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*ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S BILINGUAL BEHAVIOUR
IN TLEMCCEN SPEECH COMMUNITY*

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Magister in Sociolinguistics

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my husband Nassim who has kept my spirit up and been patient with me while I was doing this research work. To my lovely son Youcef who helped me in so many ways.

To my parents for encouraging me. I also dedicate this work to, my sisters Hafeda, Samira, Djamila and their husbands.

To my in-laws for their moral support.

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Abstract

Language variation according to gender has long been established as a working principle and a major social factor in sociolinguistic investigation. Research has revealed that in many speech communities, women tend to be more sensitive to the use of prestigious forms of the language than men, though at the same time in certain contexts, they display a conservative trait towards the vernacular. The present research work deals with women's linguistic behaviour in Tlemcen speech community and aims at giving an overall picture of Arabic/French bilingualism and its outcomes in the Algerian context. Using a methodology based on a questionnaire, participant observation and recordings, this work has been able to show that women are significantly more conservative in their linguistic choices than men who are more disposed to adopt new forms of language. But on the other hand, depending on their level of education and other factors such as attitudes, women tend to use more French which they consider a socially valued language often associated with prestige and modernity.

KEY TO ACRONYMS

AA Algerian Arabic

CA Classical Arabic

TSN Tlemcen Speech

MSA Modern Standard Arabic

H High

L low

CS Code switching

B Borrowing

Symbols and Conventions

... unfinished sentence.

+, ++ pause.

For the sake of anonymity, the names of the participants do not appear in the recordings and note-taking.

List of Phonetic Symbols

Table 1: Arabic Phonetic Symbols.

Phoneme	Example	Gloss
b	bəgra	Cow
t	tamra	Date
d	dar	House
k	kursi	Chair
g	gamra	Moon
ʔ	ʔana	Me
f	far	Mouse
s	sərr	Secret
z	zituna	Olive
ʃ	ʃabba	Beautiful
ʒ	ʒbəl	Mountain
ʒd	ʒdamaʔ	Mosque
χ	χubz	Bread
ʁ	ʁaba	Forest
ħ	ħmar	Red
ʔ	ʔam	A year
h	həwda	A slope
m	maʔza	Goat
n	nəʔsan	sleepy
r	rədʒəl	Leg
l	lima	Limon
w	wərda	Rose
j	jabəs	Dry
ʂ	ʂenduʔ	Box
ɖ	ɖʔef	weak
ʈ	ʈawəʂ	Peacock
q	qaɖe	Judge

Arabic Vowels

The Arabic vowel system is triangular:

Three short vowels with three long counterparts

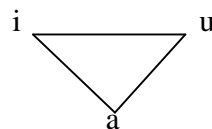


Table 2: Arabic vowels.

Vowels	Examples	Gloss
a / a :	ħa:džeb	Eyebrow
u / u :	ħu:ta	Fish
i / i :	ri:ʃa	Feather

The initial Arabic vowels are realised differently in the environment of emphatic consonants.

Table 3: Vowels of Emphatic Consonants.

Emphatic consonants	Vowels	Examples	Gloss
ʕ	a→ɑ	ɖɑjɑf	Lost
ɖ	u→o	ʕof	Wool
ɖ	i→e	ɖejjara	Plane

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

While formal linguists are interested in the structure of language and universal features, the crux concern of sociolinguists has been to try to understand in a systematic way how and why people vary their speech in everyday interaction and also how linguistic variation leads to language change over time. Various social factors have been examined to show the relationship between language and society. Social class, for example, has been studied extensively as in western society language variation clearly correlates with social stratification. Age and gender too have been considered significant factors that reflect linguistic variation. In fact, one social factor that affects variation within dialects is the sex of a speaker. Women are likely to be more polite and use more correct forms of the language, while men will often choose to use a non-standard form and seek the covert prestige of resisting the ideas of respectability associated with the Standard language.

In the 1960s, sociolinguistic studies started investigating the role of gender in language variation and subsequent change. Indeed, further research in language in relation to gender (Labov, 1972, 1990; Trudgill, 1972, 1974; etc) has shown the importance of this social factor as women in virtually all societies exhibit some linguistic features that are different from those of male speakers. A number of studies have revealed, for instance, that women are more sensitive to the use of prestigious forms of the language, though on the other hand they may show more conservatism than men. Thus, these forms of the language may be either the use of the local variety which resists innovation (language loyalty) or the use of a socially esteemed variety such as the standard form or a second/foreign language in bi/multilingual settings.

The language situation in Tlemcen, just like other parts of Algeria, is very complex as, in addition to the existence of different varieties of Arabic, French, the colonial language, is omnipresent. Such profile results in varying speech behaviour. Indeed, compared to other areas in the country, Tlemcen speech community is

characterised by some linguistic features (phonological, morphological and lexical) that are particular to the natives. Yet, some significant differences in the use of the vernacular are clearly observable among men and women. But in the present work, we are interested more specifically in French, a socially esteemed variety, on the assumption that male and female speakers tend to behave differently as to its use.

On the basis of this statement, the research questions of the present work may be posed as follows:

1. To what extent do Tlemcen men and women behave linguistically in various settings?
2. Do women use more French than men in their everyday interactions?
3. What does French represent to women, and what are people's attitudes towards this language?

Such questionings have led to the formulation of the following hypotheses:

1. In mixed settings involving native and non-native individuals, native women's speech exhibits more features of Tlemcen vernacular than men, a behaviour that makes them more conservative and loyal to their language.
2. Distinct attitudes towards French can be elicited depending, not only on gender but also on individual's cultural and educational orientations.
3. Women, more than men, are more likely to attempt to secure and signal their social identity and wish for social advancement through their use of French, a language seen as prestigious and conferring higher status and success.

In an attempt to find answers to the above questions and to test the validity of our hypotheses, we deal with the topic by using a number of research tools including a questionnaire, recordings and participant observation. The research work is divided into three chapters.

The first chapter is an overview of some key concepts related to language and gender. It also tries to shed some light on the situation of the research on language and gender in Algeria, with Tlemcen town as a case in point.

The second chapter deals with the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. It also gives an overview of Tlemcen speech community where the study is carried on. It is important to consider the chronological events that have marked the history of Algeria. The coexistence of the different languages gives a diverse and complex language situation in Algeria. Consequently, it is necessary to try to discuss some language phenomena such as diglossia, bilingualism, code switching, borrowing and of course attitudes towards language use.

Chapter three deals with methodological issues. It presents the fieldwork and identifies the necessary methodology to obtain reliable yet naturalistic data concerning women's speech in Tlemcen. It will explain the different techniques of data collection. The data will be then analysed and commented. The analysis of the collected data will be crucial in confirming and verifying the hypotheses suggested at the outset of this work.

CHAPTER ONE : LANGUAGE AND GENDER

1. LANGUAGE AND GENDER

1.1 Introduction

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1.3 Studies on Language and Gender

1.4 Approaches in Gender Studies

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1. LANGUAGE AND GENDER

1.1 Introduction

One of the topics that have attracted the interest of many researchers in the last decades is language variation according to gender. Differences between men's and women's language behaviour have been studied in various ways. Thus, scholars in different parts of the world have proposed different approaches to study these differences. It is important to remember that studies on language variation according to gender started to develop in western societies, in particular in Anglo-Saxon countries, in the 1970's with the work of sociolinguists such as Labov (1972) and Lakoff (1975) among others. As far as the Arabic-speaking world is concerned, language variation according to gender has always existed but very few works have been done in Morocco (Sadiqi 2007), Egypt (Bassiouney 2009), and Algeria (Abdelhay 2008) etc.

The present chapter is an overview of some key concepts related to language and gender. It also tries to shed some light on the situation of the research on language and gender in Algeria, with Tlemcen town as a case in point.

1.2 Defining Language and Gender

Dealing with male's and female's speech differences, the first problem that researchers faced was the distinction between the terms sex and gender. Even if many do not see any difference between the two words and thus use them interchangeably, the difference exists. While it is usually thought of sex as biological and gender as social, there is no sharp distinction in lay people's minds. In the present work, it is important make the distinction. Traditionally, if the term sex refers to the biological class or anatomical differences between men and women (XX chromosomes for

female and XY for males), the category of sex is simply considered as a distinction between male and female. Sometimes, the term 'femininity' is also opposed to 'masculinity'. Additionally, gender as a concept refers to the social and cultural differences in terms of meanings, beliefs, practices and psychological features acquired throughout the socialisation process and thought to be natural and associated with men and women. Among the scholars who make use of the distinction, Cameron (2007) considers that gender is a social construct in the study of language and social sciences. Coates (2007: 63) explains that:

...speakers are born male or female but it is the social and cultural influences which surround us which determine how we speak. Consequently, sociolinguists now distinguish between sex- a biological term- and gender, the term used to describe socially constructed categories based on sex.

According to Wardhaugh (2010: 334), gender is a fact that we cannot ignore because of its importance as a concept while dealing with the organisation of societies. The literature review has shown that dealing with gender varies from culture to culture and from community to community. For example Bederman (1995: 7) explains that:

gender [...] is a historical, ideological process. Through that process, individuals are positioned and position themselves as men or women, thus don't see manhood as either an intrinsic essence or a collection of traits attributes, or sex roles. Manhoodis a continual, dynamic process.

In fact, the study of language and gender considers language as an instrument by which it distinguishes the different gender orders and resultant categories. Thus, gender order is considered as a "system of allocation based on sex-class assignment of rights obligations, freedoms and constraints" (Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, 2005:

35). In addition to this, language is the most important means to build gender ideologies and beliefs. The authors go on saying that:

Gender ideologies differ with respect to such things as the nature of male and female, and the justice, the naturalness, the origins, and the necessities of various aspects of the gender order. Ideologies differ on whether difference is fundamental, whether it should be maintained and whether it can –or should– be maintained without inequality. (*ibid*).

In studying gender, different categories may be identified as a result and evidence of relations based on it. Here are some of the highlighted of categories:

- *Peer cultures*: there are different peer cultures based on same/opposite sex age groups, behaviour, norms, understandings friendship groups among other symbols like dress, haircut and tattoo, etc., that define peers and groups. Out of the various groupings and cultures appear verbal cultures under which can be defined and illustrated ways of interactions and norms of interpretation by the memberships. For example, some words are particular to that group or even giving to ordinary words a special meaning that only members of the group can understand.
- *Cross-cultural and lack of communication*: there are the potentials for (mis)understand and separation/inclusion of gendered cultures that are not necessarily male as opposed to female and vice versa. They could be male/male, female/female or female/male; male/female. It is more depending on the categorizations that also return peer or non-peer clustering and groupings out of which are different behaviours, identities and mainly language use cultures and registers.
- Ethically distinct subcultures that catalyze gender based (mis)communications.
- Development of gendered verbal practices.

Besides its being a means of communication, language has several functions among which maintaining social relations is important, in particular to establish and preserve gender order, gender classification and gender speech. It is undeniable that women do not speak like men even in the same speech community and the same family. As a matter of fact, research on gender language differences between has been an interesting topic of investigation for many researchers. Consequently, and for a long time, sociolinguists have shown a growing interest in describing differences in language use between both gender¹. Studies in sociolinguistics (Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1972, 1974; Lakoff 1975, etc) have shown that there exists a close relationship between language and gender. They have also found that women use more prestigious form (hypercorrect language) than men. Women also play an important role in establishing language change but also conservation and using language to bring up the next generation. And this is where gender and sex come together, as society tries to match up ways of behaving with biological sex assignments.

1.3 Studies on Language and Gender

The study of language and gender tries to find and to propose the extent to which the characteristics attributed to gender language affect linguistic forms and communication strategies. Research is based on observations of particular behaviours of both men and women in everyday conversations in different situations and for different topics. Scholars agree that the way people speak is gendered, i.e., women's speech differs from that of men. In fact, the speech of men is generally considered as the norm to which women's speech behaviour is compared.

Things have changed with the women's liberation movement in the 1960s which started to draw people's attention in the Western world to the disadvantageous position women held in society, politically, professionally, culturally and even socially. Variation in relation to gender has definitely emerged with the rise of the

¹ The difference between the terms sex and gender is dealt below.

feminists studies. Once women started to define themselves as a political group, linguists started to pay more attention to the differences in the way the two sexes use language. Feminists consider that the way they speak compared to men is at the origin of female weaknesses and believed that the language they speak represented them as inferior to men.

Until 1944, no study on gender differences in language was published. As stated by Grey (1998), starting from the 1970s, comparison between female cooperativeness and male competitiveness in linguistic behaviour began to be realised. Since then, many empirical studies on language and gender have been published (Lakoff, 1975). Most researches on language and gender have tried to shed light on the differences between men and women's language behaviour (e.g. Gray, 1992; Tannen, 1990). These analyses have tried to bring forward differences by which men tend to use certain language characteristics more than women (Mulac, 2006). Swallowe (2003) reviewed the literature on differences between men and women in the use of media for interpersonal communication, etc. Among the pioneers, Lakoff (1975) came up with theories on the existence of women's language. Her notorious book '*Language and Woman's Place*' is considered as a source for much research and inspiration on the subject. She explains that women's speech is different from men's speech in various ways and identifies some features common to women's language as cited in Holmes (1993: 314). These ten features are as follows:

1. Lexical hedges or fillers, *e.g. you know, sort of, ...*
2. Tag questions, *e.g. she is very nice, isn't she?*
3. Rising intonation on declaratives, *e.g. it's really good.*
4. Empty adjectives, *e.g. divine, charming, cute.*
5. Precise colour terms, *e.g. magenta, aquamarine.*
6. Intensifiers such as *just* and *so*.
7. Hypercorrect grammar, *e.g. consistent use of standard verb forms.*
8. Super polite forms, *e.g. indirect requests, euphemisms.*
9. Avoidance of strong swear words, *e.g. fudge, my goodness.*
10. Emphatic stress, *e.g. it was a BRILLIANT performance.*

Lakoff's list of features posits the existence of differences and tries to identify them. According to Lakoff's description, women's language is inconsistent; thus, they need to do more to compensate for this deficit in contrast with men. Women's speech involves more tag questions or questions in general or hedges as their style of conversation is more polite and is based most of the time on indirect orders rather than imperatives. This could be characterized as an absence of dominant behaviour, as an indication of uncertainty and lack of security. But, according to Tannen (1990), the use of indirectness in female's speech does not represent powerlessness or lower position in hierarchy but it is rather related with ambiguity. She says that "indirectness (...) is not in itself a strategy of subordination. Rather, it can be used either by the powerful or the powerless" (*ibid*, 268). In fact, the frequent use of tag questions and hedges is related with insecurity and weakness (Fishman 1990). Therefore, according to Fishman, questions, tag questions and hedges present reward for men's failure to collaborate in conversations. Other studies like Canary and Hause (1993), Mulac and Bradac (1995) or Mulac (1998), have shown that the list of features specific to women's language is more exhaustive than the list given above by Lakoff. Most of these works insist on the fact that though differences exist in men's and women's language, they cannot be generalised. In fact, they found that within the context of a professional meeting men used more tag questions than women.

As opposed to women, men use more directive speech as they behave more competitively in their conversations in, for instance, interrupting and talking more often than their female conversational patterns. Women on the other hand show more cooperative style of conversational interactions including some reactions to mark interest as for example using devices as 'yes' or 'mhm'.

Therefore, Maltz and Borker (1982) in analysing interactions between children (girls and boys) noted that girls learn to maintain social relationships of intimacy and equality, to criticize others in acceptable ways, and to interpret the speech of other girls accurately, whereas boys learn to assert themselves and their position of dominance to draw and maintain an audience.

1.4 Approaches in Gender Studies

Language used by men and women is considerably different not only because of the biological and physical factors that differentiate both sexes but also to many other factors such as psychological, social and cultural, etc. Gender based differences in speech are explained throughout different theories. In what follows are discussed some of them.

1.4.1 The Biological Approach

During the 1960's, language research was based on the biological approach. The focus was on the distinction between men and women speech behaviour on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels. For example, the characteristics of male voice are different from those of women voice. Women have a high-pitched voice while men have a deep voice because of anatomical differences. In fact at the age of puberty the differences in voice quality begin to be noticed. The larynx of boys becomes larger and the vocal cords thicker than girls. Abdelhay (2008: 78) explains that in addition to "anatomical determinants of voice quality, there are socio-cultural determinants; and to understand the systematic fluctuations in voice, its study should be placed in a frame of social behaviour."

1.4.2 The Cultural Approach

Among the scholars who dealt with gender difference as a social phenomenon, Tannen (1990) has tried to understand these through the cultural approach. Consequently, men and women belong to their own sub-culture and the way they reflect their identity and position in the society. Women prefer small groups aiming at making intimate friendship, solidarity, support and loyalty, whereas males are found in

different situations. In fact, they prefer to work in large and organised groups. They engage in animated and conflicting topics. Consequently, they are more concerned with strength, dominance. The effects of these cultural differences are clearly observable in the way they interact (Coates 1986, 2007).

1.4.3 The Deficit Approach

Although the biological approach is considered as the most obvious and oldest, the deficit approach was the first approach which dealt with male/female speech largely initiated by Lakoff in 1970s. But long before Lakoff, things happened in a different way. Actually, Jespersen (1925) is considered as one of the earliest linguists who worked on language and gender. For him (1925 [1990]), women's speech is noticeably deficient compared to that of men. The judgment is based on the idea that male language is the norm, thus, as correct and complete, and the language of women is considered as deficient; in other words it is incomplete and it lacks some properties. The view expressed by Jespersen seems to reflect the prevailing view in the western world ideology long before the women's liberation movement in the 1960s. Some decades after Jespersen, things seemed to change. In fact, Lakoff (1975) has proposed a new vision on language and gender. She strives to identify a set of gender characteristics to be facts of the existence of a 'power inequality'. She claims that these characteristics are based on the beliefs that women's speech in some societies is considered as stereotyped language behaviour.

1.4.4 The Power and Dominance Approach

The power and dominance approach is based on preconceived idea that men's speech is perfect and complete (the norm) as opposed to that of women which is defective and incomplete because though to be less important due to the fact that it is associated with their low position in society. The approach is seen to be a new version

of the deficit approach. In fact, according to Cameron (1990: 14) the “dominance framework suggests that women’s ways of speaking are less the result of their gender per se than of their subordinate position relative to men: the key variable is power”. According to the author, the speech of women is considered as inferior compared to that of men. Another theory which is based on difference between men’s and women’s speech is difference theory.

1.4.5 The Difference theory

Taking Gumperz’s (1972) cross-cultural communication as a model, the difference theory deals with cross-gender communication. It is based on the premise that men and women are often represented as belonging to two separate sub-cultures. That is, even within the same group, they belong to different or separate cultural worlds due to their different socialization. As a result, they establish different relations with society, and this is also noticeable in ways of speaking which are particular to each sex (Uchida, 1992). So in this theory, cross-gender communication is to be taken as cross-cultural or bi-cultural communication. Tannen’s (1990) work is considered as one of the most important and influential works that dealt with the difference theory. For Cameron (1990: 14), the “**difference** framework suggests that women’s ways of speaking reflect the social and linguistic norms of the specifically female subcultures in which most of us spend our formative years”. Maltz and Broker (1982: 200) compared gender differences to culture differences, and in those two ‘cultures,’ boys and girls “learn to do different things with words in conversation”.

The three approaches: deficit; dominance and difference approaches have tried to show how gender variations expressed through language are observable through language behaviour.

While dealing with gender difference in speech, it seems that the place that men and women hold in the society is central and very important. Even if the differences between men and women exist in some speech communities and some social classes

they cannot be generalised to all speech communities. In fact, it seems that such suppositions can only be appropriate for certain social contexts. For example, if in some societies women are considered to use adjectives that suggest frivolity and triviality, such features do not reflect the true nature of women's speech, they are rather a representation of actual stereotypes based on existing ideologies of women's speech in society's collaborative mind. Thus, because of the inequality between men and women concerning language use, women tend to use prestigious forms of the language. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with attitudes towards the forms of language used.

1.5 Gender as a Sociolinguistic Variable

Starting from the 1960's, sociolinguists (Labov 1966, 1972, 1990; Trudgill 1972; Lakoff 1975; Holmes 1984; Coates 1986; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003, etc.) have studied and interpreted differences between male and female speech. These studies have shown that not only is there a constant interaction between society and language but that language reflects whatever changes take place in society. Long before, Gauchat (1905) made a report in which he explained that women's innovativeness urges the changes and that "women welcome every linguistic novelty with open arms" and that changes were made by women in their role as mothers (quoted in Coates 1998: 173). Women lead into new prestigious forms, as opposed to men who lead changes in vernacular forms. However, recent research has shown that the role of women in language change is more significant. Labov's (1990) model has proposed a theory of *gender paradox* where variation plays an important role in language change but that also gender plays a role in language innovation. Labov's (1990) theory of the gender paradox focal point is that not only women use more prestigious forms of language than men, they also use at a higher rate innovative vernacular forms than men do.

