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**MASTER'S DEGREE IN**

**«Linguistics »**

**Title:**

**A Sociolinguistic Study of Language Endangerment: A Comparison between Old and Young Generations' Linguistic Attitudes in Sidi Ali, Mostaganem**

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## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to my family, especially my beloved mother and my sister Aicha,  
whose love and support have been always the source of my strength.

## **Acknowledgment**

First, I would like to thank my supervisor Mrs. Radia Benyoucef for her help and support during the realization of this work. I owe you my sincere gratitude for your guidance, encouragement, and generosity. I also thank all the teachers of department of English language, especially the ones who have dedicated little time to advise me and help me realize this work. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the jury members for their constructive comments and pieces of advice. I am appreciative for you taking the time to read and assess this work.

### Abstract

The grandparents' wisdom is coded in language and transported to younger generations. However, this heritage dies out as few speakers keep on using it, or they leave it in favor of other languages. By this, intergenerational linguistic transmission and the number of speakers define the likelihood of language to be safeguarded or not. This study explores why words die, but it tests also if language users, be them old or young, are aware of erosion. Most importantly, it tackles language endangerment from a different perspective which is the speakers' attitudes. To answer these questions, I compared between the responses of 25 elders (60-44 years) and responses of 25 youngers (16-35 years) from Sidi Ali, Mostaganem, using a new psychological tool (matched-guise test) to uncover individual attitudes. The mixed methods' results revealed that youngers were alert of erosion as much as elders; giving by this a hope for lexicons' survival. Also, elders claimed that new technologies increased the cultural gap between the two generations and finalized with a generation of youth ashamed of its origins, yet this argument is untrue as 12% elders opposed the cultural importance of old words. The study is limited by sample size and research objectives. Future works need to increase respondents' numbers and assess language preservation's tools.

**Keywords:** younger generation, language endangerment, erosion, speakers' attitudes, old words.

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## List of Acronyms

<b>AAE</b> : African American English .....	12
<b>IPA</b> : International Phonetic Alphabets.....	vii
<b>MGT</b> : Matched-Guise Technique.....	3
<b>OE</b> : Old English.....	9

**Table 1.**

*Symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabets(IPA) Corresponding to Arabic Consonants*

Consonants	Name	IPA	Description	Romanization
أ	'alif	[ʔ]	glottal stop	ʔ / a:
ب	baa' <	[b]	voiced bilabial plosive as in “ <b>bed</b> ”	b
ت	taa' <	[t]	voiceless alveolar plosive as in “ <b>tomato</b> ”	t
ث	ṭaa' <	[θ]	voiceless interdental fricative as in “ <b>thunder</b> ”	ṭ
ج	jeem	[dʒ]	voiced postalveolar affricate as in “ <b>jump</b> ”	j
ح	ḥaa' <	[ħ]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	ḥ
خ	khaa' <	[x]	voiceless uvular fricative	ḫ (kh, x)
د	daal	[d]	voiced alveolar plosive as in “ <b>dear</b> ”	d
ذ	ḏaal	[ð]	voiced interdental fricative as in “ <b>the</b> ”	ḏ (dh, ð)
ر	raa' <	[r]	alveolar trill as in “ <b>rate</b> ”	r
ز	zayn	[z]	voiced alveolar fricative as in “ <b>zebra</b> ”	z
س	seen	[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative as in “ <b>sun</b> ”	s
ش	sheen	[ʃ]	voiceless postalveolar fricative as in “ <b>shame</b> ”	š (sh)
ص	ṣaad	[sʰ]	voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative	ṣ
ض	ḏaad	[ðʰ]	voiced alveolar emphatic plosive	ḏ
ط	ṭaa' <	[tʰ]	voiceless (un aspirated) alveolar emphatic plosive as in “ <b>Tanzania</b> ”	ṭ
ظ	ḏaa' <	[ðʰ]	voiced interdental emphatic fricative	ḏ
ع	'ayn	[ʕ]	voiced pharyngeal fricative	ʕ
غ	Ġayn	[ɣ]	voiced uvular fricative	ġ (gh)
ف	faa' <	[f]	voiceless labio-dental fricative as in “ <b>face</b> ”	f
ق	gaaf	[q]	voiceless [un aspirated] uvular plosive	q



ك	kaaf	[k]	voiceless velar plosive as in “ <b>c</b> ar”	k
ل	laam	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral as in “ <b>l</b> ady”	l
م	meem	[m]	bilabial nasal as in “ <b>m</b> iss”	m
ن	Noon	[n]	alveolar nasal as in “ <b>n</b> erd”	n
ه	haa' <	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative as in “ <b>h</b> arm”	h
و	waaw	[w]	central labio-velar approximant as in “ <b>w</b> ar”	w
ي	yaa' <	[j]	central palatal approximant as in “ <b>y</b> et”	y

*Note.*

– Represents a consonant superscript and it is added to indicate a geminated (double)

consonant.

## Table 2.

### *IPA Representation of the Vowels that Are Related to Arabic*

Vowels	Romanization	Description
	a	open front short [a] as in “ <b>a</b> dmit”, and represented with the diacritic “ <b>َ</b> ”
ا	aa	[a:] long counterpart of [a] as in “ <b>a</b> n”, and represented with the letter “ا”
	i	front close short [i] as in “ <b>i</b> t”, and represented with the diacritic “ <b>ِ</b> ”
ي	ee	[i:] long counterpart of [i] as in “ <b>e</b> e”, and represented with the letter “ي”
	u	close back short [u] as in “ <b>u</b> t”, and represented with the diacritic “ <b>ُ</b> ”
و	oo	[u:] long counterpart of [u] as in “ <b>o</b> om”, “ <b>u</b> ”, and represented with the letter “و”

السكون (Stillness)	-----	absence of following vowel as in “ <b>p</b> lay”, and represented with the diacritics “ <b>-</b> ”
ə (Schwa)	a, e	a central vowel as in /jəstaʃmil/ ”يَسْتَعْمِلُ”, the equivalent of “s/he uses”
o	o, a	as in /əl-x <b>o</b> bz/, “the bread”
aj	ai, i, ey	a combination between [a] and [i] as in /ər-r <b>aj</b> /, “point of view”
aw	ou, ow	as in /b <b>yaw</b> /, “they wanted”

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### General Introduction

The total number of world's languages is diminishing at an alarming pace. Krauss (1992) estimated that by a period of a hundred consecutive years, 90% of the existing languages are going to be completely extinct. Biologists and ecologists often think that language endangerment is not as much dangerous as other biological threats like volcanos or hurricanes and as such, little attention is given to language erosion. However, I am alert that this phenomenon should be the concern of everyone because linguistic diversity secures the present history and culture for our succeeding generations. Equally important, awareness about language death sidesteps people from the risks of hybridity. Particularly for me as a linguistics major, fewer languages mean limitation of future research. That is, we will be obliged to work on a reduced set of languages. An endangered language is a language that is at risk of falling out of use as its speakers pass away or shift to speak other languages, yet different factors equally lead to this erosion. For this, the following paragraph will resume them.

Languages are a living organism. Like all the physical entities in the natural world, they progress and regress through time. Thus, new words are constantly coined, while other existing ones fall into disuse because, as argued by Halliday 1989 (as cited by Eggins, 2004), language reflects the human necessity. In a language contact situation (war and migration), with one language economically dominant than the other, speakers frequently shift to use the dominant one. After a long period of contact, the shift and preferred use of the second language will affect the proficiency of the first verity, the thing that results to its death. In short, the speakers hold the key to the continuation or abandonment of their language as supposed by O' Grady et al. (1997). Significantly, one cannot talk about the speakers' attitudes without referring to Schmidt (1985), whose study clarified how intergenerational linguistic attitudes may hinder, or increase the process of language transition.

Positive attitudes are a successful way to enhance language maintenance. Reversing negative attitudes helps in safeguarding languages from erosion. If the first generation of language users finds a social and economic value in its language, it will automatically encourage the coming generations to use this variety. Political bodies like governments and national organization play an effective role in enhancing the social prestige of a given language. This status reinforcement is achieved through using the language in hands in media, schools, dictionaries, and books. Not to mention the benefits of such economical gains which augment intergenerational linguistic transmission and limit shift to other tongues.

The interest in the field makes the research have a set of objectives. First, this work identifies the factors that contribute and, consequently, lead to language death. Second, the study makes a contribution to research on language endangerment as it tries to measure language vitality through the linguistic attitudes of the speakers. In order to achieve the aforementioned objectives, the study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- Why some old words are not used anymore by speakers of Sidi Ali?
- Are Sidi Ali speakers aware of language death?
- What are the speakers' attitudes towards this phenomenon?
- How likely is old lexicon going to be used as part of the jargon of Sidi Ali's residents?

As a presumable attempt to answer the previous questions, it may be hypothesized the following:

- Old words fall out of use in the dialect of Sidi Ali as a result of the residents' negative linguistic attitudes, globalization, migration, knowing several languages, and cultural shift.
- The old residents of Sidi Ali are more aware of death of old words than younger ones.

- Older people have positive attitudes towards old dialect, in contrast with youth.
- The old dialect of Sidi Ali is going to be safe as long as their speakers, old people, are alive.

