women by explaining her role as a mother in teaching her children to be proud of their Amazigh identity. Sakina insisted that "women play a vital role in preserving Amazigh artistic and cultural heritage..." While all three women affirmed that Amazigh women are still important to Amazigh culture today, it appears that urban living, multilingualism, and literacy are impacting Amazigh forms of cultural expression, which may in turn impact the traditional role that Amazigh women play in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity.

## The Impact of Urbanization on Form and Role

Living in an urban area has impacted some of the traditional cultural forms Amazigh women use to preserve their ethnic identity. Both Fatima and Sakina mentioned music, oral storytelling, and a poetry genre referred to as "izran" as forms that Amazigh women have traditionally used to preserve Amazigh culture. Sakina explained, "The women created a genre that brought the community together. It felt like it gave them an identity, just because it's not that popular worldwide, so it actually made them feel really special. This genre of music became so traditional that many Amazigh events and weddings use that type of music" and Fatima explained, "They used to write poems. Sing it. Izran." Sakina also mentioned "textiles" and "dance" as female forms for cultural preservation. Both Sakina and Fatima told me that their parents and grandparents had passed on oral stories to them about the Imazighen of the past. All three women mentioned traditional weddings as important to Amazigh culture.

When asked if urban living impacts the preservation of Amazigh ethnic identity, Fatima responded, "Tamazight culture has been built in rural places so when people moved to the urban areas they lost a lot of those cultural things (some special meals, dances, songs, weddings celebrations, rural vocabulary …) all of these have been affected by the 'modern' life and the introduction of other cultures." All the "cultural things" that Fatima mentions being lost are forms that Amazigh women have traditionally used to preserve Amazigh ethnic identity. In rural places, Amazigh women were often expected to stay in the house. When asked if she thinks women play an important role in preserving Amazigh culture, Takama explained it is harder now for Amazigh women to carry out this role because, in many urban areas, they now work outside of the home. Despite this challenge, Takama said she is still trying to teach her children to be proud of their Amazigh heritage. On the positive side, living in an urban area gives Amazigh women a greater audience with whom they can share Amazigh culture. Sakina mentioned being able to represent Amazigh culture in Poland at an event where she wore traditional Amazigh clothing. Fatima tutors people in Tarifit, including foreigners, who she may never have met if she lived in a rural area. Takama offers speech therapy in Tarifit to other Imazighen, but also in Arabic or French to non-Imazighen. Ultimately the role of urban Amazigh women in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity is no longer carried out purely amidst their rural Amazigh communities, but also amidst the non-Imazighen living in the city.

## The Impact of Multilingualism on Form and Role

According to Fatima, multilingualism seems to have a similar impact as urban living on forms of Amazigh cultural expression: loss. The form of Amazigh cultural expression that multilingualism most directly impacts is Tarifit. When asked if she thought being multilingual impacts how the Imazighen preserve their culture, Fatima responded, "Yes, being multilingual definitely impacts in preserving the Amazigh language because we end up using words in other languages more often so the ones that are in Tamazigh get forgotten." Rather than solely speaking Tarifit, Amazigh women now often speak a mixture of Spanish, French, Darijah, English, and Tarifit. Fatima told me that the language she feels most comfortable expressing herself in is Spanish and her favorite way to communicate is a mixture of Spanish and Tarifit. When asked how foreign languages have impacted Tarifit, Fatima responded that Imazighen will often "...think it's Tarifit because they pronounce it in an Amazigh way, but like their origin is Spanish. We use a lot, a lot of those words." When asked how Darijah has impacted Tarifit, Fatima first explained that Darijah is actually a combination of Classical Arabic and Tarifit, so the question should be the other way around. She then said, "There is like… a lot of words we use in Arabic because we didn't have that word in Tarifit. So like for example 'information' we use an Arabic word to say that. Anything that's new like that has to do with documents and… we use Arabic." It seems that the presence of other languages alongside Tarifit may lead to the loss of Tarifit vocabulary, especially in contexts where more modern or technical vocabulary is required.