Research is mostly centred on variations and differences in speech behaviour of men and women on the phonological level, and their conversational styles in

discourse. Although men and women, from a given social class, belong to the same speech community, they do use different linguistic forms. In fact, from childhood males and females are different in many ways, both physiologically and psychologically. The linguistic forms used by women and men contrast to some extent in all speech communities. Consequently, gender variation has emerged as a major field of sociolinguistic study. However, different scholars have been concerned with the topic with more or less interest and focus. Among them, admittedly, Labov was the first to note the importance of sex/gender as a sociolinguistic variable in language variation. During his investigations, Labov (1963, 1966, 1972, etc) aimed at describing, explaining and comparing language variation between different classes and different sexes.

Working within the same framework as Labov (1966, 1972), Trudgill (1972, 1983) focuses, on ‘sociological reasons’ when explaining differences in speech between men and women. Depending on such factors as researcher’s beliefs about sex and gender, the methodology, and the samples used, studies of gender specific variation on diverse are often contradictory. Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet (1992: 90) have summed up the different positions of different scholars by stating that:

Women’s language has been said to reflect their [...] conservatism, prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity, to others, solidarity. And men’s language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of affect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, control.

When dealing with language variation according to gender, most of the time researchers present the language behaviour of men and women as opposed to each other. In the above view given by Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet (1992) oppose ‘prestige consciousness’, ‘emotional expressivity’, deference and ‘sensitivity’, as attributes of women’s speech, to ‘lack of affect’, ‘independence’, ‘competence’, ‘hierarchy’ and ‘control’ defining men’s language. It appears that language variation

in relation to gender becomes significant. Language usage among women is different and seems to hold some attributes that are different from those of men.

Holmes (1993) mentions the Amazon Indians' language as an extreme example where the language used by a child's mother is different from that used by her father and each tribe is distinguished by a different language. In this community, males and females speak different languages. Less dramatic are communities where men and women speak the same language, but some distinct linguistic features occur in the speech of women and men. These differences range from pronunciation or morphology to vocabulary. Holmes (1993) refers to Japanese, where different words, with the same meaning, are used distinctively by men and women. For example, in this language when a woman wants to say '*water*', she uses the word '*ohiya*' whereas a man uses the word '*miza*'. This is also the case in some Arabic speech communities like that of Tlemcen (Algeria) where men's language behaviour is different from that of women in some situations (Dendane, 1993, 1994). Such cases will be dealt with below.

Furthermore, women tend to use the standard language more than men do. Tannen (1990) states that women speak and hear a language of connection and intimacy, while men speak and hear a language of status and independence.

1.5.1 Attitudes and Prestige

To understand gender difference in language behaviour and language representations and attitudes that result, it is important to know psychological aspects specific to men and women. In fact, gender psychological construction depends on the way little boys and girls are raised in the cultural environment. From their early childhood, the two sexes show preferences: boys prefer cars, trucks and guns; while girls prefer dolls, makeup, etc. These preferences and choices shape their future personality and gender-specific behaviours (i.e. male are aggressive and authoritarian and female are meek and lenient). As far as gender and language behaviour is concerned, female speakers tend to use more prestigious forms (phonological,

morphological and lexical) than male speakers, especially in formal speech situations. This behaviour is due to the fact that women are more sensitive to prestige language. Many sociolinguists such as Labov, 1966, 1972, 1991; Trudgill, 1972, 1983; Tannen 1990, etc. have shown that in many speech communities, women's greater use of prestige language depends on their attitudes (power and status) towards language and on the specific position they hold in the society (Labov 1991). Language behaviour reveals and reinforces social attitudes towards men and women. Crystal (1987) argues that language establishes a 'male-orientated view' of the world where women undergo social prejudice because of their sex difference. This discrimination is observable in the forms of the language used and plays an important part in establishing attitudes towards such language behaviours.

Kramarae (1982, p 85) defines

...attitudes as an organization of motivational, emotional and judgmental processes with respect to, in this case, the way women and men do and should speak, an organization which has a directive impact on what the individual sees and hears, thinks and does.

Labov (1966, 1972, 1990) explains that attitudes towards language are clearly observed among the speakers themselves when they use what is considered as stigmatized or prestigious forms of the language. Labov (1972: 243) noted that "In careful speech, women use fewer stigmatized forms than men [...], and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern. This observation is confirmed innumerable times." Labov (1966, 1972) explains that prestige may be 'overt prestige' and 'covert prestige'. Overt prestige (explicit) shows that women are more likely to use the overt prestige form of the language, i.e., the standard language used by a 'culturally dominant group'. On the other hand, covert prestige (secret) means to adopt a choice that is different from that of the 'dominant culture group'.

Like Labov, Trudgill (1972) found that the use of the prestigious form of the language in the pronunciation of /ing/ in words like 'walking' varies depending on gender. Men realise it [ɪŋ] instead of [ɪŋ], while women use the prestigious form i.e. [ɪŋ]. The results show that men use less prestigious forms of the language.

This language behaviour is not particular to English. In studies of speech patterns in Arabic, Abu-Haidar (1989) observed that in Baghdad, women are more conscious of the prestige of Arabic than are men. Similarly, in Tlemcen speech community, Dendane (1993, 2007) noted that the occurrence of the prestigious forms of dialectal Arabic is higher among women than men. On the lexical level, Braun (2004:16) reports that clear differences are found in the frequency of usage between men and women. He explains that women are more sensitive to the use of weaker and pleasant sounding swear words like: 'oh dear' or 'goodness' whereas men use stronger and vulgar words such as: 'shit' or 'damn'. Similarly, in Jordanian Arabic, Abdul El-Jawad (2000) observed in Jordan that swear words usage among men is higher than women.

1.5.2 Gender Inequality Between Men and Women

Gender inequality is a prevalent idea reinforced by the belief that women are inferior to men having less power and less opportunity to affirm their position in the society. The male-oriented view establishes the principle that male dominance over women is natural. Stolcke (1993:19) explains that "gender inequality in class society results from a historically specific tendency to ideologically 'naturalize' prevailing socio-economic inequalities". Gender inequality is established and reinforced by social and psychological factors such as race, class, ethnicity, religion, age, geographical distribution, sexual orientation and matriarchal or patriarchal family system. In many societies, the dominant view that women are inferior to men has led to the emergence of a feeling which reinforces gender inequality.

Early in the 1920s, Jespersen (1925 [1990]) noticed that women, as opposed to men, represented the inferior gender in different domains namely economic, political, social and cultural domains. Here are some facts that highlight gender inequality²:

- Two thirds of the world's 876 million illiterates are women and the number of illiterates is not expected to decrease significantly in the next twenty years;
- As compared to men, a great number of women lack basic literacy and computer skills;
- Less participation in decision-making processes in private and public fields.
- Less access to politics;
- Sexual abuse and physical violence affect women and millions of girls.

In spite of all these obstacles, women are gaining more and more advantages. These facts seem to be prevailing up to now and are well-founded in many societies including in many countries of the the Arab world.

- **Women's Speech Feature**

Scholars have tried to identify the characteristics that are particular to women's speech. Below are some features of women's speech identified by different scholars.

Jespersen (1925 [1990]), note that:

- Women link sentences with 'and' because they are emotional rather than 'grammatical';
- Women often gain spoken mastery of foreign languages more easily than men, but in translating a difficult text, men are superior;
- Novels written by ladies are much easier to read and use fewer difficult words.

² From http://www.afrol.com/Categories/Women/wom001_un_statistics.htm and for more statistics on women and gender inequality see <http://unstat.un.org/unsd/demographics/products/indwm/indwm2.htm>.

For Keith and Shuttleworth (????), it is typical that:

- women - talk more than men, talk too much, are more polite, are indecisive/hesitant, complain and nag, ask more questions, support each other, are more co-operative;
- men - swear more, don't talk about emotions, talk about sport more, talk about women and machines in the same way, insult each other frequently, are competitive in conversation, dominate conversation, speak with more authority, give more commands, interrupt more.

Finally, Lakoff (1975) claims that:

- Females apologise more : (for instance, “I’m sorry, but I think that ...”);
- As they use indirect commands and requests (e.g. “My..., isn’t it cold in here?” a request to close the window);
- Women avoid slang and vulgar language or expletives: ‘Oh dear’ rather than ‘Shit’.

These features are not particular to any language or society. Tlemcen speech community for instance, in the Arab world, presents similarities with what has been reported above by scholars. For example, as we will see below, women swear less than men and use more emotional expressions than men.

1.6 Language and Gender in Arabic-Speaking Societies

Studies that have dealt with women and gender and carried out from a sociolinguistic perspective in the Arabic-speaking world are relatively recent in comparison to western countries. In this vein, Sadiqi (2007: 642) notes that “the study of Arabic from a gender perspective is still at its beginnings in spite of the fact that Arabic sociolinguistics has attracted the attention of scholars worldwide.” Since the 1980s, many works have been published as a result of the development of the

sociolinguistic studies on language and gender. In her work on gender in Moroccan society, Sadiqi (2003) observed that men and women use various linguistic forms to build their own identities in accordance with the social conception of gender. Similarly, in his investigations on Tlemcen speech community, Dendane (1993, 1998 and 2007) explains that to conform to local identity goes through the use of the [ʔ]. In fact, the realization of [ʔ] as a variant of the variable (q) is used more by women than men who tend to use the rural variant [g] in some contexts, especially mixed settings.

1.6.1 Gender-based Linguistic behaviour in Arabic communities

Sociolinguistic studies in Arabic-speaking societies have taken as a model the theoretical approach of western countries. In fact, the theoretical construct set up by variationist linguistics has demonstrated that in some contexts gender is a basic element to linguistic change (Labov, 1966, 1972; Trudgill, 1972, 1974). Such studies were based on quantitative sociolinguistic surveys where linguistic variation is analyzed by means of statistics. Many of them reflect the relationship between gender and other variables such as social class, age and education in a given speech community.

Labov (2001) found that women use a lower number of stigmatized features and a higher number of prestigious forms than men. Women adopt such behaviour to make up for their social insecurity which consists in the fact that men can show their social position by other means, such as their profession. Consequently, for women the standard form of the language is seen as socially valued and as a sign of power. Labov observed that women must have access to prestigious forms and they must be aware of the social meaning linked to the use of any given form of speech.

Following Labov's works, many sociolinguistic studies carried out in the Arabic-speaking world have tried to provide evidence of the existence of differences in language use between male and female speakers.

1.6.2 Arabic Sociolinguistic Features and Western World

When trying to apply the findings of sociolinguistic work in the western world (non-diglossic) to Arabic speech communities, the first problem that arises is the fact that the two are different as far as the linguistic situation is concerned. In fact, all Arabic-speaking societies are characterized by diglossia³. It means that despite the fact that Classical Arabic, the high variety, is associated with cultural and religious prestige, it is not used by native speakers for everyday purposes. However, in some Arabic-speaking countries especially those which were colonized (such as Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, and Syria, etc), French and English are considered as prestigious languages associated with development and modernity.

1.6.2.1 Discourse Strategies

Several studies have demonstrated that female and male sociolects are not solely differentiated by the production of some linguistic features but also by the use of certain discourse strategies. Many interconnected factors intervene in the behaviour of men and women in different contexts, such as power relationships and different statuses within their group. As demonstrated by Sadiqi (2007), women's linguistic behaviour is a reflection of the different statuses women have in society concerning economy, law, education, etc.

Gender differences are sometimes socially conditioned. Sadiqi (2006) notes that in Morocco, in comparison to men, women's access to public sphere is restricted. Hence, some forms of the language, considered as feminine, are used in private like Moroccan Arabic and Berber, while Modern Standard Arabic, considered as masculine, is used in a public environment. In this sense, French or English are also female languages because when women use them they do not invade men's territory and their relationship with MSA. Sadiqi (2006) explains that women who have some

³ The concept diglossia will be dealt with in chapter 2.

education and have access to other languages use code switching, in this particular case Moroccan-French, while illiterate women use the genres of oral literature.

It has been established that women are generally more attached to languages with higher social prestige such as French or English in some contexts. The use of a foreign language may develop different views and perspectives in conception of gender. It means that the other language is used as an euphemistic alternative. Trabelsi (1991: 92) argues that: “it is due to the fact that the culture conveyed by French does not understand these taboos, or, at least, does not forbid them so severely”⁴.

However, this is restricted only to a specific group of women who are: relatively young; educated and from an urban environment.

1.6.2.2 Gender and Politeness

Following the works on ethnography of communication initiated by Hymes (1964), Gumperz (1972), etc, many researchers on cross-cultural communication have considered the difference in strategies used by men (competitive) and women (cooperative) in relation to their culture. Women are considered to be more polite, less critical than men (Lakoff, 1975; Tannen, 1990; Holmes, 1995). For example, Holmes (1995:2) explains that women are generally more polite than men. Most women enjoy talk and consider talking as an important means of keeping in touch, especially with friends and intimates. They use language to establish, nurture and develop personal relationships. On the other hand, men tend to consider language as a means for obtaining and conveying information. As far as Arabic-speaking countries are concerned, politeness is a very important feature in differentiating men’s and women’s speech. In fact, men use swear and offensive words while women are discreet and respectful since in the Muslim tradition, women are required to be decent in their behaviors including speech.

⁴ My translation : “cela est dû au fait que la culture que véhicule le français ne comprend pas ces tabous, ou, du moins, ne les interdit pas aussi sévèrement”.

1.7 Conclusion

The concepts examined in this chapter are very complex and sometimes diverging, yet, they constitute a preliminary understanding of the research on language and gender. In addition, gender as a sociolinguistic concept and its application to the study of men's and women's speech differences in Arabic-speaking countries is important though different approaches have been put forward to explain the phenomenon. The next chapter deals with the sociolinguistic situation of Tlemcen speech community where the research is carried out.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION IN ALGERIA

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2. The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

2.1 Introduction

The second chapter deals with the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria. It also gives an overview of Tlemcen speech community where the study is carried on. It is important to consider the chronological events that have marked the history of Algeria. In fact, the existing languages in Algeria were introduced and established in different ways. On the other hand, people have different attitudes towards these languages. The coexistence of the different languages gives a diverse and complex language situation in Algeria. Such complexity lies in the fact that Algerian speakers use their languages to achieve different functions and to mean different intentions. The case under study, women's language behaviour, highlights complexity and diversity at the same time. Consequently, it is necessary to describe the languages of Algeria and try to discuss some concepts, in particular bilingualism and the resulting phenomena, code switching, borrowing and of course attitudes towards language use.

2.2 Historical Events and the Language Situation in Algeria

The linguistic diversity in Algeria reveals the presence of different languages and varieties of language (Berber, Arabic, French, Spanish, Turkish, etc.) such diversity is due to historical, social, economic and geographical events. Indeed, due to its strategic place in the Mediterranean Sea, Algeria witnessed many invasions, expansions and colonisations undertaken in this order by the Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, the Arabs⁵, the Turkish, the Spanish and , the French. The first inhabitants of North Africa as a whole or what is known as the Maghreb were the Berber tribes. Hence, Berber dialects were spoken in different parts of the country. Many centuries later, these varieties are still spoken in a number of areas mostly in the mountains or

⁵ For Arabic the term expansion is privileged.

the south of the country. In all other parts in Algeria, people use the different existing Arabic varieties in daily communications. Even though the present work is not concerned with the Berber dialects, it is interesting to give a brief description. The Berber variety consists in various dialects including Chaoui; M'zabi and Kabyle used in different regions of Algeria.

In addition, traces of other languages like Turkish, Spanish are found more or less in the daily conversations in different communities in Algeria. The contact of different varieties in the verbal repertoire of Algerian speakers gives birth to different language phenomena such as diglossia, bilingualism, code switching and borrowing, etc. During its history, Algeria witnessed two important periods: the Arabic expansion and the French colonisation, resulting in important linguistic changes, as will be illustrated below.

2.2.1 Arabic and the first Arabization⁶ of Algeria

After the Islamic expansion to North Africa, in the 7th and the 11th centuries, most of the population embraced Islam and consequently adopted Arabic, the language of the Koran, except for, some Berber dialects which subsisted in some scattered areas. Arabic, then, became the language of the country. It must be mentioned that at that period which marked the golden Age of the Islamic civilisation, Arabic was considered a language of science and knowledge. Besides, Arabic has also a long tradition notably with the pre-Islamic poetry.

Arabic, also referred to as Classical Arabic (hereafter CA), is used for religious purposes. For example, in the mosque the imam uses CA to make his sermon. CA is also used in the literature such as prose and poetry. After many centuries of use, other varieties of Arabic have appeared. In addition to CA, some sociolinguists have observed the emergence of a variety that has been termed Modern Standard Arabic

⁶ Algeria has witnessed another period of arabization after the French colonisation. This period will be dealt with below 2.2.3.

(hereafter MSA) which is in reality not very different from CA in its structure. The spoken varieties, called Algerian Arabic (hereafter AA) make up the whole array of colloquial forms that are very different from CA and MSA.

2.2.2 French and the French Colonisation

In 1830 France invaded Algeria. Soon after, the French administration enacted a law which claimed that French was the language of the country and Arabic was a foreign language. For the French government, school education was the best environment where French would be widely spread and consequently displace Arabic. The measures taken by the colonial authorities arose the anger of the Algerian leadership such as Ben Badis who is considered as the first to define the Algerian identity as Arabo-Islamic. He also strongly defended it. During the whole period of colonisation (1830-1962), French was the language of education, while the use of Arabic was confined to Koranic schools and its use declined significantly. French was presented as the language of cultural supremacy, civilisation and value. Consequently, it was the language of instruction and knowledge. On the other hand, Arabic was undervalued to the point that it was taught as an optional foreign language among other languages.

2.2.3 Second Arabization after Independence

Arabic was so marginalised during the long period of colonisation that after independence, the Algerian political authorities hurried to give back to Arabic its status as the national language and to establish it as a symbol of national identity. Algeria got its independence on July 5th 1962 and soon after, the Algerian government showed the desire to recover its Arabo-Islamic identity. The Algerians nationalists proclaimed that Islam is the religion of Algeria and Arabic is its language. Within this ideology, recovering the national language (Arabic) was crucial to accomplish the

unity and independence. For the Algerian nationalists, Arabic was the best means of communication and instruction and without it Algeria would probably lose its identity and values. Thus, the process of Arabization was launched in order to replace French, the language of the colonizer. On the other hand, while Arabic was considered as the language of Islam and the Algerian culture and identity, French was the language of the colonizer associated with oppression for many Algerians. Political leaders saw in Arabization the best way to restore what the French colonisation had dismissed. Consequently, every effort was made to re-establish Arabic as the language of instruction in some grades and educational system (primary and secondary schools) by engaging in the arabization process.

However, in practice and for many reasons Arabization succeeded to some extent in the primary and secondary schools but partly failed at the university. Many years after independence, French remained an important tool of instruction and it was used in some administrations and even by some people, especially educated ones, among whom were many people (francophones) even defended it. The impact of French in Algeria was so deep that until now, 50 years after independence, it still persists. It is very common to hear people speak French or use some French expressions in their daily speech. At the same time, many people, especially youngsters, are influenced by the French culture (music, clothes, hairstyle, etc). French is seen as a prestigious language and a language of modernity, social advancement used in commerce and in administrations.

Though arabization was favourably accepted especially by the Arabophones, as it was a natural process, it created a real problem among the Algerian Francophones, since it reduced the status of the French language.

2.3 Language Contact and Language Phenomena

2.3.1 Diglossia

One of the important facts characterising the Algerian linguistic situation and all Arabic-speaking communities is the existence of two varieties of the same language, one used for formal the other for informal purposes. Such language situation is referred to as diglossia. In the literature, much has been said about diglossia. Some researchers do not agree on the criteria taken into account. Ferguson (1959) proposed the term diglossia which is considered as classical diglossia while Fishman (1967) relied on other criteria when he proposed extended diglossia. In the next sections, the two versions are described.

2.3.1.1 Classical Diglossia

Even if the French linguist W. Marçais used the term diglossia (diglossie) in the 1930s, to describe the language situation prevailing in North Africa, the concept was brought to the fore front by Ferguson. Actually, his article 'Diglossia (1959) is regarded as one of the most influential. Ferguson defines diglossia as a language situation where two varieties of the same language are used in the same speech community each having its definite role and used for different purposes. Ferguson (1959) identified four language situations as being diglossic:

Arab world: Classical Arabic/various regional colloquial varieties;

Switzerland: Standard German /Swiss German;

Haiti: Standard French/Haiti Creole;

Greece: Katharèvousa/Dhimotiki.

For Ferguson (1959: 354):

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

In Ferguson's definition, the high variety (hereafter H) is in all cases a language with great prestige and is used for written purposes and in formal situations like education, while the low (hereafter L) variety is sometimes denied especially by educated native speakers. On the other hand, the L which is the mother of the speakers is used in every day speech.

