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Male/Female Linguistic Practices and Miscommunication in Chlef

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To my sweetheart "Mama"

To my precious "Papa"

To my dear Hadjer, Abdelkader and Abdelmadjid

To all my friends

I

Abbreviations

AA   Algerian Arabic

Cl. Ar   Classical Arabic

CofP   Community of Practice

CS   Code-switching

CSA   Chlef Spoken Arabic

Fr   French

K   Kabyle

MM   Markedness Model

MSA   Modern Standard Arabic

WL   Women's Language

List of Phonetic Symbols

I) – Consonants

[m] [mra] a woman

[n] [na:ḍ] he stood up

[dʒ] [ra:dʒəl] a man

[ʃ] [ʃibæni] an old man

[ɛ] [ɛərs] a wedding

[k] [kəlma] a word

[ḵ] [isərwaliḵ] your trousers (a Kabyle variety)

[d] [dwa] medicines

[r] [rabbi] God

[j] [jəbki] he cries

[l] [li:m] lemon

[ɣ] [ɣanna] he sang

[w] [warda] a rose

[b] [bæb] a door

[s] [sma] the sky

[ṣ] [ṣalla] he prayed

[t] [tra:b] soil

[ṭ] [ṭabla] a table

[h] [hija] she

[ħ] [ħəʃma] abashment

[v] [vviɣ] I want (a Kabyle variety)

[q] [qli:l] little

[ɒ] [fɒm] a mouth

[z] [jəzgi] he shouts

[x] [xæli] my maternal uncle

[g] [galb] a heart

[ʔ] [ʔalf] a thousand

[θ] [θu:m] garlic

[ð] [ðəbæna] a fly

[ḍ] [ḍaw] light

[j] [jəd] a hand

II- Vowels

a- Short vowels

[a] [æna] me

[ə] [ħbəs] he stopped

[u] [huwa] he

[ɒ] [xɒdmi] a knife

[i] [ħidʒæb] a veil

b- Long vowels

[a:] [fa:r] a mouse

[i:] [smi:n] fat

[u:] [sxu:n] hot   **NB:** We mention the two symbols [k̲] and [v] in examples from the Kabyle variety because they are not found in Chlef Spoken Arabic.

Abstract:

Females and males seem to encounter frequent problems of communication and their conversation typically falls prey to miscommunication. They find it, most of the time, tiresome to fathom the mind of the other. Male/female miscommunication has been interpreted in a number of ways, most notably as an innocent by-product of different socialization patterns and different gender cultures. It would be worthwhile to point out that this intention to embark upon this topic is not random, but rather an intentional endeavour to canvass the actual reasons behind this misunderstanding from a sociolinguistic stance. The intimate relation between gender and language cannot be treated as a *sui-generis* in the abstract. It requires to be grounded in real life conditioning and experiences so that it can be deconstructed analytically. Wishing to unearth the scientific explanation of male/female miscommunication, we have tried to examine gender performances and women's agency (Their creative use of language and the choices available to them) in the Algerian social culture with a tremendous belief that they need to be examined in relation to some factors such as the larger power structures that constitute Algerian culture, Islam, multilingualism and social organization. That is to say, what we attempt is to direct a limelight on how the social variables (level of education, job opportunity, language skills) interact in a dialectic way with contextual variables (interlocutor, topic, and purpose of conversation) and how they extremely influence the system of perceiving the world conceptually, beliefs, values, and ways of meaning for Algerian men and women. It is in this interaction of these factors which influence generic gender perception, gender subversion and language use reveal that the social and individual differences of Chelifian women and men can be understood solely within the social cultural context of the community under study. Basically, we want to tackle the various aspects of male/female miscommunication, in the round not just as a static description of this phenomenon, but as a scientific tale of the complex interlocking networks that play a pivotal role in the arousal of communication barriers among women and men. A central inquiry running throughout this paper is examining miscommunication starting from the theoretical perspective where gender is viewed as construction and not as given. Although women and men - in the community under study- are in a constant process of selecting lexical and phonological items or even manipulating the linguistic codes that are available to them, they should not encroach on certain cultural and religious beliefs of the community.

The bottom line is that both men and women in Chlef are in constant negotiation of a bundle of identities via constructing apt meanings which should tally with particular communities.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION:

"Gender and Language" is a moot and miscellaneous arena in the sphere of sociolinguistics, which has been proliferated so widely and rapidly in recent year. The explosive growth of this field means that each successive decade gets harder to sum up. Male/female communication is of central importance to many aspects of human life and gender studies. Yet, it is only in recent years that is has become the focus of systematic scientific investigation. To the best of our knowledge, no other research pursues this particular topic, here in Algeria, so relentlessly and so widely. In short, the gist of this dissertation is about the problems that everyone deals with all the time. In an attempt to grasp the nature of male/female misunderstanding, we must understand the process through which they unfold, and we must understand the importance of the social and cultural contexts in which they take place.

