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Males' and Females' Voice quality in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic:
A Community of Practice Perspective

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For the past forty years or so, sociolinguistics has explored many aspects related to how gender and language interact. Within speech community based sociolinguistics, issues of gender emerged as the study of sex differences in which the focus of analysis was the quantifiable differences between women's and men's use of particular linguistic variables. There was a tendency to represent masculinity and femininity as a gender "binary" with specific emphasis on the deficit model of analysis that portrays women in negative ways and men in positive ways.

However and contrary to the traditional binary view of masculinity and femininity, the central theme running through this dissertation is that language use with all its components is one important means by which gender – an ongoing social process – is enacted or constructed; gender is something individuals do, in part, through linguistic choices as opposed to something individuals are or have as advocated in the speech community based sociolinguistics.

A biological sex and a social or a socialised gender within a given speech community is inadequate if agency and diversity are to be properly acknowledged and if crucially language is seen as shaping or more constructing gender, not simply as a characteristic of it. It then becomes evident that variations namely, within a single gender and within a single speaker need to be investigated not in terms of fixedness but as a practice in a specific context which, amounts to looking at situated or local meanings, i.e. those meanings assigned by participants within a given context to a given set of contextual features. This is convincingly shown in the Community of Practice framework, according to which identities and discourses develop in a community of practice. The latter is used here to analyse the voice qualities to convey linguistic practices associated with an identity of women and men in Mostaganem (so far unexamined) and to illustrate the manner in which members of two local communities females and males negotiate gender through linguistic practice. It details a current research into females and males teachers and trainee teachers as two separate communities of practice focussing on locally defined identities as constructed through interactions.

It investigates varied voice qualities, which emerge from the mutual engagement of females and males evolving in one Algerian city. Specifically, it aims to locate the symbolic meaning and interpretation of the array of voice qualities as practices and interactional strategies observed in their relation to identity construction , and understand, through direct engagement with participant how their use constructs locally meaningful categories or joint interpretations of self.

Rather than all conforming to one standard ideal, Mostaganem females and males use stylized voice types and employ a variety of possible pitch ranges, and other voice quality features. Within the same speaker of either sex, some voice types are indeed high-pitched, cute and thin whereas others are low pitched, authoritative and thick subverting traditional notions of Mostaganem femininity and masculinity.

خلال الأربعين سنة الماضية أو نحو ذلك، استكشف علم الاجتماع اللغوي العديد من الجوانب المتعلقة بتفاعل اللغة و الأسلوب و مفهوم الذكورة و الأنوثة.و في هذا المجال هناك العديد من الدراسات التي تقدم تحليلات غاية في الأهمية.

كما ظهرت دراسة الاختلافات اللغوية بين الذكور و الإناث و القابلة للقياس باستخدام المتغيرات اللغوية على أساس الثنائية لكن هذا النموذج المبني على الثنائية و الذي يصور المرأة على نحو سلبي و الرجل على نحو ايجابي اثبت عجزه في الخوض في تلك المتغيرات اللغوية عند نفس الجنس خلافا لهذه النظرة التقليدية لمفهومي الذكورة و الأنوثة فإن الموضوع الرئيسي لهذه الأطروحة هو أن استخدام اللغة مع جميع مكوناتها أمرا في غاية الأهمية يتم من خلاله بناء هوية الذكر و الأنثى بصفة مستمرة في الزمان و المكان. إن بناء هوية الجنسين عملية مستمرة يقوم بها الأفراد على أساس الخيارات اللغوية لا على أساس أن الهوية مكتسبة كما أسس لذلك دعاة علم الاجتماع اللغوي الكلاسيكي..إن دراسة الهوية على أساس الجنس البيولوجي أو على أساس أنها حتميا مكتسبة من المجتمع غير كافية إدا ما أخد التنوع كسمة من سمات بناء الهوية و من ثم يصبح من الواضح أن أي اختلاف ضمن الجنس الواحد و الشخص الواحد تحتاج إلى دراسة معمقة لا على أساس الثبات في سمات الشخصية و لكن على أساس التغيير و مجموع الممارسات.. في إطار مفهوم الممارسة و وفقا للهويات و الخطابات التي تظهر جليا في الجنسين استخدمنا مفهوم الممارسة كإطار لتحليل النبرة و نوعية الصوت عند النساء و الرجال في "مستغانم" . تبين نتائج البحث أن ممارسات الذكور و الإناث في مجتمع الممارسات في "مستغانم" ليست مطابقة لمستوى مثالي واحد و إن الذكور و الإناث في "مستغانم" يستعملون أساليب صوتية متباينة و نبرات مختلفة تتغير داخل نفس الفرد المتكلم من أي من الجنسين متحديا بدلك المفهوم التقليدي للذكورة و الأنوثة في "مستغانم".

Consonants	**MTG**	**English translation**
-b	b≅rd	Cold
-t	tæb	He repented
-d	dxal	He entered
-k	km≅l	It finished
-g	guffa	Market basket
-q	qla	He fried
-m	mra	A woman
-n	nsa	He forgot
-r	raħ	He left
-f	fham	He understood
-s	sraq	He stole
-z	zraq	Blue
-ʃ	ʃi:x	Teacher
-d	dZa	He came
-x	xard≅t	She went out
-Γ	Γalı	Expensive
-ħ	ħi:t	A wall
-∂	∂arf≅t	She knew
-h	hua	He
-l	læz≅m	Must
-j	j≅d	Hand
-w	w≅ld	Son
-t	tal	He had a look
-d	dal	Shadow
-s	sa:b	He found

1. **MTG:** Mostaganem Spoken Arabic.

2. **Cofp** : Community of practice

2. **F:** Frequency.

3. **Fo:** Fundamental Frequency

4. **F-F:** Formant frequency.

5. **F1,F2:** The first formant, the second formant.

6. **Cps:** Cycle per second.

7. **Hz:** Hertz.

8. **dB:** Decibel.

9. **T:** Period.

10. **TA:** Tlemcen Arabic

Bar graph.1: The Mean Average of Frequency in Hertz of Males' and Females' /a:-a:/ after Emphatic/Non-Emphatic Consonants.

Bar graph.2: The Mean Average of Frequency in Hertz of Males' and Females' /a-a/ after Emphatic/Non-Emphatic Consonants.

Bar graph.3: The Mean Average of Frequency in Hertz of Males' and Females' /i:-i:/ after Emphatic/Non-Emphatic Consonants.

Bar graph 4: The frequencies in Hertz of F1 and F2 of the vowel /a/ as pronounced by 4 females with an authoritative voice quality.

Bar graph 5: The frequencies in Hertz of F1 and F2 of the vowel /a/ and /i:/ as pronounced by 5 males with a submissive voice quality.

***Appendix 1*:** Wasp SFS help file.

Appendix 2: The spectrograms used for the analysis of emphatic/non
emphatic Sounds and authority/submissiveness in males
and females.

Appendix 3: Voice identification (French version).

Appendix 4: Characteristics of voice quality (French version).

Appendix 5: Questionnaire (French version).

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Bar graph 5: The frequencies in Hertz of F1 and F2 of the vowel /a/ and /i:/ as pronounced by 5 males with a submissive voice quality.

Vowels	*MTG*	*English translation*
-i	imam	imam
-i:	kbi:r	Big
-≅	radZ≅l	Man
-æ	tæb	He repented
-a	mra	Woman
-a:	ra:ħ	He left
-o:	so:f	Wool
-u:	ku:n	If
-au	dau	Light
-ai	xi:t	Thread
-ei	meida	Table

N.B: The above list includes MTG phonetic symbols used throughout this dissertation.

Contents

Chapter I: Early Gender and Language Studies

"Gender and Language" is a diverse and rapidly developing field, which has been appealing to academic curiosity. The fact that humanities and social sciences have turned to language together with the impact of critical linguistics and discourse analysis have contributed to a reframing of gender and language studies. Our dissertation provides a broad overview of one of the key issues and questions, that of voice quality, a phonetic dimension of language use, and suggests that voice quality in females and males constitutes one of the more interesting practices through which individuals "do gender" while at the same time construct their identities as females and males and meet their communities of practice expectations.

It introduces theoretical concepts and frameworks and illustrates and exemplifies the relationships between gender and language use by looking at specific texts (mainly spoken in our context) in specific contexts/situatedness. In this dissertation, the word text is used to refer to spoken language, as we are dealing with voice quality contrary to text, which "can exist physically" (Litosseliti, 2006) for instance, a transcript of dialogue or a newspaper article.

A central theme running through this dissertation is that language use with all its components is one important means by which gender – an ongoing social process – is enacted or constructed; gender is something individuals do, in part, through linguistic choices as opposed to something individuals are or have (west and Zimmerman 1987) – Gender as used, in this dissertation, is not a grammatical category but rather a social category)

If sex relates to a biological and generally binary distinction between female and male; gender, linguists acknowledge, refers to *"the social behaviours, expectations and attitudes associated with being male and female"*. *"It is a social system which defines subjects as men and women and governs the relationship between them"* (Cameron, 2003). By this token, gender is both social and individual

but also variable. It varies from one generation to the next, from one situation to another and among language users who belong to the same or different groups in terms of sex, sexuality, education power and power relations.

Research on the relationship between gender and language from the 1960's has been prolific, varied and diverse; therefore, before dealing with voice quality as a phonetic phenomenon, which seems sensitive to gender construction and practice, it is necessary to provide some background on how theories of language and gender have evolved from what has come to be called traditional sociolinguistics to the social practice theory.

For the past forty years or so, sociolinguistics explored many different aspects related to the way and manner gender and language interact. There are now numerous books and articles offering invaluable analyses of the question. Within traditional sociolinguistics, issues of gender emerged primarily as the study of sex differences in which the focus of analysis was the quantifiable differences between women's and men's use of particular linguistic variables. These include Sexist, heterosexists and racist language, interruptions, graffiti and street remarks, names and forms of address, politeness and language contact, metaphors, intonation, emotional expressiveness, women's modes of expression in political rhetoric (Eckert 1992) and so forth.

In the 1970's and 80's, most concern with language and gender fell broadly into the attempt to explain "*the linguistic phenomena that seem sensitive to gender in terms of a quite general feature of gender identities and relations*" (Eckert & Ginet 1992:461)., Among the central ones can be thought of those emphasizing gender difference (especially as a component of gender identities and men's dominance (especially as a component of gender relations ibid). Two seminal books

"Language and Sex – Difference and Dominance".(Thorne and Henley, 1975) and " Language and Women's Place" (Lakoff 1975) highlighted these two modes of explanation the main concern of which was to expose male's dominance in all its linguistic forms and to re-evaluate any gender differences as cultural differences (hence, the critical dominance approach exemplified by Fishman, (1983) and west and Zimmerman (1983) while cultural differences were best exemplified by Maltz and Borker (1982).

In these two different but both feminist approaches to language and gender, there was a tendency to represent masculinity and femininity as a gender "binary" with specific emphasis on the deficit model of analysis that portrays women in negative ways. According to feminist researchers, this was part of a more political climate. To emphasise on exposing patriarchy was being extended to language. Thus, an interest in exposing prejudice in the language became outstanding (e.g. generics, lexical items in language, verbal hassle everyday interaction in language use, as will be discussed in chapter 1). Even those who criticised gender representation either in the English language or in other languages as an abstract system, like the male dominance theorists (Barry Thorne and Lakoff and so forth) of gendered language use adopted a feminist approach form. First, some grammatical uses rendered women relatively invisible through the masculine "generics" such as "he" man and" chairman' in English, chauffeur, professeur, docteur in French and Algerian Arabic.

Secondly, there were words in the lexicon which represented women in a trivial or stereotypical manner (a blonde, manageress, maitresse) for which alternatives are being suggested and thirdly still other lexical items have served to degrade women (bitch – tart).

Running parallel to the above mentioned views were attempts to create and campaigns to use "inclusive" alternative, "non sexist" language for instance, the choice of neutral terms as chairperson instead of chairman, statesperson instead of statesman added to the feminisation of some words in French – chercheuse, auteure, ecrivaine (to be discussed in chapter 1).

In the 1990's, both dominance theories and difference theories came under attack from feminist and linguistic perspectives. The idea of "gender differences" in language use was criticised for several reasons. It underplayed the importance of context variation and what Eckert and Mc Connell – Ginet (1992) coined as "intra group differences and inter group overlap" (the groups here being women and men). The idea of "gender differences" was conservative in terms of rooting out differences rather than investigating and acknowledging similarities. It inherently represented gender (masculinity and femininity) in binary opposition, which as Deborah Cameron (1992) pointed out, is something that "vive la difference" proponents also love to do.

Further, the idea of differences seemed, sometimes, to be put forward as a form of cultural determinism; the implication being that the way women and men spoke was shaped by whether they were female or male (litosseliti 2006). This rendered gender the equivalent of sex, and made it appear to be a convenient independent sociolinguistic variable like age or race (ibid). Not only did this imply fixedness, with little or no place for human agency, it also suggested a one-way "gender then language" process (ibid). In other words, it is the sex/gender of the speaker that determines language use. This approach based on difference has not enhanced the possibility of viewing "language shaping gender" (Sunderland and litosseliti 2002). During the last decades, the notion of "language as sexist" has almost disappeared from gender studies. It was realized that a word could not

unproblematically be derided as sexist since it could in principle, be reclaimed by a given speech community, the word "queer" in English, for instance, is not determined by sex but rather by practice. Similarly, a superficially gender neutral word such as "people" could be used in a sexist way. Hence in an article in "The Independent" (05/11/90), for instance, it was written "The commons were popular with many locals. People took picnics, walked out   with their girls picked blue belles and prim roses in season" (Cameron 1994). The lexeme "people" in the above quotation is neither sexist nor inclusive of women even though it is supposed to be. The word "people" in this context is sexist; it exclusively, refers to men. Additionally, it is assumed that identification of sexist words did not allow for the fact that these could be used ironically or in other non – literal ways (Queen, lady – aunt) or that both sexist and non-sexist words could be interpreted in a whole range of ways (ibid) Interestingly, the identification of linguistic sexism did allow for "*theorising linguistic agency, in form of language shaping thinking*" (Sunderland and litosseliti 2002: 5). It also allowed for "*individual and collective agency, in the form of conscious promotion of non-sexist and gender inclusive language*" (ibid). However, it underplayed the possibility of resistance to sexist language and continued to view it on a binary basis.

One reason for the problematic nature of early language and gender studies was that for a long time even feminist linguistics tended to follow understandings of gender as "*the culturally shaped group attributes given to the female or to the male*" (Humm 1998:84). These attributes as will be discussed thoroughly, in the coming chapters, are fixed and determined by and deep – rooted in the speech community. Problems with this now seem manifold – who is speaking? How? How do the "recipients respond", are "the female" and "the male" actually monolithic categories?

A biological sex and a social or a socialised gender within a given speech community is now, according to many gender researchers, as inadequate if agency and diversity are to be properly acknowledged and if crucially language is seen as shaping or more constructing gender, not simply as a characteristic of it. It then became evident that variations namely, within a single gender and within a single speaker need to be investigated not in terms of fixedness as in a speech community based view but as a practice in a specific context, which, amounts to looking at situated or local meanings, i.e. those meanings assigned by participants within in a given context to a given set of contextual features. This is convincingly shown in Eckert's and McConnell – Ginet's Community of practice framework, according to which identities and discourses develop in a community of practice. A community of practice is a concept different in several ways from a speech community (and which we will adopt throughout this dissertation for voice analysis). The notion of community of practice is very interesting for the analysis of females and males language. Bucholtz states that:

> *Its introduction into sociolinguistics is an important development in*
> *the field. The community of practice provides a useful alternative to*
> *the speech community model, which has limitations for language*
> *and gender research in particular. As an ethnographic activity*
> *based approach, the community of practice is of special value to*
> *researchers in language and gender because of its compatibility*
> *with current theories of identity.*
>
> *(Bucholtz, 1999: 203)*

A community of practice as a framework defines the multiplicity of identities in terms of fluidity and flexibility not in terms of fixedness and binary opposition having their source in the   social categories but rather as individuals' "*sense of self as women and men*" (Lave and Wenger, 1991:12). This is the reason why emphasis in gender and language study is increasingly put on particular communities of practice. A community of practice is

> *An aggregate of people who come together around mutual*
> *engagement in an endeavour, ways of doing things, ways*
> *of talking beliefs, values, power relations, in short practices*
> *emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour.*

(Eckert and McConnell- Ginet 1992:470)

A community of practice is defined simultaneously by "*its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages*" (ibid). And "*mutual engagement*", a "*joint enterprise*" and "*a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated overtime*" are key elements of such a community (Lave and Wenger 1991:76).The inadequacies of the speech community model are overcome in the theory of the community of practice, confess scholars working on language and gender.

The community of practice framework is used in our dissertation to analyse the voice qualities to convey linguistic practices associated with an identity of women and men in Mostaganem (so far unexamined) and to illustrate the manner in which members of two local communities of Mostaganem females and males negotiate gender through linguistic practice. It details a current research into females

and males teachers and trainee teachers as two separate cofp focussing on locally defined identities as constructed through interactions. It investigates varied voice qualities, which emerge from the mutual engagement of females and males evolving in one Algerian city. Specifically, it aims to locate the symbolic meaning and interpretation of the wide array of the voice qualities as practices and interactional strategies observed in their relation to identity construction , and understand, through direct engagement with participant how their use constructs locally meaningful categories or joint interpretations of self.

Our dissertation challenges the phonetic approaches that view voice quality as anatomically determined only by putting forward data demonstrating the choice and the mutual negotiation of practices and their meanings in order to collaboratively construct a group's social identity. By considering stylistic and sociolinguistic variations in voice qualities within our female/male communities, we further challenge approaches placing speakers in homogeneous categories in terms of their gender.

Our dissertation considers the acoustic stylistic variations in voice quality for the first time in Mostaganem community , but also contributes more generally to current research, which considers identity to be emergent in interaction. In particular it tests contemporary frameworks of identity and identity analysis. Through observation of the self positioning of cofp members and an understanding of the "symbolic meaning" behind the voice qualities implemented to express these stances, it will be possible, then, to provide coherent analyses of how contextually specific identity categories are constructed by the participants, who contribute in the experiments and how the communities females and males are worked or reproduced.

In fact femininity and masculinity have been a popular area of study in the field of language and gender. Much has been made of women's language, the

grammar and expressions associated with female speech. Female 'cuteness', voice thinness, softness and male voice harshness, thickness and roughness have also been subject to academic scrutiny (Kinsella 1995, Miller 2004). However, we have found most accounts of female and male voices to be unsatisfactory. The common claim that the ideal female voice is high-pitched and cute and the ideal male voice is low pitched and rough, (Kristof 1995), does not capture the range of styles available to women and men. Moving beyond high pitch and low pitch, it is apparent that there is more than one way of performing femininity and masculinity. Our dissertation follows recent critiques of the discourse surroundings in presenting alternate ways of being feminine or being masculine. In this dissertation, we focus on voice quality features of extreme, prototypical style of speech as they are used by males and females in Mostaganem community.

Rather than all conforming to one standard ideal, Mostaganem females and males use stylized voice types and employ a variety of possible pitch ranges, and other voice quality features. Within the same speaker of either sex, some voice types are indeed high-pitched, cute and thin whereas others are low pitched, authoritative and thick subverting traditional notions of Mostaganem femininity and masculinity. Here we focus on an array, though limited, of a sample of cute and non-cute stylized voice type which we dub soft, fat, thick, thin, authoritative and submissive voice. These voice qualities are prevalent in many everyday interactions of both females and males. They stand as linguistic strategies used in the display of the *"multiplicity of experiences of gender practice"* (Eckert and McConnell -Ginet 2003: 47)

Our interest in voice quality grows out of current sociolinguists work in the field of the gender identity (ies) construction. It is true, much research has been done in this field; however the most remarkable perspectives are about linguistic practices observed in males and females in their identity display. These practices are often

lexical, grammatical, stylistic or phonological. A view of the interaction of gender and voice qualities of females and males, which root each in the every day social practices of particular communities and sees them as jointly constructed in those practices, is sparse.

It is often the case that much work has been devoted to male/female language on the basis of the vocabulary, the grammar and the phonology which are more likely to occur in discourse, more frequently in one sex than in the other. Nevertheless, the way voice quality has been dealt with denotes neglect of the relation between shifts in voice quality and those social circumstances where it is adopted.

In our dissertation, we argue that voice qualities and gender are not to be discussed as simply a phonetic manifestation in terms of differential linguistic behaviour of females and males as two distinct groups; we need to be able to analyse the various phonetic   strategies which gendered women and men adopt in particular circumstances and with particular goals and interest. Drawing on the work of Judith Butler, particularly the notion of perfomativity (Butler, 1990, 1993, 1997), we view voice as a "*verb*", something, which is performed along interaction, rather than a set attributes an individual possesses. Voice, therefore, is constructed along with the gender identity through "*the citation and the recitation*" (Bourdieu's terms, 1978) of gendered acts and varies according to the context.

Voice is to be seen almost as a set of clothes, costumes, which one puts on to perform a given role .Females and males choose what sort of identity they would like to have and simply perform that role using the appropriate voice quality. As we will see in our analysis of voice quality, it is clear that institutional and contextual constraints determine the type and form of identity and linguistic options which an individual considers possible within an interaction. The correlation between changes

in voice quality in accordance with identity and role is in, our belief, a practice of one of the several "whos"/selves / identities an individual has to perform.

That voice quality in its relation to social role, gender identity, status… has not been extensively analysed may be motivated ,in part, by the work of specialists in acoustic phonetics (Fant, 1960-1965, Lehiste, 1970, Ladefoged, 1962…) who, for a long time, have interpreted male/female voice quality in terms of anatomical differences and have claimed that voice quality can be predictable from the size and shape of males' and females' vocal tracts and is , in part , due to the highly complex set of parameters which may interact to yield a particular voice quality. Furthermore, there are few simple acoustic correlates of most of these features. Voice quality, or what Laver terms Phonetic Setting is

> "the *tendency underlying the production of the chain of segments*
> *in   speech towards maintaining a particular configuration or state*
> *of the vocal apparatus. Speakers who have the tendency   to speak*
> *with the velum lowered, for instance, will customarily have a nasal*
> *voice quality"*
>
> ***(Laver 1994 in Foulkes 2002).***

Following Laver (1994), Foulkes (2002) states that "although it is sometimes taken to refer solely to reflexes of the phonatory system, extensive studies of the phonetic correlates of different settings can be found in Laver" (1980, 1994). It has long been acknowledged that phonetic setting (PS) may vary sociolinguistically and stylistically, for instance in the degree of creaky phonation a speaker may use (Laver,1994). Until recently, however, there has been no systematic study of phonetic setting on a large body of data.. Instead, comments which can be found in the literature tend to be impressionistic and

general. For example, creaky phonation has been associated with RP and many regional varieties of US and Australian English (Laver 1980: 4). In many dialects creak performs pragmatic functions, in particular marking turn-endings. Honikman (1964) suggests that RP is also characterised by a slightly retroflex tongue setting, and an overall lax articulatory setting. Knowles (1978) comments on the velarisation and raised larynx setting used in Liverpool, and Trudgill (1974) describe Norwich voice quality in some detail.

In our analysis, we describe a variety of distinctive acoustic characteristics of thick / cute, authoritative /submissive, low pitched/ high pitched voice qualities, and address how the interaction of these voice qualities and features of Mostaganem Spoken Arabic reflect practice of voice styles in their relation to ideologies and meaning of femininities and masculinities.

Our assumption that males and females construct a wide range of identities necessary to their roles performance and social practices in specific contexts has made variations in voice quality our scope of research. Moreover, our interest derives from the belief that more than other linguistic features such as lexical or grammatical choice voice quality is emergent from an individual's true internal nature. It is not a deliberate projection of false femininity or masculinity.

In fact, the pragmatic aspect of voice is enough reason for bringing every scholar skill, concerned with the study of the social dynamics and practices and language functioning in general, to bear on its clarification. Through voice, one can infer the way male and female speakers position themselves in the social network. . What does voice quality mean then?

Voice quality, throughout our dissertation, refers to those acoustic specifications of an individual's voice and to which individuals are very sensitive in terms of perception and production. Its source is of course the various activities of the laryngeal and the supralaryngeal cavities, i.e. the laryngeal, the pharyngeal, the oral and the nasal cavities that give a special pitch and timbre/quality to voice and running continuously through individuals' speech. Timbre, we assume, is largely, influenced by the context of situation, which predetermines its nature. (The nasal cavity was not accounted for in this project since nasalization is not a feature characteristic in the dialect under study) It is undeniably true that speaking of the social context is actually painstaking for context is boundless. Yet, the speaker's voice quality is context bound. Most specialists in acoustics including Fant, Lehiste and a score of other phoneticians did not query such an issue. Voice quality according to them is a by-product of different articulatory configurations that give birth to a specific acoustic signal with a specific range of frequencies.

Nevertheless, on the ground that, they engage in different contexts with multiple identities, practices and stances ,females and males use varied patterns of voice quality to convey by the force of things a multiplicity of flexible and changing social realities. To comprehend this phenomenon would irrefutably be possible only if we integrated the study of voice within a social situatedness matrix. The reason is that looking at context has come to mean looking at situated or local meanings, i.e. those assigned by participants within a given context to a given set of contextual features. This is convincingly shown in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1995) study of the schoolgirls of 'Belten High'. Their analysis of these girls' linguistic practices and identities develops the idea of a "Community of Practice" (different in several ways from a speech community as will be seen in the coming chapters).

To consider voice quality within this frame then will help us understand the raison d'être (to a certain extent) of the co-occurrence of several voice qualities (sometimes contradictory but flexible) within the same individual speaker. These voice qualities communicate information about and between men and women as members belonging either to same or to different communities of practice.

Our immediate concern is with the definition and classification of voice quality according to the situation and gender linguistic practices. This issue requires prevailing discussion of context of situation and the nature of the community of practice in which females and males participate with other members in a number of practices. Far from the binary classification, which characterizes speech communities, the flexibility of communities of practice offers better insights into gender and language analysis. Presumably, increasing knowledge in the area of communities of practice will certainly be useful for grasping the rationale as to why various voice qualities co-occur within the same speaker. In the meantime, we know that people are able to agree sufficiently on the circumstances in which to use a particular voice quality to make it sensible in order to enquire into the rules they follow to achieve a certain purpose. There seems to be a conventional tacit consensus between participants in communities of practice as to which voice they should use for displaying their identity and attaining their purpose outcome.

It must be stated from the outset that the current study aims at the description of feminine and masculine identities in females' and males' voice quality and looking at feminine masculinity and masculine femininity in the quality of voice. In other words, we would try to demonstrate that like the linguistic practices, voice is a potential carrier of information about the social identities of the speaking subjects as well as the role or more correctly, the range of roles speakers

perform and how they perform them. We should add that our dissertation does not claim to deal with the whole array of voice qualities any female or male speaker accumulates in the process of becoming part of the social network. It only intends to identify and analyse a small portion of male and female voice qualities in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic, (MTG for short), in terms of production and perception

In our dissertation, we seek to find possible answers to questions as to why speakers switch voice from one situation to another and whether voice switching follows similar patterns in males and in females. why it is no easy task to classify voice on binary basis as would be the case in a speech community model. Our main objective is to look at the link, which exists between voice quality as a bundle of physical signals and the social practice and situatedness that determine it. Do females and males conform to or subvert gender hegemonic categorisation through their voice qualities?

 In other words, is voice a means to construct females' and males' identity (ies)?

Employing quantitative measures of acoustic properties, such as spectrographic as well as perceptual analyses, we examine data from distinct producers of different voices in different contexts and conduct a comparative analysis of the array of recorded voices and their relation to gender identity.

The spectrographic   perspective aims at looking at the males /females voice quality in terms of formant / resonant frequencies and see whether they are cavity dependent or there are some sociolinguistic practices compelling female and male speakers to adjust their voice according to the social context. Hence, we will try to observe whether males and females formant frequencies are steady throughout their speech

or whether they alter by effect of their gender identity, role and situation. What patterns of change do they follow then?

The perceptual perspective aims at scrutinizing the ontogenetic development of differential judgements of voice quality in males and females and see, if would be interchange ability in judgements towards voice qualities is to exist. If such is the case, the conclusion, which might be drawn, is that, in MTG, the social psyche of males and females' has been moulded according to certain stereotypes about femininity and masculinity.

It is from this view of things that our dissertation tries to look into the nature of voice quality perception, its social functioning as its effects on listeners, in terms

of production and perception. In other words, we would try to explore the interactive aspects that exist between speakers' voice as a bundle of physical properties and the social contexts as a bundle of rules and regulations that govern the social coherence and practices. Said differently the question will be , does speakers' voice quality correlate consistently with males' and females 'binary stratification as in a speech community or is it contingent upon the context and the practice where it occurs?

From a biological stand point, the vocal tracts of males and females are distinct, therefore they resonate differently. Yet, stating that differences in voice quality are exclusively sex specific could be erroneous and would reduce voice variability to a pure biological conditioning. Experience has shown, however, that both men and women tend to adapt their voice quality to their social position, role and purpose. These factors organize power and power relations. To have power, to maintain it, and to be submitted to it urge the speaker to make use of linguistic as well as extra-linguistic cues as voice to efficiently interact in society. It is on these grounds that we have undertaken three studies in our dissertation; we will look for

basic and independent parameters of speech production and perception and determine their acoustic correlates, their social significance and their distinctive function at the level of communication. Our concern, to précis the point once more, is to examine the fluctuations of voice at both productive and auditory levels.

The first hypothesis, which we will test, is the acoustic nature of emphasis in males and females. The objective is to see whether emphatic sounds and their effect on voice quality are anatomically predictable or are determined by the social context. Emphasis Bouhadiba (1988) reports is a feature that Semitic languages share. However, while Ethiopian and Hebrew have lost it, Arabic has not. Looking at it from an articulatory standpoint, the Arab grammarians of the Middle Ages described emphatic sounds as "al ħuru:f al mutbaqa" as opposed to "al ħuru:f al munfatiħa" or plain sounds.

In our dissertation, we propose to present some data, which illustrate quite clearly that, an acoustic differentiation between males' and females' emphatic sounds does exist in MTG. We notice that less emphasis is a character of females' speech. This differentiation, we hypothesize, is stylistic. Within the limits of anatomy, female speakers tend to alter the second formant pattern towards higher frequency regions to avoid the "thick" or "fat" character in voice. We need remember that it is in terms of the second formant that we make the distinction between emphatic/non-emphatic sounds. In this respect, we shall attempt to discuss what social practices may underlie this socio-phonetic phenomenon and what strategies do females and males use to do femininity and masculinity.

The second hypothesis is formulated on the basis that social stereotypes do influence the way an acoustic signal is perceived, said differently, the statement will read, listeners perceive/interpret sounds not only according to the way their ears have been socially attuned but also according to "the instantiations of [...] indexes to

integrate into a style — how to do tough, soft, smooth whatever" (Eckert 2005:585). Consequently, we assume that stratifying males' and females' voices as authoritative, masculine, feminine or submissive does not depend on the frequencies of the acoustic signal in females and males per se but also on the community of practice where identities are embodied not in uniform structure . *"And the process of identity construction leads speakers to construct their own styles in order to find their own ways of asserting their own places in group practice"* (ibid)

The third hypothesis, which we will try to verify is that the feature authoritative stereotypically [+male], drives females in authoritative position or seeking authority to modify their formants and direct them towards the lower frequency loci. Traditionally, there is a negative attitude towards submissiveness, a [+female] trait, when present in a male's voice. Submissive males are considered effeminate, a very damaging attitude since it downgrades them. However, we will argue that

building on the notion that through their traits and stances, certain socio-pragmatic, discursive and linguistic choices or ways of speaking or sounding females and males construct authoritative or submissive identities in relation to role construction rather than gender identity. Therefore, to be authoritative or to be submissive are only a question of consciously choosing language pragmatic options and strategies. There are, undoubtedly if not most of the time, situations in which females and males exploit their audiences' familiarity with stereotypical concepts of femininity and masculinity in a more conscious fashion for particular effect as we will illustrate later. Speakers mingle components of different styles for particular effect.

The first chapter of this dissertation sets out a synoptic background of early binary gender studies and how they have developed. It introduces some key assumptions about language and about gender and describes early feminist speech

community based approaches to gender and language and moves on to discuss sexist language. This includes examples of differential sexist usage, lexical gaps and asymmetries, connotative differences and the use of generic expressions. It also examines different ways of describing and classifying women, which can result in their, invisibility and stereotyping instead of their positive role and deference. It follows by looking at changes, which have affected language through the use of sex-neutral vocabulary, the creation of new terms and guidelines for non-sexist language use. It also introduces past theoretical approaches to the study of gender and language: deficit, difference and dominance approaches

The second chapter challenges the early approaches to gender and language due to their limitations in dealing with linguistic distinctiveness within the same community. Those speech community based approaches have tended to focus on how women and men as two different groups use language differently, rather than on how women and men are constructed through language. Hence, adopting a community of practice based framework to analyse how gender, social position,

context and role interact is, we believe more satisfactory. The aim of this chapter is to view the interaction of gender and the different manifestations of language that root each in the everyday social practices.

In chapters three and four, a community of practice based analysis of voice quality in its relation to gender identity construction is proposed. Both chapters see gender and voice quality as mutually constructed in social action. In these chapters, we abandon the several assumptions common in gender and language study and female and male voice quality and which view variation as binary, that gender can be isolated from other aspects of social identity and relations and that it means the same across communities.

To conclude, it can be said that our dissertation proposes a community of practice based analysis to voice quality. To explore such a research avenue, a number of research methodologies have been combined. Voice traits have been studied through the use of a visual inspection of sound spectrograms.

As far as the perceptual study is concerned, we have made tape recordings of informants and which were submitted to sixteen listeners for evaluative judgements. These evaluative judgements were achieved through two tables' completion and a questionnaire.

For pure empirical purposes and to allow the listeners to provide thorough assessment we gave both the tables and the questionnaire in French. Sometimes, we felt the need to explain some items in colloquial Arabic.

Finally, it is worth reminding that throughout this paper, I have enclosed both broad/phonemic and narrow/phonetic transcriptions Thus, slashes are used for the former and square brackets for the latter.

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Chapter II: The Limitations of the speech community Model and the Shift to
Practice Theory

Chapter III   *Voice Quality in Practice: a Spectrographic Analysis*

Contents

I.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we aim to shed light on early gender and language studies, which root in the essentialism of the notion of speech community. We will try to introduce some key assumptions about language and about gender with their reliance on binary oppositions and global statements about the behaviour of all men and of all women. Many essentialist theorists in language and gender studies have so far viewed gender as a possession of a set of behaviours which is imposed by the speech community upon women and men as belonging to two different categories.

I.2 Essentialism and Speech communities
I.2.1 Essentialism

Essentialism, Bucholtz states, is

the position that the attributes and behaviour of socially defined
groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural
and /or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the
group

(Bucholtz 2003:398).

In other words, it is an ideology, which rests on the assumption that groups can be clearly delimited and that group members are more or less alike. Essentialism has been used in sociolinguistics by both difference and dominance gender theorists. Essentialism gives legitimacy to both gender differences and gender dominance by virtue of biology, culture stereotypes or all together. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), McElhinny (1996) Talbot (2003) and Bucholtz (2003) and many gender theorists assert that the focal point of essentialism in this sociolinguistic undertaking i.e. gender and language studies, has been based on

highly "marked", socially marginalized groups mostly women and blacks as a minority community in part to recognize and legitimate their widely devalued linguistic practices. Assumptions about gender are so deep rooted in essentialism and so powerful that it is difficult to imagine any gender identity out of the scope of that already established by the speech community. None could think, for instance, of an "inauthentic woman or man" (Bucholtz, 2003:401). Those speakers who deviated from normative beliefs about gender conceptions remained peripheral to theories of language and gender for many years. Essentializing postulations do not leave room for gender agency. It views gender in dichotomous terms whereby the presence of a gender attribute in one sense systematically means its absence from the other. By this token, both dominance and difference models sought to celebrate women's special linguistic abilities ,which have been seen as contrasting with men's and were predominantly governed by social norms.

Essentialism envisions the understanding and the internalization of norms together with submitting one's sociolinguistic behaviour to normative beliefs as basic requirements for status assignment inside society. By normative beliefs is meant the norms that govern any given society. Society consists of the sum of people who live in the same geographical area and have conventionally consented upon a common social order and a common linguistic code as will be seen in our argument about speech community. Social order, it should be noted, is the bundle of norms and recommendations that members of society have, unquestionably to adopt so as not to be casts off. The norms are social laws, which are experienced by individuals through a number of pressure exertions: As defined by Tumin (1967), Robinson (1972) and Scotson (1975) a norm is a form of pressure between the members of society. Social pressure refers to what others expect the individual to do and the way she/he should behave. As a matter of fact, females are underprivileged

to overtly announcing authority or determination. Their status of women inherently signals their verbal and nonverbal powerlessness and limitations.

So as to be an "authentic" member of the group i.e. not a deviant, one should submit his sociolinguistic behaviour to his community conventions. In other words, the social, the linguistic and the paralinguistic behaviour of the "authentic" member should match the Essentializing tacitly agreed upon conventions. The norms, along this line of thought, are the bulwark of the continuity of society as a whole. The norms are equally binding and bonding. They are binding because out of a normative scheme, a social protagonist will lose his sense of existing .Norms are bonding because they create and maintain the relationship between the individual and the other members of his speech community.

I.2.2 Speech Community
I.2.2.1 Language: the common core of the speech community

The speech community model is an ethnographic activity based approach dealing with identities as fixed social categories (Bucholtz, 1999). Sociolinguistics as is commonly known by scholars has its roots in the concept of the speech community. As a language- based unit of social analysis, the speech community has allowed sociolinguists to demonstrate that many linguistic phenomena are in fact socially structured. Thus Lakoff (1975), Thorne and Henley (1975), Kramer (1974) Dekkak (1979) and other gender scholars showed that the linguistic heterogeneity can be quantitatively analyzed as the patterning of a single speech community despite differences in females' and males' language use based on sociological variables as age, race or identification to one gender rather than to another.

The speech community has been defined in many ways, but every definition advocates language as a primary criterion of community. Bloomfield defines the speech community as: "a group of people who interact by means of speech" (1933: 42). Hockett's definition is: "Each language defines a speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language". (Hockett: 1958). John Gumperz (1962) states : " We will define linguistic community as a social group which may be either monolingual or multilingual , held together by frequency of social interaction patterns and set off from the surrounding areas by weaknesses in the lines of communication" (Cf. Gumperz 1962 in Hudson 1980:26). Later Gumperz (1968)introduces linguistic divergence as a requirement between members of the same speech community and those outside it: "The speech community : any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use"(ibid). On his part, John Lyons very simply defines the speech community as "all the people who use a given language or dialect" (Lyons 1970:326). A relatively recent definition is that of William Labov (1972)

> *The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement*
> *in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a*
> *set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types*
> *of evaluative behaviour, and by uniformity of abstract patterns of*
> *variations which are invariant in respect to a particular levels of*
> *usage*
>
> *(Labov, 1972:120)*

A thorough examination of these foremost definitions given to the concept of the speech community demonstrates that what is taken as shared is Linguistic system or

shared linguistic norms, the pattern of variation. In all definitions, emphasis is on the linguistic system, interactional settings and norms. In every case, the focus remains on language.   Even scholars, who advocate a more interactional approach, understand interaction to be an eminently linguistic concept. Non linguistic social aspects of social activity are marginalized or ignored.

 Labov viewed that the blatant aspect of the speech community model is the idea that it is constituted around shared sociolinguistic norms. This Labovian analysis was first proposed in 1972, and was later espoused by numerous subsequent researchers.

> *The postulate is that speakers agree on and uphold certain*
> *linguistic forms as normative; regardless of differences*
> *social background which assumes a consensus model of*
> *society*
>
> *(Bucholtz 1999:208)*

Moreover, this celebration of norms illustrates, in Bourdieu's vision (1978, 1990, 1991)   the fact that these norms are prolifically enforced ideologies favouring the interest of a powerful to the detriment of a powerless . Language and gender scholars have, for a long time, been aware of such a way of viewing things; therefore they have, as Cameron puts it, worked   *"to combat views of women's language as deficient in comparison to men's" (Cameron 1992:42)*

I.2.2.2 Norms Impact on Female's and Males' Speech Community Membership

Because in a speech community, language of norms based on essentialist views presumes that some members of the speech community are central and others

are marginal, and that is the central members who are of interest, each member of the community is requested to systematically submit to the normative beliefs. It is true the speech community model celebrates the notion of heterogeneity; however speakers who do not share the same norms are excluded from this community. To have the status of a male, for example, will not be possible unless an appropriate matching between the male and those attributes he has socially been assigned is achieved. If not the male will lose position, be excluded and even estranged.

Sometimes, individuals develop roles that stand in conflict with what they are socially expected to perform. The reason is that they have been influenced by a different set of rules emanating from some psycho-sociological pressures. In such a case a male may grow with feminine behaviour if the model he has been in touch with is female governed. Similarly, a girl may evolve tough and boy like if having been brought up as a boy or in a male governed milieu.