Ferguson proposed a set of features that differentiates the two varieties, among which the specialisation of functions. In a diglossic situation, the two varieties are used for the same purposes. If H is used in a domain, the L is not appropriate in that domain. Ferguson (1959) gives an illustration to show the possible domain where the two varieties can occur.

Table 2.1: A sample listing of possible situations for H or L usage Ferguson (1959: 347).

	H	L
Sermon in the church or mosque	X	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		X
Personal letter	X	
Speech in parliament, political speech	X	
University lecture	X	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		X
News broadcast	X	
Radio 'soap opera'		X
News editorial, news story, caption on picture	X	
Caption on political cartoon		X
Poetry	X	
Folk literature		X

It is clear from the table above that H is used in formal situations while L is used in informal ones. Thus, H is most of the time related to writing or speaking about serious matters in formal situations, while L is used in private situations (family friends, etc.).

In the Arabic speaking world, the two varieties that coexist are:

Classical Arabic (hereafter CA) or '*alfusha*' is considered as H and is used in formal situations, official writings such as religious sermons as well as in education. It is also considered as the official language of the administration and governmental

institutions. It is important to mention that one of the factors which make diglossia stable and long-lasting is religion.

The low variety L in Algeria is referred to as Algerian Arabic, '*al-Ammia*' considered as a spontaneous form of the language used in the daily conversations among the family and friends, etc. AA dialects may be divided in to two classes: the rural and the urban one each having specific features (Dendane, 1993, 2007).

It contains many borrowed words and mainly from French; these are used in every day speech. Literacy is usually a condition in diglossic situations as it is the case in the Arab-speaking world. In fact, it is usually restricted to a small group of people (educated). It means that if all the population speaks dialectal Arabic L as their mother tongue, the H can only be learnt at school. In some cases, the two varieties (H and L) are used separately or side by side. For instance, in the Mosque, the Imam uses the H to read his sermon and from time to time, he uses the L to explain what he has read because not all people are educated and fully understand Classical Arabic. Similarly, it is common for teachers to use the two varieties when doing a lesson.

The second feature that Ferguson (1959) mentions is 'prestige'. The H is considered as prestigious while L lacks it. This is observable in people's attitudes because "...there is usually a belief that H is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts," (*ibid*, 348-49). It is important to mention that for the case of Arabic, CA "is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary speech." (Ferguson *op, cit*: 354). Thus, unlike the Standard language in western world countries like France, England or America, which is the prestigious form of the language and the norm sometimes used by women more than men for certain purposes, in Algeria and the other Arab-speaking countries, it is not the case. In fact, CA is the prestigious form of the language but not used as the prestigious norm neither by men nor by women in ordinary conversations. In Algeria, as it will be discussed below, French holds an important place in the life of many Algerians as it is a socially esteemed language that constitutes the prestigious norm that many people use, and that women try to adopt quite often for the same reason as western women using their Standard forms.

When discussing the concept, Ferguson (1959: 354) explains that diglossia ‘is a relatively stable linguistic situation’; however through time, in addition to the two basic varieties, i.e. H and L, a third variety that he calls the “intermediate forms of the language (...al-lugha al-wusta)” (*ibid*: 351) may come to existence. In fact, this middle variety, a more simplified form (morpho-phonologically) of MSA with heavy lexical borrowings from colloquial Arabic, is used in education, the mass media and political speech, etc.

Following Ferguson, many other scholars have dealt with the concept but not always with the same view. Fishman (1967) is one of the scholars who have diverged from Ferguson’s view.

2.3.1.2 Extended Diglossia

Fishman (1967) has proposed another view of diglossia which he named ‘extended diglossia’ and explained that a diglossic situation may exist even in bilingual speech communities where the two varieties are genetically unrelated, a condition that Ferguson’s view requires.

Fishman (1967) considers that the relationship between diglossia and bilingualism may occur in different ways. Thus, he proposes four possibilities:

1- Both diglossia and bilingualism :

It happens where the two varieties genetically unrelated have clearly defined or separate functions. For example, Spanish (H) and Guarani (L) a typologically unrelated indigenous language in Paraguay are used by “almost the entire population”. (Fishman; 1967:360)

2- Diglossia without bilingualism:

Two or more speech communities “united religiously politically or economically into a single functioning unit.” (*ibid*: 361)

Typically an impermeable group boundary between a small H-speaking elite and the L-speaking masses, i.e. bilingualism is not widespread. For example: French – speaking élites in a number of otherwise non-French –speaking European countries prior to World War 1.

3-Bilingualism without diglossia:

The two languages or varieties lack clearly defined or separate functions and this may be indicative of “rapid social change, of great social unrest, of widespread abandonment of prior norms before the consolidation of new ones.” (*ibid*: 363). Such situation is prone to be unstable and transitional (*ibid*: 364). For example : industrialisation in the western world with means of production from one speech community (H) and labour force from another (L).in a long-term contact in such situations, there might be language shift from L to H.

4- Neither diglossia nor bilingualism:

Theoretically possible, but perhaps only in small, isolated and undifferentiated speech communities since “(A) all communities seem to have certain ceremonies or pursuits to which access is limited”, this category “tend to be self liquidating”. (*ibid*: 363).

Scotton (1986) proposes the terms ‘narrow’ for Ferguson’s 1959 version of diglossia, and ‘broad’ to refer to Fishman’s development of the discussion (extended diglossia). For Scotton it is important to distinguish between the two kinds. Because few truly diglossic (in Ferguson’s sense) communities actually exist, because to meet the criteria, two conditions must held: every individual speaks L as his/her mother tongue; H is never used in informal conversations (Scotton 1986). Consequently, Algeria seems to represent the definition of diglossia given by Fergusson (1959).

In addition to the coexistence of different varieties of the same language which have led to diglossia, Algeria is also characterized by the co-existence of Arabic/French bilingualism.

2.3.2 Bilingualism

2.3.2.1 Definition of Bilingualism

The concept of bilingualism has been dealt with from different perspectives by different scholars because of its complexity. Bilingualism and its outcomes constitute an important part of this work. Bi/multilingualism and their outcomes have become broader and broader since the beginning of the 20th century.

Since the beginning of its study, specialists have not agreed on a single definition of bilingualism. It has been studied from social, individual, psychological, demographical and political perspectives. Depending on many factors and the speech community under study, many definitions have been proposed. For example, an early definition is given by Bloomfield (1933: 56) who considers bilingualism as a “native-like control of two languages.”

Some linguists do not agree with such a definition and refuse the idea of native-like control for the description of bilingualism. For some, it requires just a minimal competence in only one of the four language skills, listening comprehension, speaking, reading or writing, in a language in addition to the mother tongue (MacNamara 1967).

Between these two extremes many definitions have been put forward. For example, Myers-Scotton (2006: 3) says that “‘Being bilingual’ doesn’t imply complete mastery of two languages.” She adds that “speakers are rarely equally fluent in two languages.” (*ibid*). This means that even if people master the two languages equally they have a preference to use one.

For Grosjean (2008: 13), “The bilingual is *not* the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration.” To make his view explicit, Grosjean (2008) gives an example of biculturalism. He says that:

The bicultural person (the Mexican-American, for example) is not two monoculturals; instead, he or she combines and blends aspects of the two cultures to produce a unique cultural configuration.” It means that the bilingual develops some unique language behaviour. (*ibid*: 13).

The idea proposed by Grosjean (2008) is very interesting since bilingualism goes with biculturalism. In some cases, the language of the dominant community becomes socially valued and thus is used by some interlocutor to show their position in the society. In Algeria, for example, French which is socially esteemed, is often used by members of the community to show association with progress and technological advancement. It is worth noting here that Fr is also sometimes more used by women who want to reach social ascension

Bilingualism can be seen as a continuum ranging from the perfect bilingual to the least. Speaking about the language situation in Algeria, Miliani (1986: 126) defines bilingualism “as the practice of using consciously and/or unconsciously in everyday speech two languages alternately with a certain degree of ability.” Therefore when considering the phenomena, two levels should be taken into account: the societal and the individual levels. Other specialists use ‘bilingualism’ to refer to a whole society and ‘bilinguality’ to describe individuals’ bilingual behaviour (Hamers and Blanc 2000).

2.3.2.2 Difference between Bilingualism and Bilinguality

Bilingualism refers to the state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (societal bilingualism); but it also includes the concept of bilinguality (or individual bilingualism), whereas bilinguality is the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as means of social communication. The degree of access will vary along a number of dimensions which are psychological, cognitive, psycholinguistic, etc (Hamers, 1981).

To understand the process of bilingualism, it should first be understood that human beings feel the need to speak. They speak the language of their environment. Learning or acquiring a second language is quite a different matter, except in the case

where the child's parents are bilingual; one of them is learning a second language becomes either a deliberate activity or one imposed on the child or adult by social, political or religious factors acting on him or her.

Different kinds of bilingual speakers can be classified according to different criteria:

- *Early bilingual*: This group can be also subdivided into,
 - *Simultaneous bilingual*: into which the two languages or varieties are acquired simultaneously.
 - *Sequential bilinguals*: means that the second language (L2) is acquired after the first one (L1).
- *Late bilingual*.

For more than 130 years of French colonisation, Algeria has been deeply influenced by French. Language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism. Generally, two types of bilingualism are distinguished: *societal* and *individual* bilingualism.

2.3.2.3 Individual and Societal Bilingualism

One of the basic distinctions made by linguists in defining bilingualism is related to the spread of use of two or more languages. Appel and Muysken (2005: 1) argue that "Language contact inevitably leads to bilingualism. [However,] two types of bilingualism are distinguished: *societal* and *individual* bilingualism." The two kinds of bilingualism are dealt with below.

2.3.2.3.1 Individual Bilingualism

Individual bilingualism deals with the phenomenon in relation to individuals. Indeed, it is explained as a mental phenomenon. People may use two languages for different reasons. A person may be able to speak two languages but does not belong to a bilingual society. For example, most Algerians acquired Arabic at home and French

at school. Moreover, individual bilingualism may depend also on a number of variables which may be social (rural/urban), cultural background (literate/illiterate), gender (man/woman), etc.

Social: unlike rural areas, most urban centres are characterised by the contact of different languages. As a result, people are more exposed to situations where speaking more than one language is used in administrations, media, education, tourism, and sometimes necessary to communicate with foreigners.

Cultural background: it is very frequent that people learn a foreign language in addition to their mother tongue. Most of the time, the new language represents a new culture and is used as a sign of social advancement, as it is the case for French in Algeria.

Gender: it is a rule that women use more prestigious forms of the language or even speak another language considered more prestigious. In Algeria, for example, women use more French, considered as socially valued, in some situations since it is seen as a symbol of modernism and upward social mobility.

2.3.2.3.2 Societal Bilingualism

Roughly speaking, societal bilingualism occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken. In this sense, nearly all societies are bilingual, but they can differ with regard to the degree or form of bilingualism. For Appel and Muysken (2005: 1-2) “societal bilingualism occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken. In this sense, nearly all societies are bilingual, but they can differ with regard to the degree or form of bilingualism.”

In Algeria, bilingualism is a language phenomenon that results from historical events. Arabic and French are used side by side in many domains of life.

In fact, throughout the history of Algeria, the long contact between Arabic and French during the colonisation period led many people to learn the colonisers’ language. However, not all those people mastered French equally. In fact, there are

many people who speak French perfectly (active bilinguals) but others only understand without being able to speak it (passive bilinguals).

There are no clearly defined levels of bilingual skills; is rather a continuum, ranging from perfect to minimal use of the other language:

➤ **Equilingual ‘Perfect Bilingual’:**

The perfect bilingual if ever he/she exists masters the two languages equally well and is similar to a native speaker of each. This is the narrowest type of bilingualism. This case is unlikely to happen in Algeria, and if it happens the speakers still have a preference to use one of the two languages. For example, an individual prefers to read a newspaper written in French, but speaks his/her mother tongue in every day conversation.

➤ **Balanced Bilingual:**

Balanced bilingualism is a term that describes someone who is more or less equally competent in both languages, but is not automatically considered as a native speaker in both languages. Indeed, many Algerians master French and speak it fluently but with a typical accent.

➤ **Unbalanced or Dominant Bilingual:**

Another type of bilingualism is characterized by a dominance of competence in one language over the other. This means that a person is more proficient in one of the two languages. In Algeria, many people are dominant in French with little competence in the Standard form of Arabic and vice versa. Moreover, since independence, two groups are opposed to each other: those who master French and want its maintenance in all domains are called the ‘francophones’; the ‘arabophones’ are those who are dominant in Standard Arabic and want to see it replacing French in all domains.

➤ **Passive vs Active Bilingual:**

The description of a bilingual person as passive or active can be made on the basis of the four skills especially in relation to the two basic skills, i.e., listening and speaking. It may happen that a bilingual person understands a second language but has no productive abilities in it. Such a person is called a passive bilingual, whereas, an active bilingual is the one who communicates effectively in the other language. While bilingualism may be discussed in terms of skills, it is important to take into consideration its socio-communicative dimension. Mohanti (1994: 13) explains that:

Bilingual persons or communities are those with an ability to meet the communicative demands of the self and the society in their normal functioning in two or more languages in their interactions with the other speakers of any or all of these languages.

As far as Algeria is concerned, Arabic and French are used in the same contexts. For example, a doctor may speak in Arabic but switches to French to carry on speaking about the work he/she is doing.

Other types of bilingualism may be found:

➤ **Coordinate vs Compound Bilingualism:**

In this case, bilingual speakers do not acquire their two languages in similar ways. To better understand the phenomenon of bilingualism, it is important to make the distinction Weinreich (1953) proposed about 'coordinate' and 'compound' bilingualism:

➤ **Coordinate Bilingualism:**

In this type, the person learns the languages in separate environments, and words of the two languages are kept separate with each word having its own specific meaning.

➤ **Compound Bilingualism:**

As opposed to coordinate bilingualism, a compound bilingual is a person who learns the two languages in the same context where they are used concurrently so that there is a fused representation of the languages in the brain. This happens when the individuals have for the same mental image two representations (words) in the two languages. This is the case when a child is brought up by bilingual parents, or evolves in a bilingual environment and receives a bilingual education. This is additive in nature. For the Arabic/French bilinguals in Algeria, the words /تفاحة/ and /pomme/ refer to the same object 'apple'.

Another dichotomy proposed by the sociolinguist Lambert (1974) seems to be very useful and helpful to understand the level and abilities of speakers of Arabic and French. This dichotomy, 'additive vs. subtractive', is related in his view with communities and not with individuals but in our context the two contrasted types of bilingualism are associated with individuals; especially in the case of additive bilingualism.

➤ **Subtractive vs. Additive Bilingualism:**

It occurs when people in a bilingual context have different attitudes towards the existing languages. If they are motivated to learn a second language but at the same time show a will to maintain their mother tongue, this type of bilingualism is called additive. However, subtractive bilingualism occurs in the case when the second language replaces the first language which may even disappear under the influence. In the case of Algeria, subtractive bilingualism hardly occurs, because most of the people who learn French keep their mother tongue, while French is taught as a second language in school.

In bilingual situations, the two languages are used in different ways. When bilinguals use the different languages during family conversations, at

work, with their friends, etc., they very often consciously or unconsciously use both languages in the same conversations and even in the same sentence. This phenomenon is called code switching (hereafter CS) or code mixing (hereafter CM). On the other hand, many French borrowed words, most of the time adapted to Arabic have slipped in the daily speech of many Algerians. But before dealing with CS, CM and borrowings, it is important to look at language attitudes towards bilingualism.

2.3.3 Language Attitudes Towards Bilingualism in Algeria

Nowadays, in many societies bilingualism is seen as an advantage that brings social power to bilingual speakers. Be it in private or public spheres, the mastery of more than language is a necessity. However, in bilingual communities, the fact that people have different attitudes towards the existing languages is due to the status of each language. Appel and Muysken (2005: 8) explain that “Linguistic behaviour and attitudes towards languages in a bilingual society often give further insight into social norms and values.” They add that “attitudes are related to the social distribution of languages in the speech community, and the social meanings attached to the various languages. (*ibid*: 57).

For example, in the Algerian context though Arabic is considered as the official language, the French language is learned by almost all Algerian speakers. In fact, French is taught from primary school to the university especially in technical, scientific and medical studies. Hence, French is seen as a language of high prestige used by educated persons as it is the language of sciences, politics and economics.....etc.

It is common to find speakers having positive attitudes towards the second language over the other one or attribute no quality to one of these languages. Pride and Holmes (1972: 122) say in this respect:

“In multilingual countries we can assume that some of these beliefs and attitudes will be about the appropriateness of the use of particular languages for different purposes.”

Sadiqi (2003, 50) explains that “Although it is the language of the colonizer, French is considered a symbol of modernism and social ascension in Morocco, and, hence, has a prestigious share in the Moroccan linguistic market.” She adds that “The pragmatic functionality of French makes women’s attitude towards this language more positive than men’s and explains their greater use of Moroccan Arabic-French code-switching.”

In Algeria, French is considered as a prestigious language especially by female speakers. Positive attitudes towards French stems from the fact that it differentiates educated people from non-educated ones. The more you use French the more you seem you have done studies and believed to hold an important position in society. Sadiqi (2003: 52) explains that:

Being a power-related factor in Morocco, multilingualism has social meaning and is important in gender perception and construction. Its importance stems from its correlation with class and level of education...

For women in urban centres, French is more than a language they use; it is also seen as an aspect of their identity that confirms their presence and position in the Algerian society. Appel and Muysken (2005: 16) argue that if there is a strong relation between language and identity, this relation should find its expression in the attitudes of individuals towards these languages and their users.

Similarly, Sadiqi (2003: 52) reports that in Morocco, bi/multilingual women are the ‘most economically privileged sections’ while “Women who speak only Berber and/or Moroccan Arabic usually belong to the lower classes and are at a disadvantage at the level of communication in comparison to middle and upper class women.”(*ibid*: 52) She carries on saying that “multilingualism broadens women’s horizons and allows collective emancipator action. They also know that literacy and social ascension in Morocco depend greatly on the knowledge and use of prestigious languages.” (*ibid*:

52) and that “The pragmatic functionality of French makes women’s attitude towards this language more positive than men’s and explains their greater use of Moroccan Arabic-French code-switching.” (*ibid*: 158). Similarly, for women in Algeria, French is a way to achieve social and professional objectives. But even women with little education try to use some French in their speech in order to appear more educated and civilised.

2.3.4 Code Switching

Code-switching (hereafter CS), one of the outcomes of language contact in bi/multilingual communities, has been defined in different ways. For Gumperz (1982: 59), it is the “juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”. For Gumperz, CS may occur either between utterances or within one utterance. Hudson (1980: p. 57) explains that: “...a speaker may switch codes (i.e. varieties) within a single sentence, and may even do so many times.” Hudson’s definition considers switching in a single sentence but insists on frequency ‘so many times’.

For Myers-Scotton (1993: 3), “Codeswitching [...] is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation.” In using two languages, Myers-Scotton explains that most of the time there is a dominant language (matrix variety) and a dominated one (embedded variety). On the other hand, in addition to CS, some researchers use the term ‘code mixing’ to refer to embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes) words (free morphemes, phrases and clauses). The distinction between CS and CM will be clarified below.

There are different reasons why the bilinguals code switch. They may switch from one language to another because of the subject under discussion or because of the participants. Sometimes, code switching may be the mood of speakers, i.e., a person might swear only in Arabic. Code switching between Algerian Arabic and French is a

widespread phenomenon among Algerian speakers. It is very common to hear a conversation where speakers use one sentence in Arabic and another one in French or mix the two languages in the same sentence.

2.3.4.1 Types of Code Switching

Taking into consideration the various ways bilingual speakers use the languages the community, researchers in CS have investigated the phenomenon with different perspectives, and thus, CS is classified in different types. Poplack (1980) has proposed three types:

1. *Inter-sentential code switching*: it occurs between sentences or at clause boundaries or between turns as in:

(1) *Tu lui as téléphoné hier soir? ana nsi:t kaməl*
Did you phone her yesterday? I totally forgot.

(2) *ljum fə lli:l nahdar mʔaha j'espère.*
Tonight I'll call her, I hope.

2. *Intra-sentential code switching*: it occurs within a single clause or sentence as in:

(3) *ça fait longtemps maʒəttha:ʒ*
I haven't seen her for a long time.

(4) *mʒat pour quelques jours w twəlli.*
She went for some days then she will be back.

3. *Extra-sentential switching or Tag-switching*: is the situation where exclamations, tags and ready-made expressions from the embedded language are inserted into the recipient language. Poplack (1980: 589) explains that “Tags are freely moveable constituents which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence without fear of

violating any grammatical rule”. This kind of switching is also referred to as ‘extra-sentential switching’ (Milroy and Muysken, 1995: 8).

A: *Bon*, təmʃi wəlla lla

Well, will you go or not?

B: *D'accord*, nəmʃi mʃak

Ok, I'll go with you.