To answer the questions mentioned above, a mixed methodology is employed. So to speak, a qualitative and quantitative analysis is processed to collect data. In this respect, a structured questionnaire is conducted. The mix approach is chosen for the mere reason of testing the consciousness of speakers about endangered vocabulary, and measuring the frequency of usage of these words. Thus, the Matched-Guise Technique (MGT), a sociolinguistic and psychological experimental test, is integrated within the questionnaire because it is one of the most feasible techniques to examine behaviors and attitudes of respondents towards old words.

The study is conducted on two random samples from city of Sidi Ali, Mostaganem. The logic behind random sampling is that it removes bias from the selection procedure and the results are treated as a representative sample of the whole city. In this respect, the questionnaire is handed to two different generations from Sidi Ali. The first one consists of 25 persons aging between 44 to 65, and the second one is a group of 25 persons with an age rate that ranges from 16 to 30 years old. These samples are picked up to see how linguistic beliefs change over generations and, effectively, how this transition leads language to its end. To provide language attrition with a different perspective, linguistic attitudes of speakers are taken into consideration. Besides, the research on attitudes increased the subjects' awareness of their role, as language users, in the endangerment operation.

The chapters are organized as follows:

On the one hand, the first chapter tackled the key concepts about language death and endangerment. This entailed how and why language endangerment happens. Not to mention,



the historical background of the study. Interestingly, it focused more on the role of individual attitudes on language death. Then, it highlighted the effectiveness of language planning in preserving moribund languages. The second chapter gave historical insights about Algeria. It briefly inferred why natives resisted the shift to speak the languages of their land occupiers. Also, it articulated what drives languages to die in Algeria and what procedures are taken to make an end for this erosion. On the other hand, the third chapter was devoted to the practical side of this work. It reported and analyzed the data retrieved from the questionnaire to answer the inquiries and support the objectives of this research.

# Chapter One

*Language Death and Endangerment*

## Introduction

Language death is a phenomenon that puts the worlds' linguistic diversity at risks. In this vein, this chapter explains linguistic endangerment. It starts with overview of the study, its development, and importance. Then, it moves to how and why language happens to die. Interestingly, with a focus on the contribution of the speakers' attitudes to the endangerment process. Furthermore, it concludes by stating how language planning helps to restore dead words.

### 1. Historical Background of Language Endangerment: Language and Religion

Through history, language was treated in isolation from the object of time. In Ancient Europe for instance, where the church possessed a rule over science, it was sinful to raise questions about the origins of words. Inquiries like how words were generated contradicted totally the bible's view that God has created everything, then he gave Adam the responsibility to name things in the world. To Saussure (2009, p.80), "language is a system of pure values which are determined by nothing except the momentary arrangement of its terms". As the quote indicated, language is better studied in limited periods of time (in synchronicity), than through time (in diachronicity). Saussure (2009) justified his view in terms of results' quality because synchronicity promotes more narrowed, conclusive results than diachronicity does. Although synchronicity is an accurate method, it treats language as constant. By this, the Saussurian approach refutes any claim that language can evolve or die. As the 21<sup>st</sup> century came over, the church lost gradually its domination over science. As a result, several papers started questioning the flexibility of language and its ability to change. Thus, the term *language loss* was first mentioned by Lambert & Freed (1982) as individuals' loss of the speaking skill in the process of learning a new language. Language loss can exceed the oral competence, however, to include the loss of a repertoire of an entire language. After Lambert

& Freed's initiative, the study of language endangerment escalated, and now there is remarkably more research regarding this topic.

## 2. Definition of Dead and Extinct Languages

While the terms *dead* and *extinct* may be used interchangeably, they mean quite two different things. The Linguistic Society of America (Wordbury, J, (n, d)) argued that language death is the first step toward extinction. Besides, Crystal (2000) used Ubykh language to illustrate how language death is an end to extinction. He claimed that few years back in the village of Hasi Osman in Turkey, linguists went to record Tevfic Esevenç, the last speaker of this language. According to Crystal (2000), this last speaker could not communicate with his own children because they turned to speak Turkish. By the death of Esevenç in 1992, Ubykh joined the company of world's extinct languages. To recapitulate, a dead language is more likely to be revived in the future unlike the extinct one.

## 3. The Dangers of Language Endangerment

Language death constitutes a loss for human beings in terms of history, identity, and culture. Language captures its speakers' history; tracing history needs a language to satisfy it. Thus, once a language is lost, the links with history are lost as well. In this way, Nabhan & St. Antoine (1993) put language endangerment as the loss of human knowledge. Equally important, Pound (1960) justified that each language is a way of expressing identity. Indeed, language permits its speakers to identify the cultural elements that differ them from other groups of people. On the opposite hand, Whorf (1970) argued that different languages provide their users with different experiences. It is worth noting that this distinctive feature encourages the unequal distribution of knowledge between cultures. Whorf exemplified with the Eskimos, the inhabitants of the Arctic Ocean, who have relatively a large register to refer to *snow*. This large body of lexicon privileges them with a better understanding of the concept *snow* than other cultures do.

#### **4. Language Vitality**

Languages around the world are at various levels of vitality, or healthiness. With some safe to other completely extinct. Vitality testing is perhaps the most efficient way to determine the likelihood of a language to be secure in the future. As illustrated previously in Ubykh (Turkey), linguists classified the language in investigation as dead because of the few remaining speakers. Another approach to measure vitality is quantifying the extent of language use in different social contexts. In different terms, the more language is used to interact, the more it is likely to be safe from extinction. Equally important, intergenerational transmission of language has a hand in endangerment. If children are constantly exposed to the native tongues of their parents, they will probably end up using them. As a consequence, the future of these languages will be safeguarded thanks to the new generation of speakers.

#### **5. The Principles and Conditions of Language Change**

All physical entities in the world undergo change, and languages are no exception. Everyday new words are invented, while others die. In 2019, Oxford English Dictionary (n.d) reported that 550 words were coined. However, Curzan (2014) shared that, over the course of time, Old English (OE) has lost a great body of lexicon. Language change does not happen accidentally, but rather follows a systematic process. According to O'Grady, Dobrovolsky, and Katamba (1997, p. 348), "for a language change to take place, the particular innovation must be acceptable by a sizeable section of the linguistic community". In other terms, the future of neologisms, new words and utterances, is dependent heavily on the attitudes of the corresponding speech community. That is to say, if a large number of people share a positive attitude towards neologisms, these terms will automatically enter the register. Thus, O'Grady et al. (1997) compared the social attitudes towards neologisms with children's self-hypercorrection during the process of language acquisition. By way of illustration, O'Grady et al. (1997) stated that English children typically use the pattern "-ed" on any action took

place in the past; this rule is applicable even if the verb is irregular. For instance, they put *to go* as “goed” instead of *went*. However, “goed” is not welcomed in formal English, the reason why children consistently hyper-correct themselves until they definitely eliminate that pattern from their speech. Then, they adjust it to more appropriate grammar rules among their speech communities.

### 5.1. Reasons for Linguistic Change

Unlike other types of linguistic change, the lexical one is perhaps the easiest to detect. Even non-linguists can guess the age of the speaker only from the words s/he employs. For instance, young people use the verb *to flex* (to show off) to reinforce their linguistic identity in society. Romaine (1984) reviewed that youth generally use more slangs and acronyms than adults belonging to the same social background. This argument explains why older persons usually face hard times in understanding young people. From generation to another, new words are constantly taking over the senior body of vocabulary. In fact, this claim demonstrates the life circle of language. Halliday 1989 (as cited by Eggins, 2004) stressed that the primary job of language is to reflect the human experience. This assumption suggests that language is a flexible tool that is manipulated by the language use of its speakers. Namely, by the technology advancement of last decade, the word *CD* replaced *cassette*. Not only the speakers’ linguistic needs that drive to endangerment, but also the cultural shift does. McCrum (2010) claimed that during the 21<sup>st</sup> century, English invaded the world’s businesses, policies, cultures, and educational systems. Moreover, he expected that English-centric content will gradually replace the world’s languages. Indeed, as an inevitable result of this globalization, words of English roots as fast food, shopping, and marketing invaded almost every tongue in the world. Another end to lexical shift is the urbanization. Migration to urban areas often leads to loss of rural languages because migrants usually feel the urge to converge to the new language or dialect. To fit in the city, they have to let go over their languages or

dialects. Eventually, migration has an indirect impact on language vitality. Unlike other motives for language change, migration's consequences appear on the second or the third generation of speakers. The youngsters often lose control over their heritage tongue, or they turn monostylistic because their language is restricted to casual contexts like home only and not used in formal domains as school and work. Occasionally, the loss of the multi-situational use of a language, limits the function of language and the language attires ultimately.

At the personal level, speakers are free to choose the language that meets their needs. These choices are basically of psychological nature. In a bilingual context, language users usually develop positive attitudes towards the dominant language. That is, the language which guarantees social prestige, education, and job opportunities. In a qualitative interview conducted by Gladwin (2010) on attitudes of speakers of Meso-American language, indigenous Indian language in Florida, parents revealed that they prefer their children to learn English over the minority language. They justified this choice that English is beneficial for children's careers, unlike Meso-American which is no longer spoken in the area. In one way or another, the negative attitude of Meso-Americans towards the use of their native language will lead to no intergenerational transmission which is an inevitable consequence to endangerment.