In this essentialist frame, no room is left to individual choices and freedoms. Not to conform to the social norms is usually met with rejection. The existence of words like: womanish, mannish, girlish, boyish… in English, all of which are deviations, makes it explicit that the normative system specifies social members with a set of attributes to which they should conform. These attributes spring from the general consensus on how people's interactions are regulated. Most of the time, the violation of this consensus creates conflicts, which is generally brought about when an absence of complementarities between what the individual is socially expected to fulfil and how this individual actually acts. Antagonism then, between the individual and his social environment gives birth to conflict and tension, which if it were to be removed, there should be a mechanism that helps conflict solving. A concession has then, to be made by one of the adversaries. And,

given the power of the normative system, it is therefore the individual who has to adjust, submit and subordinate his set of behaviours to the exigencies of this normative system. It is in the normative system that females are likely to indicate their submission through both verbal and non-verbal behaviours. Lakoff (1973), and Kramer (1974) found out those females' gestures, their use of hesitation patterns, the use of polite forms and tag questions and the willingness to be more likely interrupted, in conversation show the asymmetrical treatment of males and females.

The compliance to the norms as a social dimension of human behaviours is intimately related to their validation in terms of a communal significance. One single individual cannot develop an idiosyncratic normative system despite the uniqueness of his experiences. In fact to evaluate his own specificity, an individual is required to observe others' specificities and submit his own to comparison. In so doing he will be able to maintain, readjust or reject his behaviour. There is supposedly a continuous quest for the achievement of conformism to and harmony with one's social environment.

The fact that the individual is engaged in complex social interactions means that the norms are omnipresent and that there is a pressure which urge the individual to maintain the already agreed upon behaviours and avoid conflicts. To conform to the attitudinal tendencies of the communal frame, which give individuals acts significance and at the same time validate them, male and female speakers should not transgress the linguistic sex barrier and have consequently to use sex-typed linguistic and paralinguistic fundamentals in communicative situations. In this same vein of thought, females, for example, should not make linguistic faux pas; otherwise they will be excluded from the conventionally speaking group of their own community. Thus, the rule reads that women should speak kindly, softly,

metaphorically and with lots of euphemisms as will be better elucidated in the coming sections.

The bulk of the social pressures and norms are felt as cumbersome. They set limits to individuals' freedom. Nevertheless, these norms organize society by setting boundaries, demarcating and categorizing social elements so that they operate efficiently in the network of the social organism. Therefore to be accepted as a male, a female, a policeman, one needs the frame of reference according to which his set of habits is evaluated. A female is expected to walk smoothly, to gesticulate in a refined way, to use words specifying her role, to avoid speaking in low formants or using taboo words. In one word, a female has to comply with the norms.

For want of a better elucidation look how social protagonists would react to a female who overtly pronounces a taboo word. They would arbitrarily declare her unfeminine and aggressive, similarly, a male is scorned at if ever crying or expressing explicitly his innermost emotions. What the social institutions set is learnt from childhood and should not be transgressed. Speech protagonists in a speech community are bound to accommodate their speech to the persons they are, to the persons they are speaking to and to the context in which they are found. It is as though speakers were to filter their words in a kind of sieve. Essentialists claim that linguistic categories are the sediment of thinking and learning to understand and manipulate them is a significant part of the process of socialization into the norms' of one's culture, a means whereby contingent social arrangements and beliefs come to appear natural and inevitable (Cameron 2003). Such an assumption leads us to say that the heterogeneity of the speech community as claimed by sociolinguists recognizes the existence of systematicity of heterogeneity; however speakers who do not share the same norms, for example, because they recently settled in the community are excluded.

I.3 Social Adherence, Social Roles

From a speech community perspective, an individual grows to be a central member only if he/she matches the assignments and fulfils those roles allotted to him/her by the community. The expectation of consensus in speech community norms requires that individuals are not open to outside influence. Henceforth: *"the possibility of interaction between speech communities is not important in the model"* (Santa Ana and Parodi, 1998). In a recent attempt to address this problem, Santa Ana and Parodi have stated that

> *researchers seek sameness, not difference; difference (e.g. language use)*
> *is contained by interpreting it as sameness at an underlying level*
> *(e.g. in shared sociolinguistic norms)* **(ibid)**

The speech community *model is a "static model, one in which the social order remains largely unaltered and where the group is being privileged over the individual as the unit of analysis"* (Bucholtz 1999:210). In such a model, the role of the individual is merely to adopt the practices of the group. Individual actions result less from choice and agency than from a social order that impinges on individuals from above.

Whenever reference is made to society, to social members or to, we find it necessary to analyse the notion of role and its relation to social behaviour. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Speech community model.
Through the examination of human society, one can perceive that individuals achieve a number of roles ascribed by the community of which they are members. The variation in roles is due to the variations in situations. It would be a gross mistake, to believe that these variations come to occur haphazardly. The basic

assumption is that these variations have their roots in the process of socialization that starts at a very early age and along which children internalise the criteria related to each role. Sociologists see role as being the sum of the social assignments related to a given position; that is to each position corresponds a behavioural modal with a set of ascriptions. A role is a means to classify and be classified in a typical social position according to a typical number of recommendations.

It is noteworthy that individuals should follow social assignments if they are to enact their roles successfully. Though subjective and biased, the existence of these assignments, which make up the normative system, and their power to prescribe roles with different criteria, are indispensable for status regulation and social continuity. In this respect, we must confess that language use is the commonest social behaviour through which speech protagonists ineluctably send rays of their roles and their social identity. Sex variation, the emblem of social difference and stratification of men and women, is embedded in how this language is used. Linguistic disparities between the two genders or what is commonly known in sociolinguistics as linguistic sexism embodies both the way society is structured and the way the assumptions about manhood and womanhood are manifested. As a matter of fact lexical antonymy, which is oppositeness of meaning, is very significant. Many linguists, more importantly feminists, have minutely scrutinized the frequency of pairs that exhibit gender differentiation. Hence, bachelor/spinster, lord/lady, don-Juan/nympho, in English, courtisan, courtisane in French, are overloaded with social significance. The female member of each pair displays a great amount of negativity. This gender determined asymmetry is known as semantic derogation. Derogation/pejoration is a process whereby a term is associated with negative connotations by dint of its exclusively female reference. The immediate repercussion of this differentiation is maintaining females and males as two distinct groups, identified and determined by different set of rules and conventions, all of which are an outcome of a differential social order.

Compliance to the communal norms does not necessarily imply no change in individuals' practices is affordable. However, if change comes to occur, it will have the effect of keeping the community system equilibrium (Bucholtz, 1999). Any modification in people's behaviour is the result of a collective communal change. Had he been properly socialized or more correctly had he succeeded to conform to the social laws, an individual would undoubtedly acquire a behavioural competence that enables him to cope with new situations whenever necessary. A shift in social interactions leads inevitably to a shift in language use. As each speech protagonist is a bundle of several "*whos*", pre-determined by the context where interaction takes place he is required to correlate his linguistic behaviour with his socially established identity. Thus to accomplish many "whos", it becomes necessary for any speaker to use several social languages.

Along these lines, we expect the language used by a female teacher to address her male headmaster as being distinct from a female teacher fulfilling the role of a wife addressing her husband or her female colleague teacher.

The three situations mentioned above showcase three types of relations. In the first, the female teacher has a subordinate status. The headmaster is the super-ordinate. The mode of address in this case is characterized by the use of extensive polite forms like the **V** pronoun, titles, specific body postures and appropriate voice quality. To address the husband using the **V** pronoun or titles is unlikely to occur in wife/husband interactions. More than that the use of an aggressive voice quality or unfeminine body postures entails a repercussion on how others perceive the husband who should never be caught henpecked; This will be a slur for him.

There is nothing to object to the idea that society is a heterogeneous composite, so to be accepted requires heterogeneity in social interaction. Further more, since homogeneity is unlikely to prevail in human societies,

uniform/homogeneous behaviour brings into question the individual's capacity of social adaptation and creativity because the capacity to renew one's behaviour to deal with new situations is in itself a creative act.

No linguistic behaviour is innocent so the women as a sub-group have to bring under scrutiny every string of utterances they produce to avoid any kind of quarrel especially the "double entendre" to which they are usually victims. A woman ought not to stare at a man; she would be described as provocative. She has to use polite forms not to be said aggressive. She has to sound delicate and pleasant or she will be stigmatised as harsh and unrefined.

Similarly, males have to adopt the language that sets them different from females. Variability in males and females language use is endemic in the social role and status of speakers. Therefore, to a shift of interest necessarily follows a shift in language use. Interestingly enough, this shift in the sociolinguistic behaviour is made possible by the social convenience and the normative system that urge people sharing the same socio-cultural background to act accordingly. The individuals will not be thought to have succeeded in performing their roles until they have met others satisfaction.

To conform to the norms signals the individual inertia towards change. In fact, this signifies that individual acts are senseless and valueless if lacking that normative frame according to which they are scaled. Admittedly, there is no gainsaying the norms power from which individuals are incapable to disentangle. Conformity is indeed a conscious act, deliberately chosen to gain social adherence and avoid chaos and rejection. Consider, if you please, that the sentences /**rænl raɪħa l∂l qahwa**/ (I am going to the café), /**næħk∂m fi: roħɪ**/ (no one has authority over me), are socially banned if pronounced by a female speaker. The reason is that /**lqahwa**/ (the café) is a male exclusive domain. Similarly, /**naħk∂m fi: roħɪ**/ is a

sentence that is overloaded with negative connotations if uttered by a Algerian female speaker. A female in the Algerian culture has to admit not to be free, not to be unbound from the authority of the father, the brothers and the husband. Had a female said it, such a statement would imply a number of negative attitudes. There is in fact a class of perceptions that evaluate our verbal behaviour and that is indicative of our social behaviour. Heise (1966) stated that when such deviant expressions are emitted; others initiate social control and attempt to reform the speaker through influence attempts or through various kinds of punishments.

Essentialist speech communities enact binary, fixed rules, which organize and stratify males and females in agreement with their respective verbal behaviours. Males use insults, taboo and curse words more frequently than females do. Their voices sound more resolute and determined than those of females. By the same token, the feature [+Back] i.e. Pharyngealization in addition to speaking in low formants matches with male speakers. Females, on the other hand, are to sound pleasant to use proper language and speak in high formants. These typical ascribed norms form the criteria of demarcation between what is male proper from what is not. It is a crystallization of the way both sexes are positioned.

I.4 The Family and the Peers: the Backbone of Roles and Role Transmission inside the Speech Community

The preservation of the community social norms, which prevent chaos and preserve the social structures, is the task of the family. Being itself a social by-product, having taken shape in the course of society formation, the family is an embodiment of what has been socially agreed upon. The family acts as a frame where transactions between members are not to be transgressed so as not be doomed to disintegration. Subsequently, to anchor the relations within a family, the father,

the mother and the children have to conform to the tacit contract that assigns each of them a set of roles to play. The father and the mother are the authority and the financial source. The children have up to a certain age to follow their parents' directions and owe respect to them. If roles fulfilment among them is not respected, conflict will be brought about.

To learn how to interact inside the family structure is a sine qua non condition to learning how to interact at a larger social scale. It is at this level that the child acquires what is socially acceptable from what is unacceptable. And, if he were to resist the established social order, his resistance would start inside the family. Researches in psychology, sociology and even criminology have agreed that anti-social behaviours result from difficulties of adaptation in early childhood. While growing social, a child internalises what is praised and what is stigmatised and behaves accordingly.

Speaking about the normative system inside the family solely would not be of interest if reference were not made to its genesis and to the individual mode of adaptation. The origin of the norms is rooted not only in the family.

The family is social institution whose existence relies on social conventions and norms. During the gradual process of socialization, norms are inculcated to children, who are prepared to transact with others in terms of a mutual intelligibility about the way and manner the social dynamics and the social meaning operate.

The transmission of the norms from parents to children has two facets: one is direct and the other is indirect. In many times, the parents directly and openly order their child to do some thing or not to do it. As an example: "don't be tough", "don't speak harshly", "be soft" are sentences directed to a girl to acquaint her to a future social role. The goal is to show her that toughness and harshness are males' properties.

Similarly, a boy is often said, "not to cry" because a man is not supposed to cry; he is not meant to be emotive. When given to children, such instructions function as a means to control children's behaviour and at the same time provide them with a frame of reference. To say to a child "do this" and "don't do that" is to provide him with the necessary code he will have to use successfully in society.

The indirect form of norm transmission can be summarized in what follows. The sums of the social injunctions so deeply engraved in the parents mind are manifested in their different sets of behaviour. As the parents are the model the child is continuously exposed to deliberately proceed first by the trial of the behaviours he is exposed to, so, if met with gratification, the tried behaviour will be maintained. If on the other hand it is met with stigmatisation the tried behaviour will be abandoned.

Besides the family, the peer group acts as a medium for norm transmission. While becoming aware of the necessity of his sociability, the child feels the need to act in a way similar to that of his peers in order to indicate his integration to that group, hence, the creation of the same speech repertories.

Whereas boys, for example, speak more about cars, their qualities and sports with their peers, girls speak about fashion, the colours of the cars and so forth.

For essentialists, a child feels exhorted to resemble his peers. He develops similar ranges of verbal practices as his peers so that he gains status inside his group. In this way, the child grows into a role or more appropriately; he grows into a variety of roles since he permanently faces novel situations to which he should adjust his behaviour. Labov states that there is evidence from dialect studies that *"children follow the pattern of their peers"* (Labov, 1972:364).

Distinctiveness between males and females statuses is acquired from the parents, the siblings and the peers who more than others *"may exert a strong influence on the learning of sexually differentiated speech styles as well as on the other aspects of language acquisition"* (Ibid: 364).

The notion of female weakness and male supremacy is learnt as early as childhood. Like the parents, the peers are a reference group a child needs to his social self. This is why others are an important determinant for identity moulding, which is achieved only as soon as it is compared with already moulded identities. It will certainly be a mistake to assume that one can act or evolve independently from the society to which he belongs .A community member for essentialists unconsciously fears rejection from his cohort. A community member shares a latent social contract with his fellow. To follow what is conventionally correct means to avoid incurring blame. Ehrlich states:

> *Every normative compulsion does [however] depend upon the fact that no individual is really ever a single individual. He is so incorporated, absorbed, inter wined with and enmeshed in a number of groups that existence outside them would be intolerable, may often be impossible. Every deviant must be prepared for the contingency that this conduct will dissolve the connections with those who are his own. The one who stubbornly resists the social pressure has unloosened the bonds, which tied him to his mates. He will gradually be deserted, avoided and excluded. Here in the social group is the basis force inherent in social norms.*

(Ehrlich ,1997: 430)

It has been advanced above that individuals grow into roles. Reference to the notion of role is important because it is a feature of social stratification. Society admittedly is a hierarchy the essence of which is ranking and differentiation in social position according to sex, power, wealth, intellectual achievements, and socio-professional status all of which have their sociolinguistic correlates. For their part, social positions are conditioned by the good grip on the assignments related to these

positions. Once adopted and respected, the individual will be able to proceed to a comparison between the others and him and see how he is socially stratified.

To be a male or to be female are two binary roles belonging to two binary categories only in so far as they can be subjected to different norms and compared to each other. Likewise a teacher and a doctor are two different roles because the first is to instruct, the second is expected to relieve people's pain. The notion of role in this context is useful for sociolinguists; it allows making a number of inferences linked to what is expected from the role player. In a mosque, an Imam is expected to teach religion and its laws in a solemn way. He can in no way afford himself to be ironic or use jokes otherwise he will fail in performing his role. In this same vein of thought, in a theatre where an audience expects to be entertained, solemnity will be an odd feature because it is a violation of the purpose outcome and the context of situation. Nonetheless, in many instances the encounter between the role that is intended to be fulfilled and the individual who should fulfil this role fails to occur, that is: members of society sometimes do not respond to the socially ascribed norms related to a specific role; Consequently deviation/ non-conformity comes into existence. A female's role will not be congruous with what is expected from her if she engages in the so-called mannish jobs like being a mechanic, behaving in a casual way, or lowering her formants. Such conduct will be conspicuous for its non-conformity to those personality traits: like being feminine, being reserved and speaking in a thin voice a female is supposed to have acquired during the process of socialization. From a sociological point of view, there must be a harmony between the verbal and the non-verbal behaviours on the one hand and the notions of role and role social meanings on the other hand. In this way, a reciprocal ability for predicting meaning and reaction to behaviours is made possible between the individual and the others (Aubert 1967). A failure in comprehending and internalizing the rules impedes, in many cases, the understanding of the system of

meaning prevailing in the speech community. Hence, the individual fails to communicate appropriately. A female with a thick voice or a male with a thin voice are met with ridicule. Social stereotypes describe thickness in voice as a male feature while thinness in voice is seen as a female feature. To subvert the norm is itself a deviance severely sanctioned. Given that deviance is present in any society, there should be a deep examination of its origins. To be a male or a female, for example does not lie in the apparent physical properties. This, in fact, is intrinsically tied with the deep desire of being this or that and fulfilling this role and not that one, something that the speech community model ignores as will be illustrated in chapter two. A disagreement with the social order of the speech community environment is banned. Therefore, members are always aware of adjusting and readjusting their set of behaviours as distinct categories of males and females. So, if to be socialized means to conform to the social norms, it will be necessary to advance that conformity is two fold. It consists of the internalisation of the social significance of the norms besides the knowledge of what the individual would incur in case he didn't comply with these norms. In this respect, any type of freedom or agency of practice, as has often been advanced in the literature, be it freedom in language use or even in the set of social rituals like celebrations of marriages or funerals or any other social conduct remain a myth.

Individuals' behavioural adjustments, thus, are an outcome of that constant quest for conformity to the social laws, which are not to be neglected in order to gain social adherence. It is, therefore, tacitly required from any member of society to remain in the confines of his society so that he acquires both his group identity and his community membership.

I.5 Identity Categories and Stereotypes

I.5.1 Identity

In the speech community model, individuals are viewed as having finite and social identities all through their existence due to their position in the social structure. Identity as a conception is fundamental to the academy on Language and gender. Identity in the speech community framework is stationary as well as prearranged by the links between individuals and the particular social groups to which they belong. Individuals can not evolve independently or engage in multiple identity practices without considering their group's attitude. To grow as an individual with a specific identity, the group is needed because it functions as a reliable gauge for evaluating and being evaluated. The group help defining the self as an entity by providing modes of adaptation to achieve social integration.

To perceive oneself as different would be impossible if a series of comparisons with others were not carried out. The reason is that others are fundamental for self-positioning. To realize that the self is intelligent, strong or feminine, there should be an opposite counterpart that is stupid, weak or masculine. To gain status inside the community implies more often than not a reciprocal or more accurately a binary relationship with others. This can be summarized in how the individual acts and how others would probably react. The reactions and attitudes society has towards individuals' behaviours are conditions necessary for the shaping up of their identities, i.e. one's identity is to a great extent, built up in convenience to others perception. In this respect, it is argued that:

> *the individual experiences himself as such not directly but only*
> *indirectly from the particular standpoints of other*
> *individual members of the same social group, or from the*

generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he

belongs. For he enters his own experience as a self or individual,

not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself,

but only in so far as he first becomes an object to him or in his

experience; and he becomes an object to himself only by taking

the attitudes of other individuals towards himself within a social

environment or context of experience and behaviour

in which both he and they are involved

(Aubert 1967:58)

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Forgas 1981; Tajfel & Turner 1986), the social identity of individuals depends on their relationship with others, their individual characteristics (personal identity), and their perceived group memberships (group identity). "Tajfel's model highlights "the psychological importance of social categories, and emphasises the individual's orientation to their in group rather than outsiders, whether the relevant boundaries involve ethnicity, gender, hierarchy or organisations" (Holmes & Marra 2002: 1690). Thus, gender is one of the social factors that shape the identity of the individual. Gender is "a socially-constructed category" (Saville-Troike 2003: 77). It is accomplished in discourse and through discourse produced during social interaction. And what we call behaviour typical for women or typical for men "is either dictated by biology, or is socially constructed" (West, Lazar & Kramarae 1997: 119). Gee (1999) observes critically that in a speech community model " some people tend to reserve the term 'Identity' for a sense of self that is relatively continuous and 'fixed' over time"(Gee,1999:39). And, the authentic, unmarked speaker belongs to a well-defined, static, and relatively homogeneous grouping that is closed to the outside (Hall 1996). In the logic of such a perspective, language use is removed from and unaffected by other influences except those of the speech community.

Language, the key constituent of the speech community, makes it possible for individuals to interact more or less successfully through a convenient use of the conventional system of communication. This is highly dependent on the rules of occurrence that govern any speech event. These rules are both of a sociolinguistic and a social character. The linguistic aspect of an act of speaking is determined by syntactic, phonological and semantic levels while the social aspect is determined by what is to be said, what is not to be said, when it is to be said and how it is to be said in concord with the speech situation. In other words, the social rules are rules of convenience and social appropriateness unlike the linguistic ones, which are purely formal. However, an interdependence exists and to understand or more accurately to reach meaning both linguistic and sociolinguistic rules should be accounted for; otherwise, the value of the act of speaking would be doomed to failure. In many cases, an utterance perfectly matches the linguistic parameters but fails to be congruent with social acceptability. It is namely this social acceptability, which By and large prevents a man in our culture from openly recognizing that his wife asked him for divorce. This will devalue him as the presupposed decision maker and the active element in society. In contra distinction to his inconspicuous counterpart, a man should not be passive. Decision does not have to be imposed upon him.

In Mostaganem spoken Arabic, sentences like: /**marti talqatni/**, (my wife divorced me) or /**marti taxd∂m ʕlia/** (my wife is my bread winner) are unlikely to be pronounced by a male speaker. Though respecting the formal linguistic levels these sentences would nonetheless violate the co-occurrence socio-cultural rules, which do not allow a man to be asked for divorced or to be financially taken care of by his wife.

It is true; language use or the notion of parole as advanced by Saussure is individual and subjected to many alterations. Nevertheless, Saussure neglected the idea that the every individual use of language is underlain by specific rules. Any

modification of parole is thus due to the context where the act of speaking is taking place. There is in fact a symbiosis between these systematic modifications and what Saussure called the external elements of language. However, for the sake of more rigour in language analysis, Saussure did not account for these *"external"* elements and which, if discarded from the linguistic study, human utterances will be absurd and senseless. The reason is that meaning cannot be stated unless speech manifestations and speech protagonists are placed in a spacio-temporal frame. The deliberate numerous acts of parole maintain the continuity of the set of meanings that the speech community consented on. Meaning assigned to the linguistic signs is a convention between the speaking subjects but through time and after meaning has acquired a relative stability; these speaking subjects become dependent on their own convention.

Although they have individual specificities that set them apart from other fellows at "idiolectal" levels, speakers of the same language, not only share the same substantive elements of language and their various relations, but they also share the same denotative and connotative systems of meanings. Unlike denotative meaning that indicates the relation between a linguistic expression and an entity in the external world, connotative meaning is applied to the number of associations either personal or communal *"suggested by or are part* of *the meaning of a linguistic unit"* (Crystal, 2001:74). For example, the linguistic sign "man" is semantically multi-folded. On the one hand, it refers to a human being of the male sex. This is its value as a verifiable truth. On the other hand, "man" as a word functioning in a social context has a number of associations; among which good enterprise, power, authority, strength and so forth. This leads to say that to grasp how a given language operates in a given society or to see how society itself functions in terms of evaluation, and classification of its elements, consent upon and the perception of what words both denote and connote is necessary. The connotations prevailing in

any speech community are a result of the diversity in the social situation itself governed by variables like sex, stereotypes about language users, occupation and family life as well.

Provided that, any social protagonist ought to enact a variety of social roles, the use of uniform linguistic forms will, doubtless, be inconvenient. Any social member consciously and willingly experiences a split in his personality. This is made apparent in the sum of paroles he uses and which have to espouse the role he performs.

Whenever he makes use of his verbal repertoire, any individual speaker adopts the set of meanings that are accepted by the whole community and avoids his idiosyncratic use of language, given that out of the communal boundaries neither the individual nor his language can have a status. In effect, besides their literal meanings words are loaded with a great number of social meanings, which are resultant from social attitudes. Thus, the simple word /**mra**/ (a woman) in Algerian spoken Arabic literally refers to that adult human being who belongs to the female sex. Furthermore, this word carries a number of connotations: /**hædik mraa/**? (Is that one a woman?) is more a value judgement than an interrogation. It describes an adult female who has not socially succeeded because of her loose morals or because she failed to preserve the well being of her family. Similarly, the sentence /**hadæk mæΠ radχXl**) (this one is not a man) has no literal meaning. Its value is purely social and can be stated only in so far as it is opposed to the statement /**hadæk radχXl /** (this one is a true man). /**hædæk radχXl /** socially means that such a male is a true man; he is a male with social and sexual feats. /**hædæk mæΠ radχXl /** however, might describe a male with a weak personality and/ with feminine tendencies. Its social equivalent is /**mrawi**/ (womanish). The inference we can make here is that to be a woman in our culture is a downgrading parameter portraying

inferiority in comparison with superior creatures **/rdχæl/** (men). Actually, in language use lays a substantial description of the social structure. The use of the sentence /**hadæk mra**/ (he is a woman) shows that the stereotypes about women still exist and that the seemingly social mobility that is taking place in Algeria is no simultaneously removing the sociolinguistic stereotypes about women. This latter could be achieved only if it is preceded by a change in attitudes and mentality. The number of changes effected in the socio-professional position of women has not succeeded to decimate the negative socio-cultural clichés about women because they are there deep-rooted in the collective mind.

I.5.2 Stereotypes

To put people into specific social groupings makes sense of their reality and define their own identity. They either belong to or do not belong to groupings such as families, communities, teams, classes, and so on. One of the most fundamental divisions that we make is that of men and women, which has enormous repercussions in every aspect of our lives. We all intuitively know what makes a woman different from a man, but does this mean that the gender division is a natural one? It can easily be shown that this division has advantages for one group and disadvantages for the other, that men are considered to be superior to women in many aspects (Spender 1980). This is probably not a state of affairs based on a majority decision (there are actually slightly more women than men in the world today); it has to do with something else, some qualities that we attribute to men which make them more worthy of control and superiority, or conversely, that women are believed to posses qualities which make them inferior and less worthy of being in control (e.g. Coates and Cameron, 1988). Masculinity and femininity, consequently, are cultural constructs (Baker 2006).

The firmly held conviction that women are an inferior category while men are a superior category is typically subjective (forthcoming illustration). It is, undeniably, an unfounded view, which seems to be primarily based on stereotypes about male and female language and which often control our ideas about features connected to gender in language use.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines a stereotype as "*a fixed idea or image that many people have of a particular type of person or thing, but which is often not true in reality*".

It is "*a simplified and standardized conception or image invested with social meaning and held in common by members of a group*" (Webster's Dictionary). Talbot states that

> *stereotyping reduces, and simplifies who a person is Social stereotyping is a practice in the maintenance of the social and a symbolic order; it involves a strategy of 'splitting' whereby the normal and acceptable are separated from the abnormal and unacceptable, resulting in the exclusion of the latter.*
>
> *(Talbot 2003)*

Stereotyping is rigid. It is a way of reducing, essentializing, naturalizing and fixing difference between women and men .According to Hall, Stereotypes facilitate "the binding or bonding together of all of us who are "normal" into one imagined community; and it sends into symbolic exile all of them" (Hall, 1997:258). Stereotypes tend to be directed to subordinate groups and they play an important part in struggle for power. As Richard Dyer explains:

> *The establishment of normalcy (i.e. what is accepted as 'normal'*
> *through   social and a stereotype is one aspect of the habit of*

> *ruling groups to attempt to fashion the whole of society*
>
> *according to their own world view, value system, sensibility*
>
> *and ideology. So right is this world view for the ruling groups*
>
> *that they make it appear (as it does appear to them) as*
>
> *'natural' and 'inevitable' -and for everyone - and, in so far as*
>
> *they succeed, they establish hegemony*

(Dyer, 1977: 30).

Stereotypes are produced and reproduced in a wide range of practices of representations including television, films, cartoons, graffiti and most importantly language. "Stereotypes have the power to control by consent rather than by force" Talbot contends (Talbot 2003:30), in that, they play a central role in "endlessly reiterating what amount to caricatures of subordinate groups" (ibid).

Stereotypical representations of women as language users are never far away. Women's verbal excess is a legitimate source of laughter. Stereotyping is a term that linguists sometimes use to refer to beliefs about language, for example, the belief about women's gossip which has for a long time been the favourite topic for both linguists and non linguists. In gender and language research, the term stereotype is often used to refer to prescriptions of behaviour or instead the way and manner a woman is expected to behave. In other words, stereotypes do not describe the actual behaviour of women; it rather prescribes to women an ideal if not an idealized mode of behaviour. A stereotype is not a fixed set of behaviours which exist somewhere, but the *"hypothesised version of the stereotype is something which is played with by those arenas where our 'common' experience is mediated"* (Mills 2003: 184-185).

Gender stereotypes are closely linked with and support gender ideologies to which women should accommodate their behaviour. They function to sustain hegemonic male dominance and female subordination.

The common understanding of gender differences is reflected in the stereotypes of femininity and masculinity that function in the society.

> *A stereotype is a one-ended, exaggerated and normally prejudicial view of a group, tribe or class of people (...) Stereotypes are often resistant to change or correction from countervailing evidence, because they create a sense of social solidarity*

(Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2000: 346)

Mills, (2003),   claims that forms of stereotypes are equally damaging to both men and women, as they consist of assumptions which differ from our own perceptions of ourselves. Caring, selflessness, and concern with one's appearance are features prototypically ascribed to women and said to be a biological part of being female. Aggression and dominance are features which are a biological part of being male. Traditionally, femininity is associated with child rearing and man/husband caring, with the expressive and the private. But masculinity "is often described in terms of battle and warfare" (Mills 2003: 188), and is associated with the intellectual and the public .

In his study of the sexlect as a sociolinguistic aspect of the Algerian society, Dekkak explains that by sexlect, he not only refers to how males and females use language but also to how language perceives its male and female users. The existence of a women's language and a men's language shows how individuals are positioned in terms of power, power relations, priority and evaluation inside their speech community. The possibility to bear certain roles but not others, Dekkak continues, and the variation in language use translates a variation in the normative belief system that governs the speech community. Words are not mere theoretical concatenations of morphemes, nouns, verbs, articles, and sentences as classified in

the Bloomfieldian way. They are active social components that serve social categorisation, classification and ranking; in one word they transmit gender ideologies. Through words, women and men are made aware of their skills and capabilities; i.e. what they can say, or more correctly what they are allowed to say; also how they perform their roles and the effect they have upon others. Drawing on Dekkak's concept of the sexlect in the Tlemcen speech community in Western Algeria, Dekkak distinguishes between features ascribed to women and men respectively. By and large, features typically granted to women are negative while those granted to men are positive.

In the Tlemcen speech community and Algeria as a whole, ,/**tala:q**/ (divorce) is a male privilege. Hence, if proclaimed by a female, the sentence /**tallaqtu**/ (I divorced him) will be socially ungrammatical. A woman should say /**tallaqni/** (he divorced me) or /**tallaqna/** (we divorced). (Dekkak, 1992)

It is undoubtedly clear from the examples cited above that the probability of occurrence of certain statements and not others is closely tied to being socially made able to perform some actions and not others. In Tlemcen Arabic, Dekkak puts in plain words, prevails what may be labelled a semantic positive/negative polarity. The same word may have two different meanings depending on who it refers to, that is whether it is used to describe a male or a female /**hXdχæl**/ refers to a male who is either divorced or a widower, while /**hXdχala**/ is associated with a female divorcee, a widow, a non virgin maiden or a woman with a bad morality. Such a multiplicity in connotations specifies who is who in terms of social position structure and social evaluation. From his early childhood, the individual is trained to adapt his practices to the set of words' references and words' connotations so that he handles social interactions successfully and meets social demands efficiently. Because women have acquired the set of negative meanings of words like /**hXdχala** / and consequently

the social prejudice underlie their use, by no means will a woman say /**ana hXdχala** / if she is divorced or a widow but will rather say /**ana mtalqa**/ (I am divorced) or /**radχli mæt**/ (my husband died).

To have the mastery of language use, importance should be given not only to the formal/structural side of language but also to the sociolinguistic modes of self-adaptation. An individual is said to have mastered the social skills once his language use exhibits the capacity of communication with others. This is the reason which makes the study of language come together with the frame of those societal rules which are felt, it is true, as constraints but are, in fact, here to ensure the social organization of the speech community. Therefore to engage in language study implies that emphasis should be given to what stands behind the words. Connotations are indeed part of that composite universe that mere words cover.

There is nothing to object to the idea that the development of an individual's language cannot be independent from his capacities of coping with the way his speech community conceives him. Thus one should be beckoned that in the linguistic forms, there is a manifestation of how one is ranked. The variety of the social attitudes towards the elements of society is well crystallized in language. By means of words, human acts are both embodied and attributed value. Given that language is sensitive to social facts and in it the disparities between individuals are crystallized, it has attracted the curiosity of many social scientists and mainly the ones who advocated social equality. As soon as the women liberation movement had started, the demands for social equity had arisen. Many feminists claimed that the inequity between sexes lies in the very language we use. So, Girls are made to learn not to be different from but to be inferior to males. Therefore, any claim for equality should start at the level of language since language and society are intermingled. A

social mutation cannot take place unless combined with a linguistic mutation showing subsequently a new view of women and men relations. For many years, researchers in the linguistic sexism: Lakoff (1976), Dekkak (1979), Tannen (1994), Butler (1997), Talbot (2003), Hall (1997) and many other gender and language scholars have debated this issue . All of them have agreed that to be given the ability to use a word is to gain access to a world. In a componential analysis of Tlemcen Arabic, Dekkak states that because some professions are male exclusive, the names referring to them are [+male] only, [+ female] would be improbable in such a variety. As an example, he mentions among others "wali" (country administrator), /**nXdχa:r**/ (carpenter). In this same context, the French phoneme /**R**/ is realized as [**R**] by females but is rolled by males. That is [**R**] is [+ female] while [**r**] is [+male]. In case [**r**] is [+females], one may speculate that the female has either been brought up in a male governed family or that she tends to identify herself with males.

As the world we live in is humanly created it undergoes continuous social and linguistic change; and each time a change is affected, the individual is compelled to adjust and readjust his set of habits be it linguistic or social. The word /**hogra**/ which was some years ago used in quarrels mainly between young people in cases when an older person beats a younger one, or for instance when a man violates some of the right of a woman, has acquired a socio-political meaning. This has been expanded to the bureaucratic, military and political practices against the rights of the citizens. As a consequence, the use of the lexeme /**hogra**/ has to be defined in relation to the context within which it is used. The social dynamic is progressive and the process of position attributing; according to Fairclough (1989) may be as long as life. This is why the individual is never one. If so, he will be considered as asocial. He who lacks the ability to make his verbal behaviour cope with new situations would probably be labelled an outcast and his social behaviour would be deviant. In the essentialist speech community, the belief that one can use words

freely is chimerical. This can be clearly seen in the wide range of taboo words, non-said, euphemisms, and metaphors in language. Their very existence is emblematic of the social control and power upon individuals, whose individuality and personality expressed in terms of social categories are embedded, as it were, in the variety of the social languages any speech community has. Language is a mode of expressing the collective modes of behaviour of the speech .In this context, Fairclough asserts

> *Language is not merely a means of communication. It is also an expression of shared assumptions. Language transmits implicit values, behavioural modals to all those people who use it.*
>
> **(Fairclough, 1989, p79)**

According to the speech community perspective, females and males perceive themselves through the words they use. A woman in Algerian Arabic should be **/ ħniina/** (tender), **/taħʃXm/** (decent), **/dri:fa/** (refined). A man, on the other hand, has to be **/fo:r/** (strong), **/xʃI:n** (tough), **/ˤandah Xl kXlma/** (firm and respects his promises), **/bXdraˤah/** (physically strong and not a coward). As a matter of fact, if these set of qualities were reversed would be triviality and slur would come into existence.

Stereotyping sustains, maintains and helps the proliferation of negative attitudes towards the way women speak and positive attitudes towards the way men speak. To allow the survival and the continuity of social processes as a whole inside the speech community, ideas, negative stereotypes about women's weakness and men's strength are perpetuated by the family, and the peer group. To say to a boy, for example, "Don't cry, you are a man and men don't cry", or praise a girl by saying "you're really feminine and beautiful in this dress", is to build a fixed

conception of femininity and masculinity and to even orientate both boys and girls behaviours along an idealized masculine-feminine axis   in performing their future roles. In this way, they are made aware of their positions and their relations vis-à-vis the others. In words are displayed how social members are grouped and how attitudes towards them are manifested.

The use of lexical items like boyish, womanish effeminate, a butch are ranked as deviant, not normal, in the speech community model. The reason is that on the one hand, there is a group who grows in conformity with the social order, another group on the other hand, subvert this hegemonic social order and develop a behaviour that goes in contrast to what is communally agreed upon. For as much as the examples cited above are overloaded with pejorative connotations, individual freedom remains a myth in a social structure where individuals are not exempt from complying to the generally accepted standards.

Hence, /**jabki ki l mra/**, /**xawæf ki lmra**/, /**xʃI:na ki rradXl**/, respectively (he cries like a woman), (he is frightened like a woman), (harsh like a man) are   sentences based on stereotypical ascriptions of women and men . They are used in a pejorative way, to describe or sometimes reform some behavioural anomalies in males or females modes of action.

Through the attitudes of the others, one is made aware of what is socially grammatical from what is socially ungrammatical. So, to avoid to be stigmatised as a social out-law, a boy grows sensitive about all what could be qualified as feminine. He tempts to excel in toughness, strength and vigour. Likewise, girls are made conscious of their femininity from a very early age. They tend to reinforce all what is said to be female proper and this is very well crystallized in the way they walk, speak and even in the different roles they adopt when playing. It is noteworthy that in the process of socialization, to conform will not be possible unless an appropriate model is continuously offered by the milieu where the child lives. His

personality is shaped in agreement with the model which he has the most frequently been in touch with.

It is not a haphazard that in many cases, a girl, for example, identifies herself with a boy and develops boyish manners like harshness, toughness, and thickness of voice. This phenomenon is deep rooted in the model she has been offered.

The words are not the only human manifestation that remains in the confines of essentialism of the speech community. Not to be identified with the other sex, males and females should aim towards a sex typed voice quality. Like the words that are daily used, phonetic parameters in women's and men's speech   are not a matter of free choice. They are specificity   meant to meet certain social needs as the expression of that social self that has been moulded by social norms in the course of socialization.

Females and males grow up with the awareness that harsh/thick voices, for instance, are man referential while thin/soft voices are female referential. This leads to say that not only words as Miller and Swift (1977) state but voice also acquires its specificity from people's agreement on what they are intended to mean.

I.7 Women's Language and Men's Language

Assumptions about language and the roles of men and women , male versus female use of language ,language and sex stereotypes language and dominance have ,for a long time resorted to endeavours in sociolinguistics and women's studies and feminist studies of gender and language. Gender and language conceptualizations reign in most cultures.

In the early days of sociolinguistic research, gendered variation was often dealt with under the label of 'women's language 'and men's language'. Such

research has its roots in the speech community model, which classifies groups inside the community in bipolar categories. The social category of gender is of enormous significance. For an individual to be assigned to the category of male or female has far-reaching consequences. The classification of gender in binary categories sometimes as mutually exclusive opposites has influenced early feminist studies. People are perceived through the eyes of gender polarization (Bem, 1993) and assigned to apparently natural categories accordingly. On the basis of this gender assignment, essentialist naturalised   norms and expectations about verbal behaviour are imposed upon people. The short background overview, which is presented below will put an insight into the area and the discussion at hand.

Early work in the field of gender and language simply accepted and used Commonsensical categories of female and male. As a consequence, it tended to reproduce sexist stereotypes. Indeed early studies were profoundly androcentric. Scholars in the field present various alleged characteristics of women as speakers, including soft way of speaking, irrational topic shift and, not least, talkativeness and vacuity; in other words, talking a lot but making no sense. The evidence that scholars refer to for their claim about women's language vacuity consists of sexist proverbs, views and stereotypes people have of women.

As mentioned in the introduction, difference and dominance approaches to the study of gender and language proliferated over the last three decades. The year 1975 can be regarded as a milestone to the study of language and gender in the west because in that year three important books, *Language and Women's Place* by Lakoff, *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance* edited by Thorne and Henley, were published. Ever since then a concern over the relationship between language and gender has greatly aroused people's interest. Obviously, there has been a general rising of consciousness about language and gender issues. Rather than focusing on

how women and men identities are constructed through language, difference and dominance approaches have tended to focus on how women and men use language differently. Similarly, gender researchers also focused on gender from the perspective of the speakers' biological sex. An over 'sexualisation' of women, with the focus on their appearance, their body attractiveness or lack off attractiveness; a female in this perspective is first and foremost a 'sexualized' being.