More interestingly, the onus to grapple with the various issues of this query rests entirely upon calling attention to the necessity of providing a synoptic overview of the most renowned theories which for the most part, constitute the bedrock of early gender studies.

The first chapter seeks to outline the different modes of thought that have contributed to the explanation of male/female miscommunication. I immersed myself in this part to provide a brief symposium of the very early pioneer works in gender studies. We have mainly directed a spotlight on the most influential theories, viz. "The deficit theory" and "The two cultures theory". The former theory expresses dwell in the fact of perceiving women as handicapped, maladaptive, and needing remediation. Besides, we have directed a limelight on how cultural and popular stereotypes flicker in and out of the perception of women and men and their linguistic behaviour. By this token, a ponderous evidence of the negative attitudes towards women's modes of speaking has been detected. Women are, according to that type of stereotypes, as callow and empty-headed and they are, therefore, unsuited to wield power over men. To sharpen the idea, these popular stereotypes stem principally from the concept of androcentricity which reads that man is the foremost and potent sex which must dominate and display sway upon women.

In addition to the female "deficit theory" which presents the general problems of communication between women and men as women's hesitancy in stating their interest and wishes, we intend to allow this part of the dissertation to embrace the "Difference theory", or the "Two Cultures" which claims that the distinct cultural backgrounds from which women and men come can be considered as a possible explanation of the different barriers which may

plague male/female conversation (Maltz and Borker (1982); Tannen (1990)). Accordingly, the process of socialization of boys and girls is at play in the differences of conversational rules of women and men in their conversations. Beyond this very general level, the speech community postulates that the transmission of the social norms should be embedded in the lessons taught to children about what is socially acceptable and what is not. Social agents (women and men in this dissertation) should invariably submit to the norms of the speech community, and no room is left for transcending the ambits dictated by society.

In an attempt to present in this chapter a composite picture of research findings done abroad and in Algeria on women and men's modes of speaking, we have added that "social power" theory plays a central role in exploring the thread of male/female miscommunication.

This theory sustains the idea that men's conversational dominance parallels their social/political dominance and, hence, they adopt it as a vehicle to corroborate the effectiveness of their speech. However, the social power theory disregards the psychological difference to which we have provided some space in this part of work.

In the first chapter, mutually contradictory evidences, reckoned by different studies have been studied, which are required to prepare one for the subsequent research carried in this area.

The second chapter is devoted to challenge the notion of gender as a fixed binary opposition which denies the social agency of both women and men. We have tried to introduce an approach of considerable importance in recent sociolinguistics which is the concept of "Communities of Practice" with a tremendous belief that practice emerges in the course of women and men joint activity around common endeavour. In a similar vein, gender is produced and reproduced in differential membership in various communities of practice; women define themselves in respect to other women, men to men. There is no gainsay, women and men encounter disparity in the paths they employ to obtain greater social status, and women are under a constant pressure to display their persona.

Unlike the essentialist view which perceives individuals as either male or female and places individuals who do not fit in this rigid dichotomy in the column of "deviant', everything in the constructivist view, has been seen as "constructed" because gender has been conceptualized as a fluid, and not a static notion. This view is based on the assumption that there is a wide variation in the spectrum of human gender, and that both women and men have

a continuous endeavour to beget subtle ideas and apt modes of interaction to tally with the different contexts they belong to each time.

In order not to bewilder the reader, it seems imperative to note that we have not focused our observation on one community of practice. Our scrutiny embraces a number of communities of practice such as home and university. Put simply, the crux of this dissertation is not to focus attention on canvassing one community of practice. This is found beneficial to study gender differences drawing on the community of practice framework.

Aligning with this idea, we also reside in the idea that a host of and prominent intervening variables have been neglected by the speech community model, including the context i.e. the communities of practice. What is of particular importance here is that the significant characteristic of the constructivist view which conspicuously distinguishes it from the essentialist model is that whereas the latter considered gender as a separate category from other social variables such as age, ethnicity, level of educational and social *milieu*, the former regards gender as intertwined with these variables. It is the interaction of gender with other social variables which gives us an exhaustive explanation of its multiple meanings and continuous creation given that individuals constantly present themselves the way they like to be responded to in specific contexts. Wishing to adopt a dynamic, not just a static analysis, we intend to examine male/females differences in language, which are momentous for the study of miscommunication, moving away from a reliance on the bipolarization perception of gender to a more reliable view of gender identities and the linguistic performances of women and men. We have purposefully laid more than one community of practice in this dissertation in the sense that men and especially women customarily strive to mutate particular modes of speaking as they move from the family to another community of practice.

Most attempts in this chapter fell broadly into explaining how gender differences in Chlef are used and constructed flexibly in different communities of practice. In the community under study, women and men are not totally guided by the fixed boundaries of the speech community. They try to evince their agency via using a bundle of linguistic variables (phonology or vocabulary) accordingly to the actual parameters of the interaction that pull women or men to speak or not to speak in a particular manner. To nuance the picture, the same woman may adopt more than two linguistic variables, and sometimes contradictory ones, to duly negotiate particular social meanings in particular communities of practice. In this casting of the community of practice argument, it is still worth noting that we believe we should settle the inquiry of male/female language differences by the explanation of the

flexible notion of gender construction accompanied with the social variables of the context of the interaction.