Languages can be forcibly taken away by colonization, or political oppression. Colonists usually force their language over the language of minority groups. Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter (1977, p. 5) labelled this kind of linguistic dominance as "language murder" of minority languages. Furthermore, politicians often believe that any reduction in the number of languages decreases the cultural conflict between inhabitants of the same country. Crystal (2000) argued that this proliferation ideology was applied in the 1960's by Singaporean Prime Minister who issued English as the medium of instruction in schools to unite the three major ethnic groups of Chinese, Indians, and Malays. The same thing goes in

international trade, to save translation expenses, English serves as a lingua franca, or a bridge language between different tongues.

## **6. Language Contact and Vocabulary Death**

Contact situations threaten the lives of languages. When language “A” interacts frequently with language “B”, it is said that both are in contact. To ensure intelligibility at the beginning of the interaction, speakers of both parties may remind bilingual for a quite a good time. However, if language “A” stops the intergenerational transmission, and its old speakers die; these conditions will path the way for the dominance of “B” in all contexts of life. On the whole, the safety of any language is much dependent on its speakers. In her research on aboriginal Australian languages, Schmidt (1985) interviewed two succeeding generations of Dyribal. Before interacting with her findings, it is important to mention the status of Dyribal language which is, as compared to English, a low-prestige language and an interference of traditional tribal life. By noticing the gradual intergenerational shift to English, Schmidt (1985) conducted her study on two generations of old speakers (35- 80 years) and younger ones (less than 35 years). She handed to the interviewees a list of herbs in Dyribal language then, she asked them to identify the English equivalents accordingly. Schmidt (1985) concluded that old speakers could identify 600 elements out of 600, while the young ones could recall less than 200 items. Other youths, used English to refer to the Dyribal words which they could not remember. All in all, the traditional knowledge of Dyribal is lost due to the broken chain of intergenerational transmission. The same goes with colonization because it legitimizes the expansion of the socially and politically dominant language on the expense of relatively less powerful language. However, Mufwene (2001) put colonization’s results as not only language death of indigenous groups, but also the creation of pidgins which are grammatically simplified languages that serve nothing but to ensure the intelligibility between different tongues.



### **6.1. Linguistic Attitudes of Speakers and their Effects on Language Death**

Allport (1935, p. 11) defined linguistic attitudes as “a mental and neural state of readiness”. That is, they are a set of predisposed ideas that stimulate speakers to act, or react. For instance, when language users hold positive attitudes towards a given dialect, they simply converge to speak it. Besides, attitudes are individualistic traits, not conventional. They demonstrate a reflection of personal beliefs and ideas on linguistic choices. Since attitudes are an approach of thinking which is driven by introspection, they cannot be visually observed. To discover how bilingual French-Canadians feel about the use of English, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Filenbaum (1966) developed the “Matched-Guise Technique” (MGT) which is a data collection tool used to unveil the social stereotyped impressions about different ethnolinguistic groups. The MGT involves having one speaker producing various accents or languages. Then, the participants are asked to judge guises (recordings) only from hearing them. By this, interviewees will guess the social status, educational background, and character traits of the guises’ voice. Furthermore, the MGT contains a set of open questions to encourage participants to indirectly elicit their opinions and attitudes. Similarly, the entertainment industry is another channel to promote linguistic attitudes. The literature pertaining to Lippi-Green (1997) asserted that among Disney characters, the attractive and prominent ones speak English accent; cooks or fashion designers are usually of French tongue, while unemployed ones frequently have African American English (AAE) accent. Needless to say, such stereotypes underestimate different speech communities.

Attitudes have conflicting consequences on the social status of language. They either hinder or reinforce the social ranking of language. As previously illustrated, the Meso-Americans stigmatized their own language as fruitless for the career advancement of their children. In fact, parents recognized the diminishing function of Meso-American in the English-speaking community. As they felt outsiders with respect to the economically

dominant society, they followed the urge to shift to English and left their heritage tongue behind. By this, the domain of use of Meso-American was limited on home only. As a result, the language in question reached its terminal stages. Not only minority languages are subjects to attitudes, but also national ones. Wardhaugh (2006, p. 53) added that “[ people] believe such things as certain languages lack grammar, that you can speak English without an accent, that French is more logical than English [...]”. That is, as compared to French, English is lexically disqualified to communicate abstract ideas such as happiness, or love. Wardhaugh (2006) justified that the line of arguments to support this view is that English lacks the relatively large body of vocabulary that permits it to define non-physical entities. Another manifestation of attitudes is language loyalty. As opposed to linguistic shift, language loyalty involves resisting the social benefits which are offered by the economically and politically dominant language. Individuals with linguistic loyalty stance usually insist on the use of the minority language. This supportive position; therefore, helps in the survival of endangered languages, as well as, it reflects a strong sense of nationalism.

### **7. Language Planning: as a Solution to Language Death**

Language planning increases language vitality. Wardhaugh (2006) defined language planning as authorities’ interference in the process of language loss. Authorities can be in form of governments, public figures, and non-governmental organizations. Usually these parties decide which language should be standardized and why other varieties should remain vernacular. It may sound easy to do language planning, but that is not always the case. Haugen (1966) summarized the process in four major steps. First, politicians are responsible for initiating the mechanism with selecting which variety is to be developed as an official or a national language. Second, the linguists will codify the chosen variety. This operation is achieved by developing the inner layers of language. For instance, by coining new lexicons. Third, the aforementioned language will be elaborated. Thus, the creation of a large body of

literature and dictionaries will keep a written record of the language in hands, and ultimately this will preserve it from extinction. Finally, and once again, authorities will secure the acceptance of this language in society. They do so by raising its prestige and status among people as language of media and school instruction.

### **Conclusion**

Language death remarkably became a major concern of modern linguists. Because it threatens the major defining component of humanity such as culture, history, and linguistic diversity. A healthy language is the one that is intergenerationally transmitted and employed in everyday domains. In different terms, any decrease in the number of speakers or in frequency of language, threatens the vitality of this variety. Equally important, globalization, modernity, migration, and social needs have hand in language death, yet this process may happen forcibly due to colonization and wars. Interestingly, individuals' positive attitudes help in preservation of language. In this respect, language planning is a successful solution to defeat language endangerment

# Chapter Two

*The Linguistic Landscape of  
Algeria*

## **Introduction**

Through history, Algeria's substantial location in the Mediterranean played a focal role in the economical transactions. This argument nominated the country to be subject to successive conquests. Ranging from the Phoenician reign to the French colonial, Algerians spoke a combination of languages. As a definite result for this extensive linguistic contact, several languages became endangered, while others are already extinct. Thereby, the chapter in hands states the different civilizations that took place in the country. Besides, it analyzes why the languages spoken by these cultures could not survive. Then, it explains how the shift towards bilingualism and multilingualism increased language endangerment in Algeria. The chapter concludes with a historical track of language planning in the region.

### **1. From Antiquity to the Seventh Century A.D**

Phoenicians (first Carthagians) were among the ancient civilizations sheltering north Africa. Miles (2010) claimed that Phoenicians immigrated from the Middle East, Lebanon, and settled in East Algeria and Tunisia. However, their occupation did not last long because of the continuous Roman conquests on the region, namely the Punic Wars. Miles (2010) accused Romans of destroying the Phoenician civilization; because they burned the library of Carthage which constitutes an important reference for this north Mediterranean civilization. With that in hand, little is known in recent literature about Carthagian Punic (the Phoenician language). Also, Miles (2010) stressed that as Carthagian Punic lost ground for Latin, the last became perhaps the most spoken language in the Maghreb region. He argues that this African Romance language was the language of the church, while Phoenician was employed in the few remaining contexts.

## 2. The Arab Conquest (El-Fath) of Algeria

Following the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the Umayyad Calipha Umar carried on a series of successive conquests on the Maghreb region. At first, Djabri (1981) claimed that El-Fath of east region of Algeria failed because of the resistance of the locals under the reign of a queen named kahina (Dihya). He maintained that after several conquests, Dihya's lead subordinated to the Calipha. By this, Berbers (or Amazigh, the native inhabitants of North Africa) accepted Islam as religion and Arabic as a language. Whereas, it is worth noting that prior the Islamic conquest, Berbers across Algeria have spoken different dialects of Tamazight. In this vein, khaldon (2015) emphasized that it was only in the eighth century when Islam was spread in all around the country, that the population accepted Arabic as a means of communication. Thus, the Berbers' complete shift to Arabic is demonstrated in the following passage.

There are still a very old people who know this dialect (Berber) and they refuse either to speak or teach it to their children, because they see it as a dialect which has gone with the emergence of the liberation revolution.

(Meziane, 1974, as cited by Djabri, 1981, p. 22).

