

The Impact of Education on Language Use in the Algerian Context

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Abstract

This research paper attempts to examine the impact of education on language use, i.e., highlighting the sociolinguistic variable, mainly that of education and age, and how it may affect the linguistic behavior in the Arabic Nedroma speech community as a sample population. Nedromi speakers, especially the new generation, tend to correct mistakes; they look at them as stigmatized features in their speech and thus, try to shift to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). In this regard, the researcher attempts to determine the reasons behind such a change in linguistic behaviors essentially motivated by the influence of education. Methodological triangulation was used in this study. Data were collected through observation, questionnaire, and interview. Based on both quantitative and qualitative methods, the findings reveal that the choice of specific linguistic features by the individual is determined by the speaker's age category, his level of education, and most importantly, his attitude towards specific linguistic characteristics.

Keywords: age, Algerian context, education, language variability, linguistic features, Nedromi Arabic

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Introduction

Language is viewed as one of the powerful mediums of communication in any speech community. It has attracted the attention of many language scholars, who adopted and adapted various approaches and methods for investigating the complexity and particularity of this natural phenomenon. There is no doubt that language differs considerably across different countries, within the same country where some local varieties can co-exist, and even among individuals. It could also happen that some may have numerous linguistic forms to express the same thought. This fact is explained by sociolinguists as language variability and language variation. The study of sociolinguistic variation came to light in the 1960s, partly as a result of inadequate methods in earlier approaches to the study of dialects, and partly as a reaction to Chomskyan linguistic theory, which has neglected the study of language in its social context.

Language variation, as a revealing area of interest, has been a matter of hot debate and discussion among a lot of sociolinguists at many levels, but it was Labov (1960) who carried out such kind of studies; as he focused his research on the relationship which may be set up between social structure and linguistic structure. The social variables as the speaker's age, gender, and level of education, whereas the linguistic variables, involve phonological, morphological, and lexical levels of analysis.

The present research paper is set out to describe and analyze the linguistic features characterizing Nedroma, and how some of these linguistic features are dropped by a community category. In showing this, the researcher will try to correlate linguistic features with social variables, and try to show the impact of education, in addition to age, on language variation and even change, as some characteristics are dropped in the speech community of Nedroma. For these purposes, the problem issue of this research work is summarised around the following research question: what is the rationale behind the Nedromi speakers' negative attitude towards their speech community, and why do they change some of their linguistic behaviors?

In this respect, it is hypothesized that after receiving formal school education, the new generation of Nedroma Arabic speakers considers some of their local linguistic features as being stigmatized and expressing a poor linguistic level of formality.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first one provides a review of the literature about the importance of investigating language in its social context, for a better understanding of the relationship between linguistic structures and social structures. After that, it gives an overview of the linguistic varieties used in Algeria. Section two is the practical part which covers the research design and methodology. It elucidates the sample population participating in this investigation as well as the research tools used for gathering data. Finally, the third section presents the results obtained from our study and deals with their analysis and interpretation.

Literature Review

Sociolinguistics and Language Development

Before the advent of sociolinguistics, language was studied in "abstraction from society in which it operates" (Lyons, 1981, p.221), as treated by De Saussure (1916) and Chomsky (1965). These two scholars believe that language is a homogeneous system; for them, there are rules which

govern the proper use of the language. In this respect, Chomsky (1965) differentiates between 'competence' and 'performance'; this dissimilarity was inspired by De Saussure, who set apart 'langue' from 'parole'. From this perspective, competence describes the knowledge that a native speaker has of the principles which allow for the use of a particular language. Performance conversely is putting that knowledge into acts of speaking. Emphasizing linguistic competence made performance neglected and deemed. It was dismissed as a free variation not worthy of scientific research. Chomsky stated that when speaking, people often make linguistic errors; he asserted that these errors in linguistic performance were irrelevant to the study of linguistic competence, and thus linguists can study an idealized version of the language.