I.7.1 Sex and Gender

The terms sex and gender are sometimes used interchangeably as synonyms. Generally, gender and language scholars have made a distinction between sex as physiological and gender as a cultural or social construct. Cameron (1995) states that by gender she means "*a social system which defines subjects as men and women and governs the relationships between them*" (Cameron 1995:15).For Litosseliti, gender refers "*to the traits assigned to a sex-what maleness and femaleness stand for- within different societies and cultures*" (Litosseliti 2006:11). Sex for Litosseliti refers to "*biological maleness and femaleness, or the physiological, functional, anatomical differences that distinguish men and women*" (ibid: 10). Cameron (1995:16) suggests that gender is not a simple self-evident category, but rather an unstable construct. Coates (1993:4) argues that gender should be looked upon not only as a fixed category, but also as a continuum. The term might be defined differently by different researchers, and some therefore prefer to use only the strictly biological term *sex* when describing and defining differences between male and female language. However, to be able to analyse differences between men and women, most researchers agree that the term *gender* has to be used because gender is a more encompassing and complex term. As Craddol and Swan (1989) state, the many different life experiences of women and men can in no way be merely explained by biological differences between the sexes.

Differences based on sex cannot account for the fact that a person may be more or less feminine and more or less masculine. Girls can develop into tomboys and boys can develop into sissies. Therefore, the many variations of femaleness and maleness through time and from one generation to the next show that traits assigned to a sex by a given culture in a given community are socially determined. Parameters assigned to a sex in the Algerian culture are totally different from parameters assigned to the same sex in the Western culture. Wodak (1997) and Talbot (1998) recognize not only that behaving as men or women within a society will vary from one situation to the next, from one social grouping or community to another, and according to different goals and aims, and interests, but also that people are active agents involved in their own 'gendering' and 'doing gender' .In one word, sex does in no way determine gender.

As to why the sex-gender distinction is important is that the notion of biological differences between women and men has often been used to male power and female powerlessness. Females' role is to take care of the family and to do indoor activities. Males on the other hand are the breadwinners, the providers.

To speak about the sex-gender dichotomy is central for understanding that generally speaking, early research on gender and language focused on gender from the perspective of the speakers' biological sex. For example, language variation studies focused on sex-preferential linguistic usage, that is, women's and men's tendencies to speak in their own and different ways. These ways sometimes involved lexical gender differences, and sometimes gendered conversations patterns, different style and grammar and also different phonetic and phonological aspects.

I.7.2 Linguistic Sexism

In the 1960's, the word sexism was coined to describe "discrimination within a social system on the basis of sexual membership" (Wodak 1997:7). Sexism is based on hierarchy in the relationships between women and men and where men are the norm and women are subordinated and constrained because of their sex. Linguistic sexism contains biological explanations that ignore women's and men's social roles and positions. In the 1970's and the 1980's, gender and language research focused on gender bias in language, with an emphasis on words, and on gender language use. Attention to bias in the language concentrated on sex specifications in language use, semantic derogations, asymmetrically gendered language items and connotations of words. These have the potential to reinforce binary understandings of norm and deviance making men visible and reinforcing female invisibility. Sexist language as will be seen below portrays women as products to be consumed, and judge them on the basis of their appearance rather on their intellect and abilities. Sexist language trivializes women and defines women in terms of home, family, and domestic roles.

In seminal taxonomic studies, Lakoff (1975), Thorne and Henley (1975), Sachs, Lieberman and Erickson (1973) and many other sociolinguists found out that the male/female distinction in language is multifaceted. They shed light on lexical, stylistic (including grammar and phonology) and phonetic differences. The conclusion they have reached so far is that males and females do use a gender related language, which state each of them as a separate speech community.

Lakoff (1975), first coined the term *women's language*, Dekkak used the term *sexlect* which both of them feel are characterised by, for example, politeness, the use of certain "empty" adjectives, the use of hedges and hypercorrect grammar. They argue that there are different conversational styles with different characteristics, and although not all women or men use one style only, some characteristics are typically female or male (Lakoff 1975:74). It is true, their conclusions are open to criticism

but they were among the first to have suggested that women and men had remarkably different styles, and their definitions of the characteristics of women's language have been the basis for much subsequent empirical research.

I.7.2.1 Gender Related Lexical Patterns:

Starting from the hypothesis that no word, no idiom is innocent in the study of language in its relation to society, it might be speculated , according to the speech community model, that the lexicon of any language plays a primary role in modelling the speaker's way of viewing the world. The very idea that some words acquire a peculiar meaning depending on who uses them or who the words are used to refer to crystallizes the way a cultural scheme has been shaped by the speech community. Words as is commonly known are a quality of the social structure. In addition, words are means of categorizing individuals and assigning them role and value inside their community. Through them, social categories are recognized as women, men, mannish, womanish, strong, and weak and so forth. Such a phenomenon gives rise to the assumption that in the vocabulary of a language lays the socio-cultural prejudices, the way social agents are predetermined and evaluated. More than that, the social agents do not conceive or identify themselves outside the options offered to them by the words they make use of in their every day communication.

The set of meanings words have and the conception of the world are so intermingled that they become one entity and "*it is surely almost certain that t*he *speaker does not separate in his use of language his knowledge of semantic structure and his knowledge of the world*" (Palmer, 1981:51). Social protagonists learn their roles through the different processes of communication. Because a role is the sum total of shared meanings about a given status or position, individuals are

enabled to interact within their speech community as active actors in the sense of sending messages, receiving them, encoding them and finally decoding them.

Both females and males learn to exhibit their roles respectively through the subordination of their behaviour to a linguistic code that is at the same time a way of expressing their role. Furthermore, it is in this linguistic code that the identity of speakers, the relevance and value of their acts are embodied advocates of the speech community model state.

Word-formation is a particularly sensitive area in which gender may be communicated. In languages, with or without grammatical gender, processes of derivation have an important function in the formation of gendered personal nouns, in the creation and use of new feminine/female occupational terms. Look at the derivation of the female terms below.

Male Terms	Female Terms
Actor	Actress
Governess	Governor
God	Goddess
Host	Hostess
Prince	Princess
Steward	Stewardess

A striking fact about the asymmetry in English is its marked and unmarked terms of nouns. It is noted that all the female terms are created by adding a specific suffix -

ess to the male ones. The terms on the left are unmarked terms because they can also refer to female counterparts but the terms on the right are formally marked as feminine terms, which are derived from their corresponding male terms and are restricted to refer to females only. In addition, the feminine terms do not just refer the opposite sex of the referent but also differ from the masculine terms in other respects. The feminine suffix -ess may simply signal that the word refers to a female or it may mean "wife of ". · The unmarked form can refer to men or human beings in general. The marked form is restricted to women. The feminine suffix -ess may have additional connotations, often associated with negative meanings. Manageress, for example, seems to have connotations of lower status: one could be the manageress of a cake shop, but probably not of a very important unit

In English, terms like feminine/masculine seem as if they were vehicles of unchangeable aspects that automatically describe what female specific is and what is male specific (Miller & Swift, 1977:57). Qualifiers like tough, beautiful, courageous and tender are sex related. Toughness and courage are males' qualities. Women need not to be tough or courageous. They need to be feminine. In that, they have to be beautiful and tender. If they show toughness or courage, they will be stigmatised as mannish. The suffix **'ish'** shows a deviation from the norm. Similarly, a man will be said to be womanish if he is not resolute, strong and honourable. Such an idea is supported by dictionaries. For instance, the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1997), explains the word sissy as follows: "a boy who lacks the qualities thought to be typical of boys; for example courage and sense of adventure". This leads this dictionary user to infer that courage and adventure are features of a male personality. Looker, career girl, dolly bird are on the other hand derogatory terms that refer to females' physical attractiveness and sex appeal rather than to their achievements. Because females are socially evaluated according to their appearance in terms of femininity, softness and physical potentials and not according to how much

successful they are in their work, their "femaleness" is made noticeable and is even reinforced by the environment from a very early age. The feature 'femaleness' becomes thus part of the process of personality shaping and socialization. Females are reared with and moulded in accordance to those qualifiers that are so endeared by society.

It is noteworthy that many words in English have undergone degeneration and derogation once they have started to refer to women. Researchers, who have devoted much work to lexical gender disparities, have noticed a profusion of lexical items, which display a great amount of negativity. This gender determined asymmetry is known as semantic derogation. It occurs when a term undergoes pejorative connotation by dint of its exclusively female reference. Virago, shrew, and virtue are descriptive words the meaning of which varies according to whether they describe a man or a woman. Virago for example (Miller & Swift, 1977:64) used to describe a man or a woman who are exceptionally strong and courageous. Today the word virago has become female exclusive. It means an aggressive woman who tries to tell people what to do (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2005). Similarly, when referring to both males and females, the word virtue implies qualities like righteousness, responsibility, and good morality. Yet, as soon as it is used to describe a woman, the lexeme virtue acquires a supplementary meaning: chastity (Miller & Swift: 65). A woman of virtue is consequently a chaste woman that is one who has not had sexual intercourse except with the person to whom she is married. A man of virtue is one who has the sense of responsibility and honour. Shrew, Miller and Swift (ibid: 64) report, is a lexical item, which in the thirteen century used to qualify a man or a woman with an evil character. Nevertheless the word shrew has witnessed an extension in its meaning and has come to refer to "any person especially a woman given to railing or scolding or other perverse or malignant behaviour. (Ibid: 64). Shrew, in the present dictionaries, refers

exclusively to a bad tempered unpleasant woman. Such a shift in words' meaning and use to exclusively define women is a blatant expression of devaluation that females are subjected to in society and this devaluation is very well mirrored in language.

Like English, Algerian Arabic has not been immune from those lexical items, which vary according to who they qualify: a male or a female.

If we consider the set of meanings associated to the words **/rad ∂l/** and **/mra/** (respectively a man and a woman) we will reach to the conclusion that the word **/rad ∂l/** does not only refer to human being of the male sex but it points at to his physical strength, protection, security and honour as well. Therefore expressions like **/ana radχXl - ku:n radχX l /rdχæl mlæħ/** (I am a man, be a man- men have value) are expressions that refer to the strength, honour, and protection males symbolize. **/mra/** however stands in marked contrast to all that is male referential. Beyond being the human being of the female sex, the word **/mra/** refers to physical and mental weakness and immaturity **/mæ di:r∫ ʕlIha hædi:k Ni:r mra/** (Don't take her into account, she is only a woman) is used to signal women inferiority and immaturity.

In his study of the sexlect as a sociolinguistic variable in Tlemcen Arabic (TA for short), Dekkak, (1979), reports that there are words/expressions which are females' referential. Further, as in English, TA has witnessed a semantic polarization or a binary opposition that is the meaning of some words alters in relation to whether the referent is a man or a woman. His analysis was supported by many examples. In TA, the following lexical items become derogatory once they start refering to females, **/maʕrufa/ /ʕazba/ /ʕagra/** respectively a (widely known woman, not married-barren) have besides their denotative meanings acquired connotative associations, most of the time negative. Thus **/mra maʕrufa/** (known

woman) is rather a woman with a loose morality, a prostitute. **/ˁazba/** determines a virgin girl. Finally, **/ ˁagra/** is seen as a woman who has failed to fulfil the role of mother which is the chief ingredient of females' existence though sterility is a disease that may affect males or females.

In contrast, when used in the masculine, these words do not bear the same negative connotations. **/maˁru:f/** means well known, **/ˁazXb/** is an unmarried man without any reference to whether he has sexual relations with women or not and **/ˁagXr/** is a man who cannot have children. More examples including whole sentences that are socially very significant can be cited, thus **/kXlma ta ˁrdχ al/** (The promise of men) is used by both men and women while the sentence **/kX lma ta ˁnsa/** (the promise of women) is socio-culturally unlikely to happen in the language of either sexes. Its occurrence is met with irony. **/lmra dˁi:fa/** (The woman is weak), **/radχ X l sutra/** (a men is a protection) are sentences that make clear the negative attitude society has towards women. In that woman, do not have to be taken seriously as if they were eternal immature creatures.

In theory, feminine words have equivalent meanings. It is interesting to note that these assumed equivalent words referring to men and women do not actually have the same connotations despite their original meanings. Language can be said to convey predetermined and rather stable attitudes towards either sex. It is a widely spread cultural phenomenon that words related to men, men's occupations and the like remain relatively stable in their meanings for centuries whereas those denoting women and their world have become worse in quality. Such asymmetry is shown in the process of feminine words becoming derogative. The feminine member of the pair invariably denotes a concept evaluated as negative or inferior. It is noted that where there are gender-distinct asymmetric pairs of words, it is always the masculine terms symbolizing positive force and the feminine terms denoting triviality and enjoying lower status or even conveying unfavourable associations.

The above mentioned examples about female and male words carry different notation and associations. A governor is a person who governs a state while a governess is a woman at the head of a household or family or takes care of children. Master is a man who has authority and control over someone or important fields. Mistress is a woman who lives with a man as if she was his wife or is by him and visited for the purpose of conducting a sexual relationship.

Paired words are originally intended to contrast with each other in sex of referents but actually they are contrasted in other ways too. Language and essentialist Linguistics argued that language as such indicated a problematic general tendency to see women (but not men) primarily as objects of sexual attention, a tendency that made it difficult for other aspects of women's traits to emerge and develop. Muriel Schulz (1975) called this process as "semantic derogation".

Spender (1980: 22-23) gave a typical example of the English word 'tart', which has undergone semantic changes. The word originally referred to a small pie or pastry. It was first applied to a young woman as a term of love. Later on it changed to mean young women, who were sexually desirable; then it referred to women who were careless in their morals, and finally, it changed to mean women of the street.

Of course, the value of words and their different associations should not be treated in isolation; they are to be considered socio-semantically, in relation to their socio-cultural background. Words are part of human phenomena and to separate them from these phenomena is to prevent understanding. The asocial character of Chomskyan, Bloomfieldian and Saussurean paradigms, according to essentialists, does not help understand language as part of the social dynamic.

Growing linguistic polarity, euphemisms deviations from the dictionary meaning make words better loaded with multi-dimensional signification. A single word has many meanings due to the variety of attitudes and assumptions society members have about each other.

To understand words is not solely linked to those definitions provided by a dictionary. To understand words, is in fact intimately related to the way we use them to convey a specific meaning in specific social settings.

It is in a social context that words become operational since attention is paid to the world that lies behind those words. When considered far from the speech community, they will be denuded from their properties to serve human ends and purposes. It will be a gross mistake to deny that meaning of words is not context sensitive and is unrelated to the structure of society and the structure of the prevailing values.

I.7.2.2 Gender Related Style:

When one turns to speech style and grammar used by males and females, differences are also apparent though not as sharply as they are in lexis. Evidence demonstrates that there are social disparities reflected in every day use of speech patterns and which help establish, express and maintain power relations between males and females. Indeed, a great amount of stylistic cues functioning as indicators often fall into the paradigm of sentences used, their style, their lexis where an asymmetric relation between men and women is exhibited; social differences lead to some stylistic references. It is undeniably correct to state that parameters like sex, age and setting are social discrepancies, which are well reflected in language because of how they are stereotypically defined.

It is known to be the case that one of the most important stereotypes, which are supported by empirical evidence, is that females' language has the features politeness, cheerfulness, correctness and so forth (Thorne and Henley, 1975:17). Males' language, one notices, appears to be in marked contrast to that of females. Males, in general seem not to be socially very much constrained to make use of the above patterns i.e. excessive politeness, cheerfulness, correctness. The notion of

stylistic differences that conform to contextual criteria has been the concern of many sociolinguistic investigations. The belief is that individuals are really framed in a context that determines perfectly the way females, males should talk, and which modes of speech they should employ.

The term style refers to *"the choice of certain linguistic features in place of others. The set of features, which are accepted as fully appropriate in one situation, may seem comic or distasteful if it occurs in another."* (Chapman, 1973:10) The selection of a particular style is constrained by a set of communicative criteria like the identity of the speaker, the identity of the spoken to and the nature of what is spoken about. Native speakers of a given language would give the same message in a variety of ways according to these criteria. In MTG, for example, females, in professional contexts, tend to show an overt preference for /**sæjida or madam**/, (madam) when males address them. It is respect and distance marking feature. To call them by their first name would be a mark of familiarity or lack of respect. Style is thus *"the product of social situation of a common relationship between language users"* (Ibid: 11). Along these lines, the women style is characterized by the co-occurrence of some linguistic features that set them as a separate group. Kramer (1974) has scrutinized the way people think women speak or should speak according to the stereotypes; she draws attention to the effect of these stereotypes on the verbal behaviour (and even the non verbal behaviour) of females (Kramer, 1974,in Thorne and Henley, 1975:47). The hypothesis that the sexist stereotypes about men and women is well mirrored in their respective speech, that is the image of females in submissive, supportive and receptive position in a male dominated context made her raise a number of problems. For example, females according to the stereotypes should not be great talkers/talkative. Women are, as Graddol and Swan put it, *"consistently portrayed as chatterboxes, endless gossips or strident nags patiently endured or kept in check by strong and silent men"* (1989:2). A talkative woman

according to Kramer is *"one that talks as much as a man"* (Kramer: 1974:47). Additionally, she points at the need to consider with scrutiny the grammatical, lexical, phonological structures that female probably know and use at the same time. In other words, there should be a deep examination of the linguistic performance, which could be either male/female referential or preferential.

Studies whose subject matter is the stylistic disparities between males and females have revealed an intuitive link between the style used and the role differentiation.

I.7.2.3 Gender Related Phonological Patterns:

Trudgill (1972, 1974) confirms that females use fewer stigmatised speech forms, give greater importance to prestige patterns, and are more sensitive to correct language. He attempted to draw a correlation between sex and context as social phenomena and the realization of some phonetic and phonological variables in the urban dialect of the city of Norwich.

Among the variables studied by Trudgill is the pronunciation of the suffix (**ing**) in words like **walking, laughing, going** and so forth. It is to be remembered that this variable has two different pronunciations. The first one is /**Iŋ**/. It is formal and occurs in accents described as prestigious, i.e. RP. Therefore, we have /**wΔ:k#δ-lΛf#δ- gXu#δ**/. The second pronunciation (**ing**) is /**Xn~n**/. This pronunciation is neither formal nor prestigious. This variable has been tested in four contextual styles: word list style, Reading Passage style, Formal Speech and Casual Speech. The results obtained in this survey show very clearly that the variables [**Xn ~n**] is typical to working class males. Working class females however, more frequently use /**#δ /** a pattern assigned more prestige. This fact, Trudgill speculates, is related to women's awareness of social status and therefore they are more attentive to the value and significance of language variations and language use. Given their

relegation to inferior social ranking and their evaluation according to how they appear, female speakers are more anxious, less secure about their social position. They, therefore, find it necessary "*to signal their social status linguistically*" (Ibid. 182). Men's value, on the other hand is associated with how much successful they are. In other words, men are valued according to what they achieve in terms of their profession and their power. This is the reason why they attribute less importance to their linguistic behaviour and allow themselves to use less standard varieties.

Likewise, the western culture sees that Working Class speech connotes masculine characteristics as toughness and roughness. Supposedly, these features are positive when they are male referential, yet negative when they are female referential.

Although it would be premature and well nigh wrong to suggest that there is a great amount of stylistic differences in speech patterns used by females and males in MTG (Given that no such study has been done up to now), amateur observation forces us to notice linguistic correlates of such variations. In their every day interactions, females use phonetic variables, which are, seemingly, more refined, sophisticated and female referential. Therefore, while MTG female speakers more frequently realize the phoneme │**q**│ as [**q**], male speakers generally realize it as [**g**]. The following table encloses some examples about the realization of │**q**│ as [**q**] or [**g**] depending on the sex of the speaker.

Table 1: Examples of females'/males' realization of the phoneme │q│ in MTG.

Female pronunciation	Male pronunciation	English Translation
sbaq	sbXg	He overtook
jʕanaq	jʕanXg/	To take someone in one's arms
ʕunqi	ʕungi	My neck
mXrqa	mXrga	Broth
jsaqi	jsXgi	To put broth on cooked food
laqa:t	lXga:t	Tweezers
jqaʕad	jgaXʕd	To seat somebody
qutra	gutra	drop
quffa	guffa	Shopping basket
qsXm	gsXm	He divided
qajXs	gXjXs	He tried something on
tbaq	tbag	Bread basket
wqaf	wgXf	He stood up

Similarly, MTG female speech contains fewer diphthongs than MTG male speech. MTG female speakers, in general, tend to favour the use of long vowels, unlike males who prefer diphthongs. Thus, gender of the speaker determines the use of a long vowel or a diphthong.

Table 2: Examples of females and males pronunciation of the same words using either a long vowel or a diphthong.

Females' pronunciation	Males' pronunciation	English translation
hi:t	haIt	Wall
xi:t	xaIt	Thread
di:f	daif	Guest
si:f	saif	Summer
bi:d	baid	Eggs
lmi:da	lmeida	Table
Xro:z	Xrauz	Rice
Xdo:	Xdau	Light

That diphthongs and the realization of │q│ as [g] are less frequent in females' speech is socially very significant and confirms the finding of Trudgill (1974). Females as a category do avoid speech patterns that open them to stigmatisation because according to the general belief in MTG speech community, the use of diphthongs and the use of [g] in place of [q] typify the rural varieties most of the time lacking refinement and sophistication that distinguish the urban varieties. Being vulnerable to criticism, female speakers make every endeavour to signal their status. Females, in fact, are careful about their pronunciation. Male speakers, in MTG, tend to sound less refined, less sophisticated in their pronunciation. It seems that this is deliberately done. Because it is not the criterion used for their evaluation, MTG male speakers do not care about their speech. In many cases, MTG speakers tend to describe males whose speech is sophisticated as lacking masculinity.

I.7.2.4 Gender Related Grammatical Patterns:

The intersection of sex and social role is also present in the syntactic components used by males and females. Drawing on linguistic sexism, many sociolinguists who have done work of comparative character have found out that some grammatical structures have a role in rendering social meaning. In that, they divulge speakers' identity in terms of sex, status and role. Taking stock of the way grammatical structures are handled, it is seen that these structures are informative of role assigning and role fulfilling. At some stage, it is necessary to examine the relation between the use of these grammatical structures, the identity of the speaker and his role assigned to him /her. The purpose behind the choice between different grammatical processes and participant types are socially oriented and socially significant. To explore this further, we need to look at an aspect of the grammar used by females and males.

Polite forms and formality appear to be more frequent in females' speech than in males' speech (Lakoff 1975). The reason is that women in general have the real status of non-participant in serious matters, and their role is stereotypically to serve as a decoration for her man. One who plays such a role is an outsider, and an outsider, must be more polite than an active participant must because his role is subordinate.. Very formal polite forms like "I wonder if you could help me; would you mind shutting/opening the door, please? May I ask you a question? "Will you help me with these groceries, please?" instead of "come help me", "the door" (to ask someone to close/open the door and so forth are common place occurrences in females' language, Lakoff (1975). Compared to women, men exhibit more linguistic freedom. The same sentences are formulated differently and may be uttered with less formality and "less politeness" (we do not believe males to be impolite, but to get things done; they do not need the same formality as females. It is in fact evident for a man to get things done. Other features which are seen as part of women's language are tag questions as 'lovely day, isn't it? And the use of more intensifiers

and qualifiers such as 'terribly cold, really beautiful, well, a bit' convey according to Lakoff that the speaker is uncertain about what she is saying or cannot avow the accuracy of her statement and is seeking confirmation from the addressee. Commenting Lakoff postulates, Tannen (1990) states that different linguistic choices by women and men are related to broader gender ideologies, which often work to disadvantage women. Women risk being called unfeminine when they are assertive and use direct language. For Tannen, dominance may be behind gender differences in speech. Her explanation for differences was also based on the different socialization or what she terms "acculturation of boys and girls : the idea that girls and boys grow up being socialized so differently , and with different conversational expectations , that communication between them is like communication between two different cultures" (Tannen 1990:12).

By analogy to English female speakers, Mostaganem Spoken Arabic female speakers, use polite forms that are not or are very rarely used by males, **/Xłah X jxali:k -smaħli xuja, - nXndχXm nsaqsi:k/** (may God protect you, Excuse me, I wonder if I could ask you a question). Males would rather use the following polite forms, **/X łah jaħafdak, Xłah jXrade ∂li:k Xlwældi:n,- łah Xjarħam Xl waldi:n/** (May God protect you, may God make your parents grant blessing to you, may God bless you dead parents).Similarly , females in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic use **/ jaak /**, which is a tag form that follow statements like **/Ibaab jaak /** (beautiful, isn't it?).

In many societies, formality and politeness (Fairclough, 1989) are feature that specify practices of higher social prestige. It restricts access and set distances between participants. It is a means by which respect is generated and the social position is confirmed. Women's formality and politeness are neither to signal distance nor higher ranking. By being formal and polite, women tend to give good

impression and avoid social stigmatisation. In MTG, a woman who displays a certain degree of "linguistic looseness" is described, as / **mætaħʃXmʃ** / (not decent), /**mætXswæʃ** / (valueless, vulgar). A too polite man, who speaks with an extra structuring of his speech, is likely to negatively affect the way the other members of society perceive him. In one word, over-politeness might be inimical to his masculinity; he will be rated as weak and lacking firmness, two characteristics that socially impinge males' image. For the same reason, females shrink from using swear words or blasphemies. As males, females know that part of language described as vulgar, coarse and improper. However, there seems to be a universal tendency if not a deep-rooted "social instinct", (one that has been acquired at a very early stage of socialization) which drives females to not use curse-words. The sociolinguistic axiom «don't say» means «don't do» is very significant. The reason is that to be forbidden a word means to be forbidden an action. Compared to females, males are not very reluctant as to allow themselves to blaspheme or use taboo words. Society exerts less control and meets with less severe judgements such behaviour when man generated. As one man's meat is another man's poison, what a man is allowed to do in our culture is what a woman is forbidden. In our culture, nothing can affect the masculinity and the value of a man unless he is incapable of earning money. The popular saying **/XradχXl ∂aIbah fi: dχ i:bah/** confirms that males' value resides in how much they earn and not in how they speak. Never does the sentence /**lmra∂aIbha fi: dχ i:bha**/ occur.   It is needless to recall that our culture does not grant any importance to a financially independent woman; a woman is a nurturer, she is not the bread winner. In one word, woman take care, men take in charge.   The sentence /**lmra mra**/ (a female is a female) is full an emblem of females' triviality. The use of the word **/mra/** two times has nothing to do with synonymy. The first one means the female sex. The second implies inferiority.

Passive and active forms would be sensitive grammatical areas where both disparities and roles differentiating the two sexes are prominently displayed. A deep examination of how passive/active forms operate in males and females language could prove very useful for providing subtle information about the way and manner society has been structured in the course of time.

Granted, females' confinement to a passive and subordinate role in the speech community, their use of the passive form is apparent in their speech. Dekkak (1979) contends that these patterns are pervasive in Tlemcen Arabic /**talaqnI- xtabnI- zwXdχ ni /** (he divorced me-he asked me for marriage-he married me) are female exclusive sentences. As Tlemcen Arabic speakers, Mostaganem Spoken Arabic speakers, by and large, exhibit a similar verbal behaviour. Thus, sentences like /**jaxdXm ∂lija- xarX dχni mXn dari- ħarXmni/** (He is responsible for me, he excluded me from my house-he repudiated me) are female exclusive patterns. These are examples, which bear out passivity and subordination of females because active 'speakership' involves an active social role. Therefore, mentioned communication units are interpreted as socially nonsensical if said by male speakers. Because *"men like to make themselves the active doers,"* (Flexner in Thorne and Henley ,1975:53) they use active forms more usually. They dominate the world and it is up to the dominant to initiate action. Males would say, /**talaqtha- xtatbtha- naxdXm ∂ li:ha- ħarXmtha/** (I divorced her-I asked her for marriage-I am responsible for her- I repudiated her). Men's power and women's triviality is present in the way males structure their utterances. The fact that names of some professions have no feminine gender as /**doktœr/** (doctor) /**profesœr/** (professor/teacher), /**med?s/** (doctor), /**provisœr/** (headmaster), symbolizes social inequality. Granted, the problem of grammatical gender is not eminently posed in Arabic but a political position marked by its newness in the Algerian society seems to not have the feminine. It is the position of female Member of Parliament who according to the media, is referred to

as /**næ?i b/** though /**næ?Iba/** would not violate the rules that govern the Arabic language.

The image of females as immature and empty-headed is well mirrored in the language we use. Consider if you please the following examples. The first one is extracted from MSA male ordinary speech dealing with the choice of would be future wife. The second example is an excerpt from a discussion between a young businesswoman (**Cl**) who wants to move to a new job because she was subjected to her boss's hassle, and an employment counsellor (**c**) (Fairclough, 1989:226).

1-/**nXdi:ha ∫i:ra sNi:ra wX nrabi:ha ∂la jXdi: /**

(I will marry a young girl so that I could train/tame her to do what I want her to do).

2-Cl: *the other thing that's difficult is if I don't succeed in getting this job*
   I think the real difficulty will actually be at staying where I am.
   I mean if I don't get it I'm almost tempted to resign,
   become unemployed.

C: *well there's e-have you talked to your husband about this?*

Cl: *e:m, in passing yes. I've threatened it on more than one occasion,*
   we could afford it.

 C: *well then, that's your call. It would be said because it is much*
  easier to get a job (cl:mhm) from a job. So, if you grit your teeth then
  that
  would be very good and have you considered that by handling the
  emotional stress and the hassle from ignoring and almost
  being crucified
  by the other people that you actually grow and mature as a person.

Both examples have a considerable expressive value, in that their authenticity shows that females never grow mature enough and have to be supported by males. Example 1 is very striking since it immediately suggests that females have to be "domesticated" by males. Furthermore, turn 2 in the second example calls to mind that husbands do control their wives important actions. Additionally, the stereotyped immaturity of females is over emphasized in turn 4 where the counsellor overtly says to the woman this experience would help her "*grow and mature as a person*" (Fairclough, 1989:227). Such a statement presupposes that harassing is legitimate and a sine qua non condition for females' maturation. (Ibid)

Hastily, one can say that the use of a sex specific style is no more than the manifestation of a social image. The motives behind the existence of a sex specific style are not arbitrary. Gender specific style is dictated by social criteria. It can be seen as a strategy that serves the interest of the speaker and his objectives. To signal their social identity, men and woman are likely to need specific style formulae to make their acts explicit.

It is undeniably true that females' speech denotes inferiority, less confidence and insecurity. Women are reluctant to the use of all what is not refined be it in the verbal or non-verbal behaviour. Being more sensitive to prestige, females are quite "choosy" about their language styles. Their speech patterns apparently very careful, lucidly demonstrate that they are vulnerable to severe social judgement. However, the same reluctance is noticed in males' behaviour towards all what is refined and delicate.

This leads to say that the sex of the speaker limits his freedom and confines him/her to use sex-defining style. Consequently, the possibility to choose a specific style is progressively restricted by a number of constraints that exclude certain other possibilities.

I.7.2.5 Gender Related Pitch and Intonation Patterns:

The social modulation of voice starts during the first years of the child's process of personality building. When born an infant rapidly moves from a physiological state to a social state; consequently as early as his first months, a baby responds to some social phenomena underlying human language.

In a study carried out on the vocalisations emitted by a baby-boy of ten months old and a baby girl of thirteen months old, Lieberman observed that these two babies tended to reduce the rate of their frequencies when the interlocutor was the father. The rate at which the vocal cords opened and closed was higher when these two babies communicated with their mothers (Lieberson 1967) Following the binary nature of social conception of gender and even of biological sex, such anatomical adjustments of the vocal cords vibrations has been interpreted as follows: babies can retain their parents' voice features whose frequencies are higher in the mothers but lower in the fathers. Babies' responsiveness to this phenomenon reinforces the social structure for this latter to be maintained in terms of norms acquisition, norms reproduction and social categorization .To be aware of the female/male disparity is a step to having access to one's position in society.

Specialists interested in the acoustic properties of speech sounds have measured the fundamental frequency of males and females utterances. They have found out that the mean value of FO (fundamental frequency) for a man with a deep voice is 90 cps while FO of a female with a shrill voice is 300 cps (Fletcher 1953). The overall mean value of women's voices has been estimated by Fletcher to be 256 cps; the males' has been estimated be an octave lower. The frequencies of a

representative group of British speaker ranged 66-411 cps for males and 75-508 cps for females.

The difference between frequencies of both sexes is evidenced by their anatomical distinctiveness. What would be of interest is to consider the extent to which social parameters like the social identity of the speaker; his status and position play a role in modulating frequencies in order to be in harmony with the speech situation. Some acoustic variations of human utterances appear systematically when a given set of social variables as social identity, status, role, context, community of practice come to interfere. How can these variables have an impact on voice quality? Is there an intrinsic correlation between what is acoustic and what is social? We will attempt to answer these questions later through the experiments that we will carry out.

Pitch whose acoustic counterpart is fundamental frequency is partly voice quality determinant. It is a most plausible factor upon which the disparity between males and females voice is based. Low fundamental frequency in males is due to the number of transformations that take place at puberty (Dekkak, 1979). The larynx of a male becomes larger and the two vocal folds become thicker. In contrast, high fundamental frequency in females results from the thinness and the mode of vibrations of the vocal cords. Added to these 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. In fact, to consider voice as a pure anatomical by-product is to denude it from its creativity as its innovations in agreement with the conversational logic.

Lehiste showed that the voice quality subjectively labelled as harsh or hoarse was associated with irregular vibrations of the vocal folds and the presence of an aperiodicity in the signal (Lehiste, 1970). It is true that the anatomical data are of great value since they provide the phonetician with information about the way speech organs operate for such perceptual characteristics of voice as hoarseness and

harshness. Nevertheless, it would undoubtedly, be of great interest to know about the sociological factors that make both sexes use a wide range of voice qualities.

In answer to this enquiry, Sacks, Lieberman and Erickson have shown that the identification of the speaker's sex is feasible without reference to the fundamental frequency. This identification is possible thanks to the study of the way air is modified in the supra-laryngeal cavities. Many anatomical analyses of voice quality have revealed that pre-adolescent children, be it girls or boys, have their vocal tracts similarly structured given that these children have the same weight and height. This leads to the assumption that due to such similarities, one would expect the same formant frequency whatever the sex of the speaker is. Furthermore, before puberty the supra-laryngeal cavities of children are alike consequently, no difference in FF is to exist. If however a lack of symmetry is noticed, it is to be interpreted as having psycho-socio-cultural origins and these differences will have to be analysed alongside culture and society. In this respect, Sachs (1971) and Dekkak (1979) found out that pre-adolescent boys tended to speak in low formants and had greater alterations in fundamental frequency. The girls had higher formants. The adult judges, in addition, were able to identify the sex of the speakers through their voices. The conclusion they reached was that male/female formants are partly dependent on anatomy and partly dependent on the social modelling of voice. Such findings mean that from early child hood boys and girls aware of their social identity, and reflect acoustically the roles society has assigned each of them.

The social correlation between the linguistic behaviour and the sex of the speaker has not been concerned with children solely. Key (1972) studied the variations of pitch in males and females and through the experiments she carried out, she came to the conclusion that high pitched voice is an aspect of female voice that is short of authority and can not consequently hold attention. Key also noted

that while females speak with several variations in intonation, males do not. The experiments which consisted of making school girls and school boys recount stories' events demonstrated that the way girls were reading witnessed a great deal of differences in intonation. The way boys were reading was nearly monotonous, that is poor in intonational contours.

Another study dealing with intonation in adult males and females in American English (Brend, 1971) has shown that some patterns of intonation have a higher frequency of occurrence in women. These patterns are hardly to occur in men. Consider the following

1- Oh that's awful.

2- Are you coming.

3- yes yes I know.

1 and **2** are intonational patterns used exclusively by women.

3 on the other hand is a pattern with a high probability of occurrence in males, American English according to Lakoff (1973) presents a type of intonation which is female referential.

Let us examine the reply to the question: **"when will dinner be ready?" "Oh around six o'clock?"** This answer can be considered as a token of hesitance and lack of confidence that characterize women. Women grow non assertive in expressing themselves. The reply "**Oh around six o'clock?"** with a rising intonation shows that the respondent is uncertain about herself.

Speaking with sex specifying intonation is not arbitrary. It is indicative of peculiarities proper to females' language, which is related to the social structure. It is a form of compliance with the way males and females operate in their community.

That a greater pressure is exerted on women cannot be denied. It is something very damaging since it relegates females to a second rate position. Yet, in many situations women find themselves driven to be tough, resolute and aggressive in other words differences in voice quality are not inter group only but they are intra group as well and this is what ,in our view is, worth investigating.

The adjectives tough, resolute and aggressive are men referential. However, in position of prominence like being a teacher, a headmistress, and a political leader females need to show authority so that they will be influential and do their jobs successfully. Voice is one of the main media by means of which power and authority can be conveyed. For the same reason, voice is also the channel that speakers use to shift from a position of power to a position that requires leniency and thinness. Is not life a stage on which we are mere actors as Shakespeare said many centuries ago?

If through our experiments we could prove that voice varies in agreement with social parameters, we would be able to implement the fact that it is only partly biological and we might also understand the nature of those voices which sound monotonous, their socio-psychological origins and eventually envisage their reinstatement.

We can assume that systematic fluctuations in voice corresponding to the variety of contexts where speech takes place imply that voice is a social parameter to account for in the analysis of speech because to speak with a homogeneous/uniform voice quality is quite unrealistic. If it does, it may mean that the individual speaker has not appropriately acquired language. A voice rich in variations that is in frequencies is indicative of a successful socialization. So, how do the changes in voice quality originate? What patterns do they follow to have a specific quality? How can voice be an index of social schema? In addition, why does a certain quality

of voice have the privilege of occurrence in one sex but not in the other or in one situation and not in the other? Is voice a pragmalinguistic feature that helps understanding? When do males/females lower their frequencies and when do they make them higher? To answer these questions, one should be accurate and analyse voice quality in terms of socio-acoustics that is to look at it in terms of physical properties and social motives.

From a biological standpoint, the vocal tracts of males and females are distinct and therefore they resonate differently. Nevertheless, stating that differences in voice are sex specific and that they stand in a binary opposition could be erroneous and would reduce voice variability to a pure biological conditioning. Experience has shown that both males and females tend to modulate their voice quality, not in terms of gender only, but in terms of their role and their purpose in their community of practice.

I.8 Conclusion:

In this chapter, we have tried to summarize the essentialist gender and language studies, which were based mainly on linguistic difference and dominance and on the linguistic attributes of women and men as two demographically categorised entities as prescribed by the speech community.

Gender differences expressed in verbal communication that exist at many language levels have been of interest to a growing number of gender and language scholars. For them, with regard to language use, gender is related to both

socialisation and categorization inside the speech community. Through specific language selection and preferences in the use of language forms, verbal behaviour and conversational strategies, women and men vary in the expression of their behaviour and gender identity. As they stick to different value systems and as they have two different identities in addition to being influenced by different visualizations of the world, women and men employ different styles. Women and men speak differently, and sex differences are revealed in pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, conversational patterns issues of status, authority and politeness. Women and men in the speech community framework have different linguistic representation of the world, which may find explanations from biological, cultural and social standpoints. Women and men use different genderlects as they belong to two binary speech communities. Their language use is exposed in a series of contrasts and oppositions.

The verbal behaviour of women and men has been explained by the male's linguistic authority, as a result of gender inequality in the society. Men exert conversational dominance over women: they tend to control topics of conversation and their language is more forceful, and in this way they infringe on women's right to speak. Gender language as perceived by essentialists runs through binary categorization: powerful / powerless language, subjection /dominance and so forth.

The evaluation of women and men verbal behaviour , there is no gainsay, cannot be achieved without reference to the social context in which it takes place. Although, the individual is a product of the normative system, he is in no way a slave of this system. The speech community model of analysis has done much in the vibrant area of gender and language studies but, to exclude fluidity and flexibility in gender construction and to conceive it on a binary opposition is one of the weakest points of this model.

Women's and men's   verbal behaviour is determined by the variety of their practices in   communities of practice they choose not by the set of ascriptions allotted   to them by the speech community as will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter two.

II.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the flaws of the essentialist character of the speech community model in the gender and language scholarship and attempt to present how the community of practice model, as an alternative to the speech community model, offers better insights of gender and language variation added to the construction of gender identity or more correctly the construction of gender identities as men and women engage in a number of communities of practice.