The typology given by Poplack is very helpful since some researchers do not agree on what is CS and CM. CS is used when switchings happen between sentences (inter-sentential) and CM when switchings happen within the sentence (intrasentential). In this work, CS is used to describe the general phenomenon, and inter-sentential and intra-sentential to describe the types of switchings.

2.3.4.2 Some Theoretical Models of Code Switching

One of the most important questions concerning CS is to know why people code switch. Scholars have made every effort to describe the patterns and explain the motivations of CS. The works of Gumperz are considered as the most important and leading in the field of sociolinguistics on the study on CS. Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz (1982), etc., have proposed which distinguishes two types of CS that they called: ‘situational’ and ‘metaphorical’. Situational code switching occurs when speakers use one code for one situation and another code for another situation, whereas metaphorical code switching depends on the topic to determine which language will be used, for example a speaker will use two different languages for different topics (religion and medical problem) in the same situation. Gumperz (1982) refers to the two varieties involved in CS as ‘we code’ and ‘they code’. It is important to take account of the effect of language choice in cases of language contact and its motivational factors. When bilingual speakers choose a language to interact, the choice is not only determined by linguistic, but also by cultural and social elements. In fact, according to Gumperz the ‘we code’ refers the corresponding language used in the family domain where it functions as a sign of loyalty, solidarity, and intimacy (1982), whereas, the

'they code' corresponds with the more formal language use, e.g. in the public domain and the communication with the 'outsiders', coming from other speech communities. In fact, this dichotomy 'we code' can be applied to women's speech to express solidarity, the group loyalty and intimacy as opposed to the 'they code' which is often used in men's speech in the public domain and communication with 'outsiders'. Gumperz (1982) presumes that CS is used by speakers to convey meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature. He suggests some conversational functions of CS fulfils.

2.3.4.3 Conversational Functions of CS

Many Scholars (Gumperz, 1982; Heller, 1988; Miroy and Myusken, 1995, etc.) have identified a number of code-switching functions, such as emphasizing, quoting, clarification and language skill showing, etc. Gumperz (1982) mentions the discourse function of code switching, also called the personalization function of language. We attempt in this research work to reveal some CS functions that appear to be favoured by Tlemcen women.

There are different categories of functions. In this work the work of Gumperz (1982) on code switching and its functions will be introduced. Code switching is a consequence of language contact. Many researchers have studied extensively about the patterns of code switching and the reasons for code switching. In fact, there are different motivations for code switching, to better understand this phenomena of code switching and code mixing we take into consideration different approaches. For Gumperz, CS may fulfill various and diverse functions. He explains that

since speakers do understand each other and can agree on what is being accomplished in particular settings, there must be some sharing of codes and principles of interpretation, but this takes the form of taken for granted, tacit presuppositions which are best recovered through indirect conversational analysis. (1982: 75)

The speakers know how to interpret these changes of language choice by using an underlying knowledge which they use to convey meaning. Gumperz provides six functions of CS:

1- Quotations: Gumperz explains that “in many instances the code switched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech.” (*ibid*: 75-76). It is common in bilingual situations that an individual repeats word for word what his/her interlocutor has said. For example, a woman is telling about her medical consultation to another woman (French appears in italics):

mʃit nʃuf tʃib+ ʔalli *c'est pas méchant c'est juste un coup de froid.*

I went to see a doctor he told me it's not serious, it's just a cold.

The speaker switches from Arabic to French to report word for word what the doctor told her. In quoting what exactly the doctor said in the language he used, the speaker seems to be authentic. We believe that in the context of Tlemcen speech community, such function of reporting what has been said in French is more likely among women given their overall better proficiency in this language.

2- Addressee specification: “the switch serves to direct the message to one of several possible addressees.” (*ibid*, 77) In the following example, a man (A) is speaking with his wife (B), who turns to ask another woman (C).

A: ʃkun llijəmʃi mʃana

Who's going to go with us.

B: jəballi nʃabbiwhum kaməl wəlla la

It seems to me that we take them all, shall we?

++ *et toi qu'est ce tu penses toi*

and you, what do you think?

In this example, A first answers B in Arabic but switches to French to ask the opinion of a third person (C). Probably, C is the mother of the children or some of them, so she wanted to know precisely what she thinks about the situation.

3- Interjections: “the code switch serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler” (*ibid*, 77). This kind of switching is what Poplack (1981) calls ‘tag’ switching or extra-sentential switching (Milroy and Muysken, 1995). While a woman (A) is speaking to her little daughter (B), she code switches to French to denote an interjection then switches back to Arabic:

A: rani wədzət lək kulʃi ʔi ʔi nuɖ
I have prepared everything for you, just wake up!

B: mazal ʃwijja
Not yet

A: *bon*, tnuɖ wəllala
Well, you wake up or not.

4- Reiteration: it is when “frequently a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message” (*ibid*: 78). In this case, the speaker repeats the message or part of it in the other language, in order to clarify or emphasize. While calling someone in the phone, speaker A seems not to hear her interlocutor. She switches to French and repeats exactly what she said in Arabic.

marani nəsməʔ walu + *j’entends rien du tout!*

I hear nothing, I hear nothing.

5- Message qualification: the switching is produced to qualify or specify something that has been previously said in the other language. In the following example, a woman switches to French to specify what she has just said in Arabic:

rani nahdər ʔla wəldi lkbir *il a 18 ans*
I’ speaking about my elder son, he is 18.

6- Personalization versus objectivization: “the code contrast here seems to relate to such things as: the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of generally known fact.” (*ibid*: 80).

A mother, who is annoyed by the behaviour of her son while she is speaking to her friend, started speaking in Arabic then switches to French:

gʃud wəldi barka mataχrəb + vient ici tout de suite!

Sit down my son stop touching + come here right now.

It seems that the woman switches to French to reinforce her authority.

Though Gumperz’s (1982) list does not account for all conversational functions of CS, it is however, a valuable background information to the present research on functions of CS in women’s speech. The aim of this work, then, is to determine whether the conversational functions are found in Arabic-French code switching among women in Tlemcen speech community or not. Even if the present study acknowledges the different concepts and theories related to code switching, not all of them can be used. It will only try to identify and explain the situations where CS occurs.

Following Gumperz, Myers-Scotton (Myers-Scotton 1993a, 2006) proposes the model known as ‘Markedness Model’ where each bilingual speaker has a sense of markedness (1993: 75) in relation to the code choice used in such or such situation. The model is based on ‘negotiation principle’ responsible for code choices in code switching contexts. This negotiation principle imposes that speakers choose the form of their utterances in harmony with the set of rights and obligations (RO set) which they wish to be in force in a particular communicative exchange (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993a). The model assumes that speakers possess a markedness evaluator which enables them not only to recognise that there is a continuum of linguistic choices of varying degrees of markedness (marked to unmarked) in terms of discourse type but

that interlocutors will react differently to marked vs. unmarked choices. Thus, all code choices can thus be explained in terms of speakers' motivations.

Auer's (1998: 3) argues that one of the two main approaches to code switching is the sociolinguistic approach which defines code-switching as the symbol "of group membership in particular types of bilingual speech communities". Auer considers code switching as a part of spoken achievement, being part of both the communicative and social functions (*ibid*: 1). In this sense, code-switching has a meaning and a function in conversation. Additionally, language choice refers to the "interactional processes of displaying and ascribing predicates to individuals" reflected individually and socially (Auer 1998: 8). Accordingly, CS among bilingual speakers depends on the "wider social, political and cultural context of the interaction at hand" (*ibid*: 8).

2.3.4.4 Code Switching and Women's Speech

Bilingual speakers, just as those in Algeria, are capable of using one of their two languages to various extents and with varying competency in the second language. The choice is not random but influenced by some factors. Among these, the attitudes of the speaker towards the two languages may urge him/her to use one instead of the other. The choice may be based at time on emotions of speakers. In Algeria, French is considered as the language of modernism and social advancement. Many Algerian women code switch between AA and Fr very frequently even if they do not speak French fluently. The switching may be intentional or unconscious.

Meyerhoff (1996) explains that differences between women's and men's language behaviour lies in the fact that their 'social network ties' differ. Speaking about the Algerian context, Taleb Ibrahim (1997: 104) says that "...the women's social position -their ambiguous and contradictory status- made them adopt particular

behaviours that distinguish them from their male compatriots”⁷. On the other hand, in Morocco, Sadiqi (2003: 49) argues that the “strong position of French in Morocco has given rise to bilingualism (Arabic/Berber and French) and to code-switching.” She goes on saying that:

Moroccan women’s code-switching is an efficient linguistic strategy in a socio-cultural context where the use of languages has significant social meaning. Women often code-switch to achieve personal satisfaction and gain social prestige and recognition.

(Sadiqi, *op. cit.*: 158)

For example, the environment where women evolve (educated, urban, socio-professionally successful) is very important. It gives them security and access to situations where the use of French is highly valued. Educated urban women highlight their status by speaking French or by code switching between Arabic and French in mixed groups. They may also use words and expression that show up their status. For example, in her work on Moroccan women, Sadiqi (*ibid*: 151) found that women

use semantic and discourse strategies to assert their individuality and achieve conversational gains. These strategies are both semantic and discursive in the sense that they are meant to convey meanings at various levels of language use. The strategies used by Moroccan women to convey discourse-specific meanings include: (i) indirect language, (ii) diminutives, (iii) euphemisms, (iv) polite forms, (v) oaths, (vi) entreaties, and (vii) code-switching.

On the other hand, women who are little educated and rural housewives give little or no importance to French. In addition to code switching, there is another language phenomena called ‘borrowing’ which the Algerian speakers use in their daily conversation. Linguists have made significant efforts to distinguish code switching and borrowing. While code switching occurs at the level of utterance construction, borrowing is said to occur at the lexical level, as illustrated below.

⁷ My own translation : “...la position sociale des femmes – leur statut ambigu et contradictoire- leur faisait adopter des conduites particulières qui les distinguent de leurs compatriotes masculins.”

2.3.5 Definition of borrowing

Dealing with language contact language phenomena, it is necessary to make a difference between code switching and borrowing. If CS happens in bi/multilingual situations, borrowing can also occur in monolingual ones. For example, English borrows lots of words from different languages. For instance, *alcohol*, *coffee*, *cotton*, *sugar* etc., are Arabic words while *bouquets*, *déjà-vu*, *souvenirs* etc., are taken from French.

For Gumperz (1982: 66), borrowing means introducing single word items or idiomatic phrases from one language to another; furthermore, these words are integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language.

It is necessary to find criteria to distinguish between CS and borrowings. Myers-Scotton (1993) considers that there are two types of borrowings: cultural and core borrowings.

Cultural borrowings: these are those lexical items that are new to the recipient language culture. In the Algerian context, these new lexical items were introduced from French into Arabic referring to new objects and new concepts like تلفزيون 'television', فيلم 'film', 'تكنولوجيا' technology, etc.

Core borrowings: these are those words which have equivalents in the base language but the borrowed words are still used. In Algeria though, words like سيارة 'car' or شاحنة 'lorry' exist in Arabic but /lloTo/ 'l'automobile' and /kamjun/ 'camion' were borrowed from French during the occupation and continue to be used in AA.

Poplack (1980: 584-585) proposes three types of If the non-native items are to be treated as code switching, they have to have only one type of integration (e.g. morphological integration). A borrowed item is regarded as a phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated item (Poplack 1980: 584). Later Poplack discarded phonological integration due to its variable nature and since then this intermediary category has been identified as nonce borrowings. Nonce borrowings are morphologically and syntactically integrated and they may or may not show phonological integration. (Botzrepe 2003: 6).

Poplack (1981) explains that there are three criteria able to determine borrowings: phonological, morphological and syntactic integration. For her, a borrowed word undergoes some adaptations at least at the phonological or morphological levels to fit the morpho-phonological pattern of the target language. Here are some examples to illustrate these adaptations:

Phonological level:

/blaʒ/ instead of 'place'. In this word taken from French, the /p/ sound which does not exist in Arabic is replaced by /b/ giving blaʒ/.

Morphological level:

fərsiʃa instead of 'fourchette' (fork). In this word, taken from French, the suffix /a/, the Arabic feminine singular pronoun marker, is added because 'fourchette' in French is a feminine noun.

Algerian speakers spontaneously use borrowings for different reasons. They may not know the word in AA or the borrowed word is more expressive. However, and though this work acknowledges this distinction between CS and borrowing, the focus in data analysis will be on CS among women's speech. The types intra-sentential, inter-sentential and tag-switching will be used to further illustrate the data.

2.3.6 The Speech Community of Tlemcen

Tlemcen, a town situated in north-western Algeria, near the border of Morocco, had several names. The Roman called it Pomaria (Orchards) in the 4th century because of the local profusion of orchards and gardens. Later, it was renamed "Agadir" (Escarpment) by the Berbers (Amazigh). Tlemcen has a strategic geographical situation and fertile lands. Some of its buildings date back to the 12th and 15th centuries. The ruins of the Marinid city of Mansourah to the west are prominent examples of Hispano-Moorish art.

Historically speaking, Tlemcen was regarded as an urban city with highly conservative attitudes and cultural features. In fact, the speech of Tlemcen, considered as an urban variety, is typical and is marked by a particular set of linguistic features (phonological, morphological and lexical). In what follows, only the phonological characteristics of Tlemcen speech community are mentioned and exemplified below:

The Phonological variable [ʔ]:

When someone in Tlemcen speaks using the glottal stop [ʔ] as a realisation of /q/, like in [ʔal] instead [qal] or [gal] (he said), it is clear that this person is a native of Tlemcen. So, the glottal stop is considered as an indicator of Tlemcenian speakers. Tlemcenian speech, considered as an urban variety, is then marked by the use of the glottal stop [ʔ]. In fact, the majority of Tlemcenian speakers change the use of the glottal stop by the two variants used in most parts of Algeria. However, the velar [g] is used in some words in Tlemcen speech as a phoneme for example in the words : setting [gamra] ‘moon’ or [bagra] ‘cow’. Indeed, Dendane (1993, 2007) claims that Tlemcen speech as a whole and its use of the glottal stop [ʔ] in particular is seen as an ‘effeminate’ sign and at the same time its use is a marker of identity and membership. The glottal stop use varies according to social variables, i.e. age, gender, social class and geographical distribution....etc. Dendane (1993, 2007), found that the glottal stop is mainly used by female speakers in all situations whereas male speakers tend to replace it by [g] or [q] when talking with non-natives. This is a fact that women are more conservative and tend to use the prestigious form of the language [ʔ] than men. In fact, male speakers especially younger ones, feel a kind of shame in using the glottal stop. Such behaviour that distinguishes women from men reinforces the assumption that female speakers tend to be more conservative. However, at the same time, they aspire to use prestigious forms, French in the case of Algeria, to reach higher status or position in society.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has tried to shed some light on the sociolinguistic situation in Algeria which is characterized by diversity and complexity. Indeed, the coexistence of Arabic and French has given birth to different language phenomena. The chapter has shown that language variation, language attitudes and code choice are closely related to gender. On the other hand, it has also been shown that choosing a code has a significant meaning. Moreover, code choices among women's speech may be used to achieve personal satisfaction and ensure to gain a place in society. The speech community of Tlemcen, the site of research, was briefly described. Some of its linguistic particularities were highlighted. The next chapter deals with the fieldwork and data analysis with the aim of investigating the extent to which women differ from men in their linguistic behaviour.

CHAPTER THREE: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

3. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

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3. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

31. Introduction

The present chapter deals with the methodological issues concerning the present research work. It presents the fieldwork and identifies the necessary methodology to obtain reliable yet naturalistic data concerning women's speech in Tlemcen. It will explain the different techniques of data collection. The analysis of the collected data will be crucial in confirming and verifying the formulated suggested hypotheses. The data are collected by means of a questionnaire, audio-recordings and note-taking which form the backbone of the fieldwork. The gathered data will be then analysed and commented.

3.2 Gender as a Working Variable in Tlemcen Speech Community

For Labov (1990) one of the most consistent results in sociolinguistic research in any speech community concerns the linguistic differentiation between men's and women's speech. The fact that women tend to use more standard variants than men in the same social class (Labov's Principle I) is widely taken as an asserted principle. Sociolinguists such as Labov (1972, 1990, 2006), Trudgill (1972, 1974, 1994) just to mention a few, have shown that women normally use the most conservative and prestigious language variables. In fact, Labov (1990: 210) introduces a principle capable to account for such variation:

“Principle I. In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women.”

For example, Trudgill (1974) has shown that in Norwich, the realization of (ing) variable in ‘running’ and ‘playing’ is not the same among men and women. In fact, men use more the non-standard alveolar [n] than women in the same social class, while, women use more the standard variant velar nasal [ŋ] considered as the prestigious form.

Similarly, in Tlemcen speech community the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] considered as a prestigious variant of the standard phoneme /q/ is more used by women than men, though the reasons are different from those of the variable in Norwich (-ing). At another level, the influence of French is clearly observed through language behaviour of many people in the society of Tlemcen and especially among women. Actually, gender is among the social variables that play an important role in determining language variation among the speakers in the speech community of Tlemcen. The existing varieties in Algeria have different status both on the social and the individual levels. People do not consider and use Dialectal Arabic, Classical Arabic and French in the same way when speaking. The existing differences become salient when gender variable is taken into account though “it is quite difficult and can

be misleading to study sociolinguistic variables such as gender, class and age, for example, in total isolation from each other.” (Murphy, 2010: 24)

Yet, the present study deals only with gender as a social variable that affects language behaviour of men and women. Their speech behaviour may therefore reflect the social and individual attitudes and preferences of one of the varieties available to them. In fact, language attitudes may tell a lot on how Tlemcen speakers behave about their languages. This study tries to explain this phenomenon in the Algerian society and attempts to know how women in Tlemcen use Arabic and French in different situations, especially in every day conversations. A comparison between men’s and women’s speech will be necessary to try to understand. This chapter deals with data collection and data analysis with the aim of revealing the status and position each language holds at the individual and societal levels.

In order to try to understand and explain language behaviour among the Tlemcen men and women speakers both quantitative and qualitative methods were used:

- To achieve a quantitative analysis, a questionnaire was elaborated to examine men’s and women’s behaviour as far as the language varieties they use.
- To achieve a qualitative analysis, data from recordings and note-taking were commented.

What follows is a description of the process by which the data were obtained.

3.3 Complexity in Data Collection

In order to try to understand and explain language behaviour among men and women in Tlemcen speech community, it is essential to lean on reliable data. Like any research work in sociolinguistics the challenge was to get natural and spontaneous data. However, when people feel they are observed their language behaviour is not natural. The presence of an observer or even an unusual environment may constrain

their language behaviour, because they start paying attention to what they say. The risk is that natural occurring forms are replaced by non-expected ones. Such problem has been noted by Labov (1972: 209) who admits that the researcher is confronted with the principle of the ‘observer’s paradox’. He explains that

...the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation. The problem is of course not insoluble: we must either find ways of supplementing the formal interviews with other data, or change the structure of the interview situation by one means or another.

As Labov (1972) explains, the researcher must find a way to overcome this difficulty by adapting the used methods to the context and the population under observation as for example the use of a mini recorder or taking notes discretely. In the present work, both recordings and note-taking were used. The use of the two techniques will be explained below.

3.4 Research Instruments and Methodology

In this research work, data are collected by means of a questionnaire and audio-recording. Other research instruments have been taken into consideration such as observation and note-taking (participant observation) about men’s and women’s language behaviour which may lead to have rich and authentic data. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used. In her view, Johnstone (2000: 37) asserts that: “The analysis phase of sociolinguistic research is often quantitative as well as qualitative”.

Our aim was then to obtain a quantitative data through the use of the questionnaire to know how much women are conservative and which differences occur in language choice between men and women. On the other hand, qualitative data was used to explore this phenomenon and to describe such differences between both

genders and to observe their behaviours in social context. Johnstone continues saying that:

...that analyzing sociolinguistic data often involves some counting, explicit or implicit, in order to answer questions about how often things happen, in addition to the descriptions that help answer qualitative questions about how and why things happen. (*ibid*, 37)

Such implications of both quantitative and qualitative methods offer a better understanding of the complex bilingual situation of how men and women behave linguistically. In what follows, the different techniques are exposed.

3.4.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire is useful and necessary for collecting data as it is required when making research because it provides the researcher with information, beliefs, motivations and attitudes. For Wray *et al* (1998: 158),

Questionnaires can be used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data, and are suitable for a range of research questions, including ones that require several types of information. At their most tightly controlled questionnaires allow data to be collected in the same, replicable way from a large number of informants. This makes a comparison of the results easier and the conclusions clearer.

The questionnaire is defined by Seliger and Shohamy (1989: 172) as “printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously.” Nevertheless, sometimes the questionnaire is restricted to the auto-suggestion of the respondents. Therefore, the data obtained through the use of the questionnaire is likely to be influenced by different factors. For example, the respondents may over-estimate their use of such or such variety as the

use of the standard. It is likely also that the participants want to give a good image of themselves.