Despite being multilingual, speaking Tarifit still seems to be the predominant form that Sakina, Fatima, and Takama use in their daily lives to preserve their Amazigh identity. When asked how she personally preserves Amazigh language and culture, Fatima responded, "By speaking the language and I ask a lot of questions like if I see that someone knows anything about the history of Riffian people or 'izran,' I ask them." When asked a similar question, Sakina responded, "I personally think there is no better way to preserve our language than to just speak as much as possible with friends and family if possible. Music also plays a huge role in our culture and from it we can also master our language, but in a fun way!!" Takama used to think that teaching your children too many languages would be bad for their development, so she chose to focus on teaching her first child Tarifit only. Takama's prioritization of teaching her child Tarifit over other languages shows that Tarifit is still an important form of communication and ethnic identity, even among multilingual Imazighen. When asked what language she would speak with her children one day, Sakina said it depended on where she lived but that she'd definitely "speak with them Tarifit because it's from their roots." This is another indicator that, though Tarifit is no longer the only form of communication between Amazigh mothers and their families, it is nevertheless an important form that is still tied to ethnic identity. Becker's (2006) argument may only be partially true, that the association of illiteracy and monolingualism with Amazigh women is what has protected oral traditions and the modern usage of the Amazigh language. While multilingualism does pose a threat to Tarifit, all three of the participants left no question that Tarifit is still currently a highly valued, highly symbolic language that they intend to continue speaking to their children.

## The Impact of Literacy on Form and Role

Of the three categories (multilingualism, urban living, and literacy), literacy seems to have had the greatest impact on the forms Amazigh women use to preserve Amazigh ethnic identity. In this context, one potential impact of literacy is creating another level of diglossia within the Tarifit language itself between oral and written Tarifit. Almost every mention of the oral form of Tarifit was met with a word like "forget, erase, negative, or hard to preserve" from Fatima. Fatima's negative view of orality was surprising given Sadiqi's (2007) claim that Amazigh oral tradition is inseparable from Amazigh women. When asked "How Tarifit being an oral language impacts Amazigh culture?" Fatima responded,

> It impacts in a negative way. If something is not written then it's like "who will keep it?" Because again, like you use other languages, because it's easier to express something and then you don't words and if I don't use it in like five years it's forgotten, so it impacts us…it's erasing a lot of other…just like my dad the words that my dad knows and the words that I know. He knows more with time. I name the plate in a different way and he names it in a different way.

Fatima's negative view of orality seems to have, in her mind, separated the Amazigh woman from any ownership of the oral form of Tarifit that Sadiqi (2007) calls deeply feminine. This is profoundly evident in the phrase "If something is not written…who will keep it?" According to Fatima, not necessarily Amazigh women. Fatima's dissociation of Tarifit orality with women could be because her mother is a speaker of Darijah and her father is a speaker of Tarifit; however, her mother speaking Darijah doesn't seem to explain her negative view of orality. When asked how Tarifit being an oral language impacts Amazigh culture, Sakina responded:

> Since it is an oral language, it also gives freedom for us to speak the Tamazight as we please. Many languages have grammatical rules, while Tamazight does not. In our Berber culture, many Imazighen speak Tamazight with a dialect and often have other words for certain things. But that doesn't make it harder for us to understand.

Sakina saw the form of oral Tamazight as freeing but not necessarily feminine. She also connected oral dialects of Tamazight with Amazigh culture, which seems to support Kabel's (2018) view that the de-dialectized "standard" Tamazight might lead to loss of significant sociolinguistic content.