II.2 Contesting Essentialism

During the last three decades, the multitude of studies on language and gender have been devoted to identifying and trying to explain differences in the speech modes of men and women. The main differences, among many others, have been found in the area of linguistic politeness, women hedges versus men directness, the caricature of women as chatterboxes versus the description of men as strong silent creatures and of course all those linguistic aspects ,which describe women as deficient and men as linguistically more efficient. It goes without saying that such descriptions of women's and men's language are sexist strategies, which sustain hegemonic male dominance and female subordination. Though I do not totally disagree with studies prevailing in the last three decades and their types of findings, in my dissertation, I do not support the essentialist view behind them and which is predominantly based on fixed binary oppositions in a speech community. The essentialist character of the speech community assumes   that groups can be clearly delimited and that group members are more or less alike, which means that the diversity of humans is reduced to a small set of attributes and behaviours . Essentialist perspectives disempower those people who do not conform to the binary standards by excluding them a priori from groups in which they might on

other grounds count as members. Instead and in tune with recent theories on gender and language, I believe in the benefits of a more flexible approach to the study of language and gender. Such an approach avoids those oversimplifications viewing women and men as dichotomous and homogeneous groups and to rather regard gender linguistic variations as constructs that interact in complex ways with factors as context, and above all a fluid identity in a community of practice where members choose to come together rather than members of an imposed fabricated speech community and where practice rather than language is a key element. Newly emerging areas of gender inquiry and the recognition of the diversity in identity construction and its multiplicity added to the subversion of gendered cultural and linguistic norms have made of essentialism the blind spot in the gender research arena.

II.3 The Binary Character of Identity

Hot criticisms were directed to the notion of speech community   and its revision was required as its limitations have been uncovered by gender researchers. The reason is that the construct speech community is restricted to the sphere of sociolinguistics. The fact that the speech community describes the social world in linguistic terms (see chapter 1) has resulted in its isolation from larger theories which encompass the study of intra group variations for instance. Bucholtz states that

> *the disciplinary autonomy of a theory based on the speech*
> *community is unproblematic for traditional sociolinguistic*
> *research, which uses social information to account for*
> *linguistic phenomena such as sound change. But when*
> *sociolinguists reverse the direction of analysis –asking*

> *instead how linguistic data can illuminate the social world as*
> *language and gender researchers seek to do- then connections to*
> *social theory beyond linguistics become imperative. Moreover,*
> *the speech community model, which was designed to analyze*
> *sociolinguistic phenomena at a macro level, is often inappropriate*
> *and inadequate for the kinds of questions currently being asked in*
> *language and gender scholarship. Central among these is the*
> *question of identity.*

> ***(Bucholtz 1997: 78)***

Those questions frequently asked by gender and language specialist are related to identity and to which the speech community model has failed to give an answer are mainly concerned with how speakers use language to signal their identities as gendered being and how gender identities are intermingled with other social parameters as context , age or role for instance. Because it is essentialist in essence and looks at gender as a set of behaviours imposed upon the individual by society and gender as masculine/ feminine binary, the main flaw of the speech community model is that for so many years, it has tremendously been preoccupied with gender differences based on a dual culture. It has fallen short, therefore, to see that gender is a potential area of controversies (Swann 1992, Bergvall, Bing and Freed 1996) and instead of speaking of a binary female / male identity, it will be much better to speak of a variety of identities strategically emerging in the course of practice. It is true, the notion of identity is slippery; however, to speak of an individual's sole and unique identity is chimerical, something that our results of female / male voice quality analysis corroborate as will be seen in the coming chapters. Identity as debated in the speech community perspective is static; no one

can alter the social order. Bucholtz asserts that "in *a speech community, individuals are viewed as occupying particular social structure"* (Bucholtz 1999: 208)

  Such an analysis, Norton (2000) contends, is particularly challenging language and gender research. The importance of the concept of identity to the exploration of gender and language avenue can in no way be neglected. Nevertheless, the set of interpretations offered by the essentialist speech community view is far from being satisfactory because it stands in sharp contradiction with what the recent feminist theory basically challenges. The notion of essential identities such as woman or man has long been criticized. Linguists have advocated instead the notion and study of the multiplicity of gender identities beyond the duality of sexes. In other words, they proposed the idea of different femininities and masculinities as

> *ongoing processes dependent upon systematic restatement, which is sometimes referred to as doing identity work*
>
> ***(Johnson, 1997:22).***

Dealing with the different lexical aspects to which the term identity alludes, reference can be made to some of the meanings found in both The Webster's Dictionary and the Merriam-Webster's Thesaurus, which define identity category as etymologically: Middle French identité, from late Latin identitat-, identitas, probably from Latin identidem repeatedly, contraction of idem et idem, literally, same and same (Gomez 2007). Further more, Gomez (2007) states that identity has a sameness of an essential or generic character in different instances added to a sameness in all that constitutes the objective reality of a thing. Hence, identity would be both the characteristics which define us as unique and diverse from the other, but also our proximity to others and, as a consequence, what makes

us equal. Gender seems then to be the result of the negotiation between self and others. Furthermore, it is a negotiation between what is established, the socially acquired patterns and the internal mechanisms, which indicates what people feel they are.

Identity is not simply a collection of ascriptions of broad social categories as advocated in early variationist research (refer back to definitions of speech community in chapter 1). Granted, those tendencies have provided much insight into the way and manner identity is conceived in a speech community but we, in our dissertation, align with those linguists who say that early variationist research has failed to capture the more nuanced, fluid and flexible types of identity. A thorough observation of the discursive practices, I argue , of a same female group in our culture, for example, may show that through their differential language use, though they have access to the same linguistic resources, females position themselves as different beings (intra group voice variations as our experiments show). This point is illustrated in a wide variety of linguistic markers; the one I consider in my dissertation is the use of innovative voice qualities by our females and males and which if analysed according to the speech community framework would be the domain of deviation from the normative order (forthcoming chapters).

II.4 The Speech Community Focus on Language and Consensus

The Speech community focalizes on a narrow range of linguistic practices of males and females. The reduction of the field of gender and language to females' and males' language allows limited analyses of linguistic features marking females' and males' identity. However, experience shows that there is not such a demarcation line between what has subjectively come to be named a woman's

language and a man's language. Many critics (Eckert 1992, Bucholtz 1999, Bucholtz and Hall 2004) contend that in case a speaker engages in specific communities or is attracted by fashion, she/he undoubtedly would also use the same features belonging to one sex or the other; thus such features can not be said to be distinctively female or male. This position rests on the idea that other kinds of speakers' erroneous belief that linguistic forms must be uniquely assigned to particular identities in order to be meaningful. In their criticism of the concept of the speech community, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) argue that

> *Although in theory, sociolinguistics embraces Gumperz'*
> *definition of a speech community as a group of speakers*
> *who share rules and norms for the use of language, in*
> *practice community, studies have defined their populations*
> *on the basis of location and/ or population. Differences*
> *and relations among the speakers who people the*
> *sociolinguists' speech communities have been defined in*
> *terms of abstracted characteristics – sex, age, socioeconomic*
> *class, ethnicity. And differences in ways of speaking have*
> *been interpreted on the basis of speculative hypotheses*
> *about the relation between these characteristics*
> * and social practice..*
>
> ***(Eckert and McConnell- Ginet, 1992: 463)***

It would be risky to speak of a females' language and a males' language since no line of demarcation has been drawn between them so far. In fact, the

current belief in the gender studies is that it is the practice in a typical community of practice that determines the type of language to be used. This is something that the speech community does not account for. While practice and participation are at the core of the community of practice and on the basis of which females and males classify themselves for a specific momentum, sociolinguistics based on the essentialism of the speech community very rarely if not never, recognises openly the agentive nature of individuals in becoming members of one community or many communities of practice or retrieving from these communities whenever they adopt another practice where a different type of language is required to fit the situatedness of a new practice.

II.5 The Speech Community Celebration of women's /men's languages as two Stable Opposite varieties

Current sociolinguistic theory challenges the traditional approach to language and gender, which contrasts female and male ways of speaking as two constant, clear- cut and opposite gender varieties. Such an approach does not look at the way women and men actually make use of language moves. It studies differences based on women's and men's prevailing hegemonic dual culture and binary oppositions. Those taking the culture line a (Maltz and Borker 1983, Tannen 1990) claim that men and women use language differently because they are socialised into different cultures. From childhood boys and girls play in different groups and in different ways. It is obvious for them that the culture where the socialisation of women take place is actually solidarity based while that where men are socialised is much more based on power and status. Such a view has been contested by Eckert and McConnell –Ginet who claim that

> *it seems to suppose that people ignore all but the*
> *interactional   possibilities predominant in their own*
> *gender specific subcultures and make No real interactional*
> *choices, simply acting as passive sponges who soak up*
> *gendered identities*
>
> **(Eckert and McConnell Ginet 1992: 466)**

The essentialist presuppositions behind questions such as: 'How do women and men speak differently?' and 'Are women more polite than men? ' were subjected to criticism and challenged in the early 1990's by Butler (1990) and Freed (1992). Behind such criticism stands the belief that as an alternative to females' language being different from males' language on the basis of identifiable linguistic characteristics, language was rather seen as a significant resource for constructing gendered roles and gendered identity (ies) that concur with the situatedness of practice. At the same time, gender theorists as Bing and Bergvall (1996) put into question the dialogical aspect of gender differences seen from the deterministic speech community perspective and where the categories women and men are separated by linguistic boundaries.

The celebration of gender differences, in early gender and language research, point at the arbitrariness of such differences as those based on the sex of the speaker and to the evidence from cultures that recognise more than two sociocultural and linguistic categories with more than two binary identities (Hall and Donovan 1996). For many contemporary gender theorists, early gender and language researchers were biased in many respects. This bias can be seen in the fact that it is most of the

time 'women's language' that is described, which creates the impression that males' variety is the norm (Trechter 1999). A term like 'women's language' was very frequently used and very familiar when gendered varieties were discussed about in the 1970'sand the 1980's. What is problematic in dealing with differences between women's language and men's language is to see gender as the unique and independent factor of language variation; gender usually interacts with other parameters such as class, age, position and more importantly context (Eckert 1992).

Since Glück's seminal article, 'The myth of women's languages' (1979), it has been made clear that

> *strictly gender-specific language varieties are rare exceptions, if they exist at all. Even in the cases in which a gender –specific variety seems relatively plausible must raise suspicions because the features declared gender-specific in these languages can also be used by members of the opposite sex in certain contexts.*
>
> **(Glück 1979:60)**

What Glück considers more appropriate than the notion of 'women's /men's language' is the concept of 'genderlect', which first occurs in the gender-oriented sociolinguistic literature of the 1970's (cf. Kramer 1974). The term genderlect is defined in parallel to other lects as dialect, idiolect, sociolect and so forth. Janet Holmes defines the construct genderlect as a *"linguistic variety or code used predominantly by one sex/gender"* (Holmes 1996: 720). Along these lines, the classification of a variety as a genderlect would then be based on a gender preferential rather than a gender –specific or a gender referential distribution of

certain linguistic features.   Though this seems more reasonable (Cameron 1996, Tannen 1990) in that it corresponds to the 'difference' paradigm that feminist linguists have advocated, the concept genderlect has been fervently criticised for several reasons.   First of all, the idea that girls and boys learn a specific verbal behaviour in different subcultures cannot be applied to most societies where girls and boys can communicate freely with each other. Furthermore, there is no such a thing as a stable or a context free female /male language. Differences according to Eckert and McConnell Ginet (1992) can only be judged with respect not to gender but rather to the specific context or with respect to the role they play in a specific community of practice. That gender has not been sufficiently contextualised added to the failure to link it to an other wider and complex system of social variables as status and context, for instance, are the key reasons why gender theories based on the difference model fail to answer gender issues at hand such as those enquiring about the construction of gender identity (ies) and the contest of traditional dichotomous identities. Litosseliti (2006) acknowledges that:

> *when they exist, differences between the female and Male 'register'*
> *can be subtle and variable; that Dominance; that dominance and*
> *difference can be at stake; and that any generalisation about gender*
> *differences is limited to a specific group or community situated in a*
> *social context*

> ***(Litosseliti 2006: 41)***

It has also become evident

> *that when the specifics of how gender is constructed across race,*
> *class and culture are studied, males and females within a given*

> *cultural group are often found to have more in common than do
> females across cultural groups, or males across cultural groups*
>
> ***(Christie 2000: 14 – 15)***

I , finally , assume that the binary concept of women's and men's language with all its components be are semantic, syntactic , lexical , phonological or phonetic should be abandoned and replaced by another one that sees women's and men's languages as both context dependent and community based and therefore as numerous as possible . The reason is that this classification based on the notion of difference results in gender polarisation, which in turn transforms gender differences into women's disadvantage (Bem, 1993). Indeed, there are countless examples of how gender polarisation can make it easier to limit women's opportunities to have access to high positions in organisations.

 My assumption is the outcome of my belief that the gender differences framework views gender in terms of a binary opposition and neglects inter group similarities and intra group variations .In other words inter and intra gender linguistic overlaps are totally ignored. Bucholtz and Hall state that calling attention to women's language in contrast to men's, the difference paradigm was hotly was heavily charged of ignoring linguistic similarities between genders and differences in language use within each gender (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 476)

Rather than celebrating the notion of women's and men's languages, a new concept is needed to deal with hegemonic as well as subversive gender styles either within the same group or within different groups and simultaneously acknowledge that what is generally judged to be hegemonic in one situation might be subversive in another .

II.6 The Binary Nature of power

For a long time, there has been an ongoing debate about dominance and power which characterize men's language to the detriment of women's language which has been described as inferior, lacking power and deferent. Much early gender research presupposed that there was a more or less simple correlation between males and power and females and powerlessness (Lakoff, 1975; Spender, 1980).

Although the analysis of conversation generally presupposes that speakers have similar social roles (Sacks, Shegloff and Jefferson, 1974), members of a given group and in general , social inequality shows disparities in power and thus control over an ongoing conversation. These disparities come into sight mainly in talk between men and women. It can be assumed then that the speaker with more power rules the linguistic moves of conversation and control in this case extends to turn conversation, to take the floor, to choose the speech act to change the course of conversation and or to shift style if he wants to.

The theoretical position which treats females' / males' difference as indicative of women being dominated in interaction has been seen as a product of the political landscape where women did not have room for themselves. As part of a more political struggle, emphasis on exposing patriarchy, the trend prevailing in the 70's mainly, added to the social structures contributing to women's oppression were being extended to language. As a result there has been a prolific interest in representing   bias in the language (issues discussed in chapter 1).

In her influential book*, 'Man-made Language'* (1980)*,* Dale Spender argues that meaning is determined by men. And male language is treated as the

norm (generics, mankind… in English, docteur, Chauffeur…in French, see chapter 1). Considering men's language as the norm implies that women's language is a deviation, an ideology that rendered women invisible.

In spite of her binary power based explanations of women's and men's relations, Spender criticised Lakoff precisely for treating male language as the norm , and viewing women's language as deficient and lacking when compared to men's. For Spender, instead of women's language deficiency implying women's deficiency,

> *what is at stake is the deficiency of social order. According to the dominance model, any differences between women's and men's language are indicative of women being dominated in interaction, and the ways in which women and men interact both reflect and perpetuate male exploitative behaviour.*
>
> ***(Spender 1980: 45)***

In addition to the generic expressions (refer to chapter 1), most of the time, advocated by dominance theorists concentrated on specific aspects of conversation like question tags, hedges, back-channelling, topic initiation… (The field is under explored in Algeria).

In an attempt to revisit Lakoff's notion of linguistic dominance, Pamela Fishman (1983)   carried out an empirical and dominance based investigation of conversation by three heterosexual couples in their homes. She found out that women indeed tended to use more tag questions, more hedges such as 'you know' , incomplete sentences ,back channelling like 'uhmm', 'excellent', 'very nice' ,

'yeah'… and made greater effort than the men to be supportive more than competitive.

For Fishman, the extensive use of hedges, question tags, modes of hesitancy and so forth are in no way an insignia that women are uncertain. Women for Fishman are skilful communicators facilitating interpersonal relationships and are responsible for providing conversational support. Though she advanced the idea that the use of certain linguistic cues does not show that women lack confidence in communication encounters, the drawback in Fishman's findings is that she still supports men's power and women powerlessness. Fishman has not provided an in-depth analysis of the results she obtained. Instead, she aligns with previous dominance theorists and states that women are forced to be what Fishman herself called 'conversational shitworkers'. This position reflects women's inferior social training or women's inherent inability for efficient conversational enterprise.

Men according to Fishman's findings are more successful than women in initiating new topics, and therefore tend to dominate the conversation by talking about what they want and when they want to, which does not entail them to provide the necessary consideration / attentiveness and responses during conversation. Powerful speakers select topics, change style, appropriate allocation or turn it.

The 'doing of power' to use Litosseliti (2006) concept in interaction paradigm is also displayed in the key contribution of Zimmerman and West (1975).Zimmerman and West found that

> *male speakers assert an asymmetrical right to control*
> *and develop topics of conversation and that they do so*
> *without evident repercussions*
>
> ***(Zimmerman and West 1975:34)***

The findings of Zimmerman and West corroborate, by large, those of Lakoff (197). In the sample of the cross-gender conversations they submitted to analysis, 96 % of the interruptions initiated by males to females.   For Zimmerman and West, interruptions are a means to exert dominance .For them *"males' control of macro-institution is equally exhibited in maintaining control at the micro-level of conversation* (Ibid: 35).

It goes without saying that theoretically, the dominance approach to gender and language has been very advantageous and has undoubtedly brought major contribution to the gender academy. It has had the primacy in foregrounding gender issues such as the use of assertive styles, and modes of politeness by men and women, interruptions, fillers … Nevertheless, the dominance perspective has failed given that it did not pay attention to how gender interacts with other social and contextual parameters as race, age, ethnicity, context, sexual orientation, culture (Bergvall, 1996; Bing and Bergvall, 1998).

Lakoff's "Language and Women's Place" (1975) made theorists in women's studies consider how language is related to men's dominance at work and in public sphere. The norms or what Lakoff calls the "logic of conversation" put a woman in an ambiguous situation. Her Behaviour that meets the satisfaction of what is expected from her as a woman makes her chances very limited in the market place. Women in this case find themselves in a double bind. To speak as a woman is to speak the way men expect her to speak, which implies conformity to the rules already set up by men and which according to man made normative order govern conversation. To speak in an authoritative way would be incompatible with cultural norms of femininity and opens, most of the time, women to the charges of

social slur. It ,in many cases, unsexes the woman making of her a masculine, something my results in the analysis of voice quality refute as I consider that "masculinity and femininity are free zones" open to both men and women for the enactment of their roles

 (The issue will be detailed in the forthcoming chapters). The dominance perspective uses the stereotypical argument about women being 'overemotional' and 'less aggressive' than men and unable to endure 'psychological trauma' (Shields, 2000) to prevent women's access to positions which require courage and authority. The key point here is about the so-called women's powerlessness, whether the argument about women's powerlessness is based on biological arguments, or on arguments around women's and men's socialisation or on status. In either case it is the result of the essentialist binary generalisations, which do not put forward neutral and objective views about individual women and individual men as active actors in the social network, but are rather based on stereotype and prejudice about men and women.

II.6.1 Prejudices and stereotypes

As mentioned above, the area of gender research is one where prejudices play a large part. According to previous research men unmistakably talk more than women, yet Spender claims that *"a firmly held conviction of our society is that women talk a lot"* (1980:41). Tannen points to the fact that women are believed to talk too much and that people even perceive that women talk more than men when in fact it is the other way around (Tannen, 1991:75-77). Swann writes that

> *the stereotype of the over-talkative woman stands out in stark*
> *contrast to most research studies of interactions between*

> *women and men, which argue that, by and large, it is men who*
> *tend to dominate talk.*
>
> ***(Swann, 1988:123)***

The stereotype of the talkative, gossiping woman and the strong, silent man are tacitly   and overtly expressed in everyday verbal interaction of women and men. Even though most people in their everyday life must run into men speaking proportionally more than women, the belief that women speak more than men is widespread and persistent (Spender 1980:42). Why is there such a difference between the perception of how long we talk and our actual amount of talk? *"The preconception about women being the talkative sex is not a new one but one which has been around for quite some time"* (Coates 1993:33). Spender points out that it is a mystery why people seem to have no problem accepting the myth about the over-talkative woman without any statistical evidence that women talk more than men, but they do not accept that it is men who talk more even when presented with systematic evidence (Spender 1980). There are several parallels to this in research about male and female language. For example, when tag questions were investigated it was believed that they contained *"the key to hesitance and tentativeness"* (Spender 1980:9) and therefore that women used them to a larger extent because their powerlessness handicap them in front of the strong men However, when it was proven that men used more tags than women, it was not suggested that men were hesitant tentative or powerless but only that tags had to have some other function too. Women and men are being judged differently for the same behaviour. A woman is not seen as talkative in comparison to a man, but in comparison to *"the ideal for a woman, the silent woman"* (Ibid: 42). It seems we all have *a "disposition to find in favour of males"* (Ibid: 90). It is common sense to most people that women are more talkative than men (Cameron 1995) and these

perceived differences between male and female utterance length are *"part of folk knowledge"* according to Coates. She claims that

> *we all grow up to believe that women talk more than men, that women 'gossip', that men swear more than women, that women are more polite because they are dominated by men, and so on*

(Coates, 1993:10)

Gender research contests all of this, but people's "common sense" is an immense obstacle to meet.

II.6.2 Beyond the Power paradigm

In her proposal for going beyond dominance and difference models, Litosseliti says:

> *both (dominance and difference perspectives) have strengths and have played their part in progressing feminist thinking. They are valuable at a theoretical level, in developing the idea, which led us to eventually ask more complex questions about gender. However both models have conceptualised gender in a simplistic way by assuming a straightforward link between form and function (e.g. tag questions as indicators of uncertainty, interruptions as a attempt to dominate), but also by not paying enough attention to how gender*

(Litosseliti, 2006:40)

In this same line of thought, It can be said that a purely power based approach claims men's conversational dominance and differences found in speech functions can be explained by men's superior social status not because men are inherently powerful.   Cameron (1992) finds that the dominance framework has proved unsatisfactory in explaining gender variations and points out that by saying that *"what one believes is not so much a function of linguistic theory but a reflection of a social position"* (Cameron, 1992: 16)

Moreover, she sees that the theorist is much influenced by his position, which predisposes him to find what she / he is looking for. Therefore, a theorist subscribing to the dominance theory tends to look at mixed sex interaction in other to capture elements which are likely to hold the most interest and to satisfy his enquiry (ibid: 20).

Women's powerlessness is an element that serves to sustain and maintain hegemonic social order and the powerless women's language as advocated by Lakoff (1975) operates as a powerful construct of preferred or expected feminine speech patterns.

The so-called powerless women specific language is not only available to women since it is used by men who enter femininity zones to construct a feminine identity. Correspondingly, women's use the so-called men powerful language to construct what is traditionally described as the masculine identity all of which depend on the status, the role and on the context, where interaction takes place. In 2004, Lakoff' re-released her book 'Language and Women's Place' (1975). In her most recent commentary, Lakoff clarifies and expands on some of her previous claims. She states for instance that politeness strategies, which herself considered as a sign of women's powerlessness, are, in fact, negotiated by speakers in relation

with managing power in interaction. Managing power, for Lakoff, underlies indirect language, and can vary by gender as well as by other factors; Lakoff refers to other groups as academic men, upper class males who manifest features of women's language (Lakoff 2004).Lakoff's revised   view   corroborates Eckert's and McConnell-Ginet's view about gender and politeness .For Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, women's politeness strategies are not the outcome of

> *passive enforced deference* or a *wilful prissy avoidance of real social engagement . What is significant about work that engages with issues of politeness in relation to gender is that it addresses women as agents who are actively using available linguistic resources for specific ends. Although politeness strategies can be interpreted as coping with practices which help maintain existing inequalities... more recently , they have tended to be seen as strategic solutions posed for women by their social oppression .*
>
> *(Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1994:448)*

During the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's ,gender and   language   studies focused almost exclusively on women's language rather than on men's language; the former was considered as a deviation , the latter as the norm. Nonetheless and due to the failure of the difference and the dominance essentialist models in answering major questions about the construction of identities, an issue which was raised by feminists and social theorists in the beginning of the 1990's and whose classification has gone beyond the binary character of social categories grouped by means of the structures of language.

This issue has a critical view of gender, one not just concerned with differences but a critical view that seeks the relation between being feminine and masculine, powerful and powerless, authoritative and submissive not only between women and men as two different homogeneous groups but rather among women as a group and men as a group marked by the heterogeneity of members practices. Most specialists in gender studies concur that gender is a social construct. There has been a theoretical shift away from gender as construct based on binary oppositions. Smith (1985) sees gender more as

> *a continuum. one's gender identity can be marked on a scale ranging between the stereotypically   feminine and stereotypically masculine.   Among   the variables, which contribute to gender, are sexual   orientation , masculinity / femininity stereotypes,   social roles as family sphere/ social sphere and power/resource distribution*
>
> ***(Smith, 1985: 45)***

People produce their identity in social interaction in ways that sometimes follow the social order but other times challenge and subvert dominant beliefs about masculinity and femininity and engage in a construct of a variety of identities as new resources have become available to them. According to Bucholtz *"as new social resources become available, language users enact and produce new identities, themselves temporary and historical, that assign new meanings to gender.*   ***(Bucholtz, 1999:220)***

II.7 Moving beyond the Speech Community Binarism: Communities of Practice

Moving away from a reliance on the dual classification and the general fixed statements about all men and all women to a more nuanced and mitigated statements about certain groups of women and men in particular circumstances within certain parameters of possible or socially sanctioned behaviour, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have introduced the construct community of practice. They have, hence, shed light on some key gender questions and to   which traditional sociolinguistics based on the duality of the speech community failed to give satisfactory answers.

 Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1990) regard gender as a set of traits which they claim are the result of men's and women' s practices   and place in society at a given time . For West and Fenstermaker (1993), viewing gender as a bundle of traits has raised the question as to whether these traits can be logically split into two categories or whether they belong to a range of categories but something much more fundamental. West and Fenstermaker point out that treatment of gender as two areas of extreme masculinity and femininity is problematical. They argue that "*the bifurcation of gender into femininity and masculinity effectively reduces gender to sex*" (West and Fenstermaker, 1993:151)

In response to the wide array of obscure concepts used in the gender studies, the construct of Communities of practice has been introduced by Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet for the first time in 1992 to make clear the relation between language and identity and identity and practice. The essence of the community of practice is that it looks at the way and manner the process an individual engages in to construct his identity (ies) to become a member of and

participates in a community (ies) of practice. Communities of practice as was said earlier in this thesis do not look at stratified speakers in a speech community.

II.7.1 Practice and Communities of Practice:

Given the importance of community of practice as a theoretical framework, it would be judicial to provide better clarification about how it has emerged and how it has evolved up to the present time.

Originally, the term community of practice was coined for the first time by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger in 1991 in their seminal book '*Situated Learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*' where they defined for the first time communities of practice as follows:

> *communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly.*

(Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, in 1991: 12)

In other words, the focal point of the concept 'community of practice' is clusters of people in relation to their habitual engagement in common practice. Those who people a community of practice choose to come together; in no way are they forcibly grouped and then stratified according to a set of attributes as is the case in the speech community frame work. Before dealing with the use of community of practice as a theory currently very fashionable and very widely used in networking, social sciences and more precisely in the analysis of gender, it is necessary to provide some basic details about what it is meant by practice, community, and the features which make of a community a community of practice.

II.7.1.1 Practice

Lave and Wenger (1991) see that practice means doing but not doing for its own sake. For Lave and Wenger practice is doing in a social context, which gives substance and meaning to what an individual does. In this sense, practice is always social practice and what becomes central to acknowledge, Eckert (2006) contends, is that practice is not merely a by-product of those clusters of individuals who people the communities of practice; in effect, the communities of practice themselves are produced in practice.   The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is a prominent practice theorist who is regarded to have widely used the concept of practice. Bourdieu's theory (1978, 1991) aims to reconcile social structure and individual agency For Eckert this is "*something indispensable to our understanding of the reproduction of language as well as of society*" (Eckert, 2006:1).

Central to Bourdieu's theory is the notion of habitus, which encompasses the set of dispositions to act, for instance (speaking, walking, eating…) in specific ways and which the individual has tacitly or openly acquired in the course of time, throughout socialisation. Bourdieu does not think of habitus as a fixed essence. He boldly rejects determinism and states that in the course of time, agentive individuals alter their dispositions to face new situations. Bourdieu has developed a middle ground for structure and agency. In tune with Bourdieu's view Eckert says;

> *individuals develop these dispositions in response in response*
> *to the objective conditions they grow   up in. In this way,*
> *objective social structures are   incorporated into individuals'*
> *subjective experience, and become part of the individual's*
> *personal makeup. in day to day life, this makeup is interpreted*
> *as a purely individual thing –not as particularly related to*

> *social   conditions, it moves individuals- through their own agency – to reproduce the structure that gave rise to their habitus*

> *(Eckert, 2006:11)*

It can be stated that Bourdieu's theory is one of reconciliation; he has reinstated as he himself claims *"the social agent in his true role as the practical operator of the construction of objects" (*Bourdieu, 1990:12-13). Analogous to Chomsky's generative grammar, habitus is an open-ended capacity for producing and reproducing actions and a lasting system of dispositions acquired through time and experiences. The social structure / individual agency platform as proposed by Bourdieu entails control on what "thinkable/unthinkable" (Bourdieu, 1990) are for a subject already having a specific habitus. Wenger's social theory of learning is, to a certain extent, influenced by Bourdieu. In his book '*Communities of Practice'* (1998) and referring to theories of social practice, Wenger proclaims that:

> *these theories address the production and reproduction of specific ways of engaging with the ways of engaging with the world. They are concerned with every activity and real life settings, but with an emphasis on the social systems of shared resources by which groups organizeand coordinate their activities, mutual relationshipsand interpretations of the world.*

> *(Wenger, 1998:13)*

Bourdieu says that no one can deny that social agents *"do construct their vision of the world, but this construction is carried out under structural constraints"*

(Bourdieu, 1990:130). Being a set of dispositions, habitus, he argues, is acquired through a relationship to certain contexts and unconsciously

> *agents merely need to let themselves follow their own social 'nature,' that is, what history has made of them, to be as it were, 'naturally' adjusted to the historical world they are up against....*
>
> ***(Bourdieu, 1991:131)***

Even though, his has been much influenced by Bourdieu's theory about social practice as both of them view practice as social and produced by the citation and recitation of shared social resources as language, walk and other ways of doing things, Wenger leaves more agentive power to social agents. For him, individuals are not only endowed with the capacity to adapt themselves to social dispositions and adopt the appropriate behaviour that conform to their habitus, but they participate in the construction of their identities within social practice.

Of relevance to Wenger's understanding of social agents' identity is the work of the American linguist Penelope Eckert (1989) on the construction of identity (ies). Particularly with regard of class and gender, Eckert (1989) explores the practices developed by adolescents by virtue of practices as well as the styles by which they construct identities in the context of those practices. The concern of the theories of identities are, according to Wenger is the social formation of the person, the cultural interpretation of the body and the creation and use of markers of issues of gender, class, ethnicity and other forms of categorisations, association, differentiation in an attempt to understand *"the person as formed through complex*

relations of mutual constitution between individuals and groups" (Wenger, 1998:13). Practice according to Wenger (1998) includes both the explicit and the tacit. It includes what is articulated and what is left unarticulated. It includes the language tools, the enactment of well defined roles within a community of practice added to all those implicit relations, tacit convention, subtle strategies, specific intuitions and perceptions and so forth. The tacit, as I see it, can be compared to Chomsky's notion of competence and which tends to be related to the speakers' intuitive knowledge or what comes naturally.

> *The tacit is no more individual and natural than what we make*
>
> *explicit to each other. Common sense is   then common sensical*
>
> *because it is sense held in common. Communities of practice are the*
>
> *prime context in which we can work out common sense through*
>
> *mutual engagement*

(Wenger, 1998:82)

Practice as a concept, consequently, brings to light the social and the negotiated nature equally the explicit and the tacit in the life experiences of individuals.

It was previously stated that practice is doing; but doing in a social context, which gives substance and meaning to what we do. In other words, practice is, first and foremost, a process by means of which our life experiences become meaningful. All our enterprise in life would be valueless if it is deprived of meaning. The significance of "meaningfulness" as advocated by Wenger does not deal with what dictionaries provide nor is it a philosophical issue. It is all and simply about *"meaning as an experience of everyday life"* (Wenger: 1998:88).

Meaning as an everyday experience, it has been advanced, can neither be found in dictionaries nor in philosophical questions: where is it located then?

To answer such a question, Wenger proposes a number of interrelated arguments. The negotiation of meaning, for him, is embedded in what he names participation and reification; a dichotomy fundamental to human experience of meaning and thus to the nature of practice.

II.7.1.1.1 The Negotiation of Meaning

The engagement in social practice has undoubtedly patterns, but it is the renewed production of these patterns, which gives rise to an experience of meaning. For instance when you hold a department meeting for the tenth time with the same colleagues, discussing the same issues, raising the same problem and proposing or when you celebrate ritual every year, or when you are alone in your room preparing a talk for a conference, you know all steps all that we do or say may refer to what had been done and said in the past; yet we

> *produce a new situation, an impression, an experience, in other*
> *words, we produce meanings that extend , redirect , reinterpret*
> *modify or confirm [   ] -in a word , we negotiate anew -the*
> *histories of meanings of which they are part. In this sense , living is*
> *a constant process of negotiation of meaning*

> *(Wenger, 1998:89)*

The negotiation of meaning may involve language (as will be seen below) ,but it is not limited to it since language is not the only social practice. other factors of social relations count as factors in the negotiation of meaning as clothes ,

body postures not necessarily a conversation or a direct interaction with other human beings. To negotiate stands for to reach an agreement between people as in negotiating a transaction, a price.

In Wenger's practice theory, to negotiate an accomplishment and adjustment as well. For instance, the notion of femininity and masculinity, which used to have bipolar meanings have seen their meanings renegotiated. Instead, femininity does no more equate with femaleness in the same way as masculinity no more equates with maleness. The meaning of femininity and masculinity, which was negotiated on sexual grounds, has been readjusted to capture the construction of gender identity (More details will be given in chapter 3 and chapter 4). Negotiation is thus both dynamic and historical. It is a continuous process of interaction.   It involves the engagement of a multiplicity of factors; hence the emergence of phenomena as globalisation, multi-genderism, new power relations between people or between nations   require not only new negotiations but readjustments of meanings as well. However

> *By living in the world we do not just make meanings up*
> *independently of the world., but neither does the world simply*
> *impose meanings on us. The negotiation of meaning is a*
> *productive process, but negotiating meaning is not constructing*
> *it from scratch.*

(Wenger, 1998:90)

Negotiated meaning is, as a result, neither pre-existing nor simply made up by participants but rather dynamic and contextual.

II.7.1.1.2 Participation

Participation remains a key term in the community of practice perspective. Etymologically speaking, the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (7th edition, 2005) defines the word participation as *"the act of taking part in an activity or event"*. Participation in social practice refers to the process of taking part added to relations and bonds with others that reflect this process. Participation is to Wenger both action and connection.

Participation, in our context, describes membership in social communities together with active involvement in social actions. ''*It is a complex process which combines doing, talking, thinking, feeling and belonging''*.

((Lave and Wenger, 1991: 120)

Participation, according to Lave and Wenger (1991) and Meyerhoff (2002), is an active process, which involves all kinds of relations be are conflictual or harmonious. Furthermore, participation shapes both the communities and those who people the communities. Finally, as a constituent of meaning, participation is far broader than mere engagement. An academic is not an academic just while she /he is teaching at the university. True, this is the most intense moment of participation, but his participation is not something he simply turns off once she/he leaves university because it is part of who she/he is that she/ he carries it with her /him wherever she/ he goes. As teachers let's recall to mind the number of times our participation as teachers has surfaced in short encounters on board a plane during a trip, in public gardens or even in social gatherings as family dinners or celebrations. From this perspective, I support the views of Lave and Wenger (1991), Eckert (1996), Wenger (1998, 2000) and Meyerhoff (2002) stating that our engagement and participation

within our communities is social even in the absence of a direct interaction with others. When a singer is rehearsing for a concert, or when a lady , in her room ,is getting ready for a rendezvous in which case both of them are alone , the singer feels the presence of the public looking at her or him, following her or his body in motion , reacting at her/his facial expressions. On her part, the lady feels the presence of who she is going to meet, how he is going to react to her décolleté, to her perfume, makeup, her hair style and so forth. Wenger stresses that by social he does not just refer to social groupings at a micro level like family, peer group…, but that ''*the concept of participation is meant to capture*

the profoundly social character of our experience of life''.

(Wenger, 1998:145)

II.7.1.1.3 Reification

To speak about how the process by means of which the experience of participants in a community is given form/ materialised, Wenger has introduced the term reification that he borrowed from the French 'reification' itself deriving from Latin '*res*, chose (thing) and *facere, faire,* (do)'. Wenger (1998, 2000) sees reification as the transformation / materialisation of an experience, an idea, a drawing or a concept… into something   ('thingness' for Wenger). It is similar to writing laws and regulations, a worksheet, computer procedures and software. In one word, it means that

> *a certain understanding is given form. This form then*
> *becomes a focus for the negotiation of meaning as people use*
> *it to argue a point , or to know what to do , or to perform an action*

(Wenger, 2000:95)

Through reifications which can be language as is the case in gender construction, tools in the case of an engineer realizing his drawings, hair style in the case of a hair stylist expressing his ideas, participation, which represents the social character of practice is given a form.

II.7.1.2 Communities of Practice

Communities of practice are excellent loci of Bourdieu's habitus. What follows is an account of how communities of practice as an analytical tool originated and how such a notion has efficiently been introduced in sociolinguistics to genuinely address issues as gender.

Developed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (Lave and Wenger1991; Wenger 1998, 2000), a community of practice is defined as a group of people or a human aggregate who engage on an ongoing basis and gather in some common endeavour.   The emergence of communities of practice results from the shared interests, aspirations and position, which form the basic ground for their members' participation in the world and their different orientations in identity construction. Community members tacitly define themselves in relation to each other and in relation to other communities of practice.

For Lave and Wenger, we are members of communities of practice. In fact communities of practice are everywhere. Teachers working in the department of English studies, for example, come together because they share the same interests. They develop practices, routines stories proper to their department but which may overlap to practices of other teaching communities. They may agree, and they may disagree but, they endeavour to preserve the interests of the department and do what makes things keep go on. Even when problems emerge, the members of the

community create strategies for dealing with these problems. The way people find strategies to arrange their lives with their colleagues at work to get their work done , the way other people organise their lives on whichever endeavour : gender , class , race …preserve and makes sense of themselves. People, thus, can live together, do their work, co-operate and no matter where they come from or what speciality they have; *"they simply create practice to do what needs to be done"* (Wenger, 2000:103).

Is everything   anybody might call a community a community of practice? It is usually not, according to Lave (1995), Wenger (1998, 2000). Our neighbours and we are often called the "community", but it is usually not a community of practice. What dimensions make the community of practice then? To designate a community as a community of practice, three dimensions by which practice is the source of coherence are to be accounted for (Wenger, 2000) they are:

- Mutual engagement
- a joint enterprise
- a shared repertoire

II.7.1.2.1 Mutual Engagement

Mutual engagement of participant is the source of coherence of a community of practice. Practice ,as was stated earlier, exists because people are engaged in actions whose meanings are negotiated with one another. The history of the teachers in the department of English studies started long before they arrived at the university. Considering them as a community of practice yields relations of mutual engagement by which they can do whatever they do. A community of

practice is not only a group of people who gather randomly or independently. Eckert states that:

> *Communities of practice emerge in response to objective conditions .Every community of practice fits into a complex structure that connects individuals to each other practice through their mutual engagement*

> ***(Eckert, 2006:29)***

While membership in the speech community is merely a question of belonging to a social category characterised by allegiance to the members of this category, group, membership in a community of practice involves individuals who join the community; they are not unconsciously grouped and ascribed attributes. Part of the engagement is the negotiation of meaning .Women and men, as we will see, engage in a network of interpersonal relations from which practice flows. The notion of network is borrowed from Wellman and Berkowitz (1988) who see that inter personal relations are related to the idea of strong ties in a network but with a focus on the practice that is created in the process rather than on the network of relations and the flow of information. Engagement in a community is being included in what matters inside the community; this is a requirement for both belonging to a community of practice and preserving the coherence of the community.

If mutual engagement is what makes a community of practice a community, then it is central to remind that a community of practice does not entail homogeneity. The heterogeneous character of engagement makes it productive. The

negotiation of meaning, participation and reification, the agentive roles of the members of the community of practice in readjusting meanings are what make a community of practice go on. The value of the members then does not lie in how much similar they are but rather in how much competent they are in connecting with other members with the   knowledge and the limitations of either sides and simultaneously creating dependencies and power mixtures but also solidarity and cooperation (Eckert 1989; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998, 2000, Bucholtz 1996; 1999). Relations in a community of practice, therefore, are about the complexity of doing things together, sharing social practice not about members of a community, who are submitted to an unquestionable homogenising social structure and where agency has no room.