As the quote indicates, the tribe in question decided to stop the intergenerational transmission of Berber because it was not helping children in learning about the Islamic tradition. In contrast with Arabic, the voice of Quran, which seems adequate to serve that religious purpose. The desire to acquire the new language grow at an alarming pace because Arabic demonstrated the key to economic growth and to sciences. In this respect, Meziane 1974 (as cited by Djabri, 1981, p. 21) coined the term "self-Arabization" to account for the linguistic assimilation to Arabic. To illustrate more, he mentioned the Snouci tribe, in mountains of Sabdou in Tlemcen, which shifted radically to Arabic. Equally important, the Geographical element has hands in the shift towards Arabic. Meziane 1974 (as cited by Djabri, 1981) identified that what accelerated the shift in the Snouci's case is its long

exposure to neighboring Arabic tribes. Unlike, the Berbers of the kabylie (in Northern Central Algeria) whose Arabization failed because of the mountainous geography of the region which isolates them from the rest of the world.

### **3. The Middle Ages (from 15th to 17th Century)**

According to Abun-Nasr (1987), the early 16<sup>th</sup> century marked the collapse of the Zayyanid dynasty which succeeded to rule the northwest part of Algeria for three successive centuries. As a definite result of the Zayyanid's fall, Algerians sought help from the Turkish brothers Barbarossa whose fame of marine championships was spread all across the Mediterranean. Abun-Nasr (1987) articulated that the deal was the Turkish protection of the Northern Coast from the Spanish invasions in exchange of the Algerian inclusion within the Ottoman crown. However, the Ottoman province of Algeria was labeled with locals' economical and social degradation. Djabri (1981) admitted that it is true that the Turkish who inhabited the country were a minority, yet most of them were either governors, land owners, and politicians; whereas, few of such important positions were left to natives. As the former chapter indicates, the small number of language users degrades language vitality. As such, the limited Turkish tongues in Algeria probably explain the inability of the empire to maintain its language over the majority of Algerian Arabic speakers and Berber speakers.

### **4. The French Colonization (from 1832 to 1962)**

#### **4.1. Algeria Before 1832**

The educational organization in precolonial Algeria was basically of religious concerns. Djabri (1981) indicated that Mosques, Zaouias, and Ribats (traditional schools with Arabic-centric subjects) were the three main institution that served the Islamic purpose in the region. As a way of illustration, the Zaouia Tidjania, west north Algeria in Tlemcen. These schools have reinforced the status of Classical Arabic as the tongue of the Islamic tradition. Unlike the colonists' claims that the local people were uneducated, the Algerian literacy rate

prior the French invasion was quite respectable. To support this argument, the French General Daumas, 1935 (as cited by Turin, 1971) reported that by the beginning of the French rule in 1832, the Algerian's basic education was similar to that of the French who were supposed to civilize the natives. This quote triggers that besides civilizing natives, the French colonists had other intentions which will be closely investigated in the next section.

#### **4.2. During the French colonization (from 1832 to 1962)**

Preoccupied Algeria fought to preserve the Islamic heritage. As the French started their colonial adventure in 1832, they tried to impose their language and culture on locals. Djabri (1981) pointed out that although French was the national language of the country in postcolonialism period, the Algerian loyalty to Arabic remained untouched. He added that soon after, the colonist targeted the only educational centers, the mosques, by either completely destroying them, or turning them to churches. As a result, the illiteracy rate blew up on an alarming rate across the colony. As Turin (1971) worded it, that in ten years in Constantine alone, the number of children enrolled in school fell down from six hundred to sixty. In different terms, the French limited all sources of knowledge to create a hybrid generation of Algerians speaking just French and imitating the European style of life.

Algerians were at a double bind situation. Djabri (1981) asserted that locals were at an economic disadvantage to afford the expenses of the prestigious French schools, and at the same time, they were not satisfied with the quality of education in traditional institutions; because the few remaining mosques offered relatively a poor content. Djabri (1981) concluded that this basic education refers back to the French legislations' restriction on the Tolba (mosque's instructors) to teach the simplest Islamic practices without a deep investigation of Quran meaning. In fact, these institutional limitations aimed to break the Algerians from their history and most importantly their faith. By this, natives had no clue to survive except surrendering to the enemy's language. In fact, this linguistic contact between



the two groups pathed the way for bilingualism of modern Algeria. Furthermore, the phenomenon of bilingualism will be later on discussed in details.

The missionary task of the colonist was to gradually replace Arabic with French. To fulfill this linguistic aggression, the French targeted children. Colonna (1975) reported that, in 1833, the French system established schools in Algiers in which basic writing skills, mathematics, and physics were taught in French. To ensure the cultural integration, these classes were open for both young natives and Europeans. However, the natives foiled radically the Frenchanization plot. They prevented their children from studying in the French schools, and they inserted them into the few remaining mosques for the mere reason of receiving the traditional way to knowledge in Classical Arabic. In this respect, Turin (1971) argued that a considerable number of native children missed and dropped out of their classes in this period of time. Fortunately, Algerians were aware that the French legislated education was not forming intellectuals, but raising future farmers who will end up serving the settlers.

## **5. The Bilingual Algeria**

By the end of second World War, the Algerian quest for knowledge increased. Djabri (1981) revealed that in return of their military participation in the war along France, Algerians claimed for equality of education with the settlers. In different terms, the opposition to French schooling changed to a positive demand for it. Besides, Djabri (1981) inferred that this reversive shift in terms of attitudes is due to the integration efforts led by the Algerian elite who wanted to have equal opportunities with settlers. As far as language is concerned, Benrabeh (2007) claimed that the main criterion for job recruiting was having a good command of French. That reason empowered this Romance language in the Algerian society. In fact, all of these motives cleared the way for an Algerian bilingual generation to rise.

Bloomfield (1984) identified bilingualism as an ideal command of two languages. A person is called bilingual only when s/he equally masters two languages like a native speaker. This cognitive phenomenon entails different features as moving from one dialect to another (code-switching) and switching from one language to another (language-mixing). Moreover, The UNESCO 2012 (as cited by Benrabah,2014) argued that from early 90's to 2012, Algeria became the second-largest French speaking community in the world after France itself. The monolingual policy that natives applied in postcolonialism turned out to bilingualism after independence. Equally important, Benrabeh (2007) declared that since the rise of the 1970's, French has been taught as the first foreign language from primary school to high school. These linguistic reforms frustrated the nationalists groups who believed in the de-Frenchifying plan after independence in 1962.

Even though bilingualism is a usual result of language contact, it is a considerable step towards language endangerment. As the former chapter indicates, in a bilingual pool, the dominant language usually oppresses the less dominant ones. This imperialistic action occurs via the limitation of domain of use. In the case of post-colonial Algeria, French took over all formal situations as school, government, and newspaper. By this, little contextual situations were left for local languages and dialects. Equally important, the negative attitudes of Algerians towards their language has hand on endangerment. It is worth mentioning that it was a point of no return when the new generation of Algerians started associating with French, probably more than their ancestors did. In fact, the danger of this linguistic shift towards local dialects or languages is present; because the penalty is the erosion of local languages.

## 6. Endangered Languages of Algeria

### 6.1. Tamazight Languages

The Endangered Languages Project (n.d.) revealed that Algeria has eight endangered languages stated as follows: Chenoua, Kwarandzyey, Ladino, Touggourt, Tagargrent, Tamhaq, Tanzanite, and Tidilket. Surprisingly, all of the aforementioned languages are different variations of Tamazigh language. Precisely, The Amazigh World News (2019) declared that the Berber speaking world has twelve endangered languages or dialects which differ in the degree of endangerment. The same website shared that three languages out of them are critically endangered. Starting with Tidikelt, a language used around the city of Ain Salah, central Algeria, and spoken by approximately 60.000 individuals. Also, Tamazight of Arzew which is spoken by less than 2000 persons in the northwest Algeria in Oran. As well as, Zenatiya in Tissimsilt, southwest the capital. According to The Amazigh World News (2019), the erosion of the previously mentioned varieties is irreversible; because they are estimated to be extinct by 2045. Unfortunately, other are severely endangered and expected to be extinct in period of fifty years. As stated in the previous chapter, this erosion happens as the heritage language becomes crucial for elderly people, but just symbolic to the new generation of speakers. To illustrate these severely endangered tongues, the same website draws on the cases of Gouara, Koranjie, Tagargrent, Touggourt, and Tasnuit which are the languages of cities of Adrar, Bechar, Ouragla, Touggourt, and Tlemcen accordingly. Fortunately, The Amazigh World News (2019) declared that four other varieties are in vulnerable situation and estimated to survive for at least a century. This involves Tamhaq, the tongue of Tamanraset and Djanet in Southern Algeria. In addition to, Tamzabit, as the name may indicates, it is related to Beni-Mzab, Ghardaia. On top of that, Cherchell which only owns two vulnerably endangered Berber languages, namingly Tuyurayt and Tacenwit.

## 6.2. Algerian Arabic: Case of Dialect of Mostaganem

Not only Tamazight is concerned with endangerment, but also dialects of Algerian Arabic. In this regard, this section will tackle the dialect of Mostaganem, Northern-West Algeria. To preserve the linguistic heritage of Mostaganem, Cherif (2017) created a corpus of endangered lexicons spoken in rural areas, precisely, west of the city center (Douar Essaidia, Douar Ouled Boukhatem, and Douar Es-Saidia). She interviewed old people aging from 60 to 85 years who, in fact, gave her a collection of dead and dying words. To make this corpus explicit for readers, she attached it with pictures. On top of that, she found that the same vocabulary is still used in different villages, but with different connotations. Also, few words were replaced by names of modern instruments which serve the same function. Cherif (2017) exemplified with “malaboza” /malabɔza/- a traditional oil candle which was replaced by “elkanki”/elkənki/-a gas consuming lamp. However, language endangerment is not bounded to rural areas only, but it also touches the urban centers. Cantineau’s 1940 study (as cited in Chachou, 2009) interpreted that the use of diminutives by urban Mostaganemians is heavily affected by rural migration, and he predicted that this form will be extinct in near future (see also examples of diminutives use in Table 3.). However, there is no recent studies to back up Cantineau’s claim of linguistic erosion of diminutives.