Eventually, the intricacy of language is not merely based on the linguistic system itself, as described by Chomsky, but also results from the reality of language as applicable in different forms and contexts to impart a message, belief, thoughts, or perceptions as well. This helps to a great extent to demonstrate the interlocutors' social background and geographical belonging. This assumption urged specialists to examine the concept of language variability, and therefore, the research issue of linguistic differences became, as Hymes (1970) put it, the relationship between language and society; he assumes that sociolinguistics intends to address the following questions: who speaks, what language, to whom, and on what occasion? Wardhaugh (2006) argued that "asocial linguistics is scarcely worthwhile and that meaningful insights into language can be gained only if such matters as use and variation are included as part of the data, which must be explained in a comprehensive theory of language"(p. 5).

Studying language about society was first considered by Labov(1972), who indicates that: "Every linguist recognizes that language is a social fact, but not everyone puts an equal emphasis on that fact" (p. 261). His work, which consisted of studying sociolinguistic variation in New York City, affected scholars with an interest in social interpretation. Many exciting facts would be missed in the study of language abstracted from its context. From this perspective, Hudson (1996) stated that "to study language without correlating it to society would mean to exclude the possibility of finding social explanations for any particular linguistic features" (p. 13).

Labov (1960) challenged all those who ignored the heterogeneity of language, and considered it as a set of grammatically correct sentences. Labov stressed tackling language use (performance), and language heterogeneity, i.e., variability. He believed that linguistic theory has to cover both the formal linguistic structure and every social function that is related to language in one way or another.

Several factors affect language use, including social class, geographical location, ethnicity, age, gender, education...etc. Sociolinguistics often comes across as either too restricting to social categories such as class, gender, style and geography (the external factors), or too restricting to linguistic categories such as systems and rate of change (the structural elements).

Language offers more details about the speaker's individuality and reveals, such as their group membership (social class) termed as language variation according to the user, i.e., language which reveals the speaker's belonging, gender, age, social class, ethnicity... etc. Thus, it sounds necessary to study the most influential paradigms affecting the way people speak.

Language variation often cares for clearing up the connection between variables and social factors. The researcher has tried to provide a better understanding of the field. Among the significant contributions of sociolinguistic studies is that language variation is not random. In their studies, sociolinguists examined the frequencies of each linguistic feature to show the correlations between dependent (linguistic) and independent (social) variables, and to what extent these latter variables shape our use of language.

Language Attitude

In communities where different varieties co-exist, people may show either positive or negative attitudes towards these languages. This phenomenon studied by sociolinguists is called language attitude. It is defined as the speaker's reaction or feeling toward language. Trudgill (1992) pointed out, that these attitudes "may range from very favorable to very unfavorable, and may be manifested in subjective judgments about the 'correctness', worth, and aesthetic qualities of varieties, as well as about the personal qualities of their speakers" (p. 44). The choice of specific linguistic features by the individual is determined by the speaker's category and his attitude towards specific linguistic characteristics. The speaker's intention behind the use of specific linguistic features is due to personal motives in addition to psychological matters.

It is highly believed that attitudes influence language use and behaviors. Cohen (2007) suggested that: "attitudes are always seen as precursors of behavior, as determinants of how a person will behave in his daily affairs" (p. 138). Reasonably, people's behavior would reflect the attitudes they hold.

The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria: A Brief Background Account

Algeria is a culturally and linguistically diverse North African country. It has been home to many civilizations and therefore witnessed a large flow of migrants who settled there; together, they have shaped a detailed linguistic picture that can be attested in Algeria.

Algerian history is one of repeated invasions. It is commonly approved among historians that the original inhabitants of Algeria were the Berbers. These Berber populations are of unknown origin, but Camps (1974) affirms that they were the indigenous people of the area. The latter spoke the Tamazight language, which gave birth to different Berber varieties present today in Algeria.

The introduction of Islam and Arabic in the 7th century had a profound impact on North Africa. The new widespread religion and language introduced significant transformations from socio-cultural, economic, religious, and linguistic standpoints. All North African countries, including Algeria, accepted little by little the new religion 'Islam', and the Berbers willingly agreed to learn and speak Arabic. As a result, it paved the way for the dominance of Arabic over the other already existing language varieties. Watson (2002) said in this respect that: "the rise and expansion of Islam was not only a religious and hence cultural conquest, but also a linguistic conquest" (p. 6). Although the profound impact of the introduction of Islam and Arabic in the country, the influence of Berber vernacular still exists. More importantly, though the Berber variety is used by a minority of the Algerian population (15%), it has been recognized as a national language by a constitutional amendment since May 2002 based on solid social demand for that, and they are still insisting and asking to be a distinct ethnic group.