Another more positive impact literacy may have is enabling Amazigh women to write about their culture. When asked if she wished Tarifit was a written language, Sakina responded "Yeah I really want to." Throughout the interview, Fatima mentioned several times that she planned to write down cultural information that is traditionally passed on orally. Both Fatima and Sakina said they text and email in Tarifit. Fatima mentioned that Imazighen post on social media in Tarifit. When asked how she thinks being literate will impact Amazigh ethnic identity, Fatima responded, "In my opinion, being literate helps preserve the Amazigh culture. If you can read, it will help you reach books that speak about our culture, which means you'll learn new things that were forgotten. And if you can write, you can help in the preservation of the culture by writing about it." It seems that literate Amazigh women may have an entirely new form for preserving Amazigh ethnic identity that is not inherently feminine: written Tarifit. The presence of the written Tarifit word as a form of Amazigh cultural expression could mean that Amazigh women may not function as the sole guardians of Amazigh culture. It could also lead to a new form of written Tarifit literature by female Amazigh authors.

## A New Platform for Literacy: Social Media

The most surprising form for expressing Amazigh ethnic identity found in this case study was social media. Social media is not only in and of itself a new form of expressing Amazigh culture, but it has also created a new platform for literate Amazigh women and written Tarifit. Social media also allows for the celebration of traditional forms of Amazigh cultural expression. When asked if the Internet had impacted the traditional ways Amazigh culture is being preserved, Fatima responded,

> No, the opposite. Like they're helping to recover the tradition. Like a lot of pictures of dresses, of weddings, like written Izran poems. There is also a negative way

> because anyone can say anything about that culture. But…in general it's impacting it in a positive way.

Where urban living and multilingualism seem to have the tendency to "erase" Amazigh forms of cultural expression, social media seems to be a means to "recover" or "revitalize" those forms through sharing knowledge or rediscovering Tarifit words that may have been forgotten. Fatima mentioned multiple times that social media has led to Imazighen relearning Tarifit vocabulary. Fatima's brother has been inspired through social media to become a Tarifit purist and just use "Tarifit words." This seems particularly consistent with Marley's (2004) assertion that the Internet seems to be reversing the decline of Tamazight speakers. Fatima explained that, because of social media, "I have some information about our culture like language and I post it and someone has other information, so rather than you by yourself you have like other people contributing to that." Traditional forms of Amazigh cultural expression are shared on social media in a digitized form through posts, pictures, and videos. When asked how the Internet had impacted traditional ways for Amazigh cultural expression, Sakina responded,

> Yes indeed, I think so! Social media gave not only the Imazighen to know their culture better, but it also opened a whole new world for other people who might be interested in our language/culture. The Imazighen also get the chance to share their traditions and habits to each other on social media, so I would say that social media also has an influence on our culture, which is a good thing in my opinion.

When Imazighen live in an urban area, more non-Imazighen are exposed to Amazigh culture. Similarly, when Amazigh culture is expressed on social media, a wider audience is exposed to the Imazighen. Social media is providing a platform for the Imazighen to share traditions and gather cultural information.

Lafkioui's (2008) assertion—that the Internet doesn't seem to be changing oral Amazigh literature's cultural function of transmitting Amazigh tradition—may be true not just for oral literature but also for other traditional forms of cultural expression. It does seem, however, that social media may impact the role of the Amazigh woman in the preservation process. Social media has created a new arena for cultural expression that, unlike many Amazigh cultural traditions, is not tied to a specific gender. Social media as a form of Amazigh cultural expression may separate the Amazigh woman from the unique role of culture preserver. When asked, "Do you think women have a unique role in preserving Amazigh culture that's different from the men?" Fatima responded, "Not like…maybe different from the men…the same, the same…Yeah, it has to be a team. I think just like in the singing part. The Izran part. Izran is for women, but now men are singing it." According to Fatima, men now write about Amazigh queens and other traditions on social media. Again, one big reason Fatima could view the role of preserving Amazigh ethnic identity as belonging equally to men and women is that her father speaks Tarifit and her mother speaks Darijah. Sakina, whose mother does speak Tarifit, did still think that women play a “vital” role in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity, but she mentioned the role that women play in connection with traditional Amazigh forms of cultural expression (“textiles, music, dance, poetry called izran”), not social media. Similar to Mnouer’s (2021) association of social media platforms with Amazigh language revitalization, Fatima made a lot of mention of doing research, recovering, realizing, and remembering Amazigh culture in relation to the Internet and literate Tarifit. Perhaps social media will lead to a cultural emphasis on revitalization rather than preservation of Amazigh culture, a role that would not be based exclusively on Amazigh women.