**Table 3.**

*The Unique Use of Diminutives in Urban Dialect of Mostaganem.*

Translation	Rural Form	Urban Form
A door	/bab/	/bwajjab/
A spoon	/muyraf/	/myi:rfa/
My son	/walidi/	/wli:di/

## **7. The Situation of English Language in Algeria**

As the third millennium begun, English has asserted its position as the world's language. In this global state of affairs, Algeria is no exception. In recent years, English start gaining ground over French for a sentence of reasons. First, English is a way to improve the socioeconomical situation of Algerians. It gives the locals the chance to function in foreign companies. Second, English helps in spreading peace in the region. It permits for Algerians to communicate their minds and to make up misleading stereotypes about their country. For these arguments, the Algerian regime started giving more attention to English. Benrabeh (2007) stated that in 2002, English start being taught in middle and high schools as the second foreign language, after French of course. However, he identified that this language is instructed as a compulsory subject in several university programs as in departments of computer science, biology, and marketing. Moreover, he asserted that this pedagogical move was highly encouraged by the United States and Canada. In essence, to promote the English print in the former French colonies. It is worth noting that the dominance of English is integral to the language endangerment discourse because the global dominance of English marginalized the world's languages. To advance the cause of linguistic diversity in Algeria, the government adopted a set of revitalization policies.

## **8. Language Policies and Planning through the History of Algeria**

Wardhaugh (2006) organizes the field of language planning and policy as the intervention of body of authority to favor or discourage the use of one language or a set of languages. Policy makers come to solve the dilemma of which dialect is going to be standardized. Basically, this reclamation of power is carried out via a sentence of legislations and policies. Benrabeh (2007) observed that in an attempt to divorce French, the independent Algeria adopted the Arabization Policy; a movement which has to do with imposing Arabic as the sole medium of school instruction, administration, and court. The Arabization

movement was a solution to unify the country under the absolute regime of one party. It is important to keep in mind, however, that in countless cases, the goal of language planning is simply symbolic. In the sense that recognizing and instituting a given language promotes linguistic ecology and equality for minority groups. With regards to Algeria, the regime built an ecological niche for Tamazight languages. Benrabe (2007) stated that in 2002, Tamazight was recognized as a second national language along Arabic, and an official language in 2016. As in 2018, it became an obligatory module in the educational curriculum of the whole country. Thankfully, Chaif (2015) reported that the governments' efforts paid off and the number of enrollments in Tamazight classes in the last decade increased from 32,500 to more than 200,000 students.

### **Conclusion**

Algeria is a multilingual community thanks to its complicated history. From antiquity to the end of French rule in 1962, the locals failed to safeguard their land for themselves. Hence, these events opened the doors for several civilizations to occupy the territory as Phoenicians, Arabs, and Turkish. It is worth noting that no civilization could help to impose its language on natives, except Arabic. At the very beginning, Arabic was unwelcomed, but all of this changed as natives opened themselves to the Islamic scholarship. The loyalty to the Arabic tradition increased under the imperialistic French regime. Because for Algerians, Arabic vehiculated nationalism and linguistic belonging. However, as the Algerian demand for knowledge grew, the Anti-French position reversed. As an inevitable result, Algeria took a step towards bilingualism. Then, by the global raise of English, the country shifted towards multilingualism. It should be stressed that all of these elements drew an end to the endangerment of local dialects or languages. Thankfully, the government spent fruitful efforts in preserving these dying tongues from extinction.

# **Chapter Three**

*Data Analysis and Findings*

## **Introduction**

This chapter identifies the undertaken methodology, as well as, it discusses and evaluates the results. At the beginning, the chapter defines participants, tools, and methods used. Besides, it clarifies reasons for choosing them. Then, it explicitly presents data collected from the two samples. At last, the chapter examines and explains the answers of participants.

### **1. Participants and Settings**

All the participants involving in the research were unsystematically chosen to give each citizen of Sidi Ali (South East the city center of Mostaganem with 50 km) an equal opportunity to represent the overall population. Random sampling also avoids gender-biased discrimination. First participants are a random group of 25 persons from Sidi Ali with an age that ranges from 44 to 65 years old. The aim behind choosing the aforementioned participants was to see whether old speakers of Sidi Ali are aware of language death, or not. Also, to test old speakers' stand towards dead words because their views will determine if the intergenerational transmission of these old words will break, or continue. The second participants are 25 young persons from the same city, and they are aging from 16 to 35 years old. The sample in hands was chosen for the mere reason of assessing the endangerment causes that were given by Halliday and O'Grady et al, on different generations from Sidi Ali. Exceptionally, Schmidt viewed that language attitudes negatively change from older to younger speakers For this reason, this chapter will compare youths' feelings about endangered words with their older counterparts and as such, the findings will determine the likelihood of old lexicons to survive, or no.



## 2. Methodological Tools and Reasons behind Choosing them

To collect data, this research used two kinds of questionnaires with different participants. It employed in-house questionnaire for older group of subjects where the researcher paid visits to respondents' houses. The reason behind choosing household questionnaire for older people is to help the illiterate ones, who lack the basic writing skills, in filling the questionnaire. However, computer-based questionnaire was handed to young respondents because they are acquainted with technological devices. A sentence of reasons lays behind the choice of questionnaire. First, it allows anonymity; respondents feel at ease answering personal questions as their linguistic behaviors and attitudes towards old words. Second, questionnaire elicits data about phenomenon that cannot be easily observed, such as motives and private linguistic believes. Since the same questions are handed to all subjects, questionnaire proves itself as a money and time-saving tool. For the 50 subjects of this study, interviewing each one of them separately will consume time. The aforementioned reasons nominate the questionnaire to be a favorable tool for this study.

This questionnaire is composed of a set of closed-ended questions (multiple choice and dichotomous ones). This use suggests that respondents have a predetermined set of choices; it also permits the researcher to control the direction of responses, through redirecting the participants to answer just the selected items. To investigate what social characteristics have been attributed to people who use old words in Sidi Ali, the matched-guise technique was integrated. This technique implies a single bidialectal speaker recording two tapes (guises) pronouncing the same content but in different terms. The matching is at the level of the same speaker and the overall meaning of the guises, yet lexicons differ. Lambert et al., (1966) clarified that the use of same speaker keeps the participant focused on vocabulary variation, rather than different voices. They also asserted that this technique elicits stereotypes and discriminations linked to speakers of a given language or dialect. As

an application of this technique, the questionnaire in hands inserted in one tape the old lexicons derived from Cherif's (2017) corpus and it put in the second tape the equivalent vocabulary of these endangered words in the actual dialect of Sidi Ali.

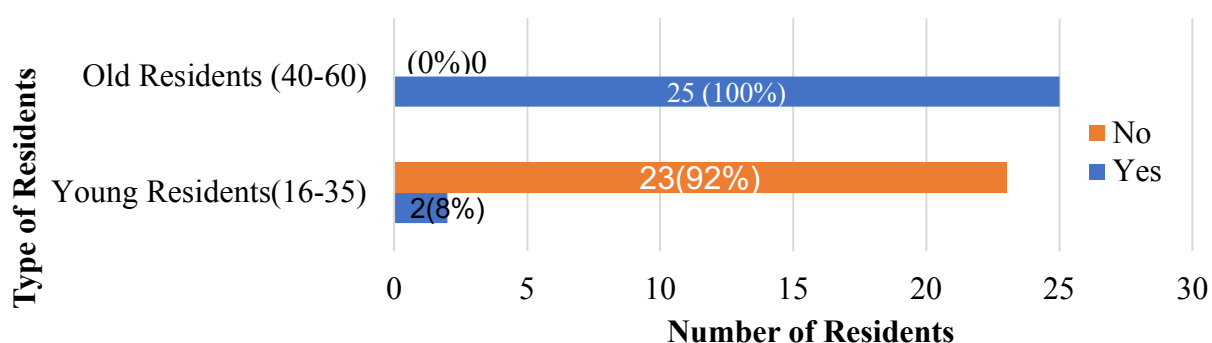
### 3. The Methods Used

This research adopted the mixed methods. The qualitative method was undertaken to explore why words die, while the quantitative one examined how much these words are going to be used in the future. The logic behind this choice is to fulfill the weakness of each approach. As far as this research is concerned, the qualitative data were backed up with numbers to arise the results' credibility and reliability. The mixed methods also strengthen the voice of the subjects because they give them the opportunity to reflect on their personal behaviors towards Sidi Ali's old lexicons in terms of words and in numerals.