Arabic appears in three forms which fulfill different sets of functions: Classical Arabic (CA), the language of the Quran; MSA, a simplified version of the former, is used in formal situations, generally associated with media and school-enterprise; and Algerian Arabic (AA) in the form of a wide range of mutually intelligible geographical dialects restricted to informal contexts used spontaneously by the Algerian speakers to communicate.

Every Arab country possesses a distinctive dialect that is unlike the standard Arabic concerning pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. Spoken Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of native Arabic speakers.

MSA is not acquired as a mother tongue, but rather it is learned as a second language at schools. It is used in settings where formality is needed, like media, mosque preaches, and school enterprise, and for purposes of written communication, but it can also be used for formal spoken communication as it is understood in all Arabic-speaking regions. MSA emerged in the 19th century with the rise of nationalism; its central premise is that the people of the Arab world, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arabian Sea, constitute one nation bound together by a common language.

For a clear understanding of the linguistic situation in Algeria, it is needed to outline the noticeable facts that affected the Algerian society; it is the French colonization of the territory. Although the French language has no official status in Algeria today, it is so widespread that you can hear it everywhere in the country. During the French colonization of Algeria, France aimed to destroy the Algerian identity at all levels, politically, linguistically, and culturally. One of the crucial tenets of the French government in Algeria was to eradicate the Arab-Islamic identity and to impose their French language. However, after the independence, and to save and recover the Algerian identity, the Algerian government launched a policy of linguistic Arabisation, as it declared that Arabic is the sole and official language of the country.

Several factors influence one's choice of language; the way people speak, and what words or language they use and choose is often an indicator of their education and status in society.

Method

In terms of research method and design, quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to analyze and interpret the collected linguistic data of the selected sample population across different age categories and levels of education in the Nedroma speech community.

The methodology involved in this research work is the Labovian method. Linguistic variables, whether phonological, morphological or lexical, are to be studied quantitatively to the social variables of the Nedroma speech community, in which the researcher has found that age has an association with language accommodation. The level of education also has an impact on language change in the speech community of Nedroma. Our evidence of this language behavior comes from the researcher's observation of the phenomenon, and to reach this fact, relevant data have been collected.

Participants

The participants involved in this research work are all from Nedroma. The data were collected in primary, middle, and secondary schools, in addition to some participants; we met in the street or in their homes. The research is based on a sample population of 120 informants of different ages (between 5 to 85 years old) and different levels of education. The representation for such categories of informants is shown in the table1.:

Table1. *Sample Population*

Age group	Male	Female	Total
From 5 to 15 years old (Children and Young adolescents)	15	15	30
From 16 to 25 years old (Adolescents)	15	15	30
From 26 to 59 years old (Adults)	15	15	30
From 60 to 85 years old (Elder informants)	15	15	30
Total	60	60	120

The language variety under investigation in this research work is spoken in an area called ‘Nadroma’; situated in the west of Algeria.

Research Instruments

The first instrument used in this research work is observation. As the researcher is a member of the community under investigation; it has been easy for her to gain a large amount of data, through taking notes from natural interactions or behaviors of Nedromi speakers. Observation has given the researcher a deeper understanding of the community under investigation. The objective of such a method is “to understand the sociolinguistic dynamics of the community from the perspective of the community itself”. (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, 1996, p. 106). The difficulty of this method is the problem of analyzing the results; this is why other approaches must be combined with such a method.

For the sake of getting reliable data and avoiding the observer’s paradox, the researcher opted for a structured questionnaire. The informants are asked to choose an answer from among a list provided by the researcher. The data were anonymous as the respondents were not asked to provide their names, which gave them a certain freedom in answering naturally. Since the informants are of different ages and distinct levels of education, the questionnaires are written in standard Arabic to facilitate the understanding of various linguistic features characterizing the speech variety of Nedroma.