II.7.1.2.2 Joint Enterprise

What Lave and Wenger (1991) name joint enterprise refers to the participants' process of pursuing their mutual engagement. It is their negotiated response to their situation. It is what Eckert defines as the "participants' commitment to shared understanding" (Eckert, 2006:30). Within a community of practice, members are faced in their practice with a multitude of situations, sometimes conflictual as in cases of assertion/submission and sometimes consensual as in solidarity /deference all of which should be dealt with. Joint enterprise is to handle diversity and *"the understanding of the enterprise needs not be uniform for it to be a collective product"*   *(Wenger, 1998:121).*

II.7.1.2.3 Shared Repertoire

The third characteristic of practice and one ,which keeps a community of practice coherent is what has been named in the social practice theory as 'shared repertoire' . By shared repertoire is meant every day habits as breakfast ,women and the washing up every Thursday, having a special dish on each occasion ,language , gestures , ways of walking, symbols , rituals and so forth. The shared repertoire has both reificative and participative aspects. Said differently, the sentence will read: through their shared repertoire, members of a community of practice create meaningful statements about their world, their identity, besides their creation of styles - including linguistic style- by which they express their forms of membership and their identities as members. Eckert (1989), Wenger (1998), Motschenbacher (2007) agree that styles be are linguistic as the use of grammar, phonology, phonetics or non-linguistic as fashion, ways of setting one's body in motion, ways of socialising are in fact the community's shared resources , a repertoire that reflect the mutual engagement of the members of the community.

II.7.3 Identity and Communities of Practice

Identity refers to the reflective issue of how a human being positions herself /himself with respect to those people who surround her / him. The formation of communities of practice in fact is "the negotiation of identities" (Wenger, 1998:150). Crucial to the notion of practice, the concept of identity has, to a great degree, been covered by the broad literature on communities of practice and on which a particularly strong emphasis has, so far, been placed. Identity, as defined by Ivanic, is a very useful term, since *"it is the everyday word for people's sense of who they are"* (1998:10). In line with this view, Wenger (1998, 2000), Bucholtz (1999),

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) see the experience of identity as a way of being in the world. In the words of Bucholtz and Hall *"Identity is the social positioning of self and other"* (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:586). So, identity can not be a reflection of the individual's image (Johnstone, 1999) since this can have a sense only if it is placed in comparison to other identities which might be similar or different. Wenger (1998) states that who the individuals are lies in their way of living their life experiences, not just in what they say about themselves though that is of course part of it, nor in the way other think about them.   Identity for Wenger is neither purely individual nor is it purely social; it is the combination of both. Identity is thus constructed in the community of practice through the negotiation of what it means in that community. As they, mutually engage in a community of practice, people cluster into networks of relationships and build on proximity individual affinities and attractions and it is inside their networks that who they are is negotiated. More importantly, Wenger (1998) looks at identity as spacio-temporal i.e. temporal, ongoing and constructed in a social context. Identity is temporal because it is built through time. Neither its course nor its destination is fixed; past, present and future maintain its coherence. Moreover, the notion of 'an ongoing process' denotes the flexible and the fluid character of identity. It is always in becoming. Identity can not be "*pigeon –holed*" Eckert (2006) nor is it ''*a path that can be foreseen or chartered but a continuous motion; one that has a momentum of its own in the past, the present, and the future''*   **(Wenger, 1998:264)**

 The temporal / ongoing aspect of identity, as advocated by practice theorists counts as a counter-argument to the notion of identity as a static attribute in the structuralist perspective where structure rather than agency is of primacy.   Ivanic proposes that the use of the plural form of the word identity would be a best alternative to its singular form. According to her, the plural form better captures the multiplicity of

identities with all their contradictions and interrelations and which may be constructed at different times. She says

> *The plural word 'identities' is sometimes preferable   because it*
> *captures the idea of people identifying   simultaneously with a*
> *variety of social groups.   One or more of these identities may be*
> *foregrounded   at different times; they are sometimes ontradictory,*
> *sometimes interrelated: people's diverse identities   constitute the*
> *richness of their sense of self. Identity is a result of affiliation to*
> *particular beliefs and possibilities, which are available   to them in*
> *their social context*   **(Ivanic, 1998:11-12)**

The idea that an individual's collection of identities and of affiliation and choices is common, "*though not free*" to Sunderland and Litosselit*i* (2002:7). It is argued, be that as it may, that identities come from the attributions or ascriptions, but due to given spacio-temporal circumstances,

> *ascriptions may contribute to a resulting identity very different*
> *in nature to that intended by the ascriber. Identity can thus be*
> *seen as emerging from the individuals different sorts of*
> *relationships with others, more probably in a community of*
> *practice, and as potentially changing as these relationships*
> *change*   **(Litosseliti, 2006:8).**

In this line of thought, gender identity can be seen as multiple and fluid and never complete. Consider if you please how the notion of feminine and masculine identities is being challenged and negotiated and how femininities and masculinities are becoming free zones for both women and men to enter due to specific circumstances where specific types of social practices are required. The experience

of the multiplicity and the fluidity of identity entail according to Wenger (1998), Lave (1993), McDermott (1993), and Suchman (1995) a "nexus of multi-membership". Our identity is made of different types of memberships sometimes harmonious and sometimes conflictual. But, in neither does a nexus of multi-memberships fragment or decompose our identity into a set of distinct identities nor does it fuse our identities in one block .In a nexus of multi-membership consequently, the notion of multiple identities as I mentioned above links are threaded and our multiple identities operate together. They are reified in different practices as they emerge in different contexts/situatedness by virtue of space and time. The person must, as a result, reconcile temporal dimensions i.e. past and future in the present practices together with the web of multi-membership across several communities. Through their commitment People's engagement across communities involves them in a negotiation of the differences coming from differently contextualised perspectives which are expressed in people's identities. In Wenger's words:

> *We all belong to many communities of practice, to some in the past, to*
> *some currently; to some as   full members, to some in more peripheral*
> *ways. Some may be central to our identities; some incidental.*
> *Whatever their nature, these various forms of participation all*
> *contribute in some ways to the production of our identities.*

(Wenger 1998: 165)

As it is reified in practice and exists only in relations to other members of the community of practice, the concept of identity should indicate people's differences, their dependencies and of course change between the individual and the world.

The differences or the tensions, (Lave and Wenger, 1991 Hutchins1991, 1995   use the terms differences and tensions interchangeably), on which the practice theory centres   are not those used to categorise people on binary criteria; differences for practice theorists, are between being a outsider to the community / a new comer or an insider to the community. And, emphasis in this case is not on differences per se but on the process whereby an outsider becomes a full member.

Along the process of becoming insiders to the community, individuals construct dependencies with other members of the community who progressively become essential for the production and the reproduction of the group. More importantly, it is both the differences and the dependencies of this relationship that provides a certain orientation to change. *"Legitimate peripheral participation"* is the phrase that Lave and Wenger use to call this process. Socially, peripheral members gradually gain legitimacy / membership as they identify with the practices of the community.

Even though differences and interdependences are central to practice, they are not an aim in themselves .For Wenger, describing the relationships among communities of practice is a means to put forward the relative overlap of two communities to represent their degree of difference (Wenger, 1998).

As a last part to this tentative overview of practice theory as advocated by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) it is, to my mind, imperative to shed light on the way and manner power is seen in practice theory. Emphasising asymmetrical relations, the essentialists see power as a set of possessions a group has and by means of which this group exerts control over another group (see above sections of power).   Power in practice theory has taken another direction. Giddens defines it as

a relational force, not a possession; Power can be
affirmed only by being executed and is integral to
action, in short, to ferret out the relations underlying
particular practice. Power is can, able to or powers...

(Giddens: 1984:68)

Power is the by-product of the ever-changing/ongoing relations among the different communities of practice. In fact, practice theories view power as the articulation of differences/tensions and interdependencies. More than that, power is not solely expressed in terms of the tension neither between peripheral and marginal members nor on the changes may dependencies engender. Wenger is interested in the interplay between identification and negotiability. Consider for example the situation of a female accusing another female of lacking femininity. It is useful to clarify the processes at stake in this familiar scene in terms of identification and negotiability. On the one hand there is femaleness, which engenders identification. On the other hand there is a struggle to define what that means to be feminine in those particular circumstances. What kinds of behaviour qualify as the shared femininity that every female is supposed to identify with. An accusation of lack of femininity works only because it creates a tension between identification and negotiability/the ability to shape meaning within a social context. It appropriates the meaning, with which people generally resonate so as to point at the struggle for power.

II.8 The Relevance of the Community of Practice Framework to Gender Studies

The community of practice framework considers language as one of many practices. Since as language users and gendered members of communities of practice we share with

other members a variety of practices constituting thus linguistic, gender and other social identities, in other words a simultaneous nexus of multi-memberships. Through its focus on both individuals as well as groups, the theory of the community of practice combines the analysis of the linguistic structures together with agency. And because identities are rooted in what we do rather than in the social categories, the community of practice model can better capture the multiplicity of identities at work in specific situations, more fully, than is possible within the speech community framework. We, thus, participate in multiple communities of practice as members of a family, students in a class room, teachers at the university in a given workplace, women, men or any other group formed around an endeavour.

II.8.1 Communities of Practice and the Study of Gender and Language

The concept community of practice offers a rich, dynamic and flexible tool for the study of the interaction of language and society and therefore *"for studies of females' and males' gender variations* (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992: 465). The community of practice perspective focuses on the activities, the practices, in which members of the community engage and through which they linguistically define themselves as members of the group to different degrees, sometimes fully and other times peripherally (see previous sections). The notion of community of practice is relevant especially to gender and language research as, is the case for this dissertation, in many respects among which three stand as the most important.

First, the reciprocal enterprise to which members commit themselves to entails regular interaction which, through time, gives birth to *"a shared repertoire of negotiable resources"* (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999, 175). These resources and ways of doing things comprise, among others, linguistic patterns and discursive manoeuvres inside that community of practice; therefore this perspective better allows the study of gender variations within a social group engaged in a particular

activity (Mills 2003). Secondly, through their engagement in new practices, participants in the same community of practice learn both the social and the linguistic competence proper to the corresponding practices. Finally, the community of practice perspective is of special interest to those who engage in the study of situated /contextual use of language. It allows them to have an in-depth insight into locally gendered identities added to the negotiated meanings of these identities constructed through time.

It was in 1992 that Penelope Eckert and McConnell-Ginet introduced and for the first time the community of practice as a theoretical framework in their very useful and constructive article "Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice 1992).

Eckert and McConnell -Ginet view that the investigation of communities of practice is much more revealing than a speech community in terms of how women and men construct their identity and better helps develop the way femininity and masculinity are viewed.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet regard this as the itinerary, which gender research should take because potentially, may it reveal the practices that participate into gender fluidity and flexibility within a community.

II.8.2 Community of Practice and Gender Linguistic Variation

In many areas of gender research, the ground for the relation between community of practice and linguistic variation has now been laid and researchers are equipped with theoretical framework so as to move on to the exploration of gender construction through language.

A great deal of the study of linguistic variation has recently looked at variables indirectly linked to communities of practice through their association with specific stances and associations (Eckert, 2005).Eckert sees that such variables then, will be used as *"part of the construction of a persona which, in turn, may be part of an individual's negotiation of meaning in a community of practice"* (Ibid: 581). In her influential study of the Jocks and the Burnouts communities of practice (1989), Eckert highlights that the most popular person in the Jock community has origins, which are deep rooted in a working class family; nevertheless, despite the fact that she adopted several jock values, she was proud of celebrating her strength, being more honest and more genuine than the other Jocks. Similarly, she was proud of not sharing with the Jocks issues of popularity and was not anxious about conforming; put differently, through her behaviour she was subverting the social order of the community. How her linguistic practice challenges both the practice of the Jocks and that of the burnouts is manifested in the realisation of her vowels. Therefore, while her vowels fell in the same range as the Jocks in being raised, her /ai / was even higher than that of most jock girls and nearly approaching the / ai / of burnouts. Eckert (1996) explains such a fact as follow:

> *the sensitive correlation of / ai / with social practice*
> *in this population indicates that it is not a marker of*
> *origin i.e. it is not learnt at home, but it is an index of*
> *stance. This girl's use of /* ai */ is arguably part of a*
> *more general show of pride that set her aside from the*
> *other jocks ,[though she is a jock].If others had picked*
> *up her way of speaking without the rest of her persona,*
> *the gesture would have been meaningless.*

> *(Eckert, 1996:49)*

From a practice based view, the girl's burnout-like   pronunciation of /ai / sets her aside from the other jocks; however in no way does it affect her identity nor the others identity as a jock community. In fact, this is, as I mentioned before, a system of competence as represented in the multiple but interrelated identities of a community member and which do not develop in a uniform way. In other words, identities evolve dynamically as any social system.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) see that unlike the speech community, a community of practice based view does not perceive language as the core of the community; language is rather a manifestation of a practice prevailing in a given social order. Language operates/interacts with other social practices as gender and helps construct the identity of the members be are females or males belonging to a particular community of practice. How does gender and language interact then according to the community of practice perspective?

As a theoretical framework, the community of practice considers language as one of many practices in which participants engage and looks at the construction of gender as something we do, through an ongoing process of selection of linguistic forms, their appropriation involves making choices from the wide array of discourses about femininity and masculinity that are available and appropriate in our social contexts. These choices are not free, but are shaped by the highly contextualised enabling and constraining potential of "doing" gender appropriately. In line with this thought, it can be stated that rather than a set of attributes or simply a social category, gender is conceptualized as a process something we do, produce, accomplish and perform.

Gender identity is then a communicative achievement, an effect of linguistic practices, *"rather an a priori factor that determines linguistic behaviour" (Christie 2000:4).*

These new complex and nuanced way of looking at the relationship between gender and language entails a wider rethinking of the notion of "gender differences". Sunderland, Talbot, Coates and others see that the notion of gender differences is important, but I will, in my analysis of voice quality, focus on the difference gender makes. In other words, what purposes do differences serve?

II.8.3 A Community based view of Gender Differences

Differences are relevant in the sense that it is important to examine how women and men talk about them and what they do with them. If we are constructing women and men in discourses differently and with a wide array of different voice qualities, and if we are being positioned as women and men differently, then we need to examine the significance and consequences of such differences. Does it mean that different opportunities are made available for women and men and that those systems of inequality are maintained? What linguistic and social practices are appropriate and legitimate for women and men to participate in? Who benefits and who is disadvantaged by this? To give an example; the discursive construction of women as more suited than men for certain jobs on the basis of acoustic richness in their voice quality, their softness that allows the development of high communication skills and care giving abilities or whatever helps to ensure that most women stay in low status low pay jobs such as call – centre jobs, hotels, hospitals, travel agency receptions, kindergartens and so forth. Clearly the question of low discursive practices relate to broader social practices as those regarding access to positions requiring authority and firmness as a male specific domain. And as is put

by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, the exploration of differences is not an aim in itself because

> *to see finding such "differences" between women and men as the major goal of investigations of gender and language is problematic. Correlations simply point us toward areas where further investigation might shed light on the linguistic and other practices that enter into gender dynamics in a community. An emphasis on difference as constitutive of gender draws attention away from a more serious investigation of the relations among language, gender, and other components of social identity.*
>
> **(Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1991:468)**

A consideration of differences must account for the discursive practices women and men engage in and how discursive manoeuvres position women and men in certain ways. Their examination involves asking what identities are created as a result of different positioning through the different options language with its entire constituents (voice in our dissertation) offer. In addition, what gender inequalities are created or are maintained as a result? This is something that past questions about how women and men speak differently have, in themselves, not achieved in the speech community based model, which has limitations language and gender researcher Jane Sunderland contends. For Eckert and McConnell-Ginet

> *Speakers develop linguistic patterns as they engage in activity in the various communities in which they participate.*

Sociolinguists have tended to see this process as one of acquisition of something relatively "fixed"...and the speaker simply learns it and uses it either mechanically or strategically.   But in actual practice, social meaning, social identity and the symbolic value of linguistic form are being constantly and mutually constructed. And the relation between gender and language resides in the modes of participation available to various individuals within various communities of practice as a direct or indirect function of gender. These modes of participation determine not only the development of particular strategies of performance and interpretation, but more generally access to meaning and to meaning making rights.

(Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1991:470)

As already pointed out, early gender investigations within sociolinguistics regarded variation as embedded in the difference characterising women's and men's language use. In this respect, while inter-gender variation received much attention, intra gender variation was neglected; as a consequence alone *"the effects of gender on language change was sustained"* *(Bucholtz, 2002:38).* With the rise of awareness that other variation need to be explored, intra-group variation within a single gender and within a single speaker are being examined.(the way I have proceeded in voice quality analysis as will be seen in our experiments). This type of analysis, which has long had a place in the sociolinguistic research, is labelled linguistic style understood as situational variation / variation within a single social category, such as gender *(Eckert and Rickford, 2001).*

II.9 Gender Style: a Distinctive Social Practice

The community of practice perspective has moved the study of variation in a new direction. So, instead of considering variation in terms of how variables are used according to the identity of the speaker as in a speech community model, the community of practice perspective seeks out the meanings triggering off particular variable to be performed for the manifestation of a specific stance. This view is what we previously referred to as linguistic style and which sets the floor for dimensions of identity together with other practice features that a member of a community uses to build up his persona (see Eckert's study of jocks and burnouts).

The conceptualisation of style as a social practice was advocated for the first time by Wenger (1998). Central to communities of practice is the notion of diversity through mutual engagement, which does not necessarily imply uniformity, conformity or agreement but rather it does imply a kind of diversity in which perspectives and identities; in one word diversity does entail exclusion. Style according to Wenger (1998) is manifested in that wide array of people's behaviour in copying, borrowing, imitating, importing adapting and interpreting ways while they construct their identity. Aligning with this idea, R.J. Podesva (2004) states that

> *Styles are built out of clusters of features not isolated variables, so one feature of a style may take on meaning through its association with others.*
>
> <div align="right">***(Podesva, 2004)***</div>

In the speech community perspective, style is purely a linguistic one and consists of the preference *of* certain linguistic features in place of others (see chapter one); thus, we can have casual style, formal and informal styles, vernacular and so forth, i.e. style is a speaker's contextual/ situational regulation in use of separate variables and

> *the direction of style shifting prompted analysts to*
> *assign prestige to the speech at the upper end of the*
> *class hierarchy and stigma to the speech at the lower end.*
>
> *(Eckert, 2005)*

Throughout the speech community, the stylistic patterns are uniform and suggest a consensus on the meaning of variables and any shift in style made linguists allocate prestige to the language of the upper class (Trudgill, 1974) the whites (Bernstein, 1973) and to men (Lakoff, 1975) and stigma to lower classes, blacks and women respectively. However, this view of style has been contested in the practice theory. In a couple of comprehensive articles, Eckert (2000, 2005) has claimed that style is the way and manner variables are combined to generate typical verbal behaviour(s). These verbal behaviours added to other behaviour(s) as body posture, ways of walking since "*style cannot be explained independently of other styles* "(Irvine 2001:22) are key to the construction personae and "*personae in turn are particular social types that are quite explicitly located in the social order*" (Eckert, 2005).

Styles are flexible characteristics of the shared repertoire of a practice. Due to their flexibility, styles can be detached from some community enterprises. They can move out and in from one community to another and back or across communities where it is reinterpreted while it is being adopted within various practices. If a female, for example, imitates the voice, the

haircut, or linguistic elements which are supposedly male specific, those same ways of behaving are integrated into a different enterprise and given different meanings (see also the example of nerds and cool girls below for better elucidation). This has evidently been shown in the nerd and cool girls of the Bay City High School (California) of Bucholtz (2002). Both nerd and cool girls live in the same neighbourhood and take the same course and attend the same classes but their linguistic styles are very different. Members of the nerd community show a degree of difference in their gender style in terms of their clothes which were not typical to trendy and cool teenagers at Bay City. Additionally, at the phonetic level, the line of demarcation between nerd and cool girls lies in their less significant participation in the shift of the vowels /uw/ and /ow/ from a back realisation towards a fronting one typical to female teenagers. Bucholtz demonstrates that the fronting of the back vowels /uw/ and /ow/ is a

> *process of vowel shift associated with white middle- class California teenagers to such an   extent that fronted variants have become linguistic trendy stereotypes of California speech.*

> **(Bucholtz, 2002:38)**

 The way nerd girls display their gender style and their linguistic style is an expression of their resistance to the hegemonic perception of femininity (Bucholtz, 2002) and instead nerd girls construct their identity on the basis of intelligence and humour.

The notion of style as a flexible and malleable and which can express a bundle of stances has fruitfully been exploited in describing what has come to be called linguistic genderisation as a process of constructing identities in terms of

femininities and masculinities in western countries. How gender identity is constructed in the arabo-islamic countries in terms of practice theory is still an unexplored avenue. For Motschenbacher (2007) and in tune with Eckert (2000, 2005) and Irvine (2001), "*style as practice may exhibit context-dependent intra gender and even intra-individual diversity* (Motschenbacher, 2007:262). A good example of the genderisation of style or what Motschenbacher (2007) calls "*stylisation of identities*" Bucholtz research carried out at Bay City High School, mentioned above, and which, demonstrates that nerd girls subvert hegemonic femininity based on looks, fashion and makeup .The nerds as we said before stylise themselves around essential notions as intelligence and humour and even avoid trendy fronted vowels as part of their resistance to hegemony.

In general terms, gender styles can possibly be hegemonic and non hegemonic. They can be subversive, i.e. they deviate from what is considered to be the norm, as is the case for the nerd girls of Bay City High school or the Jocks of Eckert but they can hegemonic, in that they become sign of the stereotypically features associated with femininity and masculinity in a given culture. Janet Holmes' study of gender at workplace (2006), Blair's analysis of classroom interactions in a multicultural US junior high school (2000), has found out that the genderlects used by females and males seem to conform to traditional stereotypes of how women construct their personae within this frame. The community members who have participated in the experiences have used normatively feminine style to perform aspects of their identities .Normative femininity as styles are strategic ways for displaying identity.

II.10 Conclusion

The conceptualisation of style as a social practice is very useful to sociolinguists, and especially to those working on gender variations; this is why I will be referring to it in the forthcoming chapter. The results I obtained demonstrate that differences in voice quality are the embodiment of how femininity and masculinity are stylistically constructed in a community of practice.

III.1 Introduction

In this chapter my aim is to provide data on the variety of voice qualities as a stylisation of gender and qualify voice characteristics with regard to males and females as members of a teaching community of practice. Drawing on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Eckert and McConnell Ginet (1992) on Communities of practice, I attempt to locate the speaking subjects in their macro community and investigate the relation between the construction of meaning, namely of femininity and masculinity in that community and the larger social communities with which it engages.

Voice quality production and perception is and will continue to be a vibrant topic of investigation. However, detailed information of voice production and perception are yet to be unveiled. Normative data related to voice quality are rare and this hinders qualification of voice characteristics. In addition, limited information available in the literature deals with voice quality from a purely physiological stand point. The theoretical approaches dealing with analytical perspectives lag far behind because of the scarceness of data on voice characteristics in people as well as on the practices of individuals in their relation with voice as a phonetic aspect or what we can call a vocal style through which, individuals construct and display their identity/identities in a given social order and according to certain habitus / the set of dispositions to use Bourdieu's terminology (1978, 1991).

Rather than looking at females' and males' voice quality as based on pure physiological terms, as will be detailed below, I consider voice quality as a practice through which gender identity is constructed. In fact, this chapter is an analysis of voice quality as a style; a phonetic practice through which gender identity is performed; in other words and as mentioned in chapter two, how females and males of the community of practice under study combine a multiplicity of voice qualities to construct their personae.

All over my survey, I aim to measure how the community of females and males contextually produce and stylise a wide range of voice quality characteristics and to ascertain the variability of this characteristics within this specified group on the basis of their gender and status as teachers. For so doing, I have looked at how females and males produce the emphatic/non emphatic phonemes of Arabic in MTG .The choice of the emphatic /non emphatic phonemes is not based on speculation; emphatics/ non emphatic cognates have been chosen because they partly influence the quality of voice. But, before moving to the acoustic analysis and as I am combining sociolinguistics and phonetics i.e. sociophonetics, it is, in my view, judicial to have a synopsis of the acoustic identity of speech sounds.

III.2 The acoustic Identity of Speech Signals

The main concern of the following pages is to shed light on basic acoustic concepts so that any type of terminological misunderstanding will be discarded.

Like any sound such as the one produced by a book that falls (Ladefoged, 1962:8), any object that hits a wall or feet tapping the floor, speech sounds are a set of rapid disturbances of air particles. They can be sensed by the ear, measured according to certain scales as the Hertz scale or visualized through a spectrograph.

On hearing speech sounds, one feels that some of these sounds are similar while others are dissimilar. Essentially, dissimilarity in speech is due to the alternations human sounds are subjected to because of variations in the phonetic context and the situatedness of the social practice in relation to the identity of the speaking subject. The acoustic identity of sounds depends primarily on their waves shape frequency intensity and quality but their quality by large depends on social practice.

III.2.1 Sounds waves:

Sounds do not propagate in the vacuum. To be realized, sounds need a material medium to be set up in motion. This medium is air. It is composed of particles whose forward and backward movements make speech sounds reach the hearer's ear. It is in this way that the hearing sensation is experienced.

The rapid displacements of air particles are brought about by the vibrations of the vocal cords added to the different configurations taken up by the supra-laryngeal chambers, that is the pharynx, the mouth and the nasal cavity.

It is axiomatic that speaking is modified breathing. Consequently, inhaled air and exhaled air are necessary to speech realization. Inhaled air is necessary to refill the lungs with oxygen and exhaled air sends out CO_2 and plays a most important role in speech delivery. While being expelled out, pulmonic air builds a pressure beneath the vocal cords forcing them to open and close at regular intervals. These periodic openings and closings; in other words the vocal folds vibrations; cause the air coming from the lungs to be modified and thus modulated and shaped into several speech sounds. The vocal cords, which are two elastic vibratory lips, chop the pulmonic air and set it in motion. In its turn, this motion affects the air that surrounds us and displaces its particles. Subsequently to moments of high pressure succeeds moments of low pressure. These variations in air pressure are what are acoustically labelled sound waves. A sound wave is the sum of minute pressure changes affected on surrounding air because of the impulses of the motor nerve (Denes and Pinson, 1963: 4).

The fluctuations in air pressure make the quality of a sound wave. Without them, no sound would come to exist. Besides, the very existence of a sound is determined by the propagation of a sound wave in air. This phenomenon is an outcome of the movements of air particles. Whenever the organs of speech move in response to the signals sent by the central nervous system via the motor

nerve, air is modified and sounds are produced. To take but a very simple example, let us look at the realization of the sound /m/. At the first instance, air is forcibly driven out of the lungs. As soon as it reaches the larynx, a contraction is felt. This can be individually experienced if one puts his thumb and index finger on his throat while the /m/ sound is pronounced. Simultaneously, the soft palate lowers to shut the oral cavity giving way to air to escape through the nasal cavity since /m/ is nasal. The two lips are brought together for /m/ is a bilabial and the vocal cords vibrate as /m/ is voiced.

It is to be remembered that the order followed when a phonetic or a linguistic description is provided does not infer linearity in the actual production of speech sounds. In fact, these processes are so interwoven that no speaker is aware of what happens when he is speaking. A sound like/m/ will not be produced if fluctuations in air pressure in a variety of ways do not come to exist.

Given its material aspect, air undergoes much modification when going out of the lungs. It can flow out from either the oral or the nasal cavity. It can be totally obstructed then released in an explosion, as it is the case for plosives or can partially be blocked then expelled around one or both sides of the closure as in laterals /l/. The air can also escape freely without any type of stricture or narrowing as in the production of vowel sounds.

The aerodynamics of speech is the scientific label phonetics uses to describe the itinerary pulmonic air takes on its way of flowing out. The muscular contractions, the vibrations of the vocal cords and the different shapes of the speech organs cause the back and forth oscillations of air particles. These oscillations generate sound waves thanks to which sounds are perceived by our sense of hearing. The absence of sound waves equates with the impossibility of speech reception. The process of reception and perception begins at the acoustic level, which consists of the spreading of the sound waves between the mouth of

the speaker and the ear of the hearer. Anatomically, the ear is divided into three parts. The external ear is the visible part of the ear. It is a passage for air to go into the ear and affect the eardrum, the end part of the external ear. The middle ear is that human amplifier that processes sound energies. It provides the hearer with the ability to hear weak sounds and simultaneously protects the inner ear from very loud noises which may damage its functioning. The ossicles of the middle ear transmit the vibrations of the eardrum to the inner ear. At this stage, the auditory nerve is stimulated so that it sends the message received to the brain where a highly skilled operation; and of which about nothing is known; takes place; it is the linguistic cognition that corresponds to the intellectual identification and interpretation of human utterances.

It has been stated previously that sound waves consist of recurrent displacement of a certain quantity of air particles from a rest position to another position then back to the rest position. When set in motion, air particles are brought together or compressed but a force evolves to bring them to their initial position, that is they are rarefied or separated. Compression and rarefaction take place because the air particles are springy and any springy/ elastic material returns to its original position if it is stretched. The following figures may be of help to clarify compression and rarefaction of air particles:
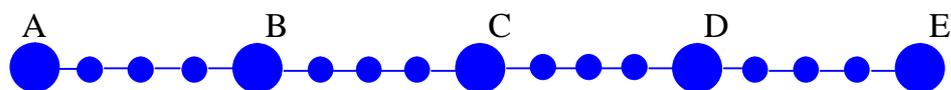
Figure 1: Air Particles in a Hypothetical Rest Position

If we push particle B to the right, the spring between B and C and C and D will be compressed. Compression takes place whenever particles are brought together. They will have the following shape.

Figure 2 : Compression

In contrast, rarefaction occurs while air particles are drawn apart. Let us consider figure 3. If particles A and B are driven to the left, the string between A and B and B and C will be stretched. This stretching corresponds to rarefaction.
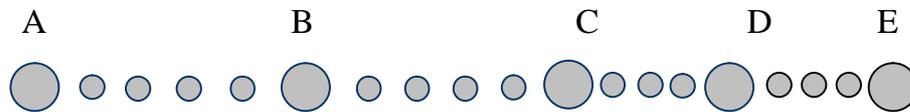
Figure 3 : Rarefaction

The periodic occurrence of moments of compression followed by moments of rarefaction repeats itself each cycle. A cycle is "*that part of the wave between any point and the next point where the variations in air pressure start to go through precisely the same set of changes again"* (Ladefoged, 1962 : 109)
If a cycle happens every 1/100 of a second during a sound production, this sound is said to be pronounced with 100 cycles per second (100 cps). If a cycle occurs each 1/400 of a sound, this sound will have 400 cps.
The rate at which cycles repeat themselves is acoustically termed as frequency. This will be dealt with in the following pages.

III.2.2 Fundamental Frequency and Pitch:

In the previous pages, it was stated that sound waves result from the back and forth movements of air particles. Sound waves have a range of frequencies extending between hundreds to thousands of cycles per second. In

simple terms, the frequency of something is the number of times something/an action is repeated. For example, the frequency of bus service refers to the number

of buses per hour. The technical definition of frequency as given by Denes and Pinson is as follows: *"frequency is the number of complete cycles that take place in one second."* (*Denes and Pinson, 1963:26*). For example, if twenty total cycles happen in one second, it will be said that the sound wave has a frequency of twenty cycles per second.

A cycle depends on the displacement of air particles from a rest position A to another position B then back to the rest position A. In terms that are more general, a cycle corresponds to one vibration; that is one opening and one closing of the vocal folds. The time taken by one cycle of one oscillation to be accomplished is the period T of the vibratory phenomenon.

The frequency F is the number of periods per second.

`F=1/T`

F: frequency is measured in Hertz / cycles per second.

`1Hz = 1cps.`

T: period (time) in seconds.

For instance, a frequency of 3000 Hz per second has a period of 0, 0003 that is 1/ 3000.

The fundamental frequency (FO) is the acoustic correlate, which corresponds to the openings and closings of the vocal cords. Due to the action of the respiratory muscles, air is compressed in the lungs then sent in an egressive way. Once it

reaches the vocal cords, the pulmonic air builds a pressure beneath them. If the air pressure is big enough, it will force the vocal cords to vibrate repeatedly at a regular rhythm. Whilst it is released, the pulmonic air acts as an acute tap on the

air contained in the supra laryngeal cavities in a multitude of ways according to the size and shapes taken by these cavities.

Pitch is that auditory property whereby a sound may be ordered on a scale shifting from low to high. It corresponds to the acoustic notion of frequency, which in the study of speech sounds is instrumentally measurable in Hertz/cycles per second. In fact, the frequency of a sound determines its pitch. Thus the higher the fundamental frequency, the higher the pitch will be and the lower the fundamental frequency, o will be the pitch. A sound with a frequency of 200 Hz has a lower pitch than a sound whose frequency is 300 Hz and has a higher pitch than a sound whose frequency is 100 Hz.

For the perception of pitch, the frequency of a sound should be superior to 16 Hz but inferior to 20 000 Hz (Lehiste, 1970:65) while the former does not stimulate the eardrum, the latter can damage the hearing capacity; the ear perceives neither the infrasonic sounds nor does it perceive the ultra-sonic sounds.

Most sounds are generated by a series of complex sound waves. Besides their fundamental frequency, speech sounds have a number of super- imposed frequencies known as harmonics. Each of the harmonics is a whole number multiple of the fundamental frequency. Therefore 200 Hz, 300 Hz, 400 Hz are harmonics that correspond to a fundamental frequency of 100 Hz i.e. 100×2, 100×3, 100×4 (Catford, 1988:160)

Specialists in acoustics Fant (1968); Lehiste (1970); Catford (1988) assert that the velocity of the openings and closings of the vocal folds, their tension, the

amount of air pressure rushing from the lungs and finally the length of the vocal tract determine the fundamental frequency of the glottal vibrations. The wide range of frequencies in males, females and children is partially conditioned by the size of the vocal cords. The mean fundamental frequency of 15 children, 28 women and 33 men who were the informants of Peterson and Barney (1952) were respectively 264 Hz, 223 Hz and 132 Hz. The explanation given can be summarised in what follows: the children's vocal cords are very thin, so they vibrate more rapidly than those of both males and females do. The ones of the females are thicker than those of children but thinner than those of males as a result; they vibrate less quickly than those of children's do and more rapidly than those of males'. Being thicker than the ones of children and females' vocal cords, the males' vocal cords have the lowest rate of vibrations. Therefore, the pitch of a child's voice is higher than that of either a man's or a woman's voice. A female voice pitch is lower than a child's is but higher than a male's. Finally, the pitch of the male's voice is lower than the pitch of either a child or a female's voice.

Pitch allows access to much information about the speaker's individual characteristics. For instance, it can be indicative of the sex of the speaker, his mood, whether the speaker is happy, angry, self confident, Furthermore, pitch conveys data about a speaker's voice quality. Ladefoged found out that creaky has a low pitch (Ladefoged, 1975:.22).Creaky is a word used in the phonetic description of voice quality. From an articulatory point of view, in a creaky voice, there is very slow vibration of one end of the vocal cords (Crystal, 1980: 89).

State of the glottis in creaky voice.
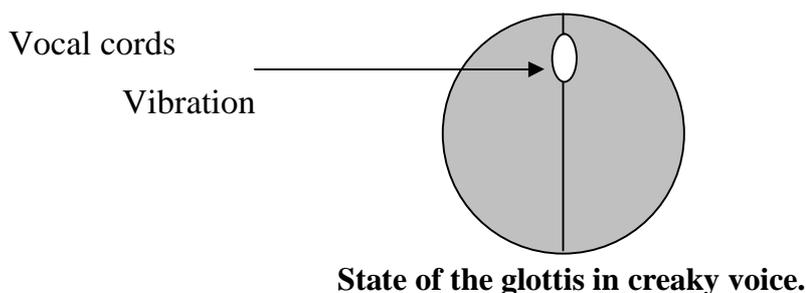
Finally, Lehiste states that "there *appears to be a physiological reason for the fact that high vowels are associated with a relatively high fundamental frequency"* (*Lehiste, 1970:70).*

Lehiste, Fant and other acousticians believe that **FO** increases in accordance with the increase in the volume of air pressure built beneath the vocal folds added to the tenseness of the cords. In the production of high vowel[í-u] the tongue is raised towards the hard palate as a result there is a stretching of the laryngeal muscles and the extensive nature of the larynx makes the vocal cords become tenser and multiply the rate at which they vibrate.

III.2.3 Intensity and Loudness:

Sounds may differ acoustically in frequency or audibly in pitch. Similarly, intensity and loudness are two parallel properties endowed with the capacity of distinguishing one sound from another sound.

As frequency is related to the rate of the vocal cords vibrations, intensity is related to amplitude, which is *"the maximum displacement of [an air] particle from its rest position"* (*Lehiste, 1970:112).*

Intensity is the acoustic correlate that corresponds to the respiratory effort done during a sound production. Each time an utterance takes place; there is a range of intensities depending on speaking specificities. These intensities vary not only from one speaker to another but also within one speaker as one moves from loud shouting to normal conversation. Specialists in the physics of speech *(*Ladefoged, Fant, and Lehiste*)* agree that vowels are the speech sounds with the greatest intensity. Voiceless consonants have a lesser intensity than voiced consonants. In other words, the amount of air pressure is higher in voiced sounds than in voiceless sounds.

To measure intensity, the Decibel (dB) scale is used. Decibel is a unit for measuring power levels. A difference of one decibel is non significant. To be more intense, a sound must be at least five decibels greater than another must.

Loudness is that auditory feature according to which a sound may be qualified as loud or soft (Ladefoged, 1962; Crystal, 1980). It is indicative of the prominence of a sound or the prominence of a syllable because more energy is expended during their realisation. Loudness belongs to the listener's impression of differences in sounds. It is up to the listener to decide whether a sound is loud or soft. Loudness is closely related to intensity, which is speaker specific that is intensity is linked to speech production that is why it is measurable within the speaker himself. While intensity is determined by amplitude, loudness is determined by the size of variations in air pressure. Consequently, the higher the amplitude, the more intense the sound will be; and the larger the size of vibrations the louder the sound will be.

To sum up, it can be said that by studying the up and down fluctuations in air pressure; we notice dissimilarity between speech sounds in terms of loudness and intensity. Loudness and intensity depend on the position of the sound in a word or a sentence, as well as on whether a syllable is stressed or not and finally on individual particularities and speech preferences of speakers.

III.2.4 Quality:
III.2.4.1 Formant Frequencies:

The quality of a sound is an auditory feature, which is used to refer to the resonance or timbre of a speech sound. It is made of the set of frequencies that constitute the identity of a sound. For example, the distinction between [i:] and [u:] may be said to be of a qualitative difference. It is opposed to differences in terms of pitch or loudness. [i:] and [u:] may be uttered with the same pitch and intensity, but they may have a different quality.

We can explain this phenomenon by the fact that vowel quality does not depend on pitch or intensity; it primarily depends on vowels' overtone structure. In other

words, besides the glottal tone that is the sum of the vocal cords' vibrations, the determinant of pitch and the supra-glottal cavities that is: the pharynx, the mouth and the nasal cavity modify the egressive pulmonic air in a multitude of ways. The supra-glottal cavities are also called resonant chambers or resonators because they resonate and produce resonant frequencies; subsequently, one has to have an idea about resonance as an acoustic phenomenon.

Sounds emanate from moving bodies that have their own natural frequencies. If exposed to excitation frequencies near their natural frequencies, they will reflect the sound or resonate for a considerable time. Resonance is thus the sum of frequencies produced in an oscillating medium as a response to vibrations of another medium. In terms that are more general, the echo caused when speech sounds are uttered in an empty room or when musical instruments are struck can provide an amateur explanation to the non-specialist. The airbursts sent in the supra-laryngeal cavities cause them to vibrate and generate a number of resonances. These resonances of the pharynx, the mouth and the nasal cavities determine or form the sound wave that is why they are called formants (Catford, 1988) and their frequencies are called formant frequencies. A number specifies each of these frequencies, subsequently; there is F1, F2, F3, F4 and so forth. F1 is the lowest formant and is measured in Hertz or cycle per second (Hz / cps) F2 is a higher formant than F1 and F3 is higher than F1 and F2. There are also F4 and F5, which are higher in frequency than the previous formants.

The formant frequencies are irrespective of the fundamental frequency. While the former is determined by the shape and size of the supra laryngeal cavities; the latter is dependent on the rate of the vibrations of the vocal cords. Formant values alter when shifting from one vowel sound to another: Catford (1988) explains the way formants are related to the many configurations of the articulators: F1, for example, is lower for close vowels like [íː] but is higher for the open vowels. In other words; the closer the vowel; the lower is F1; and the opener the vowel, the

higher is F1. Furthermore, F2 goes down for the back vowels but goes up for the front vowels.

The size of the mouth, the pharynx and the nasal cavity are important for the value of the formants. A female with small cavities have formants that are different from the formants of a woman with large cavities because each resonating chamber has its specific way of resonating.

III.2.4.2 Spectrographic Analysis:

To study vowel quality, one has to carry out a spectrographic analysis. The value of formant frequencies is recognizable in the way formants are displayed on a spectrograph. A spectrographic analysis is an experimental procedure that allows the student of acoustic phonetics to look at the components of a sound i.e. the acoustic spectrum. What is an acoustic spectrum?

It is the complex range of frequencies of varying intensities, which make up the quality of a sound. In an acoustic spectrum, there are frequency peaks distributed over the frequency scale. A frequency peak refers to the location of the highest frequency or the most prominent frequency. Vowels' spectra, for instance, have at least four to five peaks.