### 4. Collection and Analysis of Data Retrieved from Residents

**Figure 1.**

*The Residents' Awareness of Language Endangerment*



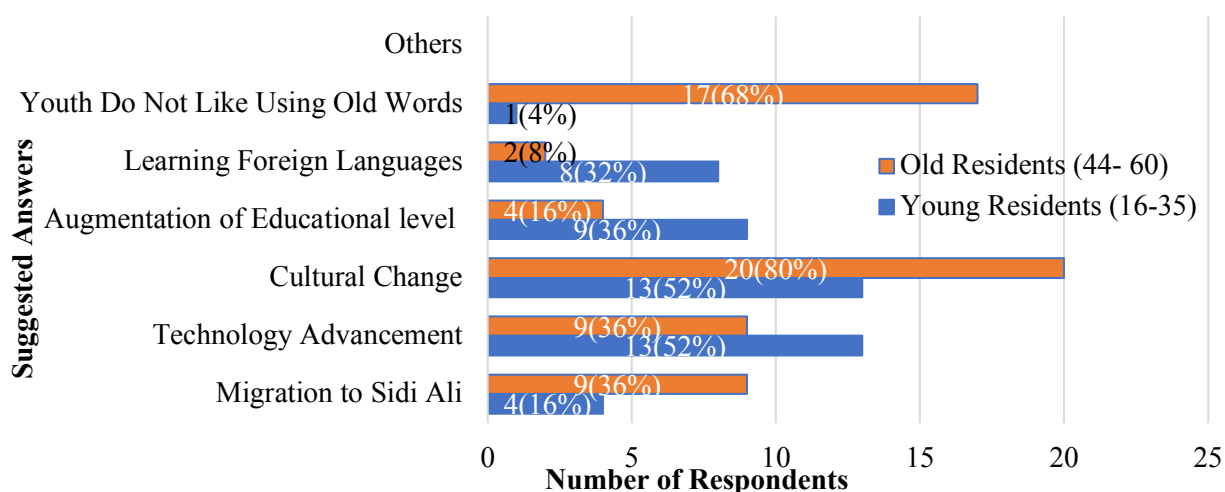
Question 1: do you know some words that are no longer used in the dialect of Sidi Ali?

This question was inserted to test if the residents of Sidi Ali are aware that language endangerment has touched their dialect. Figure 1 illustrates the numbers of residents answering question 1. Dramatically, 100% of old residents answered “yes”, while only 2% of

the young residents chosen the same answer. We can see a clear upward trend in the number of young residents responding negatively, while the number of elders responding “no” has levelled off. Elders associate more with old words as they demonstrate their heritage. Overall, we can say that old generation is more aware, than the younger one, of the existence of endangered lexicons.

**Figure 2.**

*The Causes of Language Endangerment*



*Note.*

The total of answers in this figure exceeds 50, which is the number of subjects in both samples combined, this is due to the multiple-choice nature of question 2 itself that allows subjects to pick up several answers at once.

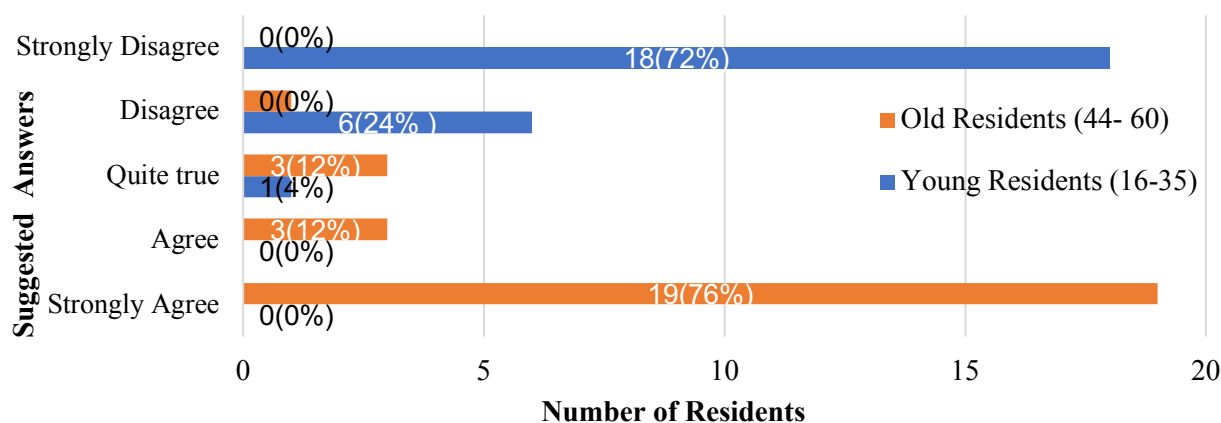
Question 2: why do you think these words have died?

Question 2 uncovered the reasons that drive words to death. This bar chart illustrates what have the inhabitants chosen as causes of endangerment. The answer “cultural change” was the most common with 80% of old residents and 52% of young ones. Followed by “youth do not like using old words” with a massive proportion of 68% of elders, but just 4% of youth. Elders make up the majority of this answer because the negative stand of youth

towards old words broke the chain of intergenerational transmission of Sidi Ali’s old dialect. Thus, “migration to Sidi Ali” took 36 % old voices, but 16% youths. However, while the number of old respondents decreased, the total of youth increased in “learning foreign languages”, “augmentation of educational level”, and “technology advancement”, and the corresponding values to this augmentation are 32%, 36%, and 52% accordingly. In conclusion, since “learning foreign languages”, “augmentation of educational level”, and “technology advancement” are most popular options among youngsters, it is clear that the mass of youth has access to technology and to multilingual education better than what their ancestors had.

**Figure 3.**

*The Importance of the Old Dialect to Residents*



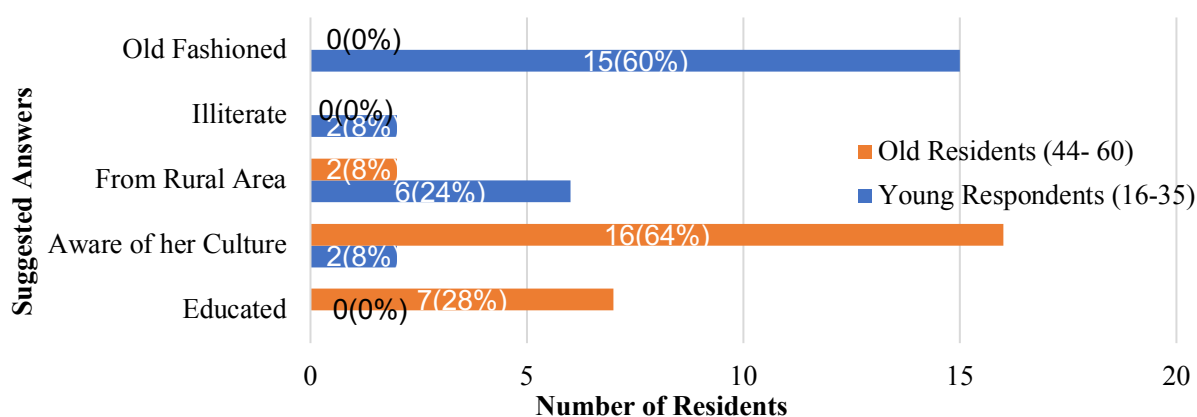
Question 3: are old words an important cultural symbol of Sidi Ali?

Question3 assessed the attitudes of Sidi Ali’s residents towards the senior body of vocabulary. As explained earlier in chapter1, the positive stand of speakers helps in safeguarding the dialect in hands, yet negative stance pushes it to its terminal stages. The number of young respondents fell sharply on the way down the scale. It shifted from 72% “strongly disagree” to a minimal of 4% “quite true”. Nevertheless, the proportion of elders who “strongly agree” started strikingly with 76% then in “agree”, it diminished noticeably

with a difference of 64%. Besides, at “quite true”, the 12% voices of youths remained steadily, but soon it shut down to 4%. As youths have chosen the most negative options and the elders the most positive ones, it can be deduced that youngsters, unlike elders, refuted any claim supporting the cultural importance of old words.

**Figure 4.**

*The Inhabitants’ Attitudes towards the Speakers of Old Dialect*

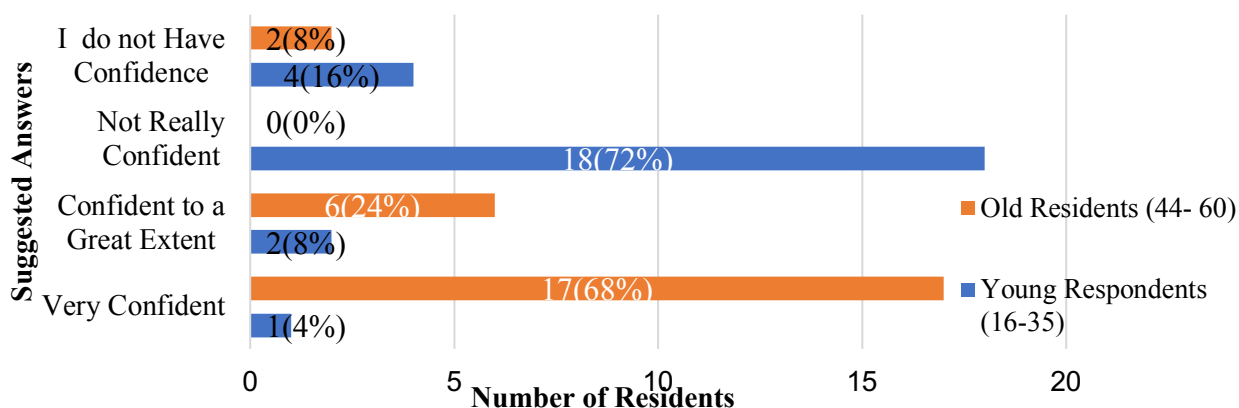


Question 4.1: how do you feel about the speaker in this tape?