## Role of Language

Based on the responses of Sakina, Fatima, and Takama, Tarifit still functions both as an important marker of Amazigh culture and as a means of daily communication. Fatima and Sakina explicitly stated that Tarifit preserves Amazigh culture. Takama is choosing to teach her children Tarifit. All three participants use Tarifit in their daily lives with their friends, family, and in their workplaces. To varying degrees, all the participants expressed a connection between identity and Tarifit. While Tarifit seems to be functioning in many of the traditional ways (cultural preservation, daily life, identity marker), the existence of written Tarifit, its introduction into the education system, and especially social media seem to be impacting the language and its connection to ethnic identity.

## Oral Tarifit and Amazigh Ethnic Identity

Though literate Tarifit now exists, speaking Tarifit still seems to be the language’s most prevalent form, according to the response of my participants. This is consistent with the assertion of Camus et al. (2017), that spoken language is one of the most conspicuous markers of identity. All three participants use Tarifit for communication at work, with family and friends, and in the city of Al Hoceima. Fatima, Sakina, and Takama all agreed that Tarifit should be taught to future generations. Both Fatima and Sakina explicitly linked speaking Tarifit with preserving Amazigh culture. When asked if it was important for Amazigh people to continue to speak Amazigh languages, Fatima responded, “Yes, it’s very important. That’s what preserves the culture.” When asked if you have to speak Tarifit to be Amazigh, Fatima responded,

> No, not really. Like all the north of Africa was Amazigh, but then they lost the language when the Arab came, so their origins, they are Amazigh…you don’t have to speak it to be Amazigh…as long as you are in an Amazigh land or came from an Amazigh land, you are one.

Fatima seemed to see Tarifit as necessary for preserving Amazigh culture but not for *being* Amazigh. She viewed being from an Amazigh land as more important than speaking Tarifit. She reasoned that speaking Arabic or Spanish does not make you Arab or Spanish, so speaking Tarifit does not make you Amazigh. Fatima said it is important for the Imazighen to keep speaking Tarifit because, in the face of losing so many cultural traditions, "this little Tarifit that it lasts from Amazigh we should keep speaking it to our kids, future generations. If not the future, they won't know who they are or from where they are." For Fatima, speaking Tarifit is a part of knowing that you are Amazigh, but is not the essence of Amazigh ethnic identity.

When asked if it was important for her culture for people to continue speaking Amazigh language, Sakina responded,

> I think it's actually extremely important so that the language doesn't disappear and this can go on for generations! Most parents also teach their children Tamazight from an early age, so that they can speak it fluently later on. For example, I have family in Belgium and my cousin who was born there can speak Tamazight fluently! So you don't have to live in Morocco to master the language."

Throughout the course of the interview, Sakina communicated that speaking Tarifit is one of the biggest factors of what makes you Amazigh. When I asked her if being Amazigh has more to do with speaking Tarifit than being from an Amazigh land, she responded "Indeed!" When asked if Tarifit was important to her personal identity, Sakina responded excitedly, "Of course, yeah, yeah of course! It makes me who I am today and I am really very proud of that." For Sakina, speaking Tarifit is an important part of preserving Amazigh ethnic identity, but it is also very close to the heart of what it means to be Amazigh.