The recording is another method of data collection that we have used, in particular, because of illiteracy, especially among older people. The conversations have been recorded without the participants being aware, through a hidden recorder, to avoid any pressure on the informants. The recordings took place at home with relatives, with neighbors, and in shops.

Results

Samples of Some Linguistic Variables

Nedroma, situated in the west of Algeria, was constructed by Abdel Moumen Ben Ali, the founder of 'El Dawla el Mowahidiya' in 1160 (555 Hegira). The area was previously populated by the Berber tribes. The town was considered the capital of the Trara region; this latter had specific linguistic features. However, later on, and due to many factors like social mobility and the process of Arabisation, some of these linguistic features have changed

Nedromi Arabic Phonological Variables

The Variable (q)

The /q/ sound is the linguistic feature characterizing the speech community of Nedroma. And by examining some words containing the word [qalli], 'he said to me'; the data showed the use of this variable by all the informants of the variety. The percentage of the 120 examined speakers is 100%, which shows the maintenance of this sound among speakers.

The Variable (t)

The sound [t], as a realization of the CA phoneme/d/, is one consonant which displays variation. Even though (d): [t] is a characteristic feature of Nedromi speech, our observations have revealed that most Nedromi speakers, say that [d] is generally used in words having / d /, particularly in initial and final position, for instance, /d.rab/: 'he bits'; and / bja d/: 'white'. However, these words are indeed realized with [t]. We suppose that the speakers do not acknowledge the realization of [t] as characterizing Nedromi speakers. We suppose that these people may unconsciously avoid the stigmatized feature as there is a negative attitude towards the devoicing of [d]. In addition, education today has made people more conscious of the fact and speakers try to avoid it [t]. This change in the phonetic system is reflected through the quantitative results as shown in the table 2.:

Table 2. Scores of the variants [t] and [d].

	Age 5-15	Age 16-25	Age 26-59	Age 60-85
[t]	09	09	13	17
[d]	21	21	17	13

The results show that age plays a vital role in the varying articulation of [t] and [d]. The use of [d] is highly scored in the first two categories of age compared with the previous two categories, while the use of [t] is highly scored in the last category and decreases in the other categories, as figure 1 below shows:

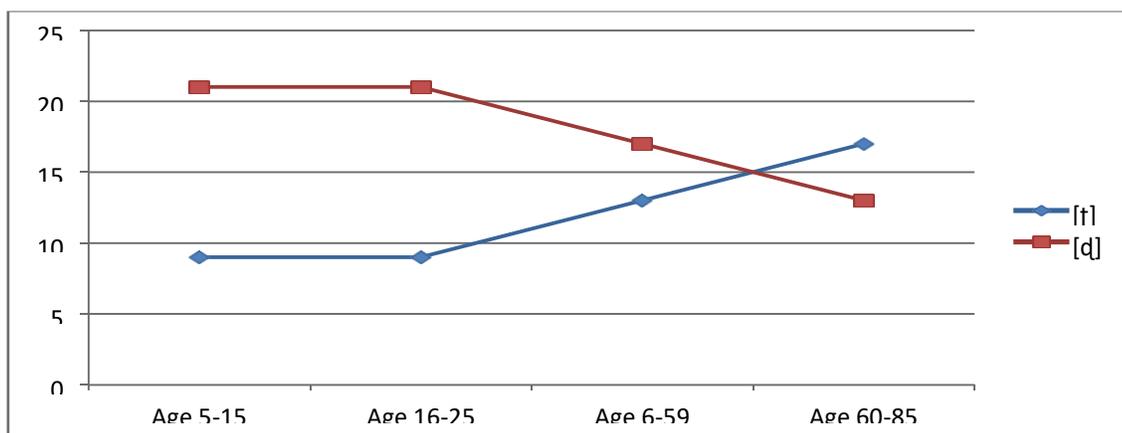


Figure 1. Scores of the variants [t] and [d]

The researcher noticed that even older females use the voiceless stop [t], which has spread even among younger women and little girls as they acquire their linguistic features from their mothers. On the other hand, as the researcher went back to the questionnaires, she observed that young educated girls realize that [t] is a mistake and try to switch to [d], as in MSA, we say, for instance, /mari↓a/ and not /marii t a/ ('ill'. Feminine singular). Amongst educated speakers, this sound has nearly disappeared, while uneducated middle-aged and older women are more likely to use it. Thus, one may corroborate that education plays a significant role in the use of the voiced emphatic [d] instead of its counterpart [t]. A look at the scores confirms that thanks to education, the tendency to use the sound [d] is increasing, while the use of the sound [t] is declining.