This question unveiled what residents believe about the speakers of old lexicons. Figure 4 illustrates a comparison between the attitudes of old and the attitudes of young residents towards the woman in tape. Old residents made up the majority of non-discriminatory responses. For instance, the suggestions “educated”, “aware of her culture”, and “from rural area” gained respectively 28%, 64%, and 8% of elders’ voices. However, the graph revealed that the total of youths slowed down noticeably after an initial surge. Youths’ voices peaked at “old fashioned” with 60%, then shut down to 8% for “illiterate”, before climbing more slowly to 24% in “from rural area” but, once again, the youth proportion leveled off to 8% for “aware of her culture”. In closing, majority of youths degraded speakers of old words and judged them as “old fashioned”, “illiterate”, and “from rural area”, whereas the mass of elders prized the speakers of old words as “educated” and aware of their culture.

**Figure 5.**

*The Residents' Feelings towards Old Words*

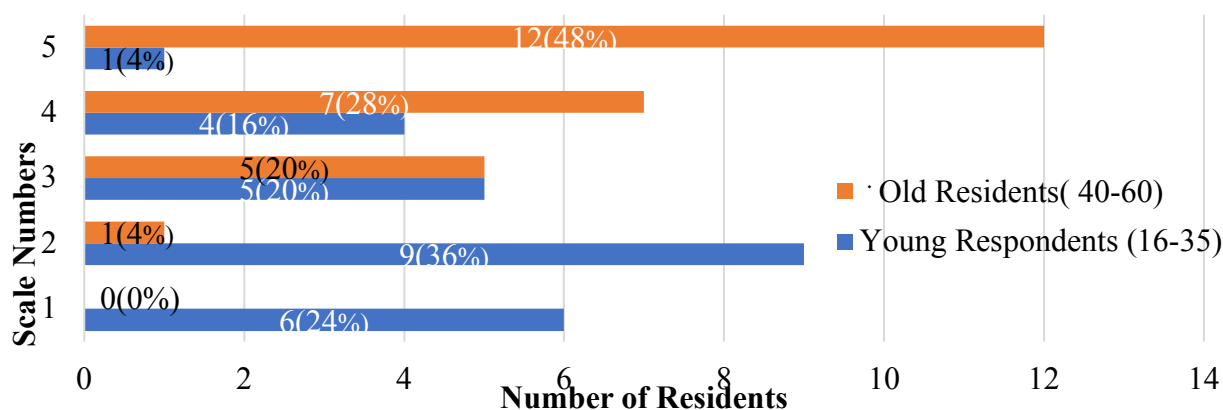


Question 4.2: the tape used vocabulary as *lwgiid /ləwgi:d/*, *balhamri /balhəmri/*, and *diis /əd-dis/*. How much confident do you see yourself using these words?

The aforementioned question measured the vitality of the endangered dialect of Sidi Ali via the feelings of its language users. To see whether old vocabulary may turn completely extinct or survive, the inhabitants were positioned pronouncing those words. The majority of elders made up the highest rate of confidence in utilizing old words. As a way of illustration, 68% of elders felt “very confident” and 24% “confident to a great extent”, with an exception of 8% of “I do not have confidence”. However, 72% youngsters massively confessed “not really confident”. Followed by 16% ones with “I do not have confidence” then, this proportion collapsed to 8% in “confident to a great extent” then, it leveled off to 4% in “very confident”. In opposition with elders, the young generation refuted any claim that these words are an important heritage for Sidi Ali and as such, it will not utilize them as a part of its daily jargon.

**Figure 6.**

*The Degree of Endangerment of Old Dialect*



Question 4.3: how likely would you use this vocabulary in your daily life? (please rate on scale of 5)

This direct question experimented the likelihood of dead words to be revived. Figure 6 demonstrates the frequency of use on a scale of 5. Old residents had more welcomed the use of these lexicons; 48%, 28%, and 20% persons chosen the top three numbers on the scale (“5”, “4”, and “3”), with an exception of 4% voting for just “2”. However, young respondents were less open to the endangered dialect. 4%, 16%, 20%, and 36% youths voted for “5”, “4”, “3”, “2”, and “1” accordingly. All in all, majority of elders were more willing to use old words than youngsters.

**5. Findings and Discussion**

Language is one way to communicate identity. What makes Algerians, for instance, unique than other nationalities is their way of expression, be it verbal or non-verbal. More importantly, language exhibits a living memory for young generations. Through retold stories and written historical textbooks, we had the chance to educate more about our ancestors. These reasons make it pretty challenging to imagine the world without languages. Because the future generations will turn hybrid with no future, nor a past.

A sentence of reasons lays behind endangerment as “culture change”, “augmentation of educational level”, “technology advancement”, and “migration”. Equally important, the foreign languages which are spoken in Algeria oppressed the local dialect of the city and put it on its terminal stages. Unconventionally, more than half of elders see that the intergenerational transmission of old dialect stopped due to youths’ unwillingness to learn and use old words. With this in mind, it can be said that the findings match well the expectations. Halliday 1989 (as cited by Eggins, 2004) claimed that language reflects the social demand of its speakers. Accordingly, when the educational level of youths raised and their culture shifted, they left over their grandparents’ dialect.

Not only elders are alert of words’ erosion, but also few younger are. As opposed to youths, elders are totally aware of the existence of old words because they simply make up their linguistic heritage. However, a minimum of younger (8%) opted for “aware”; this confession may be due to a quite good linguistic contact with old generation of speakers as grandparents, for instance. By the end, the results contradict partially with the hypothesis arguing that all youths with no exception are mindless about lexicons’ erosion. Old generation is also to be blamed for the death of Sidi Ali’s old dialect. A minority of them is convinced that old words are insignificant cultural component of the city. This peculiarity made the results partially correlate with the hypotheses. All in all, the findings align with the claim of O’Grady et al. (1997) that words fell out of use as a considerable number of people decides to let them go.

The experiment tackles the endangerment theory from a different perspective which is the speakers’ attitudes. This approach informs people on their role on language death and consequently, puts them into action. Three questions were designed to cover this objective. The results of the first question suggest that majority of elders are proud of old dialect, yet few of them disgrace it because their culture changed over time and they turned to speak the



youths' dialect, so they started talking down about the old dialect the same way the majority of youths does. The results also uncovered that youngers have a negative mental representation about old speakers due to the cultural gap between both of them, yet few of youths appreciate old words. The following question examined the residents' confidence conversing in old dialect. Elders make up the majority of high confidence answers. However, youngers proportion peaks with 72% for "not really confident", with an exception of 12% of conformists to old lexicons' use. These results find roots in the linguistic attitudes of the speakers themselves. Since the majority of old generation shared a strong sense of pride when they heard old words in tape, they automatically reflected with high confidence. In contrast, more than half of youths disgraced old dialects' users and referred to them as "illiterate" and "old fashioned". As a consequence, youngers felt less confident, yet a minority was unexpectedly assertive with old words because it is interested in its grandparents' culture and feels responsible about preserving this heritage. This exception disclaims the hypothesis that generalizes youths' attitudes as negative, yet elders positive. At last, the findings of the last question revealed that youth ranked at the bottom of the scale of the future use of old words, yet 20% were keen to use them. At last, this few youths create a chance for the continuity of the intergenerational transmission of old words.

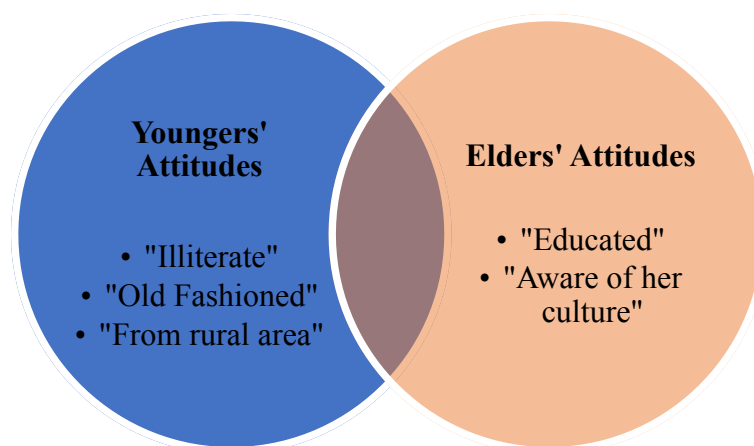
The overall results are built on the existing evidence of Schmidt (1985). She argued that the interest in learning the ancestors' language falls down from one generation to another. As long as this study is concerned, more than half of youths were unwilling to use old words, unlike their old counterparts who were eager to use old vocabulary (see more on the generational overlapping of attitudes in Figure 7.). While Schmidt's (1985) work has focused only on how youths' negative linguistic attitudes contribute to the endangerment literature, these results demonstrate that youths are not always opposing their grandparents'

words; in few cases, they grow interest in safeguarding this heritage and elders also may share negative attitudes towards their own dialect.