## Written Tarifit and Ethnic Identity

Written Tarifit and ethnic identity are tied to the Tifinagh script that was chosen by IRCAM to be the official script of Amazigh language. Despite having a negative view of orality and positive view of literacy, Fatima did not view the Tifinagh script as important to Amazigh ethnic identity. When asked if she knew the Tifinagh alphabet, Fatima responded, "I just know how to write my name, my sister's name. Just some letters but I can recognize some letters of Tifinagh." Fatima did not seem to feel any ownership over Tifinagh. Later in the interview, when asked about the oral nature of Tarifit, she expressed, "having your own language and your own alphabet makes it [Tarifit] more like real," indicating that she didn't view Tifinagh as belonging enough to the Imazighen to be their own alphabet. When talking about texting in Tarifit, she said, "I text them in Tarifit but with the alphabet, the normal alphabet," meaning the Latin alphabet. When I asked her if Imazighen are writing Tarifit in the Tifinagh script on social media, she responded, "Yes, yes. Again in social media a lot of people that I know here are writing, not just in Tifinagh, they are using like some Latin words. I don't know if it's Tifinagh for the 'rrra.'" She then said, "A lot of people are trying to write in Tarifit. Like the post if they are writing something about their journey." An increasing desire to "write in Tarifit" may end up making written Tarifit a more significant expression for Amazigh ethnicity. As literate Tarifit continues to grow, future studies should investigate the connection between script and ethnic identity among the Imazighen.

## Revitalization, Devitalization, and Preservation

Based on these interviews and current research, there seems to be emerging themes of revitalization, devitalization, and preservation of Amazgh ethnic identity and culture. Urban living, multilingualism, and literacy are not foundational to Amazigh culture. Similarly, the new de-dialectized version of Tamazight—which has been included in the Moroccan constitution and is now taught in schools—is not foundational to Amazigh ethnic identity. In some cases, these factors seem to be contributing to the devitalization of Amazigh culture by creating spaces in which essential aspects of Amazigh culture are less relevant. On the other hand, social media seems to be a means by which the Imazighen are fighting to preserve the beauty of their culture through sharing their collective knowledge and connecting with Imazighen from across the world. This may continue the trend of Amazigh ethnic identity as transnational. Perhaps in reaction to the threat of cultural devitalization, especially in cities, it seems that the use of the newer forms for Amazigh cultural expression (social media and written Tarifit) tend to be used as tools for revitalizing (rather than purely preserving) Amazigh ethnic identity.

## Conclusion

Considering these findings, what then is the role of urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women and Tarifit in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity in the Rif? In short, their role will most likely be the role that the Amazigh women choose to have. Working outside the home in an urban area and being multilingual and literate gives Amazigh women the ability to *choose* whether to continue speaking Tarifit and engaging with their Amazigh culture. The reality that social media and written Tarifit are not tied to gender could mean that Amazigh women will not automatically be preservers of Amazigh ethnic identity in those domains. They could, however, choose to use social media and written literature as means to preserve their culture in addition to traditional forms or perhaps, in some cases, instead of traditional forms. The role of Tarifit in preserving Amazigh ethnic identity also seems to be dependent on the Imazighen themselves. Currently, teaching their children to speak Tarifit seems to be an effective way to preserve the connection between Tarifit and ethnic identity. Social media seems to be promoting Tarifit through music, recovery of vocabulary, and connecting Imazighen from around the world, especially among younger populations of Imazighen. If other Imazighen show the same love and loyalty toward Tarifit and to their Amazigh heritage that Fatima, Sakina, and Takama do, then it should be exciting to see how the Imazighen will choose to express the richness of their indigenous Amazigh culture in an increasingly globalized world.