The frequency of the first and the second formants are sufficient to state the quality of a vowel. The third, the fourth and the fifth formant, in other words, the formants with higher frequencies, are non-linguistic (Ladefoged, 1975) and are indicative of the speaker's speech habits and the speaker's preferences for a specific articulatory gymnastics. Given that vowels are produced with a greater amount of energy, it is preferable to study their spectra rather than the spectra of consonants because some consonants are identified only by way of the vowel that precede or follow them. For example, no acoustic difference is noticed in the quality of the voiceless plosives /p-t k/ because there is no glottal tone and air is released in little bursts. Therefore, their recognition depends on the formants of the adjacent vowels (Gimson, 1 970: 22).

Spectrographic analysis of speech signals allows the researcher in acoustic phonetics to have a relatively reliable indication of vowel quality. What is of interest in using sound spectrograms is to observe the differences in the speech of individual speakers and to build a point of view about speakers' voice quality. In a sound spectrogram speech sounds are made visible in terms of a three-dimensional visual record in which time in seconds is displayed horizontally, frequency in Hertz vertically and intensity by the black blocks which thanks to our program, SFS Wasp, appear as soon as the sound is recorded.

No acoustic feature can completely identify a speech sound. It is true that speech recognition is based on the acoustic parameters i.e. sound waves, pitch and frequency, loudness and intensity in addition to quality. However, the knowledge of the speaker, the rules of grammar and the subject matter discussed about are dimensions to take into account for stating the identity of speech sounds.

III.3 *A Spectrographic Analysis of voice Quality*

To know about a linguistic style is tied not only to grammar, lexis but also to knowing about speech signals, how they are produced about their acoustic properties and the way these signals help the stylisation of identity be that of women or that of men.

Human voice has many qualities; it can be qualified as feminine/ masculine, effeminate/ mannish, thick/ thin, harsh/ shrill, stentorian/soft, and so forth. For many, these different qualities are essentially binary and consequently attributed to one category rather than the other or   idiosyncratic / speaker specific with no social meaning.

Nonetheless and drawing on the social practice theory, I make the case that the variations in voice quality are key to the construction and the transmission of the

social meaning and   I suggest these variations as features of sounding feminine/masculine , thick /thin… These so called speaker specific data help imbue the identity of the speaker with   social meaning.

III.3.1 Voice Quality in Variation

Before attempting to deal with voice quality as a situational variation rather than a sociolinguistic variable, it would be preferable to define what the term voice quality means and to state the reason why voice quality is analysed in variation and not as a sociolinguistic variable. The notions of social variable and variation have to be demarcated. A redefinition of the basic concepts sociolinguistic variable and variation is driven by the practice framework I have adopted with the premise that the notion of social variable has shifted meaning; variation in this respect is different from variable as will be seen below

By voice quality, we mean not only that sensation of varying pitches in human utterances but the changes in the formant frequencies of the supra-laryngeal cavities.

The American linguist William Labov (1972) has coined those language entities, which are subjected to contextual constraints and susceptible to variations as sociolinguistic variables. Nevertheless, the notion of variable as viewed by Labov does not cope with the flexible and ongoing character of voice quality as seen from a community of practice perspective. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet state that "*sociolinguistic variables are 'passive markers of the speakers place in the social grid*'" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992:462). The Labovian view of Sociolinguistic variable, correlate a linguistic variable, let's say, the typical pronunciation of a specific vowel sound for instance or a specific consonant, a type of intonation   , the use of some grammatical structures or some lexical items rather than others to be in a demographic category,

> *gives a rudimentary social meaning to that variable within the*
> *community – What a variable 'means' is   membership [   ]*
> *Speakers are seen as making   strategic use of sociolinguistic*

markers in order to affirm membership in their own social
group or to claim membership in other groups to which they
aspire

(Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992:470)

Women , in many sociolinguistic studies , for example, seem to use polite forms, hedges, cooperation strategies , high rise tone , soft voice (Lakoff, 1975 ; Thorne and Henley,1975), take less floor space in conversation (Spender ,1980) use hypercorrect patterns of pronunciation by lower middle class women (Trudgill,1974) to signal female identity in a given community. Noticeably, and according to the same studies, men are shown as not using the same linguistic markers to signal their male identity.

Because voice is context sensitive and because it significantly varies from one group to another, within the same group and even within the same speaker, and because it is incorporated into a socio-cultural matrix where it nurtures and thereby operates as an element to be accounted for for the statement of meaning, I have chosen to deal with the explanation of voice quality in variation independently from the notion of social markers.

Voice, according to my assumptions, actively contributes in making human utterances more effective. Evidence to corroborate the abovementioned arguments is immediately presented. A husky voice, for instance, is dry and stereotypically defined as masculine, yet it is used by both women and men in politics, to galvanise action. Similarly, this same quality of voice is used exclusively by males in commercials for L'Oreal cosmetics (Pennock 2006)   I see, then, that voice is never in a steady state and is dynamic and any change in voice quality is linked to parameters as gender, status …. A female in power as we will try to demonstrate will not interact efficiently in her position and successfully if she speaks in a shrill voice. Therefore, we can put forward that a shift in status entails a modification in voice style as a whole.

The social identity of the speaker, his status is determined by how he makes use of the words, how he sets his body in motion and how he sounds as soon as he involves in communication. It is evident then to compare speech behaviour to a game where speaking subjects know the rules and know how to employ these rules and manoeuvres to manifest their set of social identities.

To be the woman is a practice a female performs. It this case, a female can speak in a shrill voice. This would perfectly go with the woman's social identity. Voice style acts as a regulator of relations among participants. It makes clear their social positions and intentions. It matches very well with how conventions are shaped, produced and reproduced.

The competence of voice shifting signals the flexibility of practice and the possibility to engage with others around an endeavour and negotiate new meanings of a new practice. Shifts in voice are choice, conscious acts substantially emergent in the light of new practices of demarcated communities. A propos, Fairclough contends:

> *We always experience the society and the various social institutions with which we operate as devised, demarcated, and structured in different spheres of actions, different   types of situation. Each of which has its associated type of practice.*
>
> *(Fairclough, 1989:79)*

Voice quality is socially determined and socially determinative to use Fairclough terminology. It is socially determinative since it serves the construction of identity. It is related to general social phenomena that govern societal interactions .Voice style determines and portrays the way society is structured. It

is socially determined in the sense that it is partly made up by the social dispositions. An individual can be a male, a female, a teacher or a student; he

adopts, subsequently, a specific voice style from the shared repertoire of males, females, teachers or students to engage in a specific enterprise around an endeavour. Evidently, the voice styles belonging to males may overlap with those of females or a student or a male and vice versa since a community of practice is open to a nexus of multi-membership.

That voice quality / voice style is determinative and determined is very significant. This means that they are intermingled and cannot be separated from each other. Determinative is the agentive aspect of voice style contained in the determining social habitus without which practice will be meaningless.

It is well nigh impossible to deny, that the formant frequencies that make up the quality of a sound are related to the overall shape of the vocal tract and the different modifications pulmonic air under goes in the supra-laryngeal cavities. However, our belief that voice quality is not only a set of pure physical properties only has led us to query about the social dimension of voice in terms of production

III.3.2 Emphatic / non Emphatic Sounds in Females and Males and their impact on Voice Quality: an acoustic delineation

The purpose of this experiment is to examine empirically certain acoustic cues to emphatic sounds (Arabic mutbaqa / muffaxxama) in a Mostaganem speech community and see whether male / female emphatic sounds are acoustically rendered in the same way or are emergent in practice inside a community of practice. In addition, it will be my endeavour to see how voice quality is, it is true, partly determined by physiology but it is also partly related to gender identity construction in terms femininities and masculinities.

Can we speak, then, in binary terms about masculinity and femininity and thus can voice be typically feminine or masculine? How can voice as a phonetic style be the expressions of many stances? And my last question would be: in case of voice style overlap, which description should we assign to the quality of voice?

To answer such questions, we have undertaken a number of acoustic analyses of emphatic /non emphatic phoneme of Arabic.

The way and manner emphatic sounds are   pronounced alters the voice quality of males and females and is a key to the gender identity of the speaking subjects, as will be shown below. Undeniably, emphatic sounds have an important influence on the quality of the generated voice since their articulation involves a modification of the resonating chambers responsible for the nature of voice.

By gender identity is not meant being of the female sex or of the male sex, but it rather means to have what has commonly been a female or a female –like identity or a male or a male –like identity.

III.3.2.1 Emphatic/non Emphatic Cognates Analysis: An Overview:

The emphatic phonemes of Arabic (mutbaqa or muffaxxama) are mostly stops and fricatives. Only four emphatic Nsounds have an orthographic representation, they are the /t–s–d-ð/ (emphatics are sounds written with a dot under them).

Sibawayhi, an Arab grammarian, describes emphatics as being the /sād-dād-tā-zā/ða/ In addition to these traditional emphatics many other phonemes have been assigned the emphatic feature on the basis of articulatory production. These include /b-m-n-q-x-r-N-l/.

From an articulatory point of view, emphatics are described as sounds having two places of articulation. Added to their primary dental place of articulation (reference is made to the traditional emphatic sounds), emphatics are *"consonants which have a raising of the tongue towards the upper palate"* (cf in Sibawayhi II: 85, in Giannini & Pettorino, 1982:8)

Lehn (1963) refers back to the Arabic terminology, which identifies emphasis as Itbaq *"spreading and raising of the tongue"*? istiʕla? *"The elevation of the dorsum"* and tafxim, *"thickness heaviness"*,. Velarization pharyngealization, strong articulation thickness, heaviness are alternative terms to emphasis in the

phonetic and phonological literature. For Lehn, rearward movement of the tongue, lateral spreading and concavity and the raising of its back characterize Arabic emphatics. The concavity of the tongue enlarges the resonance chamber in the mouth. The raising of the back of the tongue is similar to what is termed velarisation. Furthermore, emphatics are described as pharyngealized consonants because of the pharyngeal constriction/contraction. This pharyngeal contraction is resultant of the tongue approximation to the pharynx creating in this case a small resonance cavity. Finally, lip rounding and increased tension of the entire oral and pharyngeal cavities are also features that specify the emphatics of Arabic. However, Lehn makes it explicit that individual speakers do not equally exhibit the above features. In general, those features are less apparent in females' speech.

Trying to draw a correlation between the articulatory aspects and the acoustic aspect of emphatics, Jacobson indicates that spectrograms corroborate that pharyngealized consonants' energy is located in a lower frequency region and that the second formant of the vowel that follows a pharyngealized consonant is lowered (Jakobson, 1962:512).

Like its phonetic status, the phonological status of emphasis presents a great deal of complexity. Lehn (1963) and Obrecht (1968) consider that the study of emphasis should rely on its basic domain, which is the syllable. As it has been observed, a CVC syllable having CVC or CVC is entirely emphaticized. The very idea that it is a suprasegmental (prosodic is the term used by Harrell 1957), emphasis may cross syllable boundaries and consequently affect the whole word.

The data collected by Ali and Daniloff (1972:648) about Iraqi Arabic showed that vowels contiguous to emphatics are *"emphaticized"*. Despite the splicing away of the emphatic consonant, listeners in Ali and Daniloff's experiment could

correctly identify the "*emphaticized*" word. This further argument asserts that an emphatic sound does not occur as a single element.

Moreover, emphatic sounds have a lowering effect on the following vowels (Obrecht 1968). These findings have been confirmed by Bouhadiba (1988) in his study of Oran spoken (ORSA), subsequently / I-u / are realized as

/e-o/ when they are adjacent to emphatic consonants.

/ tbi:b/ (doctor) ⟶ [tbe:b]

/ ftu:r/ (lunch) ⟶ [fto:r]

/ si:b/ (find) ⟶ [se:b]

/ ti:n/ (clay) ⟶ [te:n]

      Among the reasons behind the treatment of Arabic emphasis as a suprasegmental are its stylistic and expressive levels (Harrell, 1957). For Harrell, emphasis is evidenced by expressive and stylistic objectives. His idea is that the pronunciation of an emphatic sound as a non-emphatic is a sign of effeminacy. If, on the other hand, *"one's usual pronunciation is non emphatic, the emphatic form may be seen variously overly formal, pompous, or crude and hick like"* (cf. Harrell 1957 in Kahn, 1975:41)

The stylistic side of emphasis is what is relevant to our present study. Stylistics or style of voice in our approach refers to a specific verbal practice that demarcates a speaker/a group of speakers A from another speaker/a group of speakers B. Or it demarcates speakers from each other within group A or group B. It is unquestionably interesting to find out that the stylistic level of emphasis is an individual form of practice which, relates this individual to a larger community which acknowledge this practice. In such a case, we would be able to

draw generalizations and hypothesise that emphasis operates not as a static variable but one which but constant in variation.

Acoustic investigation provides more accuracy about the nature of emphasis; the reason is that the formant transition in emphatic/ non-emphatic cognates is made clearer than the differences based on articulatory procedures.

In this respect, two invaluable studies are most of the time referred to in the acoustic literature about emphasis. They were carried out by Obrecht, (1968) and S.H. Al Ani (1970).

According to D.H. Obrecht (1968), acoustic analysis based on articulatory assumptions asserted that emphasis is cued by the lowering of the second formant (F_2) in the speech segment. By the same token, using spectrographic analyses of /s-t-d/ and in some case /l-r/ of words belonging to Iraqi Arabic and in non sense CV sequences, S.H. Al Ani 1970, found out that emphatics are marked by a slight raising of F_1 and a considerable lowering of F_2. It is in this acoustic trend that our experiment has been carried out. Our study is not concerned with the phonological aspect of emphasis per se, but with the question as to how emphatic sounds are acoustically rendered by female and male speakers. Therefore our research shall propose some answers to some theoretical questions still asked by modern sociolinguists. These include for instance: Are there acoustic cues that make male / female emphatics distinct? That is, do emphatic/non emphatic cognates differ in terms of formant values pronounced by either males or females? If they do; what motives underlie the female/male, female/female or male/male emphatics/non emphatics distinction? Can we speak of the idea of a stylistic side that govern emphasis in the same way as Harrell (1957) and Kahn (1975) did of will it be better to go beyond their classificatory binarism in terms of effeminacy and crudeness   and in what way should the notion 'stylistic' as advocated by Harrell and Kahn relevant to this dissertation be reviewed an integrated in the practice theory?

III.3.2.2 *Formant Transition in MTG Males' and Females' Emphatic/ Non emphatic Cognates and their relation to Voice Style:*

To verify formant shift in males and females in the pronunciation of emphatic/non emphatic cognates the present study took the form of spectrographic observations. Given the complexity of Arabic emphasis, we have based our study on monosyllabic words with the syllabic structure CVC where C stands for an emphatic consonant. A CVC has been chosen because *"the distribution of emphasis in utterances is most readily statable of the syllable"* (Lehn, 1963:37).

III.3.2.2.1 Methodology
III.3.2.2.1.1 Subjects

For purposes of our experimental study, I chose ten speakers belonging to a mixed teaching community and who are either teachers or teacher trainees whose age ranges between 23 and 25. They are all native speakers of MTG but they are multilingual as well; however, only Arabic was used at the time of the recording. The experimenter (myself, a native speaker of MTG with a teaching experience) and the selected subjects consistently conversed in Arabic during the recordings..

Gender was chosen as a grouping variable, because previous investigations clearly demonstrated differences in voice quality characteristics between men and women. These differences have implications for the creation of a normative database, concerning its proposed function as a frame of reference This community aligns with the original concept of community of practice since it focuses on a mutual construction of the teachers, their engagement in their teaching practice around which they develop their activity and their linguistic style namely the articulation of the emphatic /non emphatic cognates; the core of our study.

III.3.2.2.1.2 Materials

The experimental design was composed of two lists. The five females and the five males of the community had to read from these prepared lists of words in which the emphatics /t-d-s/ and their non-emphatic counterparts /t-d-s/ occur. For practical reasons only, our acoustic analysis is limited to /t-d-s/, the emphatic sound that are recognized by Arabic orthography. /ð/ has been discarded since it has been substituted by /d/ in the same way as/θ/ has been replaced by /t/ and /ð/ by /d/. In one word, the dental fricatives, /θ ð/ and the pharyngealized emphatic /ð/ are not used in MTG. The general attitudes are that the sounds /θ ð-ð/ are considered as rural. Our Informants were asked to repeat pairs like:/ta:b- ta:b / (it ripened- he repented), /tal-tal/ (he had a quick look-plain), /sa:b-sa:b/ (he found-he lost his value), /da:r-da:r/ (house-he did) /dal-dal/ (shadow-debasement), /si:f-si:f/ (summer-sword). /ti:n-ti:n/ (clay-figs)

III.3.2.2.1.3 Recordings and Analysis

To verify males and females formant transition in the pronunciation of emphatic/ non emphatic cognates, the present study took the form of spectrographic observations. So as to control the acoustic speech signal and to overcome the difficulty any experimenter faces in acoustics like the disturbance of formant transitions caused by noise distortions and playing speech backward, the emphatic/non emphatic pairs were recorded in a soundproof control room at the University of Mostaganem, Algeria. The materials were presented to the subjects in typed script. Each item was repeated four times, producing 56 tokens for each subject. The items were first presented to the subjects in a fixed order, and then they were randomized for each speaker. Finally, the subjects had to respond to the question "What did you say?" The subjects were not informed about the aim of the experiment. First impressionistic evaluation indicated that the resultant utterances were both natural and clearly conveyed the intended

differences in emphatic /non emphatic cognates. Utterances were later analysed by Speech Filing System (SFS), Wasp.

The speakers' voices were not recorded on a tape recorder but were directly sensed by a microphone connected to a Pentium 4 microcomputer. The volume was controlled by C. Media audio Mixer (DEOO) found under Accessories/Multimedia menu on a Windows 2003.

Speech Filing System (SFS) Wasp is the program, which has been used to analyse the speech signals selected for our study. SFS/Wasp is a sophisticated program for recording, displaying and analysing speech. It allows, in a real time, and as soon as the recording is made to display the following information: the sound wave, a wideband spectrogram, a narrowband spectrogram and the pitch track. (See figures 6-7-8). The uncomplicated application of Wasp makes speech acoustic analysis very accurate. To have recordings of a good quality, the sampling rate was adjusted to 32000/second. This has been useful for the production of speech spectrograms (for more information about Wasp Help File, refer to appendix 1).

III.3.2.2.1.4 Results

Throughout our spectrographic analysis, variations in intensity and duration of emphatic sounds have not been indicated. For each word, wideband and narrowband spectrograms were performed. Wideband and narrowband spectrograms are visual representations of the set of frequencies that make up the quality of a sound. In Wasp, wideband spectrograms appear as "coarse grained regions". Wideband spectrograms are accurate in giving the time dimension, but are less accurate in the frequency dimension. Narrowband spectrograms, in Wasp, appear as "fine grained regions" on the frequency axis. Narrowband spectrograms are more accurate in the frequency dimension at the expense of accuracy in the time dimension.

The first and the second formants of vowels following emphatic/non emphatic sounds were then measured as will be shown in the tables 3-4 below. The formant values obtained agree with the findings of S.H. Al Ani (1970) and Giannini and Pettorino (1982).

Given the affluence of the material, only some samples have been chosen. The others will be found in appendix 2:

Table 3: The frequency in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 of females' vowels after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in Mostaganem spoken Arabic.

Speakers	Formants	Vowels					
		ạ:	a:	ạ	a	ị:	i
Male1	F_1	844	759	848	701	492	400
	F_2	2177	2277	2120	2370	2214	2457
Male2	F_1	904	840	800	600	600	500
	F_2	1788	2000	1827	2000	2200	2400
Male3	F_1	1216	1008	884	804	897	756
	F_2	2300	2600	2264	2600	2691	3024
Male4	F_1	800	786	924	879	616	600
	F_2	2016	2096	1540	1722	2404	2688
Male5	F_1	1000	900	844	813	641	612
	F_2	1900	2200	2110	2439	2387	2850

Table 4: The frequency in Hertz of F1 and F2 of males' vowel after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in Mostaganem spoken Arabic.

Speakers	Formants	Vowels					
		ạ:	a:	ạ	a	ị:	i
Male1	F_1	800	700	748	700	600	364
	F_2	1280	1800	1309	1800	1700	2200
Male2	F_1	725	604	708	656	600	500
	F_2	1160	1700	1239	1704	1700	2200
Male3	F_1	900	800	800	600	800	600
	F_2	1400	1900	1350	1800	1800	2400

Male4	F_1	768	600	800	600	640	500
	F_2	1408	1834	1400	2000	1755	2210
Male5	F_1	800	600	750	600	600	400
	F_2	1400	2000	1450	1900	1800	2200

As regards the formant pattern of the vowels of males and females, the results obtained from the spectrograms show an increase of F1 and a decrease of F2 after an emphatic consonant as compared to similar vowels after non-emphatic consonants. It is to be mentioned that the raising of F1 is not as important as the lowering of F2 in emphatic/non emphatic sounds. This might be the reason Obrecht (1968) stated that what is to be taken into consideration in the study of emphasis is the second formant transition.

In general terms, it has been noticed throughout our experiment that the spectrograms of our male/female informants display differences in the frequencies of F1 and F2 of the vowels following emphatic/non emphatic consonants. However, a greater difference has-been observed in the lowering of male/female second formant. (Refer to spectrograms 1-2).

In males' vowels, F2 in emphatic context is much more lowered than the F2 of vowels following non-emphatics. (See spectrograms 3-4-5.)

In females, the lowering of F2 in vowels occurring in an emphatic context is not as salient as it has been observed in the F2 of males' vowels in the same environment. Such findings confirm the theories of Harrell (1957) and Kahn (1975). (See spectrograms 6-7-8)

We then calculated the mean average of F1and F2of vowels after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in males and females. Consider the table below:

Table 5: the mean average of the frequency in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 of males' and females' vowels after emphatic/non emphatic consonants in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic.

Speakers	Formants	Vowels					
		ạ:	a:	ạ	a	ị:	i
♂	F_1	794	660	765	631	648	473
♀	F_1	953	859	860	759	649	574
♂	F_2	1337	1867	1334	1841	1751	2242
♀	F_2	2036	2235	1972	2226	2379	2684

The results obtained show that the mean difference in frequency between males' and females' vowels following emphatic/non-emphatic pairs is very significant.

First, in all cases, either after an emphatic or after a non-emphatic consonant, the range of vowels' formants was higher in females than in males.

Second, the results obtained demonstrate that the F2 of vowels following an emphatic consonant is much lower in males than in females. (See spectrograms 9-10-11)

Third, the mean difference between an F2 of a vowel following an emphatic consonant and an F2 of a vowel following a non-emphatic consonant proved to be lower in females than in males. This mean difference between: /a: -a: /, /a-a/, /i:-i: / in Hertz is respectively as follows: 199 Hz-254 Hz-305 Hz. Finally, the mean difference between an F2 of a vowel following a non-emphatic consonant and an F2 following an emphatic consonant is much higher in males. These mean differences in Hertz between males'/a:-a: /, /a-a/, / i:-i: / are as follow: 491 Hz- 517 Hz- 530 Hz. For better elucidation, these differences have been represented in the following bar graphs:

Bar graph.1: **The Mean Difference of Frequency in Hertz Between Males' and Females' /a:-a:/ after Emphatic/Non-Emphatic Consonants:**
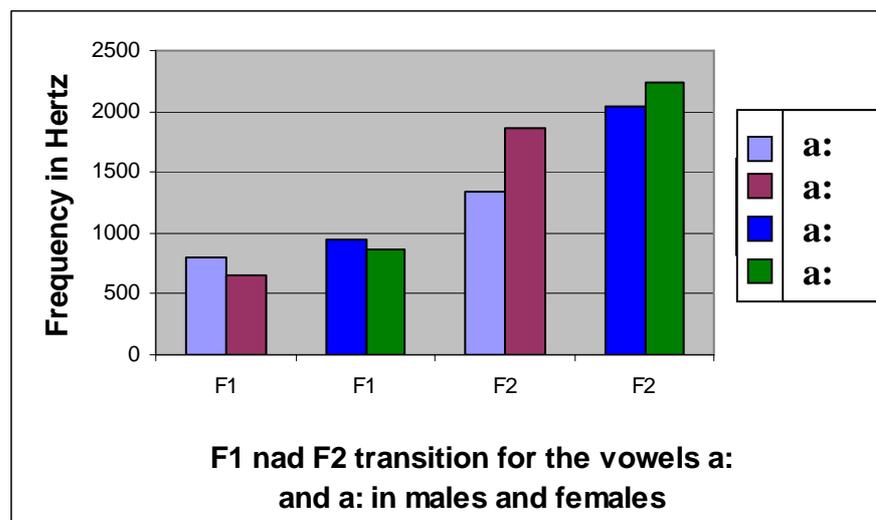
Bar graph.2: **The Mean Difference of Frequency in Hertz Between Males'**
and Females' /a-a/ after Emphatic/Non-Emphatic Consonants:
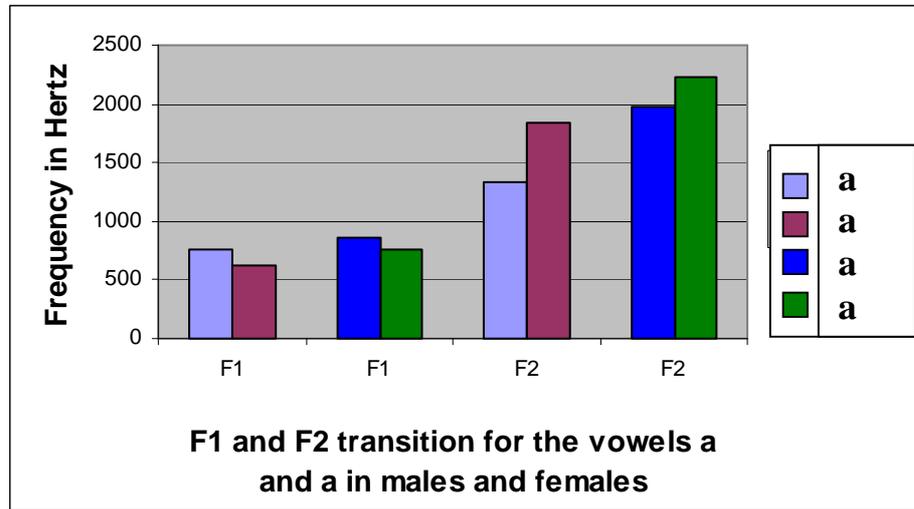
Bar graph.3: **The Mean Difference of Frequency in Hertz Between Males'**
and Females' /i:-i:/ after Emphatic/Non-Emphatic Consonants:
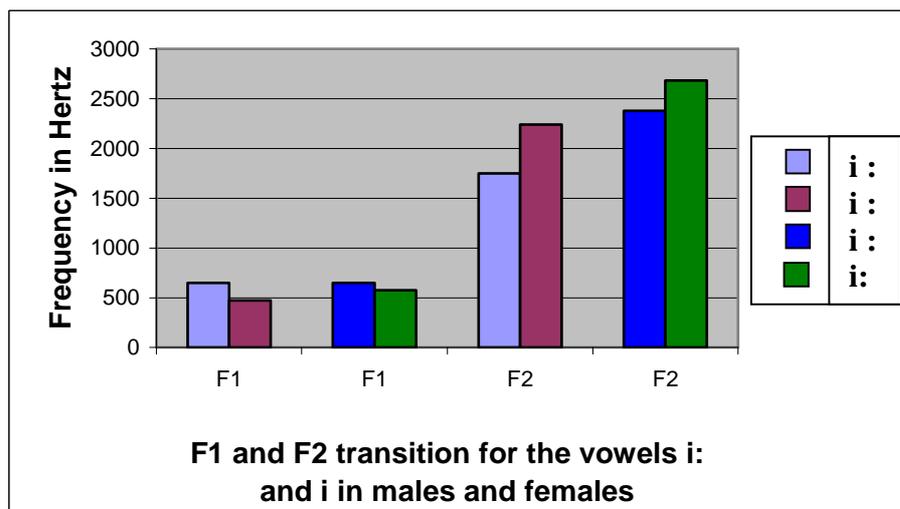
III.3.2.2.1.5 Discussions

III.3.2.2.1.5.1 Emphatic/ non emphatic Cognates and women and men alignment with the social order

One important issue of our spectrographic analysis is the use of a voice style to signal females' and males' social identity and their allegiance to a particular social group. The phonetic features, which have served our purpose and which, have been analysed may seem small and trivial differences they, nonetheless, become very significant once they start to be scrutinised to see the extent to which they show the social role of language as a whole. Voice style according to the experiments symbolises both identity and difference. "*These are two sides of one coin*" to use Cameron's (Cameron 2003) words. Speaking of language in its relation to identity and difference, Cameron states that to "*identify as a member of one group is at the same time to differentiate yourself from another group*" (Cameron, 2003:207)

Along these lines, the inter group variations of emphatics in men and women and the differences that arise fall within this paradigm. Stylistically and expressively, by displaying less emphaticized /t-d-s/ and strong emphaticized

/ t , d ,s / , females and males differentiate /position themselves according to each other and according to a larger world.

Even if the way females and males produce emphatic/ non emphatic cognates does not affect the phonological status of these consonants, it however, affects their social meaning and how the women and the men of the community construct their personae according to the general beliefs about femininity and masculinity

Drawing on Wenger's concept of community of practice in terms of mutual engagement, joint enterprise and negotiated shared repertoire, I suggest going beyond the statistical generalisation about females and males and viewing

differences among women and men as important aspects of stereotypes. Differences are not the aim of my study; it is what men and women do with these differences which are relevant to my dissertation.

The Emphatic /non emphatic distinctiveness is not evidence of male privilege or women weakness nor is it to be conceived as would be the case in a speech community framework . That women produce their / t , d ,s / as less emphaticized is strategic . It is a skill / a strategy that women have developed through time to confirm their belonging to a hegemonic social order which views women as having a soft, thin, smooth and weak voice, which stands in contrast with the dry, thick and strong voice of men. Both men and women throughout this analysis confirm their belonging and membership to their communities by aligning with a normative social order which acts as a regulatory apparatus for identity construction. Less 'emphaticization' in females and strong emphaticization in men is a phonetic mechanism, a style available to women and men to become legitimate/ full members of their community. By adopting and adapting their practices in terms of style and activity to those of the community, women and men will be appropriately gendered. .Femininity, for example, stereotypically requires a cluster of gendered behaviours among which softness and sweetness in voice that less emphaticization in Arabic provides. Similarly stereotypes around masculinity require a bunch of practices that highlight men's behaviour as strong, having a powerful voice style which distinguishes them from women. A woman with an assertive voice or who has a so-called man-like voice or a man whose voice is soft or woman-like   are defined as deviant in gender terms. In tune with the findings in this dissertation, Eckert and McConnell Ginet state

> *in actual practice, social meaning, social identity, community*
> *membership, forms of participation, the full range of*

> *community practices, and the symbolic value of linguistic form*
> *are being constantly and mutually constructed*
>
> **(Eckert and McConnell Ginet, 1991: 492)**

The stylisation of voice as reified in females' voice quality by means of a higher F2 allows females' voice be thinner and more pleasant, but it does not alter the phonological identity of   /t , d , s / as stated before.   In the light of the results obtained, one can say that less "emphaticization" as female feature and strong "emphaticization" as a male feature in the community under study show that social meaning is transmitted not only by lexis and grammar (see chapter one) but also by phonetic details that differentiate tokens .According to Podesva

> *Phonological variants and phonetic qualities become associated*
> *with the social circumstances under which they are produced.*
> *The social history of a variable endows the variable with some*
> *degree of meaning, with repetition leading to greater large-scale*
> *social intelligibility.*
>
> **(Podesva, 2004)**

By adding more phonetic substance through the lessening of emphasis proper to emphatic sounds, females intensify the conventional meaning of what being a female is. And, as Podesva (2004) puts it "*the mapping between linguistic form and meaning is elastic and subject to reworking*" or what Hebdige (1979) and Eckert (2005) call 'stylistic *bricolage'*

The question of alignment with a specific social order, to summarise this point, turns around modes of social interactions where many exchanges are involved (Wenger, 1998). The fact that females exhibit thin, smooth or weak voice and men exhibit thick, dry, or strong voice pictures a social order but does not

symbolise an inherent women powerlessness and an inherent men powerfulness .
In this respect, Wenger states

> *It is not useful to think of one mode [practice] as better than*
> *the others in terms of potential identity. In fact most of what we*
> *do involves a combination of engagement, imagination and*
> *alignment*

(Wenger, 1998:293)

In essence, the work of engagement as advocated, by Wenger, is concerned with the formation of communities of practice. This requires the ability to participate in meaningful activities and a competence to produce and reproduce shared experiences through discourse with all its components so as to negotiate and shape identities in relation to one another. in this respect, the analysis of emphatic /non emphatic cognates throughout this dissertation could be of value.

III.3.2.2.1.5.2 Voice quality and the construction of Normative Linguistic Femininity and Masculinity

The results of the spectrographic analysis highlight   that the construction of femininity and masculinity in the studied community is a creative process, which requires females and males to align with the practices of their community and the social order or subvert this social order in other cases, the beliefs of the community, something made possible in the community of practice perspective. Gender is, then, a resourceful process that requires us to align, transform, or do something with the internalized understanding we have of general, gender "appropriate" behaviours and conventions.

The fact that men maintain the pronunciation of emphatic sounds in congruity with the way it has been described since Sibawayhi while women lessen the

degree of emphasis present in emphatic sounds cannot be explained on a pure phonetic basis. I find pure phonetic explanation unsatisfactory because it does not capture the stylistic dimension of voice quality, which serves social purposes as the construction of femininity and masculinity. By modifying the articulatory configuration as tongue fronting, the phonetic realisation of the emphatic sounds by female speakers of MTG approach the realisation of their non-emphatic cognates making in this way females voice thinner and softer. Thin voice is one of the multiple ways of femininity stylisation as transmitted by phonological variables which represent, as lexis or grammar, resources for the construction of the social meaning (Eckert2000, Zhang 2005, Podesva 2004). Similarly, strong emphaticization in MTG male speakers is manifested in a thick voice, a feature of sounding male as thin voice is a female feature, and sounding female is subjected to social sanction.

My assumption, then, is that the thin / thick distinctiveness in voice qualities is, among other styles, key to the construction of femininity and masculinity in MTG. In this sense, how are masculinities and femininities constructed in MTG and what do women and men do with the difference in their voice quality?

Granted, the spectrographic analysis of emphatic /non-emphatic cognates in this dissertation is based on two different groups who use two different voice styles; however, nowhere in this dissertation, are the differences a priori based on a deterministic binary character. The differences lying in the articulation of /t, d, s / by the female and the male communities are a mode of constructing typical femininities and typical masculinities according to a typical social order. Females and males differences are important to look at in MTG not only because women and men construct themselves differently but also because of being positioned as women and men differently. The significance and the consequences of voice variation in MTG draw attention to the linguistic and social practices which are convenient to legitimate the participation of women and men in their communities. Undoubtedly, to speak in thin, smooth and weak voice by effect of

specific modes of articulation is not of benefit to women but practice in a community of practice is achieved either by consent or by contest, and females in MTG seem to strongly consent through their voice style. MTG female and male speakers seem to have negotiated the way they do femininities and masculinities in agreement with the social stereotypes about women and men. Feminine woman who speak in a thin voice is normal and unmarked in the same way as a masculine man who speaks in a thick voice is normal and unmarked because none of them transgress the social order or *"extend beyond the normative expectations"* (Holmes, 2006:128). Variation in females and males voice quality in MTG seems to be a stylistic *"bricolage"* in a given social order, which brings together women and men into a mutual engagement in gender demarcation during which process men appropriate forceful spaces for social accomplishment whereas women move into *"the elaboration of stylised selves* [   ]*, a tacit definition of themselves in relation to each other and in relation to other communities of practice"* (Eckert, 2005:18*)*.

 Such a process of femininity and masculinity construction constitute women and men, in the study at hand, as two opposed categories. Therefore and following Eckert (2000), focus on the notion of categories brings to the forth the argument that the variation in the realisation of emphatic / non-emphatic cognates marks the categories of females and males in MTG. However this phonetic variation is made possible because it is laid by the beliefs, the norms, the stereotypes in sum, it is laid by the ideologies and the practices that constitute females and males as different categories.

       Femininity and masculinity through our analysis of voice quality in an informal context is phonetically done in a hegemonic gender style, i.e. in relation to the traditional stereotypes of femininity and masculinity. *"Hegemonic gender styles are a sign of what is stereotypically associated with femininity and masculinity in a culture"* (Motschenbacher, 2007: 268) Gendered norms, as we

will see later, prescribe a model for women and for men of how to respectively display their identities. Phonetically, this is expressed by combining a voice style and certain configuration of the lip shape which are strategic to make visible one specific identity in a specific context. While female exaggerate in displaying femininity by making their voice thinner males exaggerate in displaying masculinity by keeping their / t, d, s / strongly emphaticized making consequently their voice thicker. Such findings corroborate Mullany's findings in her work on the impact of the gender norms in an advertising community of practice which prescribes a role model about how much women are attentive to beauty, sweetness, softness in the use of words, colours and those entire artefacts that are stereotypically the domain of femininity. Eckert (2006) revisited the difference perspective of Maltz and Borker (1982), and stated that this perspective can be community of practice based

> *with the idea that boys and girls grow up in single-gender communities of practice and develop gender-specific ways of interacting within those communities. The missing piece of this model is the reason why boys and girls may develop those particular different ways of interacting and which is to be found in the links that connect and orient their single-gender communities of practice in the wider world. This includes both how kids within these communities co-construct an orientation to the outside, and the things that happen when people enter mixed-gender communities of practice.*
>
> *(Eckert, 2006:35)*

As a conclusion to the argument presented above and which raises more questions than it answers, it can be assumed that the construction of femininity and masculinity by means of voice quality throughout this dissertation does not

imply the deterministic binarism of the speech community model. It is a binarism which is proper to a specific informal context where women are expected to display femininity and men are expected to display masculinity. Thinness and thickness in voice become, then, artefacts used to reify / objectify a feminine or a masculine identity. To construct other identities, women and men have at their disposal a wide array of styles, which can be manipulated depending on the situatedness of the practice (Kotthoff, 2003) as will be seen in chapter four.

III.3.2.2.1.5.3 *Female and male persona and the stylisation of emphatic / non emphatic cognates*

Styles according to Podesva (2004) are made up of clusters of features, which become functional only when they relate closely to each other. Put differently, style is meaningless unless it is associated with other styles, positions, body and facial expressions from which it takes on its meaning.

The fact that the spectrograms have elicited that acoustically, the distinction between emphatic/non emphatic pairs in women is not as featuring as it is in men distinguishes them not only as women , but as a particular type of women , ones with a feminine persona. Using a feminine voice style to perform a hegemonic femininity is a means of constructing this persona.

Men according to the same spectrograms do not exploit thinness and softness in voice because performing masculinity would not be consistent with the masculine persona they construct.

How does voice style, then, combine with other features to construct a feminine or a masculine persona?

From an articulatory standpoint, emphasis is characterized by lip protrusion and a tongue retraction towards the pharyngeal wall. Lip protrusion according to Sachs,

Lieberman and Erickson (1973) lengthens the vocal tract and lower the and the tongue retraction towards the pharyngeal wall gives dry timbre to voice.

The very idea that the formant frequencies of emphasis in males are higher than the formant frequencies of emphasis in females could be considered as congruent with the archetypes about males whose voices should sound thick and dry .Thinness and softness in males' voices is a feature subjected to stigmatisation because it subverts normative masculinity archetypes, which have their roots in social practice. Less-emphaticness, conversely, is marked by less tongue backing /rearward movement of the tongue and by more tongue fronting. With regard to the   rearward movement of the tongue towards the pharyngeal wall while producing / t , d , s / we might suggest from the results obtained that it is more salient in females than it is in males; that is why the second formant of female emphasis is not as low as that in males. Tongue fronting, however, makes the articulation of the emphatic sounds approach that of their non-emphatic counterparts and result in having an F2 with a much higher value in females than that in males. According to Cohen (1969) the vowel following an emphatic consonant has the feature 'fat' or 'thick'. Vowels adjacent to non-emphatic consonants do not have these features since they are characterized by a "thin" pronunciation and it is the fat/ character of emphatic sounds caused by the tongue retraction towards the pharyngeal wall that women seem to avoid by adopting more women-specific articulatory gestures.

Findings such as those variations between emphatic / non emphatic cognates in females and males speakers of MTG are a phonetic phenomenon which is repeatedly observed in acoustic analyses and, which stretches down to a greatest degree of articulatory control. Spreading the lips, a case in point, will shorten the vocal tract and raise the formants, *"the characteristic way some women have of talking and smiling at the same time would have just this effect"* (Sachs, Lieberman and Erickson 1973:81). So in order to locate the contrastive elements of their language women may   have learnt to alter their lip shape to

modify their formant pattern making them move upward and modulate their voice according to the gender identity they build up. In listening to females/males emphatic sounds, it seemed to us (though it might be subjective), that female voices were softer, gentler and more expressive compared to male voices, which sounded rougher, harsher and stronger.