The generalizability of results is constrained by the number of participants. The total of 50 subjects is relatively low to account for both age groups acting as representative samples of the whole city. Moreover, this work tested the degree of endangerment only from speakers' beliefs. Future studies should take into account measuring the vitality of language through evaluating the effectiveness of methods used to safeguard language also, through increasing the number of respondents.

**Figure 7.**

*The Overlapping between the Attitudes of Elders and Youngers*



**Conclusion**

This chapter is dedicated only to the practical side. It opens with an explanation of the methodology used, participants, and settings. Then, it analyses the data retrieved from subjects. Moreover, it moves to the evaluation of the results. The discussion section recapitulates the major findings. Then, it explains them and seizes them in theoretical framework. The chapter concludes with a statement of limitations and recommendations.

### **General Conclusion**

An endangered language is a language that can fade away at any moment. Broadly speaking, what fosters the extinction operation is the death of language users, or leaving the language in hands in favor of speaking other languages. One motive for language shift is the speakers' negative attitudes towards their own language. Halliday 1989 (as cited by Egging, 2004) claimed that language is manipulated by the attitudes of its speakers, and by their change language will change also. Besides, O'Grady et al. (1997) argued that if the new words gain positive attitudes from speakers, they will automatically take the place of old body of vocabulary. On the opposite hand, Schmidt (1985) approached attitudes through time, where she concluded that hybridity increases from one generation to another. The findings will redound to the advantage of society as language exhibits an indispensable tool for expressing belonging. Thus, the death of ancestors' language will leave our history poorer. This work approaches linguistic death from a psychological perspective, speakers' attitudes, and to achieve this purpose a new methodological tool is inserted which is demonstrated in the MGT.

Three chapters were dedicated for the realization of this work. The first one captures the major theories that explain why and how language death happens, with suggested methods to safeguard language. The second one gathers all the linguistic affairs that happened in Algeria as the languages of different civilizations which took charge of the country. The final one explains the methods, participants, and settings. Then, it explicitly analyses and discusses the results. A mixed methods research, therefor, was conducted on two random samples. (25 young persons (16-35 years) and 25 old persons (44-60 years)) from the city of Sidi Ali, Mostaganem, to highlight the elements that drive language to death, to test their awareness, and also to measure the degree of endangerment of old words via the

feelings of the residents. This interest, thus, led the research to have a sentence of aims which are stated in the following section.

This research encapsulates several aims as testing Schmidt's view of intergenerational linguistic hybridity on inhabitants with distinct age groups. More importantly, this work aims at putting Sidi Ali's residents, be them young or old, in the big picture of language endangerment through shedding light on their attitudes and interviewing them on their future use of old words. These aims were successfully achieved through the findings of the experiment. Moreover, the coming section will pack up the results that indicate that the interest in learning the grandparents' language diminishes by time. Coupled also with some unexpected results.

The experiment resulted in four major findings. First, younger speakers are aware of old lexicons' death just as old ones are. Second, language dies as the culture changes and the level of education develops. Most importantly, the government is also responsible on endangerment. Because the foreign languages which were implemented in education have oppressed the local dialect. Unconventionally, majority of elders condemn youths for breaking the chain of intergenerational transmission of old dialect. Third, as opposed to what was expected, old generation is equally responsible on the loss of the ancestors' heritage. As a way of illustration, 12% were against old words as a cultural representation of the city; because their way of thinking changed. Schmidt's view on intergenerational transmission was found in Sidi Ali, but to certain extent. More than half of youths despise old dialect speakers, yet a minority of youngers respect them and agrees to use old words in the coming future. With this findings in hand, the safety chance of old vocabulary raises because young generation is the key for language survival.

From the aforementioned results, it can be concluded that it is quite true that from one generation to other, the eagerness to learn the ancestors' language decreases, yet it is not always the case. Because there are some youngers willing to pursue safeguarding these words as they demonstrate for them a sense of belonging. However, this exception of conformist youths do not totally disclaim Schmidt's view, for the mere reason that some other youths who cut definitely ties with their heritage language.

Two main conditions lay beyond the scope of this study. 50 respondents are relatively a low proportion as compared to the overall millennial number of residents of Sidi Ali. Also, this work has measured the safety of the dialect just from its speakers' attitudes. Further research is needed to tackle the degree of endangerment from testing the popularity and effectiveness of language preservation tools. Moreover, future studies need to raise the sample size.

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## Appendix

I am undertaking a final research project as part of my studies on a master degree in English Language and Linguistics course at the University of Mostaganem. To gather views of a number of residents of Sidi Ali, the attached questionnaire has been developed. I would be thankful if you answer it. The questions should take no more than ten minutes to complete and they are anonymous, so please be mindful to not write your initials. Your answers will be used for data analysis only. I appreciate your time reading this.

**Question 1.** Do you know some old words that are no longer used in the dialect of Sidi Ali?

- Yes
- No

**Question 2.** Why do you think these words have died? . Please choose the appropriate answer(s).

- Migration to Sidi Ali
- Technology advancement
- Cultural change
- Augmentation of educational level
- Youth do not like old vocabulary
- Learning foreign language
- Others.....

**Question 3.**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Are old words an important cultural symbol of Sidi Ali?	1	2	3	4	5

**Question 4.** Listen to these tapes then answer the following questions:

Content of Tape 1

/ən-nsa kanu bəkri jdiru əl-wsax taʕəl-bgar əs-sbəħ jaħma fi əl-kuʕa təʕ əl-ʕrab

u jaʕadʒnu lxubz u jzawquh bəl-ħalfa baʕda jhotuh fə səlla/

Nsa kanoo bakri ydiroo lwsakh taa' lbgar şbaħ yaħma fi lkoocha taa' l'rab w ya'jnu lkhubz w yzawgooh blħalfaa b'daa yħutooh fee salaa.

In the past, women used to woke up in the early morning and put cow's dung to heat in a traditional clay-made oven. Also, they used to bake bread and decorate it with halfa plant (needles grass). Then, they serve it in a plate of needles grass.

Content of Tape 2

/ən-nsa kanu bəkri jdiru ləwgi:d əs-sbəħ jaħma fi balħəmri u jaʕadʒnu lxubz u

jzawquh bəd-dis baʕda jhotuh fəs-şənadʒ/

Nsa kanoo bakri ydiroo lwgeed şbaħ yaħma fi blħəmree w ya'jnu lkhubz w yzawgooh bldees b'daa yħutooh fee şnaaj

In the past, women used to wake up in the early morning and put cow's dung to heat in a traditional clay-made oven. Also, they used to bake bread and decorate it with halfa plant (needles grass). Then, they serve it in a plate of needles grass.

**Question 4.1.** How do you feel about the speaker in the second tape? (Please choose the appropriate answer)

- Educated
- Aware of her culture
- Person from village
- Illiterate
- Old fashioned

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	Very Confident	Quite Confident	Not Very Confident	I Do Not Have Confidence
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	1	2	3	4
<b>Question 4.2.</b> The tape used vocabulary as lwgiid /ləwgi:d/, balhamri /balhəmri/, and diis /əd-dis/. How much confident do you see yourself using these words?				

---

---

1            2            3            4            5

---

**Question 4.3.** How likely would you use                        

this vocabulary in your daily life? (please  
rate on scale of 5).

---

**THANK YOU**

الأسئلة المقدمة للشباب و الكهول من مدينة سيدي علي، مستغانم.

السؤال 1: هل تعرف بعض الكلمات التي لم تعد موجودة في لهجة سيدي علي؟

نعم

لا

السؤال 2: لماذا تعتقد أن هذه الكلمات قد ماتت؟ من فضلك اختر الاجابة او الاجابات الصحيحة

النزوح إلى سيدي علي

التطور التكنولوجي

التغيير الثقافي

تطور المستوى التعليمي عن ذي قبل

تعلم اللغات الاجنبية

الشباب لا يرغبون في استعمال الكلمات القديمة

آخر....

السؤال 3:

	أعارض بشدة	أعارض	غير متأكد	أوافق	أوافق بشدة
هل الكلمات القديمة تشكل إرث ثقافي مهم لمدينة سيدي علي؟	5	4	3	2	1

السؤال 4: استمع لهذا التسجيل الصوتي و أجب على الأسئلة الموائية:

(تشغيل التسجيل)

السؤال 4.1: ماذا تشعر نحو الشخص في التسجيل 2؟

مُتَعَلِّمَة

بِتَقَاتِهَا مُلِمَة

شخص من البادية

غير مُتَعَلِّمَة

□ غير مُعاصرة

## السؤال 4. 2

	واثق جدا	واثق إلى حد كبير	ليس واثق جدا	ليس لدي ثقة في نفسي
التسجيل استعمل كلمات مثل: الوَعيد بُحْمَرِي، و الدَّيبس ما مدى ثقتك و انت تتحدث مستعملا هذه الكلمات؟	1	2	3	4

## السؤال 4. 3

	1	2	3	4	5
كم ستستعمل هذه الكلمات في المستقبل؟ (من فضلك رتب اجابتك على مقياس (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

شكرا لكم.