Consonantal Variation [g] and [ʒ]

Nedromi Arabic (NA) is characterized by the articulation of the CA phoneme /d ʒ/ as a back velar [g] in some lexical items, in particular when the word includes either a voiceless fricative [s] or a voiced sibilant [z], as in [gazza:r] and [gəbs] ('Butcher, 'plaster'). The data collection shows that Nedromi speakers tend to substitute the sound [g] with [ʒ], especially by the new generation. To clarify variation in the use of [g] or [ʒ], we have chosen three words: [ʔ a ʕ d ʒ izu]: 'I fellazy, [dibs]: 'plaster', [d ʒ azza:r]: 'butcher'. The results show swinging scores from one age group to another. The following tables summarize the scores of the variable (ʒ) in correlation with age.

Table 3. Scores of the variants [ʒ] and [g]

	Age 5-15	Age 16-25	Age 26-59	Age 60-85	Percentage
a) /na ʕ g ə z/	19	26	25	28	81,66%
b) /na ʕ ʒ ə z/	11	04	05	02	18,33%
a) /g ə bs/	17	22	26	27	76,66%
b) /ʒ ə bs/	13	08	04	03	23,33%
a) /g ə z za:r/ b) /ʒ ə z za:r/	08	21	22	27	65%
	22	09	08	03	35%

The researcher has summarized the overall scores of the three words in percentage in correlation with age, and it highlights the use of the sound [ʒ] by younger speakers, the first category, especially with the word [dʒazzar]. As table 2 shows, 22 persons (aged between 5 to 15) out of 30 tend to replace the sound [g] with [ʒ]. Hence, this result confirms the hypothesis that education, contributes to language variation in the Nedromi dialect, since it reinforces change among the new generation from old and incorrect variants to standard forms. However, it is worth noting that, though the three first categories are educated people, the use of [ʒ] remains less widespread than the use of [g]. In an attempt to reflect upon this variation in the speaker’s age, we have come up with the following scores:

Table 4. The total number of occurrences (90) of the variants [ʒ] and [g] with percentages

	Age 5-15	%	Age 16-25	%	Age 26-59	%	Age 60-85	%
[ʒ]	46	51,11%	21	23,33%	17	18,88%	08	08,88%
[g]	44	48,88%	69	76,66%	73	81,11%	82	91,11%

The tables above reveal that younger speakers realize the variant [ʒ] more than [g]. Forty-six occurrences of the variant [ʒ], which means 51,11% vs. 44 of the variant [g], which is 48,88%. A look at the scores confirms again, that young people are more likely to shift to the MSA form /dʒ /→ [ʒ], which may be due to education, probably because they have realized the misuse of the variant [g] and corrected it. However, we have found that the three other categories, especially the middle-aged speakers, preserve the use of the variant [g] though they are educated. Moreover, one may notice in these scores, the high percentage of the use of the variant [g] by old speakers, 91,11 vs. 08,88% of the use of the variant [ʒ]. These results are highlighted in the following graph:

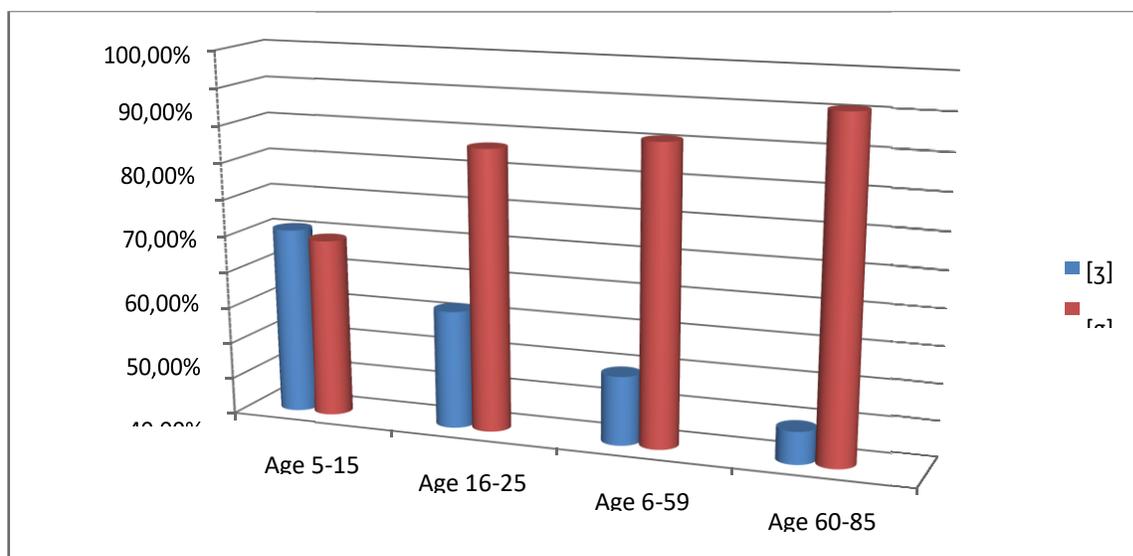


Figure 2. Scores of the variants [ʒ] and [g]

Nedromi Arabic Morphological Variables**The Object Pronoun Suffixes {-a}, {-ə̃m} vs. {-ha}, {-hə̃m}**

While the CA masculine possessive suffix {-hu} maintains the [h] sound in many dialects, particularly rural ones, as in [d̪arbah] (For CA /d̪arabahu/, 'He hit him'. [h] has been reduced in other varieties, particularly in urban ones, as in [d̪arbu]. The feminine singular pronoun {-ha} (also represented {-haa}) is preserved with its glottal fricative [h] in most Arabic colloquial varieties (though the lay vowel [aa] is shortened to [a]). But in NA and some other dialects in the area (as well as in some countries like Syria and Lebanon), [h] has been reduced, and [d̪arba] is realized [d̪arba]. The same phenomenon occurs with the plural suffix pronoun {hum} and Nedromi Arabic speakers usually say [d̪arb★m] not only with [h] drop but also a vowel reduction /u/ → [ə̃].

It is worth noting that these object pronouns occur not only with verbs, but also with nouns having, in this case, the function of possession as in /bejtahaa/ and /bejtahum/ (her house or space, their house or space), realized in NA [bita] and [bitum]. We may deduce that this characteristic, which means the drop of the glottal [h], is specific to the tribe of Trara (Nedroma, Ghazaouet, and some other areas like Honaine, Tlemcen, Algeria). However, Nedromi speakers tend to reconstitute the glottal fricative, which means using the glottal [h]. These linguistic variations are clarified in the table5:

In trying to reflect upon this variation in the speaker's age, we have come up with the following scores:

Table 5. The total number of occurrences of the object pronoun suffixes {a}, {ə̃m} vs. {ha}, {hə̃m}

	Age 5-15	Age 16-25	Age 26-59	Age 60-85
/h/→∅ {a}, {ə̃m}	32	36	26	30
/h/→[h] {ha}, {hə̃m}	28	24	34	30

Table 6. Percentages of the object pronoun suffixes {a}, {★m} vs. {ha}, {h★m}

	Age 5-15	Age 16-25	Age 26-59	Age 60-85
/h/→∅ {a}, {ə̃m}	53,33%	60%	43,33%	50%
/h/→[h] {ha}, {hə̃m}	46,66%	40%	56,66%	50%

These results are put in the following figure where we explain the use of these morphemes {a}, {ə̃m} vs. {ha}, {hə̃m} in correlation with age.