Though my findings correspond to the results Kahn (1975) obtained in her study of Cairene Arabic and where she stated that less emphaticness sounded more "feminine" to the Cairene while strong emphaticness sounded harsh an crude-like , I do not align with her conception of the notion of gender differences . For Kahn, differences are binary; throughout the analysis of emphatic sounds, differences have been looked at as constructive.

The experiments carried out in this dissertation brings to the fore the relationship between the formant values, the articulatory control and the social meaning of the phonetic variables under study.

 It is, subsequently, suggested that detailed articulatory strategies and stylistic manoeuvres must have been differentially learned by females and males in the process of their gender normative construction and gender linguistic performance

> *through the citation and the re-citation , which over time gains*
>
> *the appearance of a natural fact. Moreover, being gendered*
>
> *is a prerequisite for being granted the status of a subject.*
>
> *(Motschenbacher, 2007:259)*

III.4 Conclusion

Whereas many gender studies view oppositional persona and identities as limiting and constraining possibilities (Henley and Thorne 1975; Lakoff, 1975; West and Zimmermann, 1983…), the persona and the identity of the MTG female and male communities of practice of the current study can not be understood as straightforwardly constraining or limiting; indeed motivated by femininity and masculinity , females and males engage in a process whereby they assemble a range of strategies together with voice style i.e. a constellation of stylistic parameters to reify their distinctive personae. In this sense, females and males can relatively act with a degree of flexibility and agency so as to conform to the hegemonic social expectations offering in this case the possibility to subvert /challenge the dominant conception of female and male personae.

The fact that, the females and the males of this study conform to the sharply dichotomous styles of gender display typical to feminine women and masculine men does not exclude the possibility for women and men to construct other types of identities. A woman in authoritative position can not be assertive if she adopts a thin or a soft voice style. Similarly, a male in a position requiring leniency can not adopt a dry or crude voice style to perform adequately the lenient identity. In both positions, therefore, females and males should negotiate their gender identities to adapt them to the context where interaction takes place.

IV.1 Introduction

This chapter is situated in the body of linguistic forms and identity construction which investigates how women and men in Mostaganem Spoken Arabic (MTG)   exploit the multifunctionality of phonetic forms, namely voice styles, in their interactive process of negotiating different stances and identities and how these stances and identities are perceived by others. This chapter is an attempt to explore the individuals' use of different voice styles and link them to an investigation of other resources for identity construction including stereotypes and conceptions about language and gender. I argue that multifunctional voice quality is strategic for both females and males to flexibly construct authoritative and submissive identities, all of which depend on the situatedness of the practice challenging therefore the binary view of the traditional speech community perspective. For so doing, a perceptual analysis of voice quality has been carried out in order to look at the way and manner people react at listening to different voice qualities of females and males while they perform their femininities and their masculinities. I also try to demonstrate that femininities and masculinities are a continuum rather than features characterising isomorphic categories.

IV. 2 The Cognitive Activity of the Ear in Voice Processing:

The perception of voice quality depends on the recognition of its continuous variations in pitch and timbre in accordance with the speech situation.

Human listeners are endowed with the capacity to recognize speakers' social identity features through voice criteria alone. This is manifest in every day life. Listeners can identify the voice of someone they knew in the past before he reveals his identity. In a crowd, despite the presence of many noise distortions, one may hear a voice and realise that this voice is familiar to him.

The notions of gender, age, sex, status and region alongside their relation to voice quality use and identification evolve in parallel to the process of the production and reproduction of practice. Becoming gendered beings, speaking subjects become able to modulate their voices according to the setting and scene where their gender is enacted. In this respect, one can speak of the modulation of voice quality as a competence for participating in a community of practice as well as the competence to identify the speaker's identity, to evaluate him and distinguish him from other speakers.

As early as 1951, Lashley stated that decoding speech signals present the same complexity as producing them. The validity of such a statement lies in the highly complex capacity of hearing. Indeed, the ear processes utterances and makes their perception possible in agreement with the way and manner it has been socio-culturally attuned to perceive acoustic speech signals. When one listens, his ears can select a signal or a number of signals and treat them at different levels. Had one been interested in the syntagmatic relationships i.e. the linear relations between elements present in the sentence, in the Saussurian sense, one would prick his ears to detect any grammatical inconsistency. Moreover the ear straightforwardly identifies the phonemes, the sounds, and the social background of the speaker, his accent, and his voice quality.

On hearing such a sentence   in Mostaganem spoken Arabic, seemingly very simple, [mra: ta∂ da: r] (a woman is good for household) , one derives the stereotypical associative meaning , which states that women do not need to work since their "natural" role is to care of the household. The hearer's ear automatically selects/ filters and processes the meaning of that utterance in terms of its social dimension, including the practices and the identity of the speaker. This sentence has a higher frequency of occurrence in males who sometimes if not often consider women's work as unnecessary

since they have already their natural role as housekeepers and childbearing persons even though they made incontestable achievement in avalanches of domains.

The objective of this study is the investigation of hearing not as a sensory activity but as a cognitive and a social activity. (For accounts of hearing as a sensory activity, refer back to chapter 3). It is an enquiry into the way our ears have been trained by our own identities, beliefs and stereotypes to identify peculiarities of a given voice quality, to categorize it in a specific social context and to attribute to the wide range of voice qualities a so-called appropriate description.

IV.3 Gendered Females' and Males' Voice Quality, Gendered Identities

By gendered females' and males' voice quality ,I particularly refer to those voice qualities / voice styles that say something about women and men, girls and boys, and about their positions, choices and their identities , which are in certain ways gendered. More specifically, gendered voice quality represents and constitutes consents and contests social practices. For example a particular feminine voice may reflect or resist the representation of women as sweet, weak and obedient. Such a quality is juxtaposed with an opposite type of voice that represents women as tough and strong beings. Further, we see more specific gendered voice qualities pertaining traditionally to one sex overlap to another sex. A thin, soft or submissive voice quality which is subjectively described as woman specific is, in many cases, used by men in certain contexts. Likewise,   a dry, thick or assertive voice style traditionally described as masculine characterises women in many instances reversing in such a way the notions of what is typically feminine and what is typically masculine. Therefore, among the questions, which require convincing answers

are those related to how women and men construct their femininity and their masculinity through voice styles ,how voice styles in females and in males are perceived and how to go towards a redefinition of the notions of femininity and masculinity , something being challenged in current gender research. So as to canvass how femininities and masculinities are constructed and perceived through voice styles as occurring in discursive interactions, a number of tests have been suggested, among which tests of voices discrimination in a variety of situations as will be made clear in what follow.

IV.3.1 Methodology
IV.3.1.1 Subjects
IV.3.1.1.1 Speakers

The speakers selected to serve the purposes of my tests are nineteen adult speakers of MTG. Ten of them have participated in the experiments, which have dealt with the emphatic / non-emphatic cognates .The remaining nine , four males and five females , share similar features with the other ten informants in terms of age , status and language use.

IV.3.1.1.2 Listeners

As the study requires listeners to recognise and assess voice stylistic characteristics, I selected sixteen female and male students of the faculty of letters and Arts, University of Mostaganem, and who share the same social background with the speakers whose voices served as the sample submitted to the perceptual analysis. The listeners were considered as naïve judges because they almost knew nothing about the perceptual assessment of voices, nor did they know anything about the objectives of the experiment over and above the very little time (only about three seconds) allocated to them to evaluate each voice sample. Building on the works of Nieboer, Graaf and Shutte (1988) and

Krieman, Gerratt and Precoda (1990), I favoured naïve judges since they can give more reliable judgements than judges who have a degree of expertise in the perceptual analyses of voice quality.

For caution in interpreting attitude towards gender-based differences, we had both female and male judges to elicit information from both female and male speakers. The purpose was to see whether female/ male judgements would converge or diverge.

IV.3.1.2 Materials

A number of stimuli separated by about three seconds have been presented to the listeners whose task was to say whether the three stimuli have the same quality or whether they bear some specificity in terms of femininity versus masculinity, authority versus submissiveness or whether they were simply neutral. Femininity; masculinity; authority and submissiveness are constructs which closely serve doing gender identity work in terms of practice and social positioning. The different voice characteristics submitted to listeners' evaluation have not been chosen at random. In fact, their nature perfectly fits the nature of the sample from which conclusions will be drawn.

Authoritative voice quality throughout this dissertation refers to an utterance whereby the speaker requires obedience. As a result, she/ he uses linguistic as well as prosodic elements like tone, pitch, intonation, loudness, harshness, roughness that signal her/ his powerfulness over the hearer. Her /his voice has, in one word, a perlocutionary effect.

Submissive voice stands in sharp contrast to authoritative voice. Submissive voice implies a willingness to show obedience and to yield to the authority of others. This is often done through some features like softness of

voice, hesitancy, lack of assertiveness added to the use of lexemes and grammatical structures which are associated with submissive behaviours. In other words submissiveness consists of being subject to the power exerted on the speaker or it may emanate from the speaker himself for the sake of achieving a certain purpose and fulfilling a certain role.

Finally, neutral voice quality has been taken as a point of reference to measure both authority and submissiveness. Neutral voice in our study, though it might seem chimerical as most of the speech events aim at achieving a certain goal, is the act of speaking without any manifestation of the features mentioned above. The speaker displays neither authority nor submissiveness. One of the aspects of dominance is to impose, to urge others to perform, act or behave in a specific way. Speech at its different linguistic/non linguistic levels is used as an instrument for getting things done. Similarly, to be dominated is also cued by the manipulation of language in a way that subsumes the use of a grammar, a lexicon and a specific voice quality; the sum of which reveals how a submissive gender identity is enacted.

Context sensitive lexicon, grammar and multiple voice styles are of great interest. They show how differences in authority and submissiveness are reified in actual utterances.

The following examples constitute typical wordings and typical grammatical structuring besides a specific voice modulation as advanced previously. All of them are expressive in terms of gender, position and relations to others. They include the following sentences.

1- [læz≅m ≅dχ i:]

(You have to come and finish the work. It is necessary for me to find the work on my desk).

2-[rwaħ hna] (come here)

3- [gu:l ≅lħaq] (say the truth)

4- [≅radχ≅l hua li jaħk≅m-lmra-mæ∂andha-mætdi:r bla bi:h lmra t≅bqa deim≅n mra lukæn ħta tatla∂ l≅lqm≅r]   (The man is the boss, and without his assistance a woman remains but an impotent creature even if she achieves the highest intellectual success).

5- [≅łah jxali:k] (may God protect you, this sentence stands for please, in English).

6-[t≅ndχ≅m t∂aw≅ni] (could you help me?).

7-[t≅ndχ≅m trondele servi:s] (could you do me a favour?)

8-[rani bæɣi /bæɣia nsæqsi:k] (I would like to ask you a question).

      The social meaning of sentences 1-2-3-4 is tightly related to power and authority while sentences 5-6-7 are polite forms, most of the time, implying either deference or submissiveness. The wording of 1-2-3 is overloaded with authority and dominance. If sentences 1-2-3 can be produced by both sexes, sentence 4 is male specific. It is a reification of a certain stance shaped in the course of time by certain stereotypes about what being a male should be. It, in fact, draws upon a typical social order that regulate the notions of authority and submissiveness inside a community of practice and whose members as our experiments have shown sometimes consent but contest and subvert some other times. I hypothesise that MTG females and males use of the above sentences is not motivated by the fact they are demographically different but it is motivated by their desire to conform or not to conform to the social order. [laz≅m] (have to) /jli:q/ (it is necessary), [radχ≅l hua li jaħk≅m] (The man is the boss), [lmra mæ ∂ndha matdi: blæbi:hare] are linguistic forms / performance of certain identities the value of which lies in social practice in a specific community of practice and which do

not necessarily prevail in other communities of practice.   They are articulations of particular aspects of stances and identities in terms power and power relations the sum of which is objectified through a myriad of styles. The lexicalisation and the 'grammaticalisation' of gender identity have the power of establishing and governing the relations between the participants. For instance, the use of expressive sexist vocabulary items like [lmra t≅bqa deim≅n mra:] derives its value from its sexist representation implying that women are weak, immature, and inferior. But besides this sexist discourse, there is an anti sexist discourse   which might celebrate the above qualifiers considering them as strategies for the achievement of certain purposes (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003) In addition to the lexical items; grammatical organisation also regulates inter gender relations. *"Gender identities are constructed in discourse"* (Litosseliti, 2006:62) and it is worth reminding that by construction is meant the construction of self and the construction of others as well.(Sunderland, 2004) The choice of modal auxiliaries like /laz≅m/ (have to) [jli:q] (must), the imperative. [gu:l ≅lħaq], /rwaħ≅hna/ are forms which position the one who is speaking together with the spoken to or the spoken about in terms of their interpersonal differences. The use of the imperative requires obedience. Like modality verbs; the forms are loaded with a great deal of expressiveness that suggests the existence of power relations among speakers. Similarly, a different wording and grammar, characterize submissiveness. Lexical items expressing subordination and excessive politeness are very frequent: [≅łah jxali:k] [≅lah jarħam ≅lwædi:n] (may God bless your parents), are modes of address that are used in submissive situations to exhibit a submissive stance or identity not meaning that the speaker who is using a submissive style is inherently submissive . Submissive style is a strategy to enact affection, sensitivity and co-operation or *'rapport talk'* (Coates, 1998).

The grammatical structures specifying submissiveness are marked by an overuse of polite questions (sentences 6-7-8) start with modal auxiliaries like:

- [t≅ndχ≅m] Can you?

- [rænibaɣI nsæqsi:k] I would like to ask you a question?

- [n≅ndχ≅m nsæqsi:k] Can I ask you a question?

It can be said, therefore, that it is in the manipulation of a context sensitive grammar and vocabulary that authority and submissiveness are rendered. What is then the effect of voice quality on people? Will authoritative/submissive utterances have the same impact if uttered without fluctuations in voice? Do males and females signal authority in the same way? How would listeners eventually perceive males/females voice quality and subsequently describe it? Is the same description assigned to authoritative submissive male/female speakers? Do females who use the same features as males have the same effects on listeners?

It is in this perspective that we have carried out our perceptual study.

To avoid bias, control and thus the orientation of judges' attitudes towards voice quality, we have selected stimuli, which are likely to be said by either males or females in MTG.

A-Texts said in "neutral" voice quality:

1-[rani baɣi/ baɣia nru: ħ naʃri: jla: /madχi: tʃ bakri mækæn ∂læht≅tqalqu: jlæbtị:t nadrablkum tilifu:n nʃallah nsẹ:b tạxifo: n maħ lu:l]

(I am going to do the shopping. Don't worry if I am late. I will phone you in any case).

2-[rani xardχ] (I am going out) (male speaker)

3-[rani xardχa] (I am going out) (female speaker)

B-<u>Texts said in authoritative voice:</u>

1- [læz≅m ≅dχ i:] (You have to come).

2. [rwaħ ≅hna] (Come here)

3- [gu: l ≅ lħaq] (Say the truth)

4. [∫u:f] (Look)

C-<u>Text said in submissive voice</u>:

1-[≅łah jxali:k/ t≅ndχ≅m ty m& ≥A ? se ≥vis rani ba N ia n∫u:f l9 di≥9kt9≥ darw≅k si se posibl rani mq≅lqa ∂tạwni i:r sæ ∂a f≅l xadma]

(Please, could you do me a favour? I want to see the manager now if you won't mind I don't have enough time. I was given a one-hour leave only).

female speakers repeated C₁. Male speaker repeated C₁ somewhat differently

[≅lah ≅r≅dẹ ∂ li:k ≅lwældi:m t≅ndχ ≅m trondele sErvi:s bæNi n∫u:f dir≅ktr darw≅k rani mqalqaq ∂tạwni Ni:r sæ ∂æ f≅ lxadma]

2-[t∂æw≅ni] (Can you help me?)

3-[≅łah jxali:k] (May God protect you, please ?)

It should be worth recalling that the acoustic characteristics of voice quality as manifested in its stylistic richness and multiplicity are the main concern of voice perception experiments.

IV.3.1.3 Recordings

Given that recording natural speech in real situations is very difficult, the selection of voice sample has been based on extemporizations and simulations. Extemporization means to speak or to perform an action without preparation. Simulation is the fact of pretending to have or feel an emotion. It further, means to take the appearance of something or somebody. In our

experiments, our talker informants were sometimes asked to extemporize or simulate a voice quality in a specific situation. We do believe that extemporizations and simulations do not have the value of natural speech. Extemporized and simulated speech has in fact been opted for for purely empirical purposes. The part of the speakers repertoire, that is the sum of sentences selected to be said in different voice qualities has been carefully sampled to serve our hypothesis. The selection relied on the frequency of occurrence of these sentences in our talkers' speech. What we wish to emphasize, in this respect, is a point about the extent to which voice quality has a role that compels listeners to make inferences about who speaks with which voice quality and how voice style position women and men in certain ways.

The speakers were recorded in three different situations. The first situation required authority, the second submissiveness and in the third situation, voice was "purely" neutral. Neutral is relative since hardly is an act of speaking aimless or devoid of any attitudes or emotions.

The first task of the listeners who served as judges consisted of providing each voice sample the appropriate qualifier. They were told that they would listen to a number of voices (57 in total) and say whether these voices were neutral, authoritative, submissive, masculine or feminine. In a table form (see appendix 3), the voices were horizontally labelled V_1-V_2-V_3 as each speaker had to speak the texts in three voice qualities. The adjectives that describe these voice qualities were given vertically. Each voice quality was played once and the judges had to write down their first impressions. To avoid mechanical responses the order of voice sample was randomised.

IV.3.1.4 Results

The rates of correct identification of the different voice qualities were calculated for each voice quality. Analysis of this step of the experiment revealed that the recognition of all voice qualities was 51.23% of correct answers for male informants and 51.06% for female informants. Responses to each informant's range of voice qualities were analysed.

Table 6: **The average index score for correct responses to voice qualities of 9 adult males and 10 adult females for read, simulated or extemporized passages**

Voice quality	Males	Females
Neutral	53.47%	47.5%
Authoritative	65.5%	34.5%
Submissive	34.72%	65.28%

From the aforementioned results, two outstanding features seemed to be worth analysing. The first one is authority and the second one is submissiveness.

For each of the two groups, scores demonstrate that authority is easily identifiable in males in the same way as submissiveness is easily identifiable in females by either male or female listeners. For the 16 judges, 65.5% of the texts uttered in an authoritative voice quality were correctly identified in males. Authority in females, on the other hand, was below average with 34.5% of correct identification. The score for submissiveness in male speakers is lower than the score of submissiveness in female speakers. While only 34.72% of the submissive voices were correctly identified in males, 65.28% of the submissive voices were correctly identified in females. But, in any case the

features authoritative / submissive were present in voices of both females and males.

Among the ten female speakers, three (30%) were best identified as authoritative and as masculine at the same time by 50% of the female judges and 62.5% of male judges. Five of them were qualified as both submissive and feminine by 47.5% of the female judges and 50% of the male judges. Only, two females (20%) were said to be authoritative without being attributed the feature masculine.

Along these same lines, authority was associated with masculinity for 5 (55.55%) male speakers by 75% (6) of male listeners and 62.5% of the female listeners. Three of the male speakers (33.33%) were called submissive and feminine by 87.5% of male listeners and 50% of female listeners. Only, one speaker was said to be masculine yet not authoritative by 25% of male listeners and 50% of the female listeners. This last rating shows that masculinity does not necessarily imply authority.

IV. 3.1.5 Analysis

IV.3.1.5.1 Beyond the gender bifurcation into submissive femininities and authoritative masculinities

Given that the same stimuli were presented to the listeners, we expected that the features authority and submissiveness were to be equally attributed to males as to females on the basis of the stimulus. However, while the sex of the speaker seems to, importantly; orient the listener's judgements, the data obtained also show that elements like authority/ submissiveness which are stereotypically the property of one sex rather than the other overlap. And thus viewing gender as a bifurcation into submissive femininities and authoritative masculinities renders gender problematic as some of the results highlight that

authority / submissiveness in their relation to femininity and masculinity cross sex boundaries becoming common to both females and males.

It can be inferred that the way the listeners' ear has processed the ranges of voice qualities has gone beyond what is traditionally known as being masculine and being feminine. Even though I emphasize that authority, submissiveness and femininity/masculinity are a set of practices and stances which emerge in context rather than attributes assigned to women and men, I do not deny the socio cultural force, which has made many of the judges associate authority with males and submissiveness with femininity. Granted, the production and the perception of the voices must have been partly influenced by stereotypical attitudes about females and males. Nevertheless the presence of male features in female voices and female features in male voices should be interpreted in ways which go beyond stereotypes and the gender normative binarism and which view authority/submissiveness and femininity /masculinity as part of the process of the negotiation of identity in a community of practice. West and Fenstermaker point out that

*the treatment of gender as poles of masculinity and femininity is problematic. The bifurcation of gender into femininity an*d *masculinity effectively reduces gender to sex*

(West and Fenstermaker, 1993:159)

West and Fenstermaker statements mark a shift to a conception of gender as flexible, elastic and fluid. Gender is, consequently done in interaction, in that, females and males strategically adopt a variety of styles, among which the modulation voice quality, to negotiate the meaning of their practice within their community.

IV.3.1.5.2 Authority and submissiveness and the negotiation of identity

How judges interpreted voices heard is an outcome of their mutual engagement with the speakers and symbolises the repertoire they share with the speakers about the identity construction. The production of one's identity is not an isolate process; it is tightly linked to the construction of others' identities which has come to be named by Bucholtz "*the tactics of intersubjectivity that produce identity through linguistic and other symbolic practices*" (Bucholtz, 2003:408). The rating of 20% of the female speakers as authoritative yet not masculine is very significant since it implies that authority in females is not necessarily synonymous to masculinity. Likewise, the rating of one male as masculine yet not authoritative reveals that masculinity does not entail authority. Authority and submissiveness are tactics available to females and males intended to reflect the idea that identity construction is intimately tailored to fit its context in specific spacio temporal circumstances. The ever changing way identity is negotiated in the teaching communities of practice under study does not necessarily correspond to the negotiation of identity in other communities of practice; let us say, for instance, a community of pilots, doctors, state-owned companies / private companies and so forth. Bucholtz claim is that

> *identities emerge from temporary and mutable interactional conditions, in negotiation and often contestation with other social actors and in relation to larger and often unyielding structures of power.*
>
> *(Bucholtz, 2003:408)*

For the sake of reliability and more significant evaluation of other aspects' that may have reinforced our listeners' attitude towards males/females' voice

quality, the following study has been undertaken. This study is meant to measure qualitatively the variety of the voice qualities subject to the analysis.

The semantic differential technique (Osgood)is the method that was followed in this experiment. This method is intended to provide a qualitative description to stimuli on the basis of polar opposites as high pitched /low pitched, assertive/non-assertive, continuous/discontinuous, mature/immature, quick/slow harsh/smooth…

In this experiment, the notion of polarisation does not rely on the essentialist differential attributes assigned to women and men as separate groups but it relies on what Boyne labels "strategic essentialism" (Cf. Boyne 1990 in Holmes 2007:447) and which is a strategy, a tactic to regain power which is lost when emphasis is put on difference to the detriment of what is shared by women and men.

To put this theory into practice, the tapes were played again to the sixteen male and female listeners who had to evaluate the speakers from their voices.

We have, purposefully started by selecting a number of lexical items that would be used to qualify the multiple voice qualities at issue. The selection has not been randomly done since the chosen items imply a concomitance of identities, styles and behaviours. For example, while authoritative/submissive are congruent identity construction, the lexemes rough and smooth are related to attitude, though, it has to be noted that these qualifiers are not exclusive since authority, for instance, does not exclude smoothness.

Table 7 includes the items from which listeners had to choose the adjectives that would describe the speakers' range of voices. (See the original version in French in appendix 4)

Table 7: Characteristics of voice Quality

Loudness	Loud	Soft	Normal	Moderately loud	Very soft
Pitch	High pitched	Low pitched	Normal	Moderately high pitched	Somewhat low
Assertiveness/ Confidence-authority	Assertive	Lacking assertiveness	Normal	Not very assertive/not very authoritative	Confident
Tempo/speed	Quick/fast	Slow	Normal	Moderately quick	Rather slow
Continuity	Continuous	Discontinuous	Normal	Somewhat continuous	Rather discontinuous
Femininity/ masculinity	Rugged/tough/ determined	Smooth/ pleasant	Rough/ harsh unpleasant	Rather feminine	Rather masculine
Others	Young	Immature	Confused ineffective	Old	Hesitant weak

Table 8: Adjectives used by 16 judges in describing 19 male/female speakers from their voices.

Used for authoritative males	Used for authoritative females	Used for submissive males	Used for submissive females
Slow tempo Rugged Confident Determined Harsh	Assertive Confident Low pitched Harsh Rather masculine	Hesitant Quick High pitched Immature Very soft	Rather feminine Quick Hesitant Soft Smooth

Assertive	Somewhat	Confused	Somewhat high
Low pitched	Continuous	Feminine	pitched
Masculine	Not very quick	Lacking	Not very thick
Loud	Authoritative	assertiveness	Woman like
Tough	Determined	Young	Non confident
Continuous	Normal tempo	Smooth	
	Rough for a female	Discontinuous	
	Tough	Pleasant	
	Loud		
	Old		
	Not feminine		

A thorough examination of the speakers voices on the basis of how they were rated by judges supports the hypothesis that authority is the domain of masculinity and as to be authoritative is to enter a male specific domain, a female has in this case to modulate her voice in a male like direction so as to be taken more seriously. Not surprisingly, earlier works dealing with females and males communicative transactions concentrate on normatively masculine strategies such as directness, authoritativeness and dominance. Thorne and Henley argue that   "*the virile voice is the   prerogative of the dominant se When a female transcends this prerogative through a forceful speaking voice, she is described as dominant*"   (**Thorne and Henley, 1975:247**)

Furthermore, the adjectives, the judges selected to qualify authority and submissiveness in males and females suggest that the correlation between authority/masculinity and submissiveness/femininity is a strategic social fabrication allowing females and males to negotiate a number of identities drawing on existing linguistic resources in particular interactional situation. Put differently, males' voices do not inherently imply authority in the same

way as females' voices do not inherently imply submissiveness. However to be authoritative, women have to strategically adopt a masculine voice style.

The data obtained affirm that women and men learn how to be what they are in the interaction they participate in. So, the construction and formation of gender identities implicate the interaction of individuals engaged in particular linguistic practices in which they are positioned and implicate the positions they have and how they are positioned in their community of practice

Assigning the features authoritative/masculine and submissive/feminine to voice qualities reveals how different gender identities are articulated by both females and males in different ways and different situations. Females are likely to produce through their voice style a 'masculinised' femininity which emerges in contexts requiring such features as toughness or roughness in voice. Similarly, a male, stylistically, constructs a 'feminised' masculinity in those stances which require lenience by modulating his voice in feminine direction.

Authoritative males were described as rugged, confident, and low pitched and having a normal tempo. Authoritative females were attributed the same description in addition to not feminine, rather masculine, rough for a female. The way the female judges described the voice qualities presented to them was approximately the same as those attributed males.

To qualify a voice quality as not feminine but rather masculine or rough is very significant; it puts forward the fluidity and the flexibility of both linguistic stylisation of gender added to the multiplicity of membership. Feminine and masculinised and masculine and feminised practices in the female and the male communities of practice, throughout this dissertation, do not decompose women and men identities into distinct selves / many selves in each community of practice .Women and men do not have their personality

split up in a number of distinct identities. It is rather the construction of what Wenger (1998) labels a nexus of multimembership which makes femininity and masculinity become part of each other, whether they conflict or reinforce each other. "*They are, at the same time, one and multiple*" **(Wenger, 1998:26).** The females and the males whose voices were analyzed draw on a range of voice strategies, "*which have been related to both what is normatively masculine and normatively feminine ways of talking to do masculinity and femininity*" (Janet Holmes, 2006:51)

The results obtained in this study can be compared with those found in another research on the voice quality of an authoritative female: Margaret Thatcher. Fairclough (1989) analysed an interview between Margaret Thatcher and a journalist from BBC Radio 3 on 17 December 1985. He has found out that the political trend Mrs Thatcher devoted herself to, emphasizes toughness, resolution and aggressiveness. For him these are men referential elements the presence of which in females' behaviour is very slippery since it would prevent gender to be politically efficient. The success of Mrs Thatcher in gaining the position as the woman political leader (Fairclough, 1989) is not solely due to the words she used but also in how she sounded. With great professionalism, Mrs Thatcher used to address the nation in a low-pitched, husky voice quality.

The drives behind such a modulation are that her voice was considered as "shrill". Shrill voice according to stereotypes is "*very much a feminine voice quality associated with being overly emotional*" *(Fairclough, 1989:183).* By switching to a low-pitched, husky voice Mrs Thatcher sounded more "states man like".

Every day experience shows that authority cannot be exerted on an audience via a shrill voice. Authority is generally perceived in a stentorian voice.

Therefore, it is evident that there exists an intimate link between the position of the speaker and the quality of voice he adopts to translate the subtleties of this position. To have power over the others and to be submitted to power are two distinct statuses. Not only do they require specific lexicon and grammar but also specific modulation of voice as well since positions of power and positions of submission are two distinct situations, which different call for styles to build a persona that fits the situatedness of each type of practice.

The fact that for each context ,the voice style shifts from shrill to husky, from harsh to sweet, from thick to thin and vice versa shows that such variability is not arbitrary but is a way of coping with of the context's requirements. It is to be added that shifts in voice are pragmatic strategies an individual uses to give meaning to reach his purposes and make his identity accountable to others.

One interesting issue, I might raise here is the idea that what is to be accounted for is how variations in voice quality combine to produce meanings. For Eckert,

> *the meaning of variation lies in its role in the construction of styles, and studying the role of variation in stylistic practices involves   not simply placing variables in styles ,but in understanding this   placement as an integral part of the construction of meaning.*
>
> *(Eckert, 2005)*

The process whereby variations combine to produce a range of styles has come to be called a process of *bricolage* (Cf. 1984; Eckert 2005)

> *by which people combine a range of existing resources to construct new meanings or new twists on old meanings*
>
> *(Eckert, 2005)*

The process of bricolage that people manage is built on already existing resources .In such a case as voice styles, the females and the males under study adapt the wide-ranging voice qualities available in the larger world to the construction of social meaning at the level of their own community of practice. Hence shrill, authoritative, submissive, husky or stentorian voice qualities already exist at a very larger scale and have some conventional meaning; it is the way they are combined and used to construct a type of meaning which emerges as a particular style. This style, in turn, becomes constructive of an identity or a sum of identities. In as much as voice in practice is concerned, it involves the continuous making and remaking of the convention to construct a myriad of femininities and masculinities.

IV.4 Voice quality and the collective gender space

The collective gender-space contains, or means how a woman or a man would behave like when they are in a given zone be that a feminine zone or a masculine zone. We have posited previously that gender is socially constructed. Added, there are those stereotypical representations about femininity and masculinity (see previous chapters). Nonetheless, there is not a one to one mapping between those stereotypical representations and gender identity flexibly constructed during people's life span due to the fact that those are sketchy if not caricatures of women's and men's set of social behaviours . Speaking subjects are aware of the gender representations that circulate about them in their community of practice through norms transmitted tacitly in action and explicitly through prescriptions that they are given for instance "be nice, be sweet , don't speak harshly" to a girl, "be tough , be a man " to a boy and so forth. However, real human beings are far more complex than the stereotypes that circulate to represent gendered women and men.

According to Amy Sheldon, gender space is defined by

the features and values of those features that are relevant to gender in a given community. As the axes of features intersect and interact, zones of identity within the space are created. The masculine zone would be the part of the space that contains those features and values that the social group collectively view as ''masculine' (i.e. associated with the label 'masculine').Between social groups, the specific features and value that form the masculine zone of the gender-space could vary. The feminine zone would be a similar part of the gender-space characterized by those features and values that are viewed by the social group as meriting the label 'feminine.

(Sheldon, 1997:230)

Other zones of identity could also exist. In some social groups, 'macho', might be a distinct zone from "masculine" or 'femme' might be distinct from 'feminine'. By drawing up the boundaries of this gender-space, I assume that I can arrive at a more accurate picture of gender identities in the light of the results obtained from the perceptual tests in this dissertation.

IV.4.1 The evaluation of voice and gender

The females who were judged as submissive were said to have high pitched, pleasant, confused, feminine quick and young…voice qualities. On the one hand, to be submissive is not a downgrading feature; submissiveness, pleasantness, softness, smoothness, hesitancy are not mutually exclusive. They are the chief ingredients, which make up the socially desired personality of a woman. The general attitude of the judges elicits that lacking assertiveness, immaturity, and hesitancy is a manifestation of femininity.

On the other hand, when related to a female, to be authoritative means sounding manlike. Despite the damage it might cause to women, sounding authoritative enables them to gain higher social position.

Correspondingly, a male, who acoustically resembles a female, is subject to damage. The adjectives used to describe the men who sounded submissive were: rather feminine, hesitant quick, woman-like, non-confident, tender …

Males who are woman like, feminine, non-confident are downgraded. No one of the judges rated the voices of submissive males as pleasant. The reason is that to be submissive is a feminine gender space / zone of femininity while being authoritative is a masculine gender space/ zone of masculinity

To look at the extent to which, the judgements match with the social stereotypes about males and females, the judges were asked, to complete a nine-question questionnaire (See appendix 5).

The first question was an inquest about the basic elements that allowed the judges to label a given voice quality as authoritative/masculine, submissive/ feminine the purpose of which was to see whether the judges' descriptions of voice was based on their previous experiential knowledge of the specificity of each voice quality or on the acoustic signal they had been presented. Questions 2-3-4 dealt with the way the listeners who served as judges defined/ identified authoritative voice. The objective was to gauge the idiosyncratic attitudes towards voice, how authoritative voice is generally perceived in females and whether authority and determination are characteristic features of male language. In this case males would make any endeavour to reinforce the use of these features to maintain the lines that set them distant from females.

Questions 5-6 are related to whether smoothness and softness are perceived as bearing no stigma or, on the contrary, as a signal of effeminacy in males while they represent a normal state in females.

The last three questions were designed to see whether the judges in this experiment are aware of the strategic effect of voice on hearers, that is to say whether voice quality is indicative of persona and finally whether it should alter according to the context of situation and the role being fulfilled.

The questionnaires were anonymous because their final objective was to measure the criteria upon which the judgements were built and see whether the male and female judges had similar trends in the description of voice quality.

A deep insight in the judges responses reveal that most of the descriptions given to the different voice qualities under study are not in every respect based on the stimuli, but on the prior knowledge the listeners have about voice. 62.5 % of the listeners recognized having based their judgements on how they have socially learnt to perceive and classify voice qualities. For instance, a female's voice should be soft, smooth, and pleasant and so forth. Such findings explain a great deal that the stereotypes concerning the classification of voice according to who the speaker is and how he should sound had an impact on the way the voices were rated. In other words, to rate authoritative females as masculine, harsh, rough and unfeminine is socially motivated. Similar responses were obtained when judges were asked about the way they would define authority and about who is likely to be authoritative or submissive. 75% of the male listeners and 50%of the female listeners associate authority with males and according to them, to be authoritative is to be simultaneously harsh. Along these same lines, smoothness and softness were considered by 87.5% of the sixteen judges as [+ feminine] if they are present in males voices. The drives behind such ratings are that smoothness and softness are factors that determine females' voices. 66.25% of the listeners agree that voice does have an impact on the hearers, that it is indicative of speakers' persona and that it fluctuates according to the context of situation where communication takes place. Nevertheless, they still perceive a female shift,

though strategically, to an authoritative voice as a mark of masculinity, most of the time coupled with aggressiveness, and a male shift to a smooth, soft voice as a mark of femininity.

The responses given in the questionnaires are analogous to the ratings of voices. Such findings mean that the judges were partly subjective in their description of voice quality because the point of departure was not based on voice as an acoustic signal but mainly on the prior knowledge about the way males and females should sound. That the stereotypes have given a certain direction to the evaluation of the stimuli depicts the alignment of the female and the male judges with " *the internalised understanding they have of gender appropriate behaviours and conventions which are created and recreated through time"* *(Sheldon, 1997: 235).* What is of interest would be to look at the way and manner women and men strategically adopt respectively masculine and feminine voice styles and purposefully transgress the frontiers of the femininity and masculinity zones to perform specific identities. A pertinent question would be: which label could be used to qualify such women and men? Are they feminine or are they masculine or are they both feminine and masculine at the same time?

Through the use of different voice styles, women and men respectively present themselves as both 'masculine' and feminine'. This postulates that the women and the men under study, strategically, make use of a wide array of voice styles so as to negotiate a range of femininities and masculinities in interaction, and align themselves with their social order to cope with the features and values of the masculine and feminine zone of their community's gender-space.

        A deeper analysis behind the use of certain voice styles, let us say a dry, stentorian, hash voice quality by females and swift, soft, tender voice quality by males is that people, if they are conscious, are resisting alignment

with stereotypical representations of femininity and masculinity and which states that normative women's voice should be soft, sweet and smooth while normative men's voice should be dry, harsh and stentorian.

That women sound tough and that men sound smooth (as will be made clearer in the coming sections) is rather an alignment with the role being enacted and ,which requires women and men to sound smooth or tough (through their voice quality) . In other words, and in line with the previous arguments gendered voice styles are accomplished in a situation. In this respect West and Fenstermaker note that:

> *gender identities are a situated accomplishment the local management of conduct in relation to normative conceptions of appropriate attitudes and activities for particular sex categories. Doing gender, then, is not necessarily striving to fit your identity to a particular normative ideal, but it is holding behaviour accountable inrelation to these ideals. In short, persons engaged in any activitycan hold themselves accountable as women or as men. Their membership in one or the other community of practice can be invoked to legitimate or discredit their performance.*
>
> *(West and Fenstermaker, 1993: 162)*

To reiterate, doing gender does not always mean living according to normative notions of femininity or masculinity; what it means is to render action accountable in these terms. The presence of masculinity features in women's voice and of femininity features in men's voice is a form of what Eckert and McConnell –Ginet (1992) call "intra group variations" and which are worth reflection and scrutiny. It leads to emphasis on the creative, agentive and flexible process of doing gender.   However, I do believe that, people are sometimes conscious that by stepping out of the stereotype of what they are

expected to do or how to sound and therefore what kind of women and men they should be, they run the risk to, probably , be sanctioned. This is what will be discussed as "the double bind".

IV.4.2 Women and the double bind

Despite the fluidity and the elasticity so far noticed in the voice styles of the females and the males, who participated in the spectrographic analyses, it should be reminded that there are constraints on the way these females and males are allowed to sound; this depends on their social position and on the structure of their stance. Importantly, in the community of practice under study, submissive females' performances were considered as 'weak'; it is a way of being normatively feminine so as not to arouse derision or stigmatization. Janet Holmes and Stephanie Schnurr (2006) stated that:

> *doing feminine gender using the kinds of strategies and linguistic devices described as normatively feminine is typically perceived as ineffective and weak, simply one component of performing feminine identity in particular interaction in a very wide community of practice.*

(Holmes and Schnurr, 2006:10)

However and in general terms, feminine behaviour in cases as interactions requiring authority is stigmatised rather than positively classified as strategic Stereotypes as stated before have a strong influence on practices and that gendered stereotypical evaluations have for a long time caused damage in limiting the linguistic options women may use.

If being normatively feminine is 'unmarked', women in an authoritative position, stereotypically seen as a masculine zone, face a double bind.

The notion of the double bind has been introduced to gender and language research by feminist scholars namely Kendall and Tannen (1997).Litosseliti defines the concept of the double bind as

> *a term used to describe the dual constraints that women face when they interact in public arenas. If women adopt a more assertive speech style typically associated with masculine speech, then they will be subject to negative evaluation, being viewed as overly aggressive and unfeminine.*

> *(Litosseliti, 2006:137)*

Alternatively, Litosseliti (ibid) adds that if women adopt normative speech style typically associated with femininity, then they run the risk of being negatively evaluated and stigmatised as weak and inefficient. For Freed (1996), when the linguistic behaviour of individuals

> *does not conform to society's expectations, a set of judgements is formed about them. Their language is seen as marked and they themselves are often seen as deviant.*

> *(Freed, 1996:70)*

Females seem to be caught in a dilemma, a difficult choice. If they aim at achieving positions of power, they have to behave like men, to speak like men. Yet, a masculine behaviour opens women to social stigmatisation and curse, that of being unfeminine. Similarly, a woman who has a prominent role but who behaves in a very feminine way is not accepted since such roles, according to the traditional belief, require being firm and sounding manlike. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) argue that ideas about gender stress that the same speech style is interpreted differently when it is used by a women rather than by a man. The findings of this dissertation added to the arguments

of Eckert and McConnell-Ginet accord with what Bem (1993) calls the 'lens of gender' and which works to maintain the female/ male linguistic differences and those speakers who deviate from the linguistic norm are subject to a negative evaluation.