The questionnaire is designed to achieve a statistical work on the data collected. The use of such device is intended to analyse how individuals use their linguistic repertoire, that is, which of the three varieties is actually used and what are the motivating factors that lead to the choice of a particular language (attitudes). The use of the questionnaire along with the two other techniques was to obtain specific information about informants and to see whether it would reveal anything else the other methods could not afford.

In this research work, the aim of the questionnaire was to know if people are aware of the differences that exist between men's and women's speech, especially in the speech community of Tlemcen where speech is marked by the use of the glottal stop [ʔ], as well as their use of French and therefore their attitudes towards Arabic/French bilingualism.

The questionnaire was addressed to both men and women with the aim of having enough elements to try to answer the suggested hypotheses and to show if women's bilingual behaviour in Tlemcen speech community is mainly determined by their attitudes and motivations. The questionnaire was written in English then translated to French because the majority of the respondents do not speak English. More than 60 answer sheets were distributed to men and women of different ages, different educational backgrounds and professions. Some of them were not returned. Some of the respondents didn't match the profile and only respondents originally from Tlemcen and who live there were retained even if they were born elsewhere. At the end 50 questionnaire sheets, 25 from men and 25 from women fulfilled the criteria.

The questionnaire is composed of 13 questions straight in three sections. The first section requires of personal information about the respondent. The second section consists of questions that have relation with the conservativeness of women's speech. The last section consists of questions that explore the dimension of bilingualism in

Tlemcen speech community and motivations towards the phenomenon of bilingualism. Respondents are asked to provide what language they would use in a number of situations.

In order to bring convincing answers, the use of the questionnaire would be incomplete if not strengthened by techniques of data collection that permit to see how people actually speak. As Wray *et al* (1998: 158) explains “questionnaires often do not operate as a substitute for transcription and analysis, but rather complement them.” Therefore, participant observation was a necessary tool to observe how men and women in Tlemcen behave linguistically.

3.4.2 Participant observation

While in the questionnaire people declare what they would do or choose, the ‘participant observation’ is a research technique of collecting data which allows observing how effectively they speak. Johnstone (2000: 89) explains that “Sociolinguists are traditionally reluctant to trust what people say about how they talk, on the grounds that speaker’s intuitions about the linguistic choices they make are skewed by their feelings about how they ought to speak.”

It is then necessary to think about other methods to reinforce the data collection. For Johnstone, “The participant observation methods of ethnography have long been important in qualitative sociolinguistic work, and they are being used more and more explicitly in quantitative studies as well.” (*ibid*, 80) They allow the researcher to get natural data where the informants speak spontaneously. This means that the respondents are not aware of the presence of the researcher. Stocking (1983, p.7) describes the main features of traditional participant observation research this way: “... the investigator becomes for a time and in a way part of its system of face-to-face relationships, so that the data collected in some sense reflect the native’s own point of view.” In our use of participant observation, the data were collected through note-taking and recordings.

3.4.3 Note-taking

During the fieldwork and in order to get data from different situations, sometimes the absence of the recording device or problem of sound clarity made note-taking more appropriate. Consequently, whenever we had the opportunity to observe people speaking we took notes of their speech. The situations were varied: family conversations; shops and the street. The problem of note-taking is that it is not possible to have long conversations, yet, it gives a naturalistic data on how people speak. All note-taking was done immediately after each interaction and discreetly away from the participants so as not to arouse suspicion among the speakers and not remind them they were under observation. The data obtained show that this method is, in some situations, very helpful.

3.4.4 Audio recordings

Recordings are very important for data collection in this study. Many conversations have been collected by means of audio-recordings. The recording device was left on a shelf or close enough to make the recording possible, but not too obvious to be a constant reminder. Not all the recordings were exploitable. Some of them were unusable because the persons were speaking at the same time or because of the noise. For example, some recordings in shops full of customers and shopkeepers produced very muddled and unclear recordings, making it impossible to distinguish who was talking to whom. Consequently, only recordings with clear enough sound to produce useable data were kept so that language use was clearly identifiable.

In addition to participant observation, where audio-recordings were achieved, we have made some recordings from radio. Labov (1972: 211) argues that “It is possible to obtain some systematic data from radio and television broadcast... [since] Conversation programs and speeches at public events can give us a good cross-section of a population”. We selected in advance the recorded programs where public discussions were performed. Formal speech or interviews were avoided to prevent

language conscious awareness. Radio recordings proved to be a good method to collect data that can be relied on as being naturalistic. In what follows, collected data from different methods are presented, commented and analysed.

3.5 Data analysis

The study is both quantitative and qualitative. The data collected by means of the questionnaire are analysed quantitatively while the data collected by recording and note-taking are analysed qualitatively. It should be stated that this research does not aim at giving a quantitative analysis of code switching occurrences because it is difficult to count how many occurrences of code switching occur in the data. On the other hand, it does not deal with cases of borrowings found in the corpus. The method is that of discourse analysis. The qualitative analysis will identify instances of code switching which will be first of all analysed using Poplack's (1980) categories of the types of code switching. In the next step, the instances of code switching will be analysed further to find out which functions they serve.

3.5.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The first section of the questionnaire shows the respondents' personal information. This section contains 6 items.

In the sheets obtained, 25 men aged between 20 and 60 years old and 25 women between 21 and 60 years old fulfilled the criteria. It is interesting to compare the informants' answers in the same age bracket. The following question was about the educational background.

Table 3.1: Educational level of the respondents.

Level of education	Men	%	Women	%
Primary	0	0%	0	0%
Middle School	2	8%	2	8%
Secondary School	12	48%	10	40%
University	11	44%	13	52%
Total	25	100%	25	100%

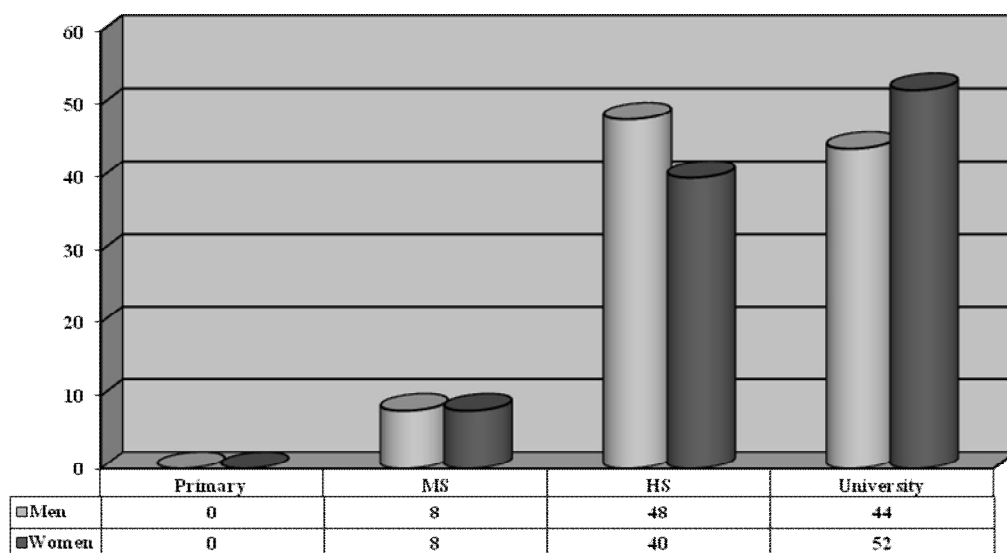


Fig. 3.1: Educational level of the respondents.

The results show that all the respondents have accomplished the primary and middle school education. What is important is that while there are more men who achieved school degree, more women achieved or are doing university students.

Though the survey is restricted, it gives an indication on the fact that women reach university level more than men.

The next question is directly related to educational background and concerns the various professions of the respondents.

Table 3.2: The respondents' profession.

Men	Women
- Students	- Teachers
- Jobless	- Managers
- Engineers	- Students
- Officers	- Housewives
- Business men	- Doctors
- Teachers	- Secretary
	- Dressmaker

The answers show that the same categories of professions are found among both men and women. However, it should be noted that when a man does not work, he is called jobless but when a woman does not she is not jobless but a housewife.

The last two items are information about the place of birth and residence. All the respondents were born in Tlemcen and grew up here.

The second section consisted of preliminary questions about the degree of consciousness of the respondents about men's and women's speech. The first question was:

Qu. 1. Is there a difference in speech between men and women?

A unanimous answer was expected and indeed all the respondents, males and females said that they were aware of such difference in their speech.

Yes: 100% / No: 0%.

The second question was about the kind of difference between men’s and women’s speech. The informants were asked whether this difference is attributed to biological, social, cultural or educational basis.

Qu. 2: For you, this difference is:

Biological Social Cultural Educational

It is worth noting that we expected in advance that the informants may choose more than one answer.

Table 3.3: The nature of difference between men’s and women’s speech.

Difference	Men	%	Women	%
Biological	8	32	3	12
Social	12	48	13	52
Cultural	9	36	8	32
Educational	8	32	15	60

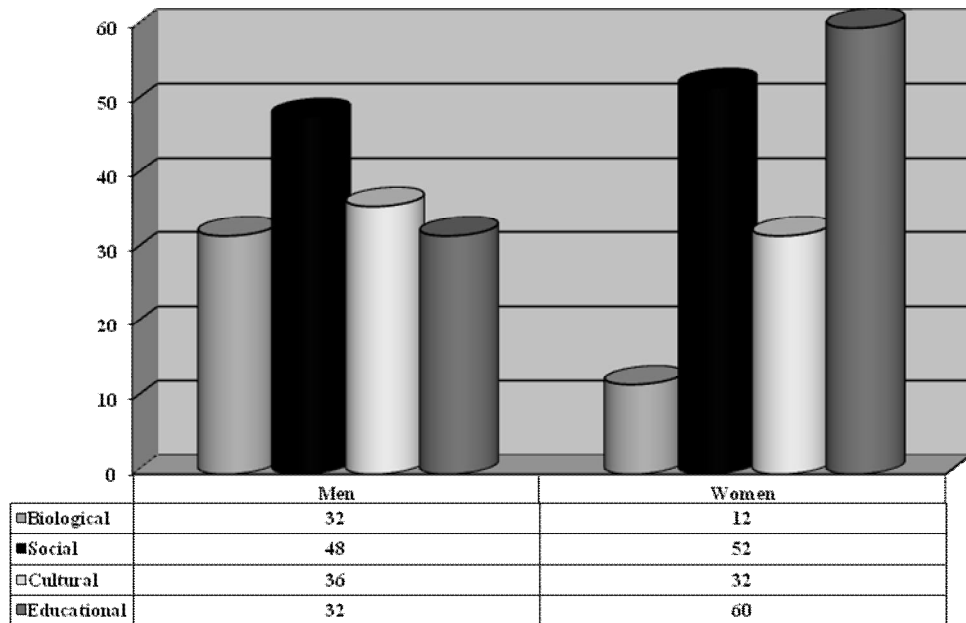


Fig 3.3: The nature of difference between men's and women's speech.

As it was expected, some participants have chosen more than one answer. The results reveal that for men the difference is more attributed to the social factor 48% than educational 32% or cultural 36%. It seems that the progress made by women in the society and the place they hold in it, for example, emancipation and their competition with men for some professions reserved in the past to men, have made men become more aware of the position of women in the society. For women, the educational background (60%) is the most determinant factor responsible for this difference. The results also reveal that men give more importance to the biological factor (32%) than women (12%). Women seem to veil the fact this fact which was for a long time a stereotype of weakness and disadvantage. Therefore, they seem to focus on the means to achieve this upward social mobility which is education. Finally, the women's answer is ambitious and individual while that of men is societal.

In question 3 the respondents were asked the following question:

Qu. 3: How do you say these words in Arabic to natives and non-natives of Tlemcen?

The aim was to test the conservativeness of Tlemcen speakers. The participants were given some words containing the variable (q) which is normally realised as [ʔ] by Tlemcen speakers. However, as was shown by Dendane (1993, 2007), in some situations, especially when speaking to non-Tlemcen speakers, Tlemcen males tend to avoid [ʔ] seen as an effeminate, thus stigmatized feature of their speech and use [g] instead. After nearly a decade of the linguistic situation in Tlemcen described by Dendane and due to the increasing proximity with non-natives, we felt the need to see whether the situation has changed or not, i.e., whether the [ʔ] still used by men or whether it has become specific to women's speech.

Table 3.4 : [ʔ] vs [g]- use in a number of lexical items.

Glossary	MEN				WOMEN			
	Nat/Nat		Nat/Non-Nat		Nat/Nat		Nat/Non-Nat	
	ʔ	g	ʔ	g	ʔ	g	ʔ	g
Heart ʔalb	22	3	2	23	24	1	20	5
%	88%	12%	8%	92%	96%	4%	80%	20%
Near ʔri:b	21	4	1	24	23	2	21	4
%	84%	16%	4%	96%	92%	8%	84%	16%
Cat ʔatt	20	5	2	23	23	2	21	4
%	80%	20%	8%	92%	92%	8%	84%	16%
Bundle ʔabda	20	5	3	22	23	2	20	5
%	80%	20%	12%	88%	92%	8%	80%	20%
Box ʔenduʔ	22	3	3	22	23	2	21	4
%	88%	12%	12%	88%	92%	8%	84%	16%
Basket ʔeffa	21	4	4	21	23	2	20	5
%	84%	16%	16%	84%	92%	8%	80%	20%
Neck raʔba	20	5	2	23	23	2	21	4
%	80%	20%	8%	92%	92%	8%	84%	16%
Lightning braʔ	19	6	4	21	22	3	20	5
%	76%	24%	16%	84%	88%	12%	80%	20%
Total	165	35	21	179	184	16	164	36
	82.5%	17.5%	10.5%	89.5%	92%	8%	82%	18%

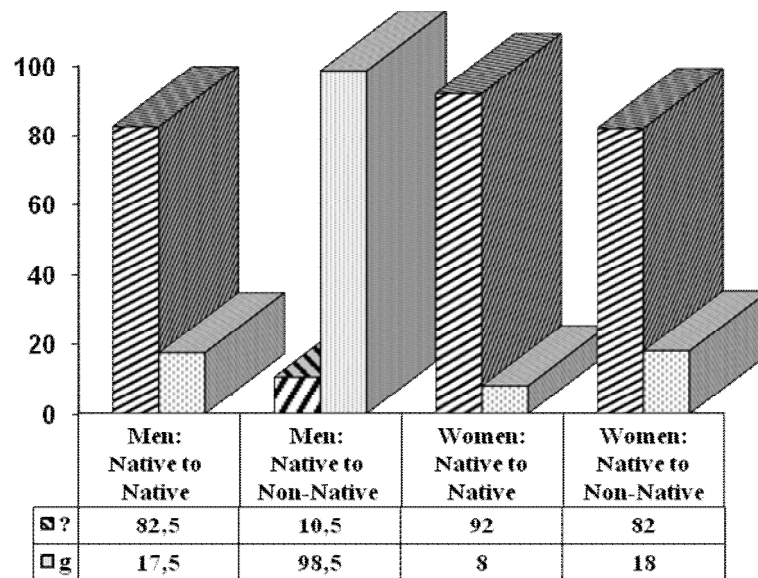


Fig 3.4: [ʔ] vs [g]- use in a number of lexical items.

At first glance, the results show that the situation is still prevailing. The first striking fact is that in conversations involving Tlemcen speakers with each other the use of the glottal stop [ʔ] is largely dominant, 82.5% for men and 92% for women. The situation is also constant as far as women's language behaviour is concerned. Actually, the scores reveal that whether speaking to natives (92%) or non-natives (82%), Tlemcen women keep on using [ʔ]. Their use of [g] is restricted to 8% among natives and rises to 18% with non-natives. What is interesting is that even among native speakers, some women sometimes use [g]. This is obviously due to the influence of the rural variety on the speech of Tlemcen. On the other hand, a strongly marked tendency can be observed among men's behaviour: Tlemcen male speakers tend to replace the glottal stop [ʔ] by [g] far more than women. In fact, there are important switches to the rural variant [g] and the glottal stop is only used among the native males when interacting with other natives. The results reveal that while 82.5% of men speakers use [ʔ] when they speak with native speakers, the rate of [g]-use increases to 98.5% when they speak with non-native speakers.

Thus, as opposed to men, Tlemcen female speakers are more conservative and there is an almost exclusive use of the glottal stop. This male/female linguistic pattern is a general phenomenon related to the different nature of men and women and the relevant roles they play in today's society. The nature of the image associated with the use of glottal stop considered as an "... 'effeminate' and 'not fit' for men who naturally tend to show off their manliness..." (Dendane, 1993: 86) is a major reason that can account for men's linguistic behaviour in Tlemcen.

In the fourth question, the focus of our research work is concerned with the image of the use of French among men and women. The aim is to discover with what to gender French is more associated.

Qu. 4: According to you who uses more French, men or women?

Even if the question was thought to be trivial and the results were certain to a large extent, the rate was surprising as all men and women 100% declared that women use more French than men. What is striking is that none of the participants, even men declared that men sometimes use more French than women. It seems that the social attitude towards the use of French is definitely associated with women.

In the fifth question, the participants were asked:

Qu. 5: Which language do you use more?

The aim of the question was to know men's and women's language use in relation to different activities or domains. The respondents were asked which language is allocated to which situation. It should be noted that the choice could include both languages at the same time. This suggestion comes from the fact that many bilingual persons handle the two languages or some activities of language use in both languages, like for example reading newspaper written in Arabic or French. On the other hand, some speakers are able or prefer to read in one of the languages.

Table 3.5: Language use among male Tlemcen speakers.

		Ar	Fr	Both
1	Which language do you use in daily conversation?	28%	16%	<u>56%</u>
2	Which language do you use to speak about religion?	<u>96%</u>	00%	04%
3	In which language do you prefer to read books?	12%	<u>72%</u>	16%
4	In which language do you prefer to read newspapers?	12%	<u>72%</u>	16%
5	In which language do you prefer to write SMS?	04%	<u>92%</u>	04%
6	In which language do you prefer to write a letter?	16%	<u>76%</u>	08%
7	In which language do you prefer to watch TV?	04%	<u>67%</u>	20%
8	In which language do you prefer to listen to radio?	16%	<u>48%</u>	36%
9	Which language do you use at home?	40%	04%	<u>56%</u>
10	Which language do you use to speak with strangers?	24%	<u>48%</u>	28%
11	Which language do you use at work?	24%	04%	<u>72%</u>
12	Which language do you use with your friends/colleagues?	36%	00%	<u>64%</u>
Overall results		26%	41.58 %	31.67 %

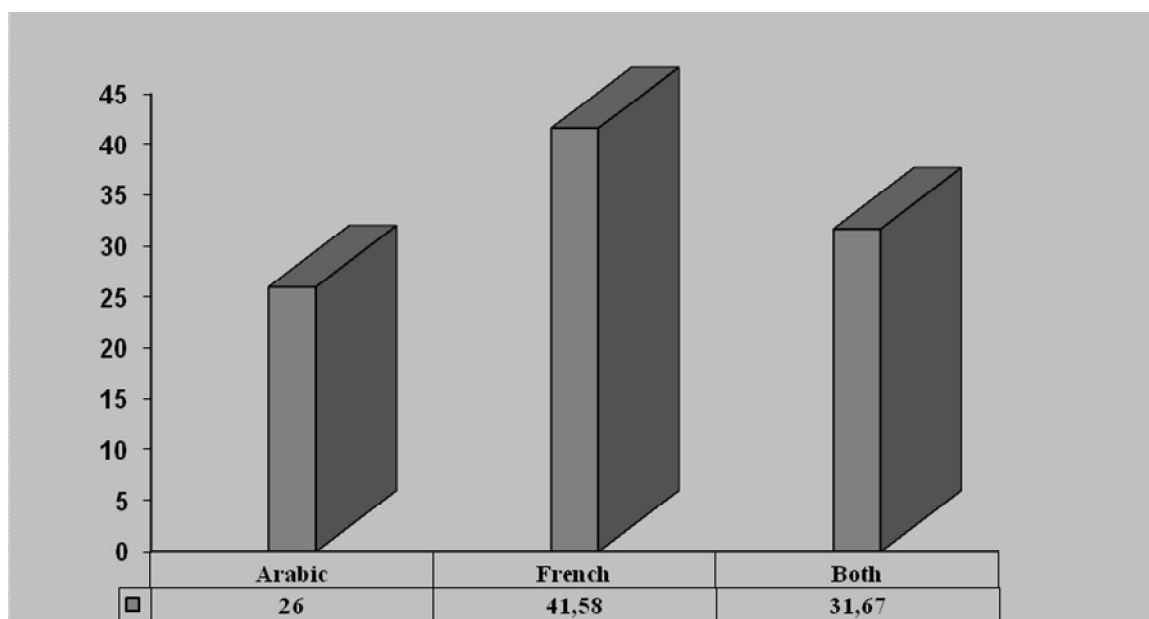


Fig 3.5: Language use among male Tlemcen speakers.