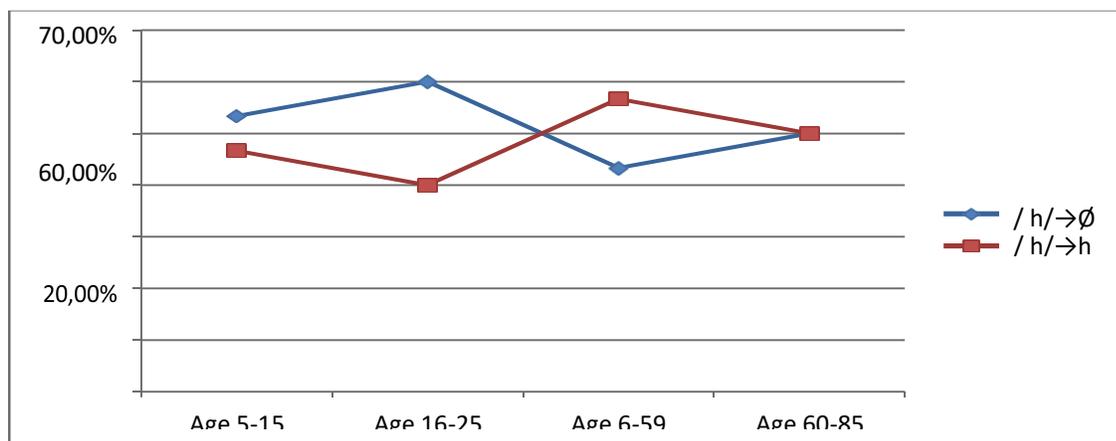


Figure 3. Scores of the object pronoun suffixes {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm}

The scores above clearly indicate that the local affixes {a}, {əm} occur noticeably more than the other forms {ha}, {həm}, except for middle-aged speakers who tend to use the glottal [h] more. The results of the occurrences of {a}, {əm} vs. {ha}, {həm} in correlation with age show that young speakers are more likely to use the glottal [h] than elders, and this can be because youngsters are more likely to use the standard form than elders, as the glottal [h] stands in MSA.

Nedromi Arabic Lexical Variables

The Use of the CA Pronoun /ʔ anta/ ‘you’ as [nta],[ntina]:

In this investigation, the researcher is also interested in the use of a feature worthy of attention, which is the lexical item [ntina] ‘you’, a singular personal pronoun from MSA pronoun /ʔanta/ which is used to address a male and /ʔanti/ to address a female. Most Algerian Arabic varieties, are characterized by making gender distinction: [nta] and [ntaja] vs. [nti] and [ntija]. However, the data collected unveil that Nedromi speakers use the pronoun [ntina] to address both a man and a woman. The researcher has found that this item [ntina] is avoided by some Nedromi speakers when addressing a man, as it is regarded as a stigmatized feature, especially when speaking to non-Nedromi speakers. During the data analysis, precisely the informants’ answers about the use of the pronoun [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man, the researcher obtained the following results:

Table 7. Scores of the use of the personal pronouns [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man

	Age 5-15	Age 16-25	Age 26-59	Age 60-85
[ntina]	04	01	00	05
[nta]	11	14	15	10

From the above tables, we may quickly realize that Nedromi speakers, especially middle age speakers, are more aware that the pronoun [ntina] is stigmatized when addressing a man. Therefore

they avoid it as they feel is an item used to address a woman. The results are shown in the following figure, where we explain the use of these pronouns about the age of the speaker:

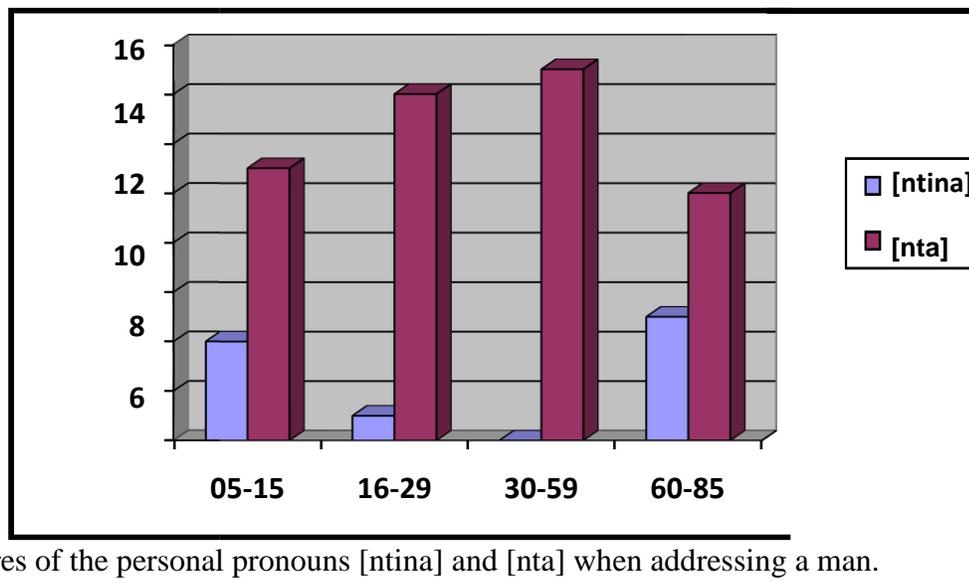


Figure 4. Scores of the personal pronouns [ntina] and [nta] when addressing a man.

Nedromi speakers avoid this stigmatized feature not only when speaking to non-Nedromi people, but also with family or in friends. The results show that some Nedromi linguistic items lose, which can be explained through the degree of stigmatization of the linguistic item and the speakers' attitudes.

Discussion

Our aim behind such a study is to shed light on some of the reasons and motivations behind language variation in the speech behaviour of Nedromi speakers. By means of the use of certain techniques, we have been able to show the main reasons why Nedromi speakers tend to change some of the linguistic features in their speech. It should be mentioned that members of the same speech community show different linguistic behaviour, and even members of the same family do not speak or interact in the same way. The point that we want to raise here is that language is determined by its speakers as a relation to social variables.

Language is a heterogeneous system of communication; variation affects all languages as members of any society are different in terms of social variables such as age, gender and the level of education. Languages are also affected by change and this may be due to various extra linguistic factors which can be political, social and economic. Our investigations have proved that the speech community of Nedroma has been affected by a number of social pressures, thus promoting language variation which in turn leads to language change.

Age and the education play a significant role in linguistic variation and change. Findings in the previous analysis demonstrate the tendency of young generations towards the use of standard forms of their dialect. In addition, females stick more to the local forms than males. Although women are usually inclined to preserve the characteristics of their dialects, younger females in this community shift from the old features, to the standard ones.

It is noticed in all languages that not all generations speak alike. The young generations tend to make their speech distinct from the other generations with the aim of avoiding the traditional forms, whereas the elders are characterized by stability in their language use. So from these results, we can say that the speech of men and the youth in the speech community of Nedroma is more convergent than that of women and elders.

Through our analysis, we have come up with the result that confirms the hypothesis that education contributes language variation in Nedroma dialect, since it reinforces change among the new generation from old and incorrect variants to standard form.

Conclusion

Throughout this current investigation, there was an attempt to examine the social implication of education on the speaker's linguistic behavior. It aims at explaining the speaker's intention behind the use of specific linguistic features. The research came up with the outcome that, Nedroma linguistic medium changes due to personal motives in addition to psychological matters, and this phenomenon is generally defined as the speakers' reaction or feeling toward language, which can be their language variety or other languages.

Our main fieldwork concern in this paper has been primarily to focalize on the reasons that condition and regulate the youth's linguistic behavior, who tend to avoid some Nedromi linguistic features, in particular, the emphatic consonant [t]. Although (د): [t] is a characteristic feature of Nedromi speech, our observation has shown that most Nedromi citizens, especially youth, say that [د] is usually used in words having / د /, particularly in initial and final positions. It is worth noting that education makes people more conscious of the fact and tries to avoid the devoicing of [د]. Nedromi speakers also tend to change other linguistic characteristics: (د3): [g], and the use of the glottal [h] when showing possession.

The findings reveal that, there is a loss of some of the Nedromi linguistic characteristics, most likely because of the negative attitudes towards these variants. Nedromi speakers become more aware of the misuse of some of the variants and try to correct them; hence the impact of education can be seen on language change in Nedromi Arabic.

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