Toughness and roughness are, from a gender lens, features, which belong to the masculinity zone and females need be feminine and care about how they sound and how they appear. The meaning of the word feminine, as provided by Oxford dictionary, is the state of being like a woman, having the qualities or appearance considered characteristic of women and thus we have a feminine voice, appearance, figure and so forth.

None of the judges qualified the voices of the authoritative females of the sample as pleasant. When asked, our listeners said that authority and pleasantness do not collocate. Authority is stereotypically the domain of males and males' value does not lie in how much pleasant they sound; but rather in what they achieve.

The existence of the double bind in positions where authority is required is well illustrated in the responses of the listeners who served as judges in the perceptual analysis. The use of masculine, assertive, tough voice styles by women seem to have provoked hostile comments.

However and even though the double bind continues to exist, it is shown in the experiments throughout this thesis , that women as well as men use effectively a range of both masculine and feminine voice styles and strategies. Whether, for example, women use a soft, tender, soft or smooth voice styles or not, every body knows they are expected to do; yet these same women are negatively evaluated if they do not. In situations where authority and assertiveness are required, women continually subvert and negotiate the assumptions about femininity by 'masculinizing' their linguistic styles and

leaving off the typical feminine style (Holmes, and Schnurr, 2005; Stubbe et al, 2000). In this context, McElhinny (2003) states that through the subversion and the negotiation of traditional femininity and masculinity, "assertive women *are disrupting* established *notions of feminine appearance and are providing new role models"* (McElhinny, 2003: 25).

what ought to be looked at then , is how certain modes of behaviours construct people in women and men to realise under the pressure of stereotypes certain ideas about what they should be like.

IV.5 Authority versus Submissiveness: An Overview of Formant Transition:

In the following section, I will look at how stylistic practice is embedded in voice and by means of which authority and submissiveness are flexibly constructed by women and men in particular contexts. Though, as stated previously, women have achieved prominence in avalanches of domains, male dominance is still the norm and as openly argued by Bucholtz

> *it is difficult for girls to balance the interactional requirements of hegemonic femininity and masculinity and the need to compete and achieve professionally a double bind that carries over into authoritative contexts*
>
> *(Bucholtz, 2003 : 124)*

It is true, social stereotypes have underlain the listeners' descriptions of the wide range of voice qualities presented to them. Nevertheless, by withdrawing from conventional femininity in specific contexts, women become able to display their power with much resolution.

To see how some of the cues that characterize authority/submissiveness are present in the formant frequencies of the informants has driven us to undertake a tentative study of the first and the second formants transition while women and men enact authoritative and submissive identities .

IV.5.1 A bottom up spectrographic analysis of authority in Females and submissiveness in males: An enactment of masculinised femininity and feminised masculinity

Most of scholars working in the field of gender, identity construction or both (Lave 1988, Wenger 1998, Eckert and McConnell – Ginet 1992, Bucholtz, 1999; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002, Litosseliti 2006) state that specific identities become perceptible only if they are examined from the point of view of those individual women and men who actually enact them. In other words, instead of looking at generalisation about and classification of women's and men's identities as is the tradition in the speech community model , a better enterprise would be to adopt a bottom up analysis and start from individual speakers and move on to larger communities.

IV.5.1.1 Authoritative Females: the enactment of masculinised femininity

It is commonsensical that authority is, as has traditionally been, associated with masculinity. According to Hearn and Parkin (1988)

> *authoritative styles often equates masculine style and our views of a successful entrepreneur may still include typically male characteristics: a charismatic individual who recognises new opportunities , takes risks and perseveres through adversity"*

(Hearn and Parkin, 1988:25)

That women appropriate masculine styles, among which voice styles, that they adopt both stereotypical 'feminine styles, (see chapter 3 for more details) and stereotypical masculine styles vary from one position to another position and from one stance to another within a community of practice. The following experiments provide insight on how the women of the teaching community of practice under scrutiny appropriate authoritative masculine voice quality to perform both their professional identity as teachers added to their gender identity.

The sample chosen for this experiment consists of two female speakers rated by both male and female judges as the most authoritative and two female speakers rated as the most submissive in an authoritative situation. Using SFS Wasp, we have run wideband spectrograms, and when more accuracy was needed, narrowband spectrograms were run for the sentence /rwaħ ≅hna/ (come here) and /gu: l ≅lħaq/ (say the truth) as said by females with an authoritative voice. (See spectrograms 12-13) We have measured the vowel /a/ in the words /rwah/, /hna/ and /ħaq/ in females without cutting them from their phonetic context.

Table 9: **The frequency in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 of the vowel /a/ as pronounced by 4 females with an authoritative voice quality.**

Speakers	Formants	Vowels		
		a_1	a_2	a_3
Female 1	F_1	1014	1000	1000
	F_2	2000	2000	2100
Female 2	F_1	800	1000	1000
	F_2	1600	2200	2000
Female 3	F_1	800	984	1072
	F_2	1260	1800	1876
Female 4	F_1	800	1000	1040
	F_2	1400	2000	1900

$a_1 \rightarrow$ **/a/ in /rwah/**

$a_2 \rightarrow$ **/a/ in /hna/**

$a_3 \rightarrow$ **/a/ in /ħaq/**

Bar graph 4:

The frequencies in Hertz of F1 and F2 of the vowel /a/ as pronounced by 4 females with an authotitative voice quality.
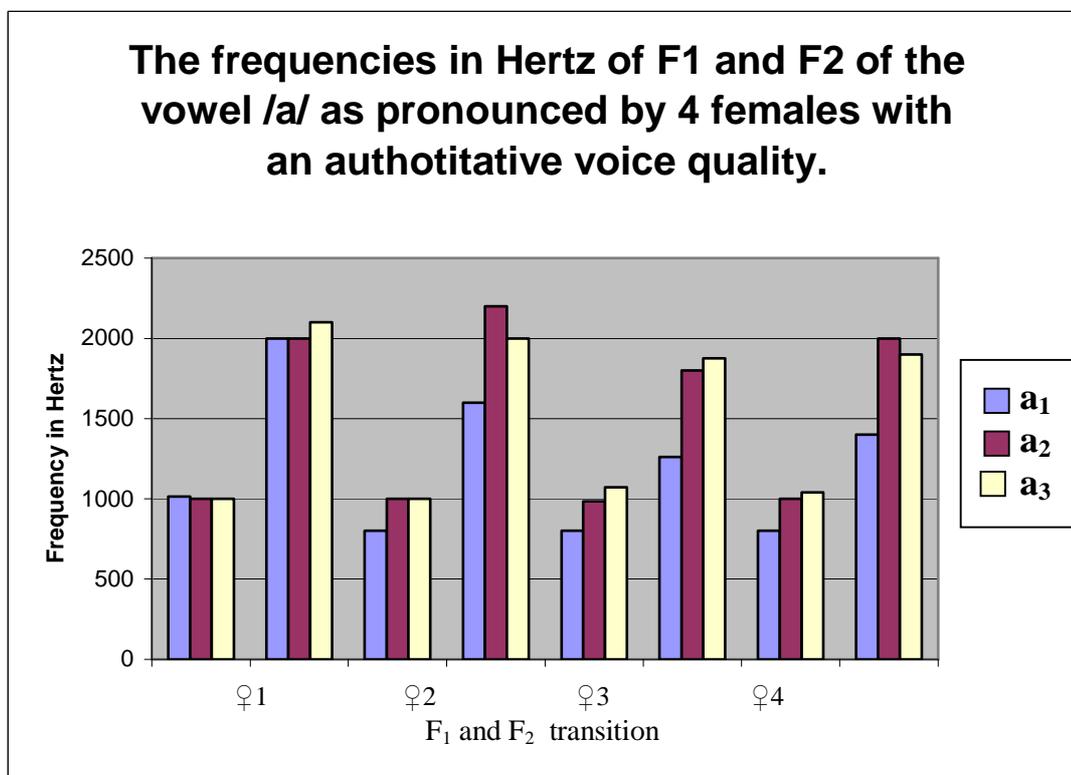
The results of this experiment show that part of authority and submissiveness are present in the acoustic signal.

Female 3 and female 4 of this experiment have succeeded to be rated as authoritative not only because their voices were judged as low pitched, harsh, slow…but also because they modulated their voice by lowering their formant values. Bar-graph 4 shows that these two females' first formant is located in the region between 800 cps and 1072 cps, while their second formant is located in the region between 1260 cps and 2000 cps. Further information this spectrographic analysis has provided is that the acoustic patterning of authoritative voice in females is carried out into the direction of male formants values.

The second formant of a_1-a_2-a_3 said by the females rated as having an authoritative voice quality has its loci in lower regions than a_1-a_2-a_3 of the two females who were rated as not authoritative and whose formant patterns are relatively higher. Their first formant, according to the spectrograms has its locus between 800 cps and 1014 cps whereas their second formant is located between   1600 cps and 2200 cps.

IV.5.1.2 Submissiveness in Males: the enactment of feminised Masculinity

The second sample consists of five males, two of whom were identified as the least submissive and three were identified as the least authoritative /feminine in a submissive situation. The analysis of /a / and /i: / in the sentence /≅łah jxali:k / pronounced by male speakers has revealed that the rating of the voice as submissive depends mainly on the modulation of the formant pattern through the use of forms which belong to the femininity zone as I will explicate below.

Table 10: The frequency in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 of the vowel /a/ and /i: / as pronounced by 5 males with a submissive voice quality.

Speakers	Formants	a	i:
Male 1	F_1	752	600
	F_2	1880	2400
Male 2	F_1	1000	500
	F_2	2000	2200

Male 3	F_1	900	600
	F_2	1900	2200
Male 4	F_1	1000	600
	F_2	1400	2000
Male 5	F_1	903	600
	F_2	1600	2100

Bar graph 5:

The frequencies in Hertz of F_1 and F_2 for the vowels /a/ and /i:/ pronounced by 5 males with an submissive voice quality
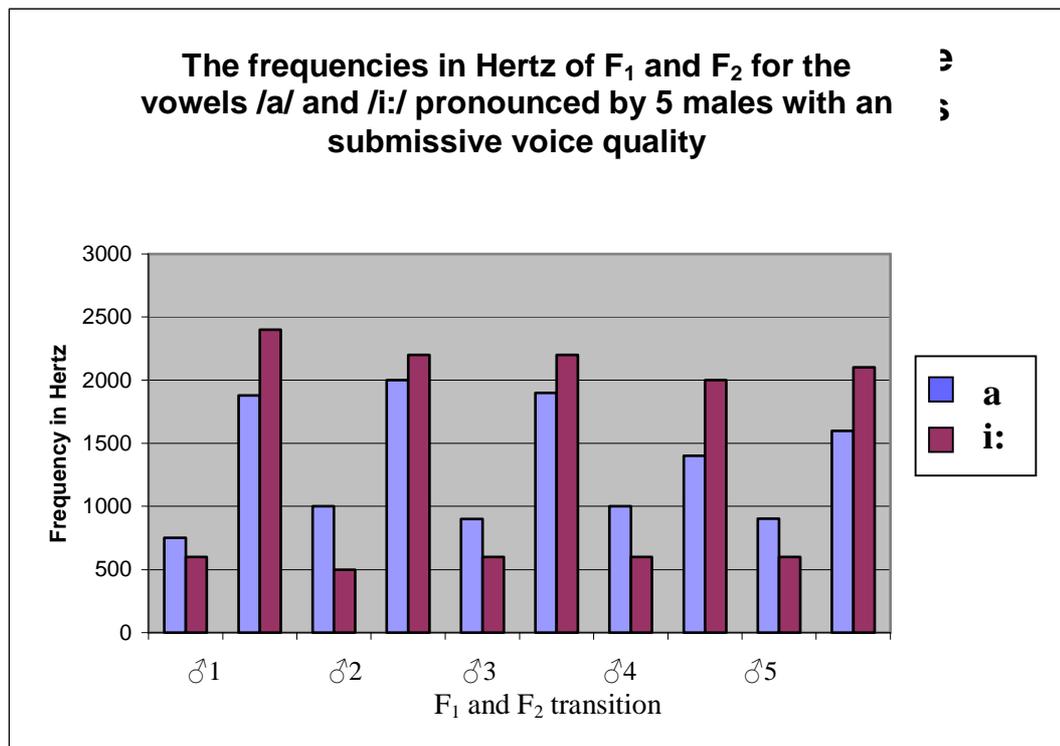
The data obtained from the spectrograms show that speakers 4-5, the male informants who were rated as the least submissive, have lower formants values than the formants of speakers 1-2-3, the ones who were rated as submissive.

The former ones have their F1 for /a/ in the region between 903 cps and 1000 cps while the latter ones have the F1 between 752 cps and 1000 cps. In fact much of the information may be driven from the value of F2 since it is in its terms that wider difference is observed between those rated as submissive and those rated as non-submissive. The F2 values for /a/, as bar-graph 5 illustrates, has its loci between 1400 cps and 1600 cps in the least submissive informants. The submissive male informants have their F2 loci between 1880 cps and 2000 cps. /i: / in the authoritative informants has its F1 located in the region of 600 cps. F2 locus is between 2000 cps and 2100 cps (see spectrograms 14-15). In submissive informants, however, F1 is located between 500 cps and 600 cps while F2 is located in the regions between 2200 cps and 2400 cps.

IV.6 Discussion

In these experiments, I have tried to analyse the voice styles of a number of women and men in positions of authority and submissiveness with a sole focus on the way that their voice styles are negotiated at their level without considering the way that particular styles are determined by outside factors as stereotypes and attitudes. These two experiments purposefully aim to look at the way and manner authoritative and submissive identities are enacted or performed in specific contexts. The results obtained reveal that even though authority, stereotypically presumes being tough, or man-like, females aiming at higher social ranks behave accordingly. Aligning with Foucault's view that *"power is a net or a web of relations not a possession, which is thus enacted and contested in every interaction"* (Foucault ,1978:63), the data obtained from the experiments highlight that women and men are concerned with how ,at their level, they manage authority and powerful stances and relations . They negotiate their identity in accord with their status as authoritative or submissive and which within particular contexts they can challenge or assert through their use of specific voice styles, as the experiments throughout this thesis have demonstrated.

In line with the above arguments, the notion of status has lengthily been debated by many gender scholars (Holmes, 1995; Coates; 1998; Mills, 2003). Those theorists draw a line of demarcation between institutional status that individual speakers are assigned through their position within an institution and a local status, which has been relevant to the above mentioned experiments and which refers to that position that a member of a community of practice succeeds to negotiate due to his verbal skills to construct the identity or the set of identities he views as the fittest in a specific context within a specific community of practice. Such a view of status challenges /subverts the specification of women as powerless and men as powerful

(Holmes, 2006: 25) and has led us to query about gender identity and voice styles starting not from how females an males are institutionally ranked but on the way a given stance be it authoritative or submissive, masculine or feminine is negotiated. Therefore, through the experiments, I have looked at how the voice quality of females and males in position of authority or submissiveness focus on the way their set of voice styles are negotiated at the level of their community of practice without considering how particular set of linguistic styles are described a priori as typically pertaining to females or to males. Sara Mills (2003) argues that

> *if we consider the dispersion of power , that is the spread of power throughout a society , rather than the holding and withholding of power by individuals, we will be able to move towards an analysis which will see language as an arena whereby power may be appropriated and enacted rather than power relation being seen as frozen societal roles ,which are clearly mapped out for participants before interaction takes place.*

(Sara Mills, 2003: 96)

This view challenges the conception of authority and power as inherent components of masculinity and by analogy the conception of submissiveness and weakness as inherent components of femininity.

Indeed, Women are stereotypically ranked as powerless and submissive whereas males are stereotypically ranked as powerful and authoritative. Nonetheless, our experiments have shown that both women and men have respectively exhibited voice styles which are seemingly masculine or feminine. The data obtained from the experiments make it possible to say that women and men who have a temporarily some interactional power in a

specific situation display their authority through the use of the so-called masculine voice styles. Similarly , they use what is stereotypically more feminine voice styles to display care, sympathy generally described as co-operative strategies or what has been termed *'rapport talk'* .

The spectrographic analysis of the vowel /a/ as produced by four females with an authoritative voice quality has shown different values. The authoritative females tended to lower their formants to have a thick timbre and sound more powerful and convincing. In short authoritative females modulated their voices to sound man like. A thin voice is actually a handicap for a woman seeking assertiveness.

The spectrograms of the males who were perceived as authoritative, tough and masculine do not display a formant shift towards the higher frequency loci. However, those men were described as submissive/feminine have exhibited higher frequency loci than the ones who were described as authoritative.

The incidence of some of what is essentially womanly in males' voice styles and some of what is essentially manly in females voice styles in settings reserved for members of a specific sex category suggests a rethinking of what to be feminine and what to be masculine are. This is mostly due to the fact that differences among men and among women or what Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) call   "intra-group differences" and similarities between men and women or "*inter-group similarities*" (ibid) are important aspects of gender. Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell, Ginet (1992) point out that there is much scope for gender variation within sex categories. In MTG, Authoritative women, submissive men, submissive women and authoritative men are all categories of women and men whose intra and inter group variations are part of their construction and the enactment of their gender identity. This leads us to state that there are no clear cut boundaries

between a female gender identity and a male gender identity but there exists a nexus of multimembership, as put forward by Wenger, allowing women and men to fluidly and constantly construct and accomplish their gender identities from interaction to interaction and from situation to situation. As to why gender identity is conceived as an accomplishment, throughout this thesis, the answer is that the agentive women and men who participated in the experiments have had the skill to shift from one situation to another situation very smoothly. They have sometimes managed to be authoritative and have in other times managed to be submissive by using the appropriate voice styles. Therefore, is it convincing to merely say that men speak this way and do x while women speak that way and do y? This is problematic in my view because it pursues binarism which contentedly fits into a tradition of what normatively feminine and what normatively masculine are.

If this were the case, how would one describe the women, who took part in the experiment and who belong to multiple communities in which both feminine voice styles and masculine voice styles were used ? Are they simply regarded as 'women' in one community and 'masculine women' in another? And what is their lived experience with womanhood? How do they understand themselves to be?

Thus, in my opinion, in a community where masculine is associated with features of strong verbal behaviour, the so called 'masculine women' would exhibit these features. On the other hand, in a community where co-operation is a feature of feminine identity, the same woman would display this trait.

Those women who have presented themselves in a masculine way through their voice styles simply align themselves, or rather get aligned, with the features and values in the masculine zone of their community's gender space to perform by the force of the context their identity.

More precisely, when women use certain forms of speech, what so ever their components are, direct speech, forceful intonation contours, and dry voice styles …women are not really aligning with anything masculine. If thoroughly observed, it is that women are resisting alignment with those caricatures, which describe femininity as being marked by powerlessness, unassertiveness, deficiency and so forth. Or simply that women align with the role they are performing in a specific context and, which requires to sound authoritative. Eckert (2003) states that

> *individuals construct an identity – a sense of place in the social world – in balancing participation in a variety of communities of practice, and in forms of participation in each of those communities. And key to this entire process of construction is stylistic practice, which has been treated as a speaker's situational adjustments in use of variables*
>
> *(Eckert, 2003:65)*

Through the spectrographic analysis of the voice of authoritative women teachers, it has been found that these women had to adopt forceful masculine voice style to appear authoritative but this does not affect their femininity given that what I may call the authority 'uniform' is put off once women enter the femininity zone .Women who move into powerful and authoritative stances, according to McElhinny "*sometimes adopt the language styles that are both an indicator of masculinity but also of professionalism*" (McElhinny, 1998: 322) .

The results obtained from the spectrograms of the males who were rated as submissive have shown that these males used voice styles, which belong to the femininity zone and which are characterised by a range of

diverse co-operative strategies themselves inherent in the linguistic forms submitted to the acoustic analysis.

The fact that both the women and the men of the studied communities of practice construct a multiple identity by using styles belonging to the femininity zone and to the masculinity zone suggest a restatement of what the terms femininity and masculinity mean in particular contexts   and as Alice Freed so intelligently puts it

> *Masculinity and femininity should be seen as   a characteristic of the context or situation, rather than an attribute of individuals. Intimate self-disclosing conversation is associated with stereotypical femininity and therefore when males engage in such conversation they may tend to display the   same feminine speech styles as women*
>
> *(Freed, 1996: 65)*

It is proposed then   to conceive   femininity and masculinity as a situated accomplishment of an ongoing dynamic process allowing consequently flexibility and fluidity in the gender identity construction as advocated in the previous sections. Clearly, this has implications for how to approach the deal with gender identity and which requires a move away from considering the behaviour of all women an all men towards the consideration of the performance of feminine and masculine identities of particular individuals in certain situations.

IV.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reported two studies in which voice quality was evaluated from two different perspectives. The first one was perceptual. It was meant to provide evaluative judgements about males and females' voice styles using semantic differential descriptions. The second one was acoustic and aimed at the analysis of how women and men in MTG modulate their voice quality to negotiate such identities as masculinised femininity and feminised masculinity in certain contexts where communicative interaction takes place.

The data obtained reveal through the voice styles that the notions of femininity / masculinity and authority / submissiveness are not to be looked at as binary oppositions qualifying one gender identity rather than the other. Thus instead, it is argued that that women and men engage in a multifaceted process by means of which they strategically adopt strategies be are feminine or masculine which are likely to achieve their purpose outcome ; some of those strategies may be a reflection of stereotypical attitudes associated with feminine or masculine language.

With regard to a number of aspects of voice quality and gender identity construction, I do not intend to produce any surprising or categorical conclusions about how men and women use voice stylistic variations to do gender but rather provide, though partially, the ground work which has been missing. I hope to point to some interesting avenues by identifying areas of voice stylisation and gender research. While my own survey raises more questions than it answers, it does chart a course of action: a spectrographic study of a carefully defined communities of women and men teachers and trainee teachers would allow insight into how at least one group of women and one group of men see themselves in relation to mainstream descriptions and the ways in which they negotiate gendered identities.

Since voice quality exhibits, by and large, various fluctuations in relation to the situatedness of the practice, it has been chosen as our main object of analysis

This thesis provides a broad overview of one of the key issues and questions, that of voice quality, a phonetic dimension of language use, and suggests that voice quality in females and males constitutes one of the most interesting practices through which individuals "do gender" while at the same time construct their identities as females and males and meet their communities of practice expectations. It uses visual / spectrographic methods and applies them to the analysis of the voice quality of female and male speakers as belonging to two different communities of practice.

Drawing on the notion of community of practice and interactions, I have accounted for shifts in identities and voice styles by examining the practices such as emphaticness / less emphaticness, femininity / masculinity, Authority / submissiveness in which MTG females and males participate.

The community of practice has been used as a theoretical framework throughout this dissertation because the essentialist view based on the determinism of the speech community has proved inadequate in dealing with issues of gender identity as agency and fluidity in identity construction are discarded. Essentialist gender and language studies were based mainly on linguistic difference and dominance and on the linguistic attributes of women and men as two demographically categorised entities as prescribed by the speech community. That women and men use different genderlects because they belong to two binary speech communities and their language use is exposed in a series of contrasts and oppositions is not satisfactory and does not cope with the awareness of shifts in identity construction. Gender language as perceived by essentialists runs through binary categorization: powerful / powerless language, subjection /dominance and so forth and that our results refute.

There is no gainsay, the speech community model of analysis has done much in the vibrant area of gender and language studies but, to exclude fluidity and flexibility in gender construction and to conceive it on a binary opposition is one of the weakest points of this model.

Women's and men's verbal behaviour is determined by the variety of their practices in communities of practice they choose not by the set of ascriptions allotted to them by the speech community as our results have shown.

In my inquiry about how emphatic phonemes of Arabic are realised, it has been demonstrated that the fact that MTG females' emphatic phonemes are characterised by less emphaticness and that males' emphatic phonemes are marked by strong emphaticness makes it possible for the women and the men in MTG to align themselves with the voice styles that constitute the norm for most Mostaganem Women and men and that are compatible with the hegemonic social order.

The inter group variations of emphatic phonemes in men and women and the differences that arise fall within the paradigm that stylistically and expressively, by displaying less emphaticized /t-d-s/ and strong emphaticized / t , d ,s / , females and males differentiate and position themselves according to each other and according to a larger world.

Even if the way females and males produce emphatic/ non emphatic cognates does not affect the phonological status of these consonants, it however, affects their social meaning and how the women and the men of the community construct their personae according to the general beliefs about femininity and masculinity.

Taking stock of Wenger's concepts of practice in terms of mutual engagement, joint enterprise and negotiated shared repertoire, I suggest going beyond the statistical generalisation about females and males and viewing differences among women and men as important aspects of stereotypes. As such differences have not been the aim in themselves; it is what men and women do with these differences that have been relevant to my dissertation.

The fact that females have exhibited weak emphaticness and that males have exhibited strong emphaticness is not evidence of women's weakness and men's privilege nor is it to be conceived as would be put by the speech community framework. Our spectrograms show that the fact that women produce their / t, d, s / as less emphaticized is strategic It is a skill / a strategy that women have developed through time to confirm their belonging to a hegemonic social order which views women as having a soft, thin, smooth and weak voice, which stands in contrast with the dry, thick and strong voice of men. Both men and women throughout this analysis confirm their belonging and membership to their communities by aligning with a normative social order which acts as a regulator for identity construction. Less 'emphaticization' in females and strong emphaticization in males is a phonetic mechanism, a style available

to women and men to become legitimate/ full members of their community. By adopting and adapting their practices in terms of style and activity to those of the community, women and men will be appropriately gendered. In addition, the stylisation of voice as reified in females' voice quality by means of a higher F2 allows females' voice be thinner and more pleasant, but it does not alter the phonological identity of /t , d , s / as stated before. In the light of the results obtained, one can say that less "emphaticization" as a female feature and strong "emphaticization" as a male feature in the communities under study show that social meaning is transmitted not only by lexis and grammar but also by phonetic details that differentiate tokens .According to Podesva *"phonological variants and phonetic qualities become associated with the social circumstances under which they are produced"* (Podesva, 2004).

My investigation has demonstrated that those variations between emphatic / non emphatic cognates in female and male speakers of MTG are a phonetic phenomenon which can be repeatedly observed in acoustic analyses and, which stretches down to a greatest degree of articulatory control. Spreading the lips, a case in point, will shorten the vocal tract and raise the formants, *"the characteristic way some women have of talking and smiling at the same time would have just this effect"* (Sachs, Lieberman and Erickson 1973, p81). So in order to locate the contrastive elements of their language women may have learnt to alter their lip shape in order to modify their formants making them move in the direction of higher frequency loci and modulate their voice according to the gender identity they build up. In listening to females/males emphatic sounds, it seemed to me (though it might be subjective), that female voices were softer, gentler and more expressive compared to male voices, which sounded rougher, harsher and stronger. Though my findings correspond to the results Kahn obtained in her study of Cairene Arabic and where she stated that less emphaticness sounded more "feminine" to the Cairene while strong

emphaticness sounded harsh an crude-like , I do not align with her conception of the notion of gender differences . For Kahn, differences are binary; throughout my analysis of emphatic sounds, differences have been looked at as constructive. The experiments carried out in this thesis brings to the fore the relationship between the formant values, the articulatory control and the social meaning of the phonetic variables under study.   It is, subsequently, suggested that detailed articulatory strategies and stylistic manoeuvres must have been differentially learned by females and males in the process of their gender normative construction and gender linguistic performance and this is something, which requires further exploration.

The perceptual analysis of the way and manner women and men exploit the multifunctionality of phonetic forms has shown that voice styles are strategic for both females and males to flexibly construct authoritative and submissive identities , all of which depend on the situatedness of the practice challenging therefore the binary view of the traditional speech community perspective.

This analysis has shed light on what it is meant by gendered females' and gendered males' voice quality . I have , particularly, referred to those voice qualities / voice styles that say something about women and men, girls and boys, and about their positions, choices and their identities , which are in certain ways gendered.   The findings of the perceptual analysis show that elements like authority/ submissiveness which are stereotypically the property of one sex rather than the other overlap putting into question the idea that viewing gender as a bifurcation into submissive femininities and authoritative masculinities renders gender problematic as some of the results highlight that authority / submissiveness in their relation to femininity and masculinity cross sex boundaries becoming common to both females and males. They have also emphasised that authority, submissiveness and femininity/masculinity are a set of practices and stances which emerge in context rather than attributes assigned

to women and men even though I do not deny the socio cultural force, which has driven many of the judges to associate authority with males and submissiveness with females.

The results have also demonstrated that the way judges have interpreted the quality of the voices they heard is an outcome of their mutual engagement with the speakers, which symbolises the repertoire they share with the speakers about the identity construction.

The presence of authority in females' voices is not necessarily synonymous to masculinity. Likewise, the rating of males as masculine yet not authoritative reveals that masculinity does not necessarily entail authority. Authority and submissiveness are tactics / strategies available to both females and males intended to reflect the idea that identity construction is intimately tailored to fit its context in specific spacio temporal circumstances. The ever changing way identity is negotiated in the teaching communities of practice under study does not necessarily correspond to the negotiation of identity in other communities of practice; let us say, for instance, a community of pilots, doctors, state-owned companies / private companies and so forth.

One interesting issue our results have put forward is about the existence of femininity zones and masculinity zones. It seems that women and men strategically adopt masculine and feminine voice styles and purposefully transgress the frontiers of the femininity and masculinity zones to perform specific identities. Through the use of different voice styles, women and men respectively present themselves as both 'masculine' and feminine'. This postulates that the women and the men under study, strategically, make use of a wide array of voice styles so as to negotiate a range of femininities and masculinities in interaction, and align themselves with their social order to cope with the features and values of the masculine and feminine zone of their community's gender-space. In addition, the fact that women use a dry, stentorian,

hash voice styles and that men use swift, soft, tender voice quality by males means that people, if they are conscious, are resisting alignment with stereotypical representations of femininity and masculinity and which states that normative women's voice should be soft, sweet and smooth while normative men's voice should be dry, harsh and stentorian.

That some women have sounded tough and that some men have sound ed smooth is rather an alignment with the role being enacted and ,which requires women and men to sound smooth or tough (through their voice quality) . In other words, and in line with the previous arguments gendered voice styles are accomplished in a situation. Doing gender, subsequently, is not all the time synonymous of to living according to normative notions of femininity or masculinity; what it means is to render action accountable in these terms. Through the subversion and the negotiation of traditional femininity and masculinity, assertive women and submissive men disrupt established notions of what it means to be feminine and what it means to be masculine and provide new role models.

The occurrence of some of what is essentially womanly in males' voice styles and some of what is essentially manly in females voice styles   in settings reserved for members of a specific sex category suggests a rethinking of what to be feminine and what to be masculine are. This is mostly due to the fact that differences among men and among women and similarities between men and women are important aspects of gender.

In MTG, Authoritative women, submissive men, submissive women and authoritative men are all categories of women and men whose intra and inter group variations are part of their construction and the enactment of their gender identity. This leads us to state that there are no clear cut boundaries between a female gender identity and a male gender identity but there exists a nexus of

multimembership, as put forward by Wenger, allowing women and men to fluidly and constantly construct and accomplish their gender identities from interaction to interaction and from situation to situation. As to why gender identity is conceived as an accomplishment, throughout this thesis, the answer is that the agentive women and men who participated in the experiments have had the skill to shift from one situation to another situation very smoothly. They have sometimes managed to be authoritative and have in other times managed to be submissive by using the appropriate voice styles.

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Appendices

SFS/WASP Help File

Contents:

Internelinks:
¤**WASP Home**
¤**Speech   &
Hearing   Home**
¤**UCL   Phonetics
and Linguistics**

WASP is a program for the recording, display and analysis of speech. With WASP you can record and replay speech signals, save them and reload them from disk, edit annotations, display spectrograms and a fundamental frequency track, and print the results.

WASP is a simple application that is complete in itself but which is also designed to be compatible with the **Speech Filing System** (SFS) tools for speech research.

Controls

Toolbar

- **Open file**. Use to open an existing signal file stored on disk. Supports standard Microsoft RIFF format (.WAV files) as well as SFS file format.
- **Save file**. Use to save a new recording to a disk file, or to save an existing signal file under a new name. WASP can save in RIFF or SFS format. Note that only the signal can be stored in RIFF files, so that any annotations will be lost.
- **Print**. Use to reproduce the current display on the printer. Note that printouts are produced in landscape format by default. Cursors are not printed.
- **Record**. Use to record a new speech signal. Selection of the input device and input sensitivity must be made through the use of the system volume controls, see **recording** below.
- **Play** (or 'P' key). Use to replay the region of the current signal displayed or between **cursors**. Selection of the output device and volume must be made through the use of the system volume controls.
- **Waveform**. Use to display an amplitude waveform graph of the speech signal.
- **Wideband Spectrogram**. Use to display a wide bandwidth spectrogram of the speech signal. This is calculated dynamically from the speech signal as required.
- **Narrowband Spectrogram**. Use to display a narrow bandwidth spectrogram of the speech signal. This is

calculated dynamically from the speech signal as required.

- **Fundamental frequency**. Use to display a fundamental frequency track ("pitch track") for the speech signal. This is calculated once when first requested.
- **Annotations**. Use to display any annotations associated with the speech signal. Annotations can be added using the **cursors** and saved to SFS files.
- **Scroll left** (Left arrow or 'L' key). Use to move the display to an earlier part of the signal.
- **Zoom in** (Down arrow or 'Z' key). Use to focus the display on a smaller section of the displayed signal. To zoom in, first set the area of interest with left and right **cursors**.
- **Zoom out** (Up arrow or 'U' key). Use to undo one level of zoom.
- **Scroll right** (Right arrow or 'R' key). Use to move the display to a later part of the signal.

Other menu options

- **File properties**. Use to set some information fields in the header of the SFS file. This information is saved with the speech data in the file. The Speaker and Token fields also appear on printouts.
- **View properties**. Use to control some of the display formatting. Options allow the SFS history fields and the SFS numbers for the data items to be displayed. Unless you are familiar with SFS, these are probably not of much interest and can be turned off. The grid option overlays a grid on the spectrogram and fundamental frequency display to make measurements easier. However they do tend to obscure the displays.
- **Crop Signal**. Use to discard region of signal outside cursors or outside current display. You can use this option to select one part of a longer recording before saving it to a new file. If you need to select multiple parts of a recording, first save it to file, then reload it after each crop and save. There is no other way back to the original recording after you have selected crop.

Cursors and Annotations

With a waveform loaded and displayed, you can set left and right cursors using the left and right mouse buttons. The left cursor is blue, the right cursor is green. These cursors indicate the start and stop time for various operations:

- **for replay** the signal replayed is the region between the cursors.
- **for zoom in** the region between the cursors is expanded to fill the display.

- **for scroll left** the right cursor becomes the new right edge of the display.
- **for scroll right** the left cursor becomes the new left edge of the display.
- **for annotation** the entered labels are placed at times specified by the left or right cursors.

To enter an annotation, first press the letter 'A' (for annotation at the left cursor) or 'B' (for annotation at the right cursor) then type in the label and press the RETURN key when done. You will see the characters you type appear in the status bar. You can edit a label being entered with the BACKSPACE key. You can cancel an annotation entry by pressing ESCAPE. You can change an annotation by entering a new annotation at the same place. You can delete an annotation by entering an empty annotation at the same place.

The time at which the left and right cursors are located is displayed in the status bar. For convenience, the interval between the cursors is also displayed, as well as the reciprocal of that interval. These may be of use to estimate durations and frequencies from the signal.

You can remove a cursor by clicking the mouse button twice at the same location.

Information about the location of the cursors is displayed at the right of the status bar. The times of the left and right cursor are displayed, also the interval between them expressed in seconds and Hertz, and finally the value of the fundamental frequency track under the left cursor.

Recording

Most PCs have two input lines, one designed for a microphone input and one designed for a 'line' level input (from e.g. a tape recorder). Some PCs are also able to record output from audio CDs played in the computer. Once your signal source is connected to the computer, you need to select it using the **Volume Control** application. This can be found under the Start/Programs/Accessories/Multimedia menu on Windows 95/98/NT systems.

To record from a microphone:

1. Ensure that it is connected to the microphone input to the PC.
2. Ensure that the microphone input device is selected in volume control.

3. Ensure that the input volume and overall record volume are at moderate levels.
4. Request the record menu option in WASP and select 'Test Levels' to check that signals are getting to the program.
5. Adjust the volume controls so that at no time does the peak level reach the right hand side of the display when recording.
6. Select 'Record' to record the signal, 'Stop' once complete, and then 'OK'. The waveform should be displayed in the main window.

In the WASP record dialogue, you can adjust the recording quality by changing the sampling rate. The default rate of 16000 samples per second with 16-bit resolution has been chosen to be most useful for the production of speech spectrograms. Not all PCs support acquisition at 16000 samples per second. You may find it necessary to record at 22050 samples/second or at 11025 samples/second. WASP does not support recording using old 8-bit resolution cards although it can load 8-bit waveforms recorded by other applications.

Displays

Waveform

A waveform is a graph of signal amplitude (on the vertical axis) against time (on the horizontal axis). Conventionally, the zero line is taken to mean no input: in terms of a microphone this would imply that the sound pressure at the microphone was the same as atmospheric pressure. Positive and negative excursions can then be considered pressure fluctuations above and below atmospheric pressure. For speech signals these pressure fluctuations are very small, typically less than +/- 1/1000000 of atmospheric pressure. The amplitude scale used on waveform displays merely records the size of the quantised amplitude values captured by the Analogue-to-Digital converter in the PC. These have a maximum range of -32,768 to +32,767. If you observe values close to these on the display, it is likely that the input signal is overloaded.

Wideband spectrogram

A spectrogram is a display of the frequency content of a signal drawn so that the energy content in each frequency region and time is displayed on a grey scale. The horizontal axis of the spectrogram is time, and the picture shows how the signal develops and changes over time. The vertical axis of the spectrogram is frequency and it provides an analysis of the

signal into different frequency regions. You can think of each of these regions as comprising a particular kind of building block of the signal. If a building block is present in the signal at a particular time then a dark region will be shown at the frequency of the building block and the time of the event. Thus a spectrogram shows which and how much of each building block is present at each time in the signal. The building blocks are, in fact, nothing more than sinusoidal waveforms (pure tones) occuring with particular repetition frequencies. Thus the spectrogram of a pure tone at 1000Hz will consist of a horizontal black line at 1000Hz on the frequency axis. Such a signal only contains a single type of building block: a sinusoidal signal at 1000Hz.

Wideband spectrograms use coarse-grained regions on the frequency axis. This has two useful effects: firstly it means that the temporal aspects of the signal can be made clear - we can see the individual larynx closures as vertical striations on a wide band spectrogram; secondly it means that the effect of the vocal tract resonances (called *formants*) can be seen clearly as black bars between the striations - the resonances carry on vibrating even after the larynx pulse has passed though the vocal tract. The bandwidth for the wideband display is fixed at 300Hz.

Narrowband spectrogram

Narrowband spectrograms use fine-grained regions on the frequency axis. This has two main effects: firstly fine temporal detail is lost which means that the individual larynx pulses are no longer seen; secondly fine frequency structure is brought out consisting of the harmonics of the larynx vibration as filtered by the resonances of the vocal tract. This kind of display is most useful for the study of slowly varying properties of the signal, such as fundamental frequency. The bandwidth for the narrowband display is fixed at 45Hz.

Fundamental frequency track

The fundamental frequency track shows how the pitch of the signal varies with time. Pitch is properly a subjective attribute of the signal, but it is closely related to the *repetition frequency* of a periodic waveform. Thus if a signal has a waveform shape that repeats in time (such as a simple vowel) then we perceive a pitch related to how long the signal takes to repeat. A signal with a long repetition period (low repetition frequency) has a low pitch, while a signal with a short repletion period (high repetition frequency) has a high pitch. The proper name for the repetition frequency of periodic waveforms is called the *fundamental frequency* because this frequency has an important role in determining which frequency components are present in a periodic signal. A signal that is periodic at F Hz, can only have

frequency components at F, 2F, 3F... these are called the harmonic components (or just harmonics) of the signal.

Note that all algorithms for estimating the fundamental frequency from the speech signal do fail on some occasions. This is because of the complexity of the speech signal and the influence of any interfering noise. Where the algorithm is unable to determine any effective periodicity in the signal, no fundamental frequency estimate is displayed. The algorithm is optimised for human speech signals, so may fail to find the correct pitch for musical instruments and other sounds.

Annotations

Annotations are simply text labels that are associated with a particular time in the speech signal. They may be used to mark the boundaries between words or phonetic segments or to indicate the presence of specific events. Annotations are automatically saved and restored with the speech signal when you choose to use SFS format files. To perform additional processing with these labels you need to use some of the SFS tools such as anlist, andict, or sml. See the **SFS Web Pages** for more information.

Want to learn more?

If you find the study of speech interesting and would like to know more, why not visit the **Internet Institute of Speech and Hearing** at **www.speechandhearing.net** ? There you will find tutorials, reference material, laboratory experiments and contact details of professional organisations.

Bug reports

Please send suggestions for improvements and reports of program faults to **SFS@phon.ucl.ac.uk**.

Please note that we are unable to provide help with the use of this program.

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