The results obtained are various as far as the language used in different contexts, but an overall consideration of respondents' answers reveal the following:

On the whole, French is more used in: reading books; reading newspapers; writing SMS; writing letters; watching TV programs; listening to radio programs and speaking to strangers. On the other hand, Arabic is exclusively used to speak about religion. The respondents also declared that they use both Arabic and French in: daily conversations; at home; at work and with friends and colleagues.

Table 3.6: Language use among female Tlemcen speakers.

		Ar	Fr	Both
1	Which language do you use in daily conversation?	08%	48%	<u>52%</u>
2	Which language do you use to speak about religion?	<u>84%</u>	00%	16%
3	In which language do you prefer to read books?	10%	<u>76%</u>	14%
4	In which language do you prefer to read newspapers?	04%	<u>76%</u>	20%
5	In which language do you prefer to write SMS?	00%	<u>92%</u>	08%
6	In which language do you prefer to write a letter?	12%	<u>80%</u>	08%
7	In which language do you prefer to watch TV?	16%	<u>44%</u>	40%
8	In which language do you prefer to listen to radio?	28%	32%	<u>48%</u>
9	Which language do you use at home?	24%	08%	<u>68%</u>
10	Which language do you use to speak with strangers?	12%	<u>72%</u>	16%
11	Which language do you use at work?	12%	28%	<u>60%</u>
12	Which language do you use with your friends/colleagues?	12%	04%	<u>84%</u>
Overall results		18.5%	46.67%	35.83%

The overall evaluation shows that French is more used in: reading books; reading newspapers; writing SMS; writing letters; watching TV programs and speaking to strangers. On the other hand, Arabic is exclusively used to speak about religion. The respondents also declared that they use both Arabic and French in: daily conversations; to listen to radio programs; at home; at work and with friends and colleagues.

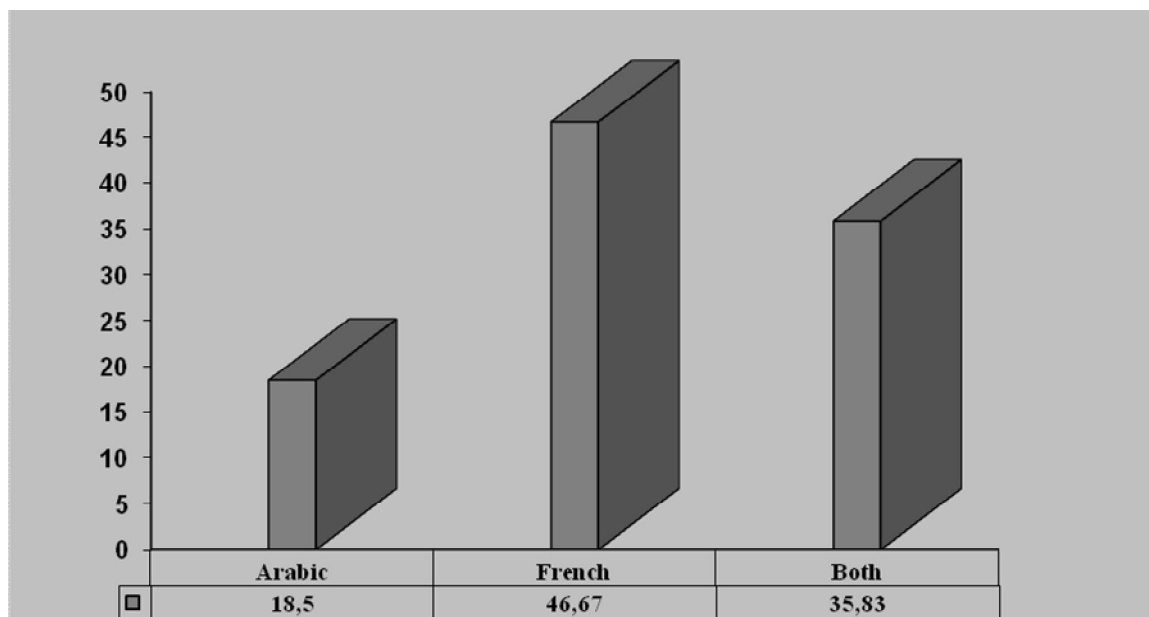


Fig 3.6: Language use among female Tlemcen speakers.

The results reveal that both men and women allocate the same language to the same activities. However, the rate of the use of French is higher among women. In all the questions asked, both men and women adopt the same choice except in question n° 2. Almost the majority of the participants declarep using Arabic when speaking about religion. In fact, the results show that 96% among men use Arabic when speaking about religion whereas none of the respondents declare that he uses French and only 4% say that they use both languages. Similarly, for women (84%) declare using Arabic while only 4% say that speaking about religion can be handled in both languages. Arabic is better used when speaking about religion, this is due to the fact that Arabic is the language of the Koran.

Almost all respondents agree that both languages are used to achieve some activities. The answers given reveal that the participants declare using both Arabic and French rather than Arabic or French alone in: daily conversation; at home; at work and conversing with friends or colleagues. The answers reflect to a high extent the reality observed in daily life within the community. The choices also confirm that given the bilingual situation of Algeria, Tlemcen being part of it, using Arabic and French in the same conversation is very common among interlocutors. However, in question n°8

about listening to radio, the participants do not share the same choice. In fact, when men declare French as dominant with 48%, women may listen to radio programs in both languages. The difference in language choice may be explained by the fact that while women, even those who work, spend much time at home doing housework and cleaning listen to radio programs in the two languages. Men are more selective when listening to the radio because they listen less to the local radio (Tlemcen radio) than women and more to Alger Chaîne 3 which use exclusively French for all its programs.

As stated above, French is the dominant choice. When the respondents were asked about the language of reading books, newspapers, and of writing SMS, letters as well as watching TV programs, listening to radio and speaking with strangers, nearly all the respondents declare they use more French than Arabic or both languages.

In fact, the results show that 72% of male respondents like to read books and newspapers in French and 16% in both languages, 92% use French when writing SMS, 76% declare they prefer to use French when they write a letter and watch TV programs and 48% say they use French when they listen to the radio and speak with strangers and none uses French with their colleagues whereas 48% of the respondents are likely to use Arabic at home and with friends and colleagues.

In the sixth question, the respondents were asked the following question:

Qu. 6: How do you consider Arabic and French? Put a cross

Table 3.7: Attitudes of men and women towards languages use.

Men		Dialectal Arabic (الدارجة)	%	Classical Arabic (الفصحى)	%	French	%
	Which language is the most beautiful?	2	8%	17	68%	6	24%
Which language is most prestigious?	0	0%	15	60%	10	40%	
Which language is most modern?	1	4%	4	16%	20	80%	
Which language is most socially valued?	2	8%	4	16%	19	76%	
Which language is richest to express your ideas?	2	8%	11	44%	12	48%	
Which language is most logic?	2	8%	19	76%	4	16%	
Which language is most sensitive?	0	0%	10	40%	15	60%	
Women		Dialectal Arabic (الدارجة)	%	Classical Arabic (الفصحى)	%	French	%
Which language is the most beautiful?	2	8%	13	52%	10	40%	
Which language is most prestigious?	1	4%	12	48%	12	48%	
Which language is most modern?	0	0%	5	20%	20	80%	
Which language is most socially valued?	1	4%	4	16%	20	80%	
Which language is richest to express your ideas?	2	8%	7	28%	16	64%	
Which language is most logic?	2	8%	14	56%	9	36%	
Which language is most sensitive?	0	0%	9	36%	16	64%	

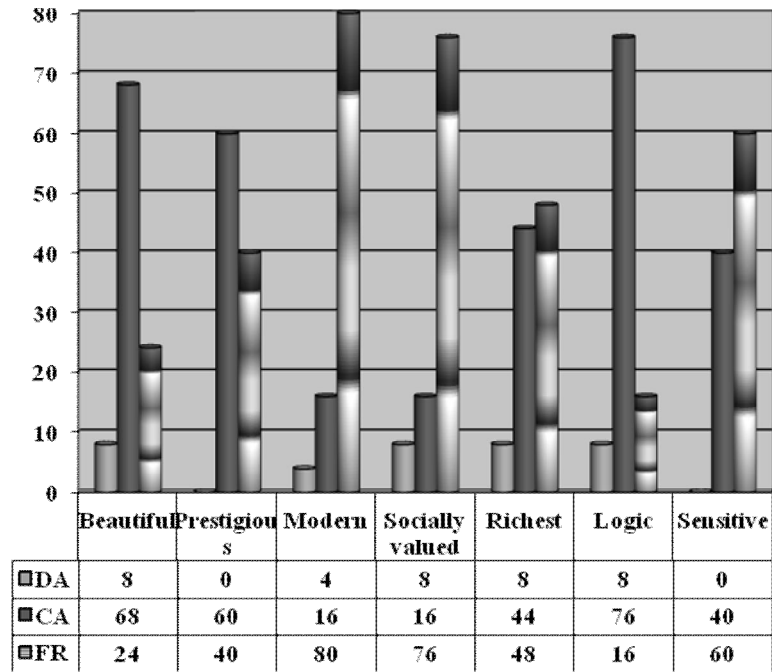


Fig 3.7: Attitudes of men towards languages use.

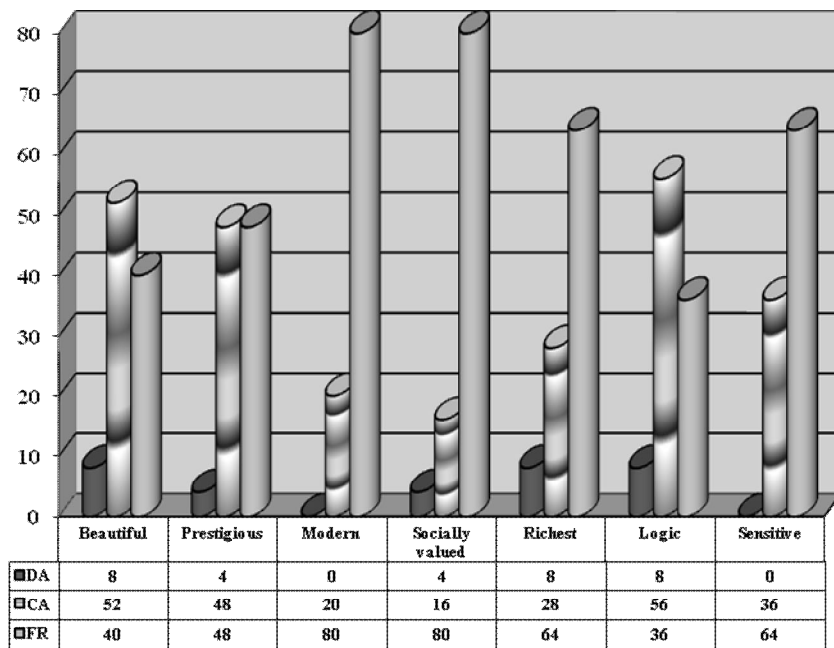


Fig 3.8: Attitudes of women towards languages use.

The results indicate the respondents' repertoire and their attitudes towards each variety, Dialectal Arabic, MSA and French. Almost all show positive attitudes towards these languages and admit choosing CA and Fr. What is interesting is that even though DA is the speakers' mother tongue, it is underrated. In fact, the rate of DA does not exceed 8% (2 persons) in the two categories (men and women) in the evaluation. Moreover, for none of the respondents DA is modern or sensitive. It is worth noting that MSA is the prestigious variety for men 60%, for women with 48%, it is as prestigious as Fr 48%. The result seem to confirm what Ferguson (1959) said about language situation in diglossic speech communities. Speaking about prestige as a criterion to distinguish L and H, Ferguson (1959: 348) said that in diglossic situations "...speakers regard H as superior to L in a number of respects. Sometimes the feeling is so strong that H alone is regarded as real and L is reported 'not to exist'." This is typically what the results show. While one woman considers DA prestigious none of the men consider it so. On the other hand, MSA for both men and women, CA is the most beautiful (men 68%, women 52%) and the most logic (men 76%, women 56%). Ferguson adds that "there is usually a belief that H is somehow more beautiful, more logic, better able to express important thoughts and the like." (*ibid*, 348-49)

Positive attitudes towards CA and the feeling of its supremacy are highly associated with the fact that it is the language of the Koran, thus, "it has divine sanction" (*ibid*, 356). As far as French is concerned, it is the most socially valued for 76% of men and 80% of women and the richest language to express ideas for 48% of men and 64% of women. French is also the most sensitive language for 60% of men and 68% of women. The comparison of the results reveals that there is not a large gap between men's and women's attitudes about the languages at play. Considering the criterion 'modern language', the results show that both men and women consider Fr as the most modern language for 80%, while CA is for 16% of men and 20% of women.

The last question was about the frequency of the use of French in everyday speech. The participants were asked the following question:

Qu. 7: How often do you use French in everyday speech?

	Never	%	Rarely	%	Sometimes	%	Frequently	%	V frequently	%
Men	0	0%	0	0%	8	32%	13	52%	4	16%
Women	0	0%	0	0%	2	8%	17	68%	6	24%

Table 3. 8: Frequency of use of French among men and women.

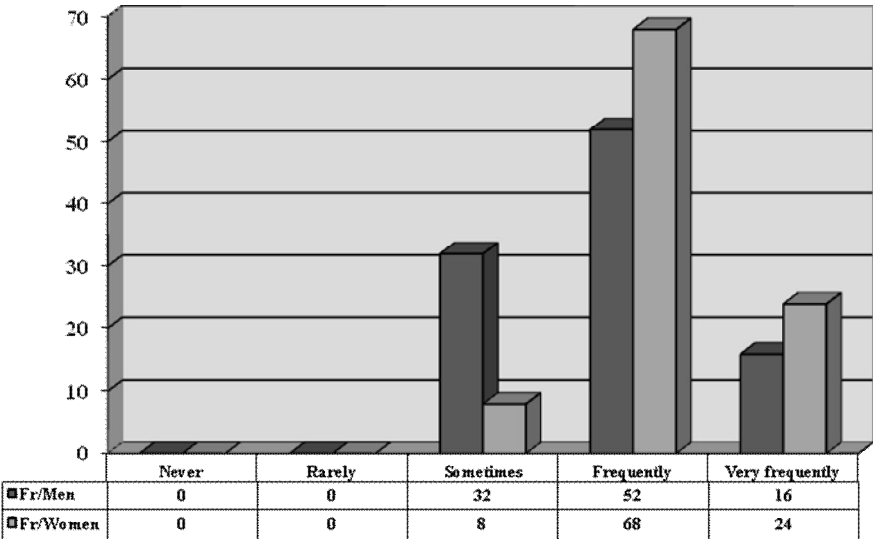


Fig 3.9: Frequency of use of French among men and women.

The results above show that all the respondents admit using French regularly in everyday speech. The graph shows that the frequency of French use among women is higher than among men. This difference may confirm the impact of women’s positive attitudes towards French use. None of the respondents among men and women

reported 'never' or 'rarely' using French which they admit using it to different degrees 'sometimes', 'frequently' and 'very frequently'. Among men 32% declare using Fr sometimes, while 52% of them use it frequently and only 16% use Fr very frequently. Concerning women, only 8% sometimes use Fr, while 68% they frequently use French and 24% use it very frequently. This is certainly due to the different skills they have in the French language.

3.5.2 Qualitative Analysis of Note-taking and Recordings

Through the quantitative analysis of the respondents' answers, it appeared that language choice among men and women differs. The results showed that women use more French than men. To try to understand the speakers' actual linguistic behaviour, a qualitative analysis of naturally occurring data collected by means of recordings and note-taking. In order to understand what French represents to women, and what CS serves, data are analysed in the light of theories explaining the social meaning of CS.

The recordings and note-taking were used in addition to the questionnaire to give a more complete picture of how actually men and women behave linguistically in Tlemcen speech community. In this qualitative analysis, the method used is related discourse analysis. Instances of code switching will be identified and analysed in terms of the functions they serve. The first step of the analysis will be identifying instances of CS which will be first of all analysed using Poplack's (1980) categories of CS types. The second step will be to analyse the data further to bring to light which functions they serve. The data collected through recordings and note-taking will be treated together, not two separate parts, in order to get a more varied look at the different functions of code switching.

3.5.2.1 Types of Code Switching in Women's Speech in Tlemcen

As explained in chapter 2, there are three different types of code switching: intra-sentential code switching, inter-sentential code switching and tag switching (Poplack 1980), extra-sentential code switching (Milroy and Myusken, 1995). The aim of this analysis is just to show the existence of the three kinds of code switching and not to comment on all switches that exist in the corpus. Therefore, examples will be used to illustrate the types of code switching found. French utterances appear in bold and italics, while Arabic utterances are transcribed.

Inter-sentential code switching

As explained above, inter-sentential code switching occurs between sentences or clauses, or between turns.

Example 1 : NT 1

B : ʔaxti ʔəjina fihum + *mais tu sais comment ils sont*

My dear, we have insisted on them, *but you know how they are.*

Example 2 : R : 2

wəlla ʃəfna hədza waħdəχra manaʔarfuhaʃ nʔululha *il faut voir un médecin*

If we see something else, that we don't know, *we tell her you have to see a doctor.*

Example 1 and 2 show how inter-sentential code switching is used within one turn, but between sentences, or clauses. In the first example, the place where a new sentence begins is marked with a short pause most of the time not noticeable. In fact, the pauses are good indicators of the beginning of a new sentence or clause, since in spoken discourse the boundary between two sentences or clauses is not always clear.

Intra-sentential code switching

Intra-sentential code switching occurs within a sentence or within a clause. According to Poplack (1980), this type of switching requires a lot of integration and therefore it is only used by the most fluent bilinguals.

Example 3:

NT 4:

A : ssaɣfa ntaɣ *la cuisine* kitkun mrəjjɔa tətələfli

The clock of the kitchen when it is not working I'm lost.

When the clock of the kitchen is not working, I'm lost.

B : bəddələlha *la pile c'est facile* maɣ iħadɣa waɣra

Change *the battery, it's easy*, it's not something hard.

Rec :1

Example 4:

B : ʔana nɣani *comme dépression dépression après l'accouchement*

I suffer *from a nervous breakdown after the delivery childbirth.*

A : təndzəm tɛqɣud *la dépression* sət əjjəm *comme* təndzəm tɛqɣud

It can last the nervous **berakdown six days** as it can last

six semaines wəlla *six mois.*

six weeks or **six months.**

B : dɣatni *la période* taɣ *la grossesse comme un choc* + kunt à *l'aise* + *bien*

The period of *pregnancy* came to me *as a choc*, I felt *comfortable, well*

++*məmbaɣəd* χuɣt wə wəllatlti *la dépression* ɣɣatni muχtaɣɣa

After I was afraid and *the nervous breakdown* came back, the psychologist

nafəsani jja **des médicaments**

gave me medicines.

This kind of code switching is by far the most occurring in the data. In the two examples, the interlocutors switch back and forth to Arabic and French within the same sentence. Usually in those examples, the base language is Arabic.

Extra-sentential switching or Tag-switching

This type of switching happens when a word or an expression is inserted in a sentence of the other language. Furthermore, a tag is a word that can be moved almost freely in a sentence as it does not have a syntactic constraint.

Example 5

A : *enfin* jədəbbəru rashum məmbafəd jla kəbrət w fərfət bəlli yi

At last, they are free after if she grows up and knows that they have just

mrəbjinha

adopted her.

Example 6:

C : *c'est bon* rani wwəllit fəlaʃ rikum taħkiw

Well, I'm back. What were you speaking about?

Example 7:

B : *d'accord* + kanət waħda ʃaʔʃaʔt tni fəla ħa la recette taʔ les bananes

Ok, there was someone (a woman) who asked me about *the recipe* of *the bananas*.

Extra-sentential switchings are found less often in the data than intra-sentential switchings. Extra-sentential switchings can be removed from the utterance without an impact on the meaning. In the two examples 5, 6 and 7, the expressions '*c'est bon*' (it's good), '*d'accord*' (all right) and the word '*enfin*' (well) from French can be omitted without affecting the meaning of the utterances.

Data analysis reveals that intra-sentential switchings is the most often used in daily conversations. The findings actually reflect what is observed in every day speech. As Poplack (1980) asserts, this type of switching requires that speakers are competent in both languages.

3.5.2.2 Functions of Code Switching Among Women’s Speech

In bilingual conversations CS can serve different communicative functions. Appel and Muysken (1987: 120) explain that: “it is by no means certain that code switching has the same functions within each community”. Therefore, this section attempts to bring into light and categorize the different communicative functions code switching serve in Tlemcen women’s speech. Examples of each are presented below. French utterances appear in bold and italics while Standard Arabic utterances are underlined.

1. **Quotations:** the function they fulfill is considered as one of the simplest but most effective functions of conversational code switching. According to Gumperz (1982: 76), this function of code switching is achieved when a speaker conveys a message in the original language used.