This study reviewed some of the relevant literature on language policies in Morocco; the Tarifit language and its connection to Amazigh ethnic identity; and the cultural preservation practices of Amazigh women. Because there is little research focusing on the cultural preservation practices of urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women, the analysis section of this paper relied entirely on grounded theory. Based on the answers of the participants, Tarifit is still closely tied to ethnic identity and urban, multilingual, literate Amazigh women still desire to preserve their Amazigh culture in much the same way that rural, monolingual, illiterate women have traditionally preserved their languages and cultures, although there is an increasing emphasis on "revitalization" of Amazigh language/culture over preservation. The emphasis on revitalization may be in reaction to the threat of devitalization of Amazigh culture/language from a combination of postcolonial ideologies, multilingualism, urban living, language policies, and globalization. The results of this case study are not to be viewed as conclusive findings but rather as a collection of observations, thoughts, and hypotheses to be tested in future studies. Ultimately, the purpose of this case study is to celebrate the beauty and richness of Amazigh culture while acknowledging the challenges, both past and present, that the Imazighen face to safeguard their unique heritage as one of the oldest indigenous tribes in North Africa.

## Limitations and Future Direction

This study was limited by the small number of participants, the limited amount of interview time with each participant, and the inconsistent method of interviewing each participant (Zoom, texting over WhatsApp, and an interview through a third party). The findings from this study could have benefited from more varied data collection, including data from Amazigh websites, more interviews, and surveys. The study was also limited by an inability to conduct a more exhaustive synthesis of current linguistic research on the Imazighen and their languages due to time restraints. In the future, it would be beneficial to conduct a longitudinal study on the impact of the Tifinagh script on the connection between Tarifit and Amazigh ethnic identity in Morocco. It would also be beneficial to conduct a study comparing traditional Amazigh oral literature with written Amazigh literature in its various forms (social media, books, websites, etc.). As the world becomes increasingly globalized, digitized, and modernized, researchers should perform more sociolinguistic studies spotlighting cultural and linguistic preservation, especially regarding indigenous people groups speaking oral languages. Another sociolinguistic study could explore how new forms of cultural expression, such as social media, might impact ethnic identity. Additionally, it would be valuable to conduct more studies on how factors such as urban living, multilingualism, and literacy impact the traditional roles of women who speak minority languages.

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# Appendix A

## Interview Questions

1. How would you describe yourself?
2. What languages do you speak?
3. Do you prefer when foreigners use the word "Berber" or "Amazigh?"
4. When do you use Tarifit?
5. What language(s) do you use in your home?
6. What language(s) do you speak with your family?
7. What language(s) do you speak with your friends?
8. What language(s) do you speak at school?
9. What language(s) do you speak at work?
10. What language(s) do you speak at the doctor's?
11. What language(s) did your mom speak to you?
12. What language(s) did your father speak to you?
13. If you had children, what language(s) would you speak with them?
14. What language do you text/email in?
15. What language do you read and write in?
16. Do you think spoken words or written words are more important?
17. What do you think about the foreign languages in Morocco?
18. What do you think about Moroccan Arabic?
19. What language is the most powerful?
20. What is the most important language to speak?
21. What do you think is the most beautiful language?
22. What is your favorite language to speak?
23. What does it mean to you to be Amazigh?
24. Do you have to speak Tamazight/Tarifit to be Amazigh?
25. Do you think it is important for your culture that people continue to speak Berber? Why is it important?
26. Do you like that Tamazight is now an official language?
27. Do you think Tamazight gets equal recognition as Arabic?

28. Does your family have any oral stories you pass down?
29. How do you think Tamazight being an oral language impacts Amazigh culture?
30. Do more men or women speak Tamazigh?
31. Do you want Tamazight to be a written language?
32. What do you think about the standardization of Tamazight in schools?
33. Has the Internet changed the way you use the Amazigh language?
34. What is the role of the Amazigh language in Amazigh culture?
35. Do Amazigh people like using the Amazigh language?
36. Is Tarifit important to your identity?
37. What are the most important parts of Amazigh culture to you?
38. What are some Amazigh traditions?
39. Do you think women have an important role in preserving Amazigh culture?
40. How do you preserve Amazigh culture?
41. Do you think modernization, Arabization, and making Tamazight an official language have impacted these roles? How?
42. Is there anything else you think of as important for me to know about Amazigh language/culture?