(1) Woman: **ssəmhuli ʔla had l ʔibara lli tqul être trop bon c’est être trop con**

Excuse me for this saying ‘**To be too good it is to be too stupid**’.

(2) Woman: **naʔməl les mains et les pieds**

We do ‘**Hands and feet**’. (to move heaven and earth)

(3) Man: **jaʔni ləmma saʔlu Edison qallu waʔ rak ħab qallu ʔuridu ʔan**

It means, when they asked Edison what do you want? He said I want to

ʔadʔala lajla lʔalami naharan

make the night of human kind a day.

In the examples (1) and (2) the woman speaks in Arabic then switches to French in order to say proverbs or expressions. In example (3) a man switches from DA to MSA. The speaker is telling stories of some great personalities. Speaking about Thomas Edison, he reports what he has read in a book. Grosjean (1982) considers that one of the motivations for code-switching is quoting what someone has said. The switching serves to quote the proverb as said in French. In these examples, reporting what has been said in the original language seems to give more authenticity to the speech. For Holmes (1992) the switch put acts as a set of quotation marks. This kind of language behaviour may be seen as a language skill since it seems that the speaker wants to optimize the meaning, so she switches to French and does not translate the proverb to Arabic or use its equivalent. However, sometimes, switching to French may also occur when speakers do not know the proverb or expression in Arabic. On the other hand, example (1) has also another function ‘personalization and objectivization’ since it reflects the opinion of the speaker.

(4) *Woman*: B : hdarna mʕahum mais tu sais comment ils sont

We talked to them **but you know how they are**

en plus + la dernière fois ʔatli ʔi matəhhədruf mʕaha + **c’est à nous de le faire**
in addition, the last time she told me not talk to her, **it our job.**

While in the first and the second examples the woman uses a French proverb to show her quote and at the same time her language skills in French, in the third example, the speaker quotes her interlocutor. In fact, when two women are speaking about another woman, one of them reports not only exactly what her interlocutor told her but also in the original language (French). In a conversation, when a speaker quotes his/her interlocutor, it means that he/she may want to take distance but also to be faithful to the third person.

2- Addressee specification: this kind of switching happens when an interlocutor wants to direct the message to a specific interlocutor as in the examples (4) and (5).

(5) Woman: B : ʔliha kunt nʔulhum ʔi tabda təfhəm ʔululha **mais rik ʔarfa**

This is why I was telling them as soon as she starts understanding tell her **but** you know

ʔiwa ʔla ḥsabhum + mais tu penses qu'ils vont le faire

Well, according to them, but **do you think they are going to do it ?**

Woman: C : **Ah, je ne sais pas+ c'est pas facile**

Ah! I don't know. It's not easy.

In example **5**, a woman (B) is speaking with (A), but switches to French when she turns to ask another woman (C) who was silent during the whole conversation. B was speaking Arabic then suddenly switches to French. In doing so, the speakers seem to direct her question to a specific person. Perhaps because C was just listening, B wanted to invite her to speak and the best way to do it was to use another language to attract her attention. Under the markedness model, this switching is considered as a marked code choice since it is unexpected.

(6) Woman: + **psychiatre wəlla neurologue_ʔandu aussi l ʔixtiṣṣaṣ ntafu**
psychiatrist or neurologist has too his own specialty

++ tu n'a pas supporté le stress ntaʔ l'accouchement
You **did not support the stress of childbirth**

In example **6**, the woman switches from Arabic to French to address a specific person who was speaking about a psychological problem. The switching seems to separate the woman in question and not involve all the women in her problem.

(7) Man: C : rikum taḥkiw + **comme d'habitude la politique**
You speak **as usual politics**

Man: A: **oui comme d'habitude + ʔəfna mənnu ʔaḥki**
Yes as usual, forget about him speak

In example 7, a man (C) interrupted two men speaking about politics. (A) answers (C) in French but switches to Arabic when he wanted to address the person he was speaking with first. Switching from French to Arabic seems to specify the interlocutor.

3. Interjection: the speakers use a lot of interjections from the other language. Such kind of switching is what Poplack (1980) calls tags or extra-sentential switchings (Milroy and Myusken 1995). These words are inserted everywhere in the sentence because they do not cause any problem to the syntax of the base language. In fact, Algerian speakers in general use a lot of French words as interjections or sentence fillers in their speech, for instance: *oui/non* (yes/no), *d'accord*, *enfin* (well), *s'il te plait* (please), *merci* (thanks), *donc* (so), *dommage* (what a pity), *etc.*

(8) Woman: **D'accord**, kanət waħda ʒaʔʒatni ʔla ħa la **recette** ntaʔ **les bananes**

Well, someone asked me about **the recipe** of **banana**

(9) Woman: **Enfin** ʔandək əʒʒaħ ħatt aħna nħubbu nkomplikiw **la vie**

Well, you are right, we too want to complicate **the life**.

(10) Man: **Dommage** makanʃ kifaʃ nχərrdzu had lʔafkar ləl ʔasaf

What a **pity!** There is no way how to get out these ideas unfortunately.

Both examples (8) and (9) begin with French words as an interjection then the speakers immediately switch to Arabic. In the two examples, the interjections do not seem to have any grammatical function but rather emotion or feeling. If, they are omitted the structure of the two sentences remains the same. In (8) the speaker used the interjection '*d'accord*' (well) as if she prepares herself to answer someone who asked her before. In example (9), the speaker uses '*enfin*' to prepare herself to agree with her interlocutor. The same language behaviour is attested among men. In fact, in example (10) the word '**dommage**' (what a pity) is used as an interjection. However, it should be stated that women use more interjections from French than men.

4. **Reiteration:** Gumperz (1982: 78) proposed this function which means when a speaker may converse in one language and repeats what he said in another code. In fact, people sometimes repeat in French what they have said in Arabic. This repetition could be literal or in another form which is modified. Most of the time the reiteration is for clarification or emphasis. For Zentella (1997: 95), the speakers who want to emphasize a message repeat it in the other language.

(11) *Woman:* ++ kajən lli ʔandum baʃara ʃaħiba *la peau terne + fatiguée*

There are (women) who have a dull skin a dull skin, tired.

(12) *Woman:* généralement had lʔaʔfal χaʃhum mutabaʔa wa takafful
nafsi:

Generally, those children need a follow up and a psychological care

une prise en charge psychologique

a psychological care.

(13) *Man:* madʒmuʔ lʔixtirafa:t tɲin w ʔeʃri:n dawla ʔarabijja

The totality of inventions of twenty two Arabic countries

muʒtamiʔa fi talat sanawat *trois ans*

gathered in three years **three years.**

In these two examples (11) and (12), the two women repeat in French what they have said in Standard Arabic. In (11) and (12) the switchings seem to serve clarification since the speakers use Arabic and want to make their speech clearer because not all people understand the Standard form of Arabic. In (12), the switching seems to serve also emphasis because of the emotional involvement of the topic. In example (13), the whole sentence is in Arabic but at the end the speaker, a man, seems to feel it is necessary to repeat in French what he has said at the end of the sentence in Arabic. In this example, the switch does not seem to serve clarification is but used for emphasis.

5. Message qualification: it occurs when the speaker tends to add information or details on a topic to resolve or avoid any ambiguity or misunderstanding. In some situations, speakers simplify some messages to make themselves clear. The following examples are representative of such a function:

(14) *Woman:* madabik taʃmɛl lɛl bɛʃra ntaʃɛk **une crème hydratante,**

It's better for you to apply to your skin **a moisturizing cream**

une crème lli tʁɛddi lbɛʃra ntaʃɛk

a cream that nourishes your skin

(15) *Woman:* ʃuf ʔla le mode de vie c'est -à-dire ʔariqat lkalam taɣtalif

It depends on **the life style that is** the way of speaking differs

la facon de lui parler taɣtalif

the way of speaking to him differs

(16) *Man:* B : bɛʃsɛħ ħatta lpartijja kanɛt ʃabba raɣɛt

But, even the match was good you missed it

surtout le deuxième but kan min ʔarwaʔ ma jakun

especially the second goal it was magnificent.

In the three examples, 14, 15 (women) and 16 (a man) the switches occur from Arabic to French. What is worth mentioning is that the three speakers use MSA. It seems that in some cases the speakers use Arabic as they feel it is less ambiguous than French.

6. Personalization and objectivization: such function happens when the speaker wants to personalize or objectivize the message depending on the situation. Gumperz (1982) explains that, the switching may serve to distinguish between talking as action in one code (personalization) and talking about action (objectivization). It also serves to show the degree of implication of the speaker. It

means that the switch occurs to show whether he/she is involved (personalization) or takes distance (objectivization).

(17) *Woman*: manəndzəmʃ naʔməl b des préjugés naʔməl le premier pas
We can't act with **prejudices**, we make **the first step**

(18) *Woman*: kunt tkamməl lfilm w məmbaʔd taχdəm ʃwalħak f χaʔrək
You could have finished the film and after you did you work at ease

pour moi c'est faisable wəlla la...
for me it's feasible isn't it ?

(19) *Woman*: ++ nta ʃkun + nta ma maħalluka mina lʔiʔrab
Whom are you. What is your position?
rabbiʔʔak muʃkila wəlla zudʒ təlfətək lqabla
God gave you one or two problems you lost the reason.

In these two examples (17) and (18), the two women switch to French to express personal opinions and their involvement referring to 'personalization'. Contrary to women, the man in example (19) switches from DA to MSA then switches back to DA. The switch refers in this case to objectivization. The speaker seems to take distance when switching to MSA.

Throughout the different examples, it has been shown that Arabic/French CS serves different communicative functions and at the same time reveals some features particular to men's and women's speech. One of the characteristics of the difference between males' and females' speech is that women use more French than men, because they consider French as more prestigious than DA, while men use more MSA in formal or semi-formal contexts. For example, the examples above show that men in some situations avoid the glottal stop [ʔ] considered as effeminate and use [q] like in [qallu] or [lħumaq] instead of [ʔallu] or [lħumaʔ] 'he told him' and 'the madmen'. On the other hand, there is a specific phonetic realization of French /R/

which appears associated with women's use of the language. In fact, while women usually pronounce the uvular standard French [R] as in 'rare', 'raconter', 'radar', 'permis' and 'marché', men tend to avoid it and use the flap form post-alveolar [r]. Apparently, they have a negative attitude towards males using the uvular variant which is associated with feminine speech. Taking the different features particular to gender, the next two sections are devoted to:

1. The amount of French used by men and women when talking;
2. The use of particular phonetic realization of /R/ in men's and women's speech.

3.5.2.3 Amount of Use of French among Men's and Women's Speech

In order to see and understand the frequency of use of Arabic and French among men's and women's speech, Arabic and French occurrences in the whole corpus were counted and the percentage of French and Arabic words used was calculated. It must be said that French borrowings were counted as Algerian Arabic or DA occurrences since they are adapted to the morpho-phonological system of Arabic.

The results are displayed in the table below.

Table 3.9: Amount of Use of French among Men's and Women's Speech.

	Men		Women	
Arabic	289	74.10 %	416	59.34 %
French	101	25.90 %	285	40.66 %
Total	390	100%	701	100%

The overall number of words and expressions is different because women's recorded conversations were longer than men's.

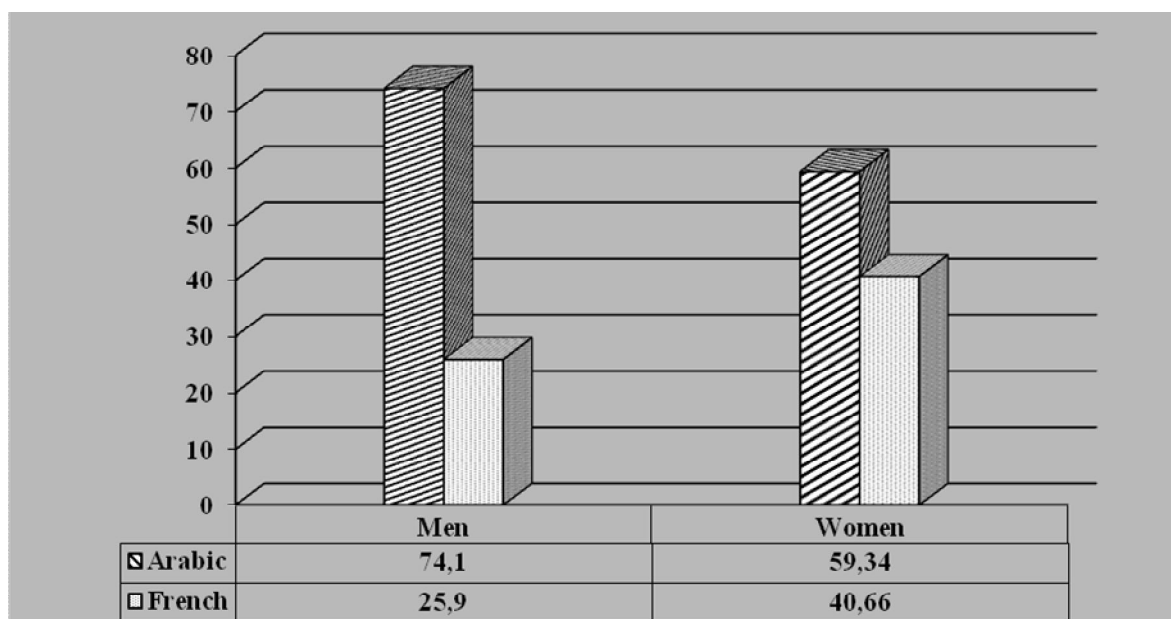


Fig: 3. 10: Amount of Use of French among Men's and Women's Speech.

As expected and confirming the rule, the results show that women are more talkative than men. The results also reveal that the female speakers use more French (40.66 %) as opposed to men (25.9 %). Women seem to consider French as more prestigious than DA, while men use more Standard of Arabic in formal or semi-formal contexts. On the other hand, the high frequency of the use of French among women may be explained by the fact that female speakers have more positive attitudes towards French than men (see Fig: 3.7 and Fig: 3.8).

3.5.2.4 The Uvular Standard French [R] Use in Men's and Women's Speech

The specific phonetic realization of French [R] appears associated with women's use of the language. It is presumed that while in Tlemcen, female speakers are more likely to pronounce the uvular standard French [R] as in 'rare' and 'permis' (driving license), men tend to avoid it and use the non-standard post-alveolar flap [r]. In his work in New York speech, Labov (1966) found that the pronunciation of [r] increased among women because of their language consciousness while it was less important among men. Similarly, Trudgill's (1974) research in Norwich confirmed Labov's findings. In fact, women use less non-standard pronunciation [n] variants of -ing suffix than men. Taking into account Labov's theory of overt and covert prestige, we would expect that women adopt prestigious forms of the language more than men. Thus, women's language use in Tlemcen would contain more overt prestige. The method consists of counting the occurrences of [R] and [r] in the French words containing (r) sound in the corpus of both men and women. The results are displayed below.

Table 3.10: Uvular Standard French [R] Use in Men's Speech.

Men [R] realization	Gloss	Men [r] realization	Gloss
Rien	Nothing	Les Affaires	The affairs
Après	After	Bien sûr	Of course
La Vérité	The truth	Etagère	shelf
		Raté	failure
		Très difficile	Very difficult
		L'arbitre	The referee
		Problème	Problem
		Toujours	Always
		C'est sur	It's sure
		Garage	Garage
		Trois	Three
		Fort	Strong

Table 3.11: Uvular Standard French [R] Use in Women's Speech.

Women [R] realizations	Gloss	Women [r] realization	Gloss
La couleur	The colour	marché	Market
Aubergine	Eggplant	Portail	Portal
Par exemple	For example		
L'appareil	Apparatus		
Une crème hydratante	Moisturizing cream		
La cire	The wax		
Centre	Centre		
Dérmatologue	Dermatologist		
Premier degree	First degree		
Noir	Black		
Gerçure	Crack		
Morte	Dead		
Cire foide	Cold wax		
Sens inverse	Inverse sense		
Séchoir	Hairdryer		
Alors	So		
Parce que	Because		
Faire la manicure	Make the manicure		
Prétexte	Pretext		
Dépression	Nervous breakdown		

The findings reveal that the realizations of the uvular standard French [R] are more important among women than the realizations of post-alveolar [r]. Among 22 words containing /r/ sound, 20 are realised as [R] while only 2 words were realized with [r]. Contrary to women, men avoid the realization of [R] and favour the use of [r]. Among 15 words where /r/ occurs, only 3 are realised with [R] while 12 are realised with [r]. The findings show that women's speech in Tlemcen contains more overt prestige. The high occurrence of [R] among women's speech may be explained by the fact that women seem to be more sensitive to French, a language that is socially valued and considered as modern. In contrast, men's speech shows more covert prestige because of their use of the non-prestigious form [r]. It may be thought that men just carry on using the Arabic [r] while speaking French. The use of French is associated with education and is an identity marker for educated individuals. This supports the view of men as more secure or have less social aspirations, while women are being more likely to have social aspirations and look for upward social mobility. The results for men's and women's use of French seem to confirm Labov's theory that women use more overt prestige than men. At the same time, the results seem to confirm the hypothesis that women's higher use of French, a socially valued language, may be seen as a sign of culture and modernity for the individual as well as a sign of social and professional advancement and success.

3.6 Conclusion

The quantitative analysis has shown that due to the differences in their speech, men and women are expected to have different linguistic behaviours. A comparison between the answers given to the questionnaire shows some interesting points. Men and women have to a certain extent different attitudes towards the existing languages and this affects their language use. The results indicate that the respondents admit using the two languages (Arabic and French) in everyday speech and family conversations MSA and French to achieve tasks (speaking about religion; reading newspaper, writing SMS, etc). The results reveal also that while MSA is also seen as the most logic 56 % and beautiful 52 %, French is considered as the most prestigious, modern and socially valued, especially among women. This confirms Trudgill's (1972) findings. He argues that women are more likely to use more prestigious linguistic forms to secure and signal their social status. The power discrepancies between men and women can be rooted in local economic conditions, employment opportunities, social status, and access to education. Finally, even though Dialectal Arabic is the speakers' mother tongue, it does not hold any attribute like prestige or modernity. The findings seem to corroborate the studies on language attitudes which indicate that logical and status conscious thinking favours the standard language(s) (MSA) while emotions and solidarity favour the use of the dialect (Dialectal Arabic).

However, it should be stated that for a questionnaire to consider all the complexities of men's and women's speech is not an easy task and would take time to be redesigned to add new items. Thus, even if the questionnaire does not pretend to cover all aspects of men's and women's speech, its greatest advantage in the present research was that it provided a lot of background and attitudinal information.

As far as the qualitative analysis is concerned, the recordings and note-taking seem to corroborate the respondents' answers on attitudes and language choice among women in Tlemcen speech community. The results obtained thus were able to give a more complete picture than the questionnaire. The findings of the present study

show that women employ more code switching in daily conversations. The different types of switching occur in their speech. However, it has been noticed that intra-sentential switching is most used. Studies of Spanish-English (Poplack 1980, 1981, etc) on code switching among Puerto Ricans in New York conclude that speakers use code mixing (intra-sentential switching) as a way to emphasize their bilingual/and or bicultural identity. As far as the conversational functions of code switching, it has been shown through examples that switching serves many functions. In fact, it was found that Arabic-French code switching among women's speech fulfils the following conversational factors: quotation, interjection, reiteration, message qualification and emphasizing. It must be said that the functions mentioned here do not pretend to explain every case of switching but to shed light on the most common functions code switching serves among women's speech. Gumperz (1982: 81) explains that the list of function of code switching "although by no means exhaustive, illustrates some common uses of code switching." To conclude, Arabic and French are both present in daily conversations and sometimes some functions overlap in a single switching.

4. GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to examine women's speech in a bilingual community. It has tried to look at the relationship between language and gender from a sociolinguistic perspective. It is important to look locally into gender in order to interpret the language use of women and men in a particular community. Therefore, women's speech in the community of Tlemcen was taken as a case study.

In fact, the language situation in Tlemcen, just like other parts of Algeria, is very complex due the existence of diglossia and bilingualism. Moreover, some important differences as far as the use of the existing languages and language varieties are clearly observable among men and women. The present work is more specifically concerned with French, a socially esteemed variety, towards which male and female speakers tend to behave differently as confirmed in our research work.

In order to deal with such topic, the review of the literature had a crucial role in establishing a general background about language and gender. In addition, language variation according to gender as a sociolinguistic phenomenon has proven to be crucial to the understanding of men's and women's speech differences in Arabic-speaking countries.

The study of the sociolinguistic situation of Tlemcen speech community where the research was carried out has shown that it is on the one hand characterised by some linguistic features (phonological, morphological and lexical) that are particular to the natives; on the other hand, the coexistence of Arabic/French bilingualism has shown that language variation, language attitudes and code choice are closely related to gender.

In order to confirm or invalidate the hypotheses of the present study, data were collected using a questionnaire as well as recordings and note-taking as research instruments. While the questionnaire's results were analysed quantitatively, the data obtained using recordings and note-taking were analysed qualitatively.

The quantitative analysis has shown that men and women adopt different linguistic behaviours. A comparison between the answers given to the questionnaire

shows some interesting points. Mainly, men and women have to a certain extent different attitudes towards the existing languages and this affects their language use. The results seem to confirm hypothesis n° 1 which suggested that in mixed settings involving native and non-native individuals, native women's speech exhibits more features of Tlemcen vernacular than men, a behaviour that makes them more conservative. In fact, quantitatively the use of the glottal stop with natives and non-natives is by far higher among women than men.

The findings have also shown that respondents' attitudes indicate that logical and status conscious thinking favours the standard language(s) (MSA) while emotions and solidarity favour the use of the dialect (Dialectal Arabic). The results indicate that the respondents admit using the two languages mixed to various extent in everyday speech and family conversations while MSA and French are declared to be used to achieve some tasks (speaking about religion; reading newspaper, writing SMS, etc). Still French is considered as the most prestigious, modern and socially valued, especially among women. Such result seems to confirm hypothesis n° 2 that assumes that distinct attitudes towards French can be elicited depending, not only on gender but also on individual's cultural and educational orientations.

As far as the qualitative analysis is concerned, the recordings and note-taking seem to corroborate the respondents' answers on attitudes and language choice among women in Tlemcen speech community. The findings of the present study show that code switching serves conversational functions among both men and women. The results have shown that quantitatively women use more French than men. The high frequency of the use of French among women may be explained by the fact that female speakers have more positive attitudes towards French than men, as they often code switch to achieve personal satisfaction and gain social prestige and recognition. In addition, while women consider French as more prestigious than DA, men tend to use more Standard Arabic in formal or semi-formal contexts. These findings seem to confirm hypothesis n° 3 which presumes that women, more than men, are more likely to attempt to secure and signal their social identity and wish for social advancement

through their use of French, a language seen as prestigious and conferring higher status and success.

The aim of this research work was to try to bring some new information to the field of sociolinguistics and the study of code switching in an Arabic-speaking community. The comparison between men's and women's speech shows that the social status of Arabic-speaking women has changed or is in the process of changing, especially in urban environments where former illiterate housewives have been replaced by young women with certain levels of independence and education. These women have proved to lead linguistic change by using more prestigious forms than men. However, due time constraints and to a relatively small sample of data, the results cannot be generalised to apply to all speech communities in Algeria or in the Arab world.

Even though some of the explanations seem to be possible account for men's and women's speech, they do not pretend to be comprehensive because no single interpretation can be possible. For a better understanding and interpretation of the gender differences in language use in the Arabic speech communities, understanding both the society as whole and its culture are required. On the other hand, language variation is also interconnected with numerous variables, age and education level having the highest impact.

The present research work does not pretend to be comprehensive to cover all aspects of men's and women's speech in Tlemcen or to consider all the complexities of men's and women's speech. We hope to have provided some indications and a background for future sociolinguistic research. Though Arabic/French code switching was the main concern of this research, another interesting language phenomenon for future investigations of research would be to study the phenomenon of Arabic/French borrowing among men's and women's speech in Tlemcen. This may be a fascinating topic for future research.

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APPENDICES

Recording 1

A : automatiquement ki chi ytoul ywelli souloukiyyan c'est-à-dire nwelli hatta fe ssoulouk nta'i . + Fash y bane, nouD 'ayyane, ma'andi **aucun gout**.

B : ana n'ani m *comme dépression dépression après l'accouchement*

A : tanjem taq'ed **dépression** set ayyam *comme* tanjem taq'ed *six semaines* wella *six mois*.

B : djatni **la période** ta' **la grossesse comme un choc**. Kount à **l'aise, bien** memba'd khouft w wellatli **dépression** 'Tatni moukhtassa nafssaniyya **des médicaments**

A : non moukhtassa nafssaniyya mata'Tkch **des médicaments**, l psychiatre houwwa lli ya'Te **les médicaments**

Ana (psychologue) w yyah nakhadmou bezzaf *ensemble, la preuve* qalt mchit 'and *psychologue* w 'Tani ddouwa + *psychologue* ya'Tek Hisass ttafrighat nnafssiyya + *psychiatre* wella *neurologue* 'andou aussi l'ikhtiSSaSS nta'ou. ++ *tu n'as pas supporté le stress* nta' l'accouchement + rani nqoulkoum kherredjou, parlez tkellmou bkiw, c'est-à-dire ma nkelliwch achwa ? dakhiliyya t'attar 'alina + ki mma tkellemat N *c'est vrai le côté esthétique* lakine aldjanib annafssi ki tkoune *la beauté intérieure ça va être psychosomatique li'annouha chi* + li ?annou had chi yewelli 'ala ldjism nta'na ywelli hada tta'ab

Recording 2

A : ykhellTou l Henna bel ma w zit ezzitoun dafya

B: ?etli medditha (la recette) ?ettelha ma medditch+ yla ‘ameletha *aubergibe sur des cheveux très clarie* mayekhredjlhach ennalhoum *la couleur* fo? *nnoir aubergine* w kayen *chatain violet voilà* kamel hadou yekhredjelhoum marron

C: ?atlak siyyatha ma kherdjethach *sur les cheveux noir*

B : min hagda madabina *la cliente* nchoufouha w n ?oulelhoum beddi Hna lHadja lli mana’rfouhach w mana’amlouhach ma n ?oulouhach

++ La chute ki tkoun mel *premier degré* yddawa wyla kan bezzaf surtout mel ?eddam ymchi ‘and *ddermatologue*

C : kimma *par exmaples les gerçures* tHouk redjliha bel Hadjra ki rredjline ykounou Triyyin bel ma + ssema hadouk les cellules mortes ykounou Triyyin + alors hna tastarmel lvasline we ta’mal l ?echarat nta’ l ?eten (cotton) bach ma twaSSakhech ?enn’ala

+++ madabik ta’lem lle bachra nta’ak *une crème hydratante, une crème* lli tghaddi l bachara nta’ek + w kayen waHda ttaSlet biyya w ?atli ‘eTeni Tariqat ?isti’mal *la cire* ++ kifach yssta’mlou la cire ?

+ kayen la cire chaude ta’amlouha f la peau wtneHHiwha byeddikoum matneHHiwhach bel papier lli ‘andha l’appareil t’ad tHottha fe l’appareil nta’ha + w kayen la cire froide tanba’ ‘and l cosmetique ma’eroufa voilà nsekhnouha b séchoire alors ntab’ou le sens du poil wneHHiw le sens inverse, le contraire khaSna ndjebdou la peau parce que loukan ma tadjebbedch la peau yewweq’ou les hématome kemma par exemple inaudible

B : wellah fe centre kik t ?arrehoum hadi l’esthétique

C : yih kemma par exemple la façon de démaquiller w la façon de faire la manicure kifach tlimiw

++ kayen lli ‘andhoum **bashara chaHiba la peau terne + fatiguée**+ hadou na’Tihoum gommage naturelle ya’’amlou louz maTHoune poudre d’amande wella m’il?a kbira nta’ noix de coco maTHoune plus lyaourt + bon yHoukkou bih lbachra nta’houm w kayen une recette waHdoukhra + tarrafdou **l’huile d’olive** wella talwa nta’ l ?ahwa alors ki TTiyeb l ?ahwa nta’ha ki tab?alha hadik ?ettalwa tlayemha w tzid m’aha chwiyya nta’ essekkour w ta’mel biha l **gommage** nta’ha

A : ?ana kount ssma’t **un gommage** nta’ **l’huile d’olive** m’a ssekkour

C : yih hadi tani mliHa + ‘andi **une recette** waHdoukhra tarrafdou **l’huile d’olive** m’a ttalwa nta’ l ?ahwa w tzidou m’ahoum chwiyya sekkour

A : ttalwa **même elle raffine la peau**

C : **même par exemple** nssa nta’ bekri kanou ki ynouD lhoum boudebbaH ya’’amlou l ?ahwa **en poudre mais attention** n?oul lli diabétiques maya’’amlouche

D : llah ykhellik rani nHawws ‘la **l’esthéticienne** w **la coiffeuse**

B : yla kanat Hadja khfifa na’Tewha **tout ce qui est recette naturelle mais** wella chefna hadja waHdekhra mana’arfouhache n?ouloulha **il faut voir un médecin** Hna **des fois les injections w les gélules** lli na’Tewhoum lhoum kamel mina l ' ?a’chab fahad l a’chab mayderrouch bel4aks yzidou ynf’ou Hna had echchi ?rinah w had echchi ‘melnah w fewwetnah had echchi maHnach nmeddouh m rissanna had echchi ?rinah **avec des diplômes** **mais** man?addouche tani na’’mlou **travail** nta’ l **médecin**

B : **d’accord**, kanet waHda Sa?Satni ‘la Ha **la recette** ta’ **les bananes** + ta’mel kammiyya ta’ **bananes en poudre** w tzid l djeldjelane w le moment lli tdji ta’melha tkhallTou w tzid zit l djeldjelane **soit** ta’melha **comme un masque** **soit** ta’melha après toukhselha ++ yla b?anna l ?oukht l wa?t n?ouloulek **une recette** waHdoukhra

Recording 3 :

H : naHnou natakallam ‘abi nnadjaH bi ‘dhni llah wa qabla dhalika ?ouridou an atakallam ‘ani ba’D ennadjiHine lli chefthoum hadi khmeStach lyoum wa ‘ouridou ?an ?ataqaddam bi taHiyyati ?la ?oustadhati llati ?oukinnou laha l?iHtiram wa ttaqdir fa taHiyya khaliSa laha wa li koulli ‘a?ilatoha

++ nabdaw fel mawDo’ nta’na Bill Gates khda dirassat ‘oulya qallek nekhourdjou wnTabqou chchi lli na’arfouh chchi lli fi rassi hada Bill Gates w SSadiq nta’ou kan ‘andhoum ghrfa fel djami’a w koulchi ykhelSoh ‘ala khaTer etta’lim f amrica machi baTel fama kanch ‘andou bach ykhalleS l ghorfa nta’ou houwwa w zamilou...

Ya’ni lamma sa?lou Edisson qallou wach rak Hab qallou **?ouridou ?an adi’ala layla l’alami naharan** qallou llah yehdik nta ‘andek zoudj sslouka raha talfetlak fihoum w rak teHlem + fih riwaya SaHiHa men bentou qaletlou ?assam rak ta’mel ?abba melli ‘areftak wentina f hadel garage + rik ghi tsiyyi tsiyyi + faqalha **?ana moSerron ‘ala rrou?ya ?a ?iktachaftou rrou?ya**

++ mathalan lamma lHabib Salla llahou ‘alayhi wasallama hbeT ?ila TTa?if wassem daroulou zafTolo lHomaq yqaysoh bel Hedjer...

+ chouf chouf ssira kifach waHna nkherdjou menha ?adawat linnadjaH Hna ssira kamel ‘andna maHToTa fel **étagères**...

+ ?ana lamma ssa ?louni Halmarra man ?adhka nnas qeltoulhoum les etageres fel ‘alam l’arabi fa hiyya toukhazzen l ?afkar lli naHtadjou qera?atha, dommage makanche kifache nkherdjou had l ?afkar lel ?asef + ?ana rabbi khlaqni f had ddenya bache nendjaH w ‘Tani namadidj minhoum qeSaS mina l qor’an w ‘Tani namadidj mina lHabib Salla llahou ‘alayhi wa sellam

++ nta chkoun nta **ma maHallouka mina l ?i’rab**, rabbi ‘Tak mouchkila wella zoudj talfatlak l qabla

++ madjmou’ ?ikhtira’at isra’il fi sana wahida houwwa ,akbar bi kakhir min madjmou’ ?ikhtira’at tnine w ‘ouchrine dawla ‘arabiyya moujtami’a fi talat sanawat **trois ans**
+++ tnine w ‘ouchrine dawla ‘arabiyya isra ‘il fatathoum f el? Ikhrira-at

Recording 4

A : manadjemch na'mal b **des préjugers** n'mal **le premier pas** wna natkalle **toujours** 'ala **la communication visuelle** ++ **parce que c'est** khtou

+++ kalimat lli **impossible** ?insan yessma'ha w mayenhazzch l kayan nta'ou **mais** ?ana nqoulilha khash ykoun 'andek l **courage** + ssamHouli 'ala had l'ibara lli tqol **etre trop bon** **c'est être trop con ça veut dire** manamHich chcha khSiyya nta'i b ach narDi nnas makanche **la reconnaissance** ?ana nqolelha **stop ça y est** matkhllihach forSa DaDamrak yla rik f darkom wella **en voiture** roH lmmak w ?oulha smaHli

Recording 5

Wella 'adam l kitaba **carrement** + **généralement** hadou l?aTfal khaShoum moutaba'a wa takaffoul nafsi **une prise en charge psychologique** + na'mal **les mains et les pieds** bach nwassalelha lfikra + chouf 'la **le mode de vie c'est-à-dire** Tariqat l kalam takhtalif **la façon de lui parler** takhtalef +

TRANSCRIPTION OF NOTE-TAKING

Extract 1: two women

A : Majkhouch **les parents** ykhebbiw ala wladhoum. W yli? J?ouloulhoum **toute la vérité, surtout surtout** ki jwaSlu **à un certain âge**.

B : ‘aliha kount n ?oulhoum, ghi tabda tafham ?ouloulha, **mais** rik ‘arfa +iywa ‘ala Hssabhoum + **mais tu penses qu’ils vont le faire**

C : **ah, je ne sais pas c’est pas facile**

A : **bon**, rik ‘arfa ki takber fe **le mensonge c’est très difficile après** bash yet tat?abbel **la vérité**.

B : hdarna m’ahom, **mais tu sais comment ils sont**

en plus + la dernière foi ?atli ghi matahdroush m’aha + c’est à nous de le faire

A : **enfin** yedebberou rasshom mem ba’d, yla kabrat w ‘arfat belli ghi mrabyenha.

B : **tu sais c’est pas la première fois** lli reha tasra hagda

A : **mais c’est très dure** ‘liha hijja meskina lli sghira

B : **c’est pas facile** ‘aliha meskina lli mrabyetha Hatta hijja tanDarr

A : elmouhim khashshom ydebrou **une solution et rapidement**.

Extract 2: three men

A : rahom ghi yakkadbou ‘alina, hadu l Hzab ghi yahdru ‘ala baTel+ **c’est pour rien** Wkamel tSibhom ydjriw ghi ‘ala lkoursi.

B : loukan ghi yessegmou el bled ma’lish... ☺

A : ssiyassa wa’ra eyya ‘efna m la **politique**

B : wallah ‘andak ssaH fiha ghi tkssar erras ☺

A**et en plus rien va changer** douk tchouf + **tu vas voir**

B : **c’est sûr**, beSSaH ghi Hna nahderou....

A : **mais** ‘alabakek... (☺)

C : rikoum taHkiw + **comme d’habitude la politique**

A: **oui comme d’habitude** + ‘efna menuu Hki

B: makan walou ghi lhadra **et en plus...**(☺)

C : **comme toujours**

Extract 3: 2 women

A :.....(missing) fewwetna ‘chiyya **magnifique on a défoulé**

B : **il faut sortir de temps en temps w machi tous les jours la même chose c’est ennuyeux à la fin mais** ‘ala balek **avec les enfants** chouf lhada w lakhor c **un problème.**

A : **c’est vrai, mais** loukan tssa’af rassek ma tekhroudjch

B : Ah wellah lla ‘andak l Ha? **W en plus** ma tffi?ch bel wa ?t ki yfout m’a **les enfants**

A : **c’est vraiment**(☺)

B : w **je te dis une chose les enfants** ghi **un prétexte** mouwa ki teHeb t *organizi* khardja **c’est facile**

A : **Enfin** ‘andak essaH HattaHna nHebbou *ncomplikiw* **la vie.**

Extract 4: two men

A : tfarradjet ghi **la mi-temps** zawdja w ‘ada machi kamla.

B : ‘alache fayen kount

A : Madkhaletch bekri w kan ‘andi Ha Swalah na’malhoum w ma kanouche eddrari fe ddar kount bHadi.

B: ha kount tkammel lmatch w memba’d takhdam swalHak f khatrek....

A: **déjà** ma’djebnich **l’image** w **signal** ye mchi

B : ‘alach...

A : **la tête** makanetch *mfixja* mliH + w l mouhim rabHou

B : bessaH Hatta l *partijja* kanat chabba *ratet surtout le deuxième* *but* kan min ?arwa’ ma *yakoun*

Extract 5:

A : el baRah yla t ?oul ‘ayyet Ha ‘achra khetrat ?lila

B: makounnach fe ddar

A: fayen kountou

B: kounna ‘and Meriem

A: ‘lach ghi mchitou tchoufouhoum

B : mchina lbaraH ‘andhoum nchoufoulhoum eddar ‘ala khaTer raHlo **ça fait déjà trois mois.**

A : chetti chetti loukan ghi ?etli Hattana nemchi m’akoum

B : Ewa djathom Ha ddar taghwi **très jolie** fiha zoudj Tab?at w Ha **jardin** ‘addach kbir.

A : msaHHathoum ... (☺)

B : ‘alhoum Djamel had e **jardin** ghi ta’ l **barbecue**

Extract 6: three women

A : rahom ghi yakkadbou ‘alina, les prix huma huma makansh kamel les soldes.

B : loukan ghi y?ulunna SSaH ma nagu’douch nssennaw

A : *tu sais c’est une politique* + Hattahuma bel’ani bash ennas yechriw

B : Hna ma’andnach *la culture* nta’ essolde

A hadik ki tab ?alhum essel’a y ?ullek raHna mashjen nSoldewha

B : ana ba’da mang’oudsh nessenna + ki te’djebni Hadja nemsh neshriha

A : **c’est sûr**, beSSaH ghi Hna nahderou....

B : **mais** ‘alabakek ...

C : *c’est bon* rani wellit, ‘alach rikoum taHkiw

A: ‘ala *les soldes*

B: *non* makan walou ghi lhadra **et en plus...**

C : *comme toujours* + SwalaH shabbine maySoldewhumsh

Extract 7: two women

A : tfarradjet ghi m'a ttali machi kamla. Mashtsh kamel ?assem Sra

B : 'alache fayen kount

A : kan 'andi Ha Swalah na'malhoum w ma makemmelsh bekri.

B: kount tkammel lfilm w memba'd takhdam swalHak f khatrek **pour moi c'est faisable** wella la....

A: *déjà* ma bditch bekri *et en plus* mashetsh ?ssa'a + ki shettha kan bda

B : *c'est pas vrai*

A : ssa'a nta' *la cuisine* ki tkoun mreyyDa tatilefli

B : beddelelha *la pile c'est facile* machi Hadja wa'ra

الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة في السانثيات الاجتماعية إلى وصف السلوك اللغوي في خطاب المرأة في مجتمع تلمسان. يحاول الفصل الأول أن يناقش بعض مفاهيم الاتصال بين اللغات، العربية والفرنسية، والظواهر اللغوية التي تنتج عن ذلك. باستعمال منهجية تعتمد على تقنيات متنوعة لجمع البيانات، يبين هذا البحث أن خلال التفاعلات اللغوية تستخدم المرأة التلمسانية أشكالاً من اللغة الفرنسية الراقية، ومن ناحية أخرى يظهر أن استعمال التحول اللغوي بين العربية والفرنسية هو بمثابة استراتيجية لها دوافع وظيفة اجتماعية .

الكلمات المفتاحية : ثنائية اللغة - التحول اللغوي - الجنس - ازدواج اللسان. -

Résumé

Cette étude qui s'inscrit dans le domaine de la sociolinguistique a pour but de décrire et d'examiner le comportement langagier bilingue arabe/français des femmes dans la communauté linguistique de Tlemcen. Le travail essaye tout d'abord de discuter quelques concepts du contact des langues arabe/français et les phénomènes langagiers qui en résultent. A travers une méthodologie qui s'appuie sur diverses techniques de recueil de données, ce travail montre que lors des interactions les femmes de la communauté de Tlemcen utilisent les formes prestigieuses de la langue. D'autre part, l'usage de l'alternance codique est stratégique dans le sens où les choix langagiers sont motivés et ont une fonction sociale.

Mots clés : bilinguisme, alternance codique, parler bilingue, sexe, diglossia.

Summary

The present work falls in the field of the sociolinguistics and aims at describing and examining Arabic/French bilingual linguistic behaviour among women in the speech community of Tlemcen. The research tries first of all to discuss some concepts of the Arabic/French language contact and the linguistic phenomena which result from it. By means of a methodology which uses different techniques for data collection, it shows that during the interactions, Tlemcen women use prestigious forms of the language. On the other hand, the use of code switching is strategic in the sense that the linguistic choices are motivated and have a social function.

Key words: bilingualism, code switching, bilingual speech, gender, diglossia.