The third chapter covers research into specific aspects of the use of code-switching by both women and men. The foremost concern of this part is to find out answers to inquiries such as: Do women really use more code-switching than men? Is there a nexus between the phenomenon of code-switching, gender and other social variables? And, therefore, to unearth the main reasons that explain women's use of code-witching and how they are encouraged to use French in some contexts. The vital point of this chapter is to descry how women and men define themselves and reincarnate certain social meanings through the subtle mixture of different varieties in the ebb and flow of their daily conversations. On top of everything, our immediate interest in this part of our dissertation is to tackle the social dimension of this phenomenon and focus our attention on the Markedness Model of Myers Scotton. Within the Markedness Model, code choice is interpreted as a matter of social identity in implying choice on the part of the code-switcher. Code-switching is a linguistically skillful practice which is motivated by women and men's intentions. As we will show, both women and men employ code-switching in their everyday conversations in Chlef, but code-switching is more associated with women than with men, particularly French and Berber. We apply Scotton's model deem it the model which is an explanation accounting for speakers' socio-psychological motivations when they decide to engage in CS. What motivates this model is that it embraces a number of themes from a variety of disciplines, from the sociology of language to pragmatics to social anthropology to linguistic anthropology (linguistic competence).

In order to pursue the question of how women and men find difficulties in this communication, we think that it is essential to begin with looking closely at the ways women in Chlef tend to challenge the popular stereotypes which portray them as socially and linguistically passive. By and large, the empowerment aspect of Chelifian women's code switching is squarely blatant if placed within the overall sociolinguistic status of Algerian Arabic, Berber and French.

The fourth chapter deals with the statistics of the data collected, which have been accompanied by a brief analysis of such statistical data. Graphs are given, based on the results, for a better comprehensive presentation.

The purpose of the current study of which this chapter is part, is to assess a possible explanation of the burning issue of male/female miscommunication, allowing space for the bustling concourse of voices and perspectives in this arena of research.

By way of explanations, what we have been seeking to do through propounding the questions of the questionnaire is to obtain possible and viable answers to questions such as: Do women and men have two different conversational rules? And which differences engender male/female miscommunication?

The gist of the whole dissertation is located in this chapter. We intend to identify where, then, our research stands in relation to those perspectives postulated in the vibrating thread of "Male/female miscommunication". On the whole, the focus of the questionnaire lies, for the most part, in examining the validity of "The difference" and "The social power theories" proposed for the explanation of male/female problems of communication. Daily observation leads one to believe that the actual situation is enormously different from the generic and the popular perspectives. Said differently, women are, not in the least, linguistically passive; code-switching is not the only device for self assertion and gaining power, and this can be attested in the respondents attitudes about the woman's tendency to challenge the popular vista about the fact that she is a passive receiver of the speech community norms. Obviously, what we can debrief from this preliminary examination is that women employ different linguistic strategies which are available to them for self expression and negotiation of power.

To sum up, it is expected to state that our dissertation is an endeavour to canvass how male/female problems of communicating with each other arise, leaving room for embarking upon the conversational styles performed by both women and men in their communities of practice. For this very reason, we have based our investigation on direct and indirect methods of collecting the data.

In an attempt to obtain reliable and valid data, we carried out oral recordings of the speech without the informants' prior knowledge. Apart from that, we opt for using the direct questionnaire to root out how conversational styles of both women and men are different and how these differences reroute the normal conversation to a sense of misunderstanding and miscommunication. One of the most potent purposes of this dissertation is to help you clarify the views and values pertaining to how women and men build their persona linguistically and how the disparity of their modes in negotiating gender and social identities plague their conversational interactions, most of the times.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that throughout this research work, we try to set apart a list of phonetic symbols to make it possible for readers of this work to become familiar with the various snatches of conversations from both Arab speakers and Berber ones.

I. Introduction:

Studies conducted in the field of gender and language gave rise to a number of causes which may open up room for interpretation and sometimes miscommunication between men and women. It is an insight worth attending to even now as conversations between the two sexes are often derailed by the lack of agreement on meaning. This misunderstanding comes as a result of the different cultures on which the two sexes base their language use. Besides, the cultural equation between femininity and powerlessness is at play -by some linguists- in the explanation of male/female miscommunication. We endeavour to shed light on the theoretical debates upon the explanation of the mismatch between the speaker's communicative intention and the hearer's understanding of it, principally between women and men in this work. Explanatory theories of cross-sex miscommunication are based on expositions of gender differences in language usage. By this token, the most influential theories have been the "deficit" theory and the "two culture" theory. We shall commence by highlighting them in more detail. Then, we reason more succinctly other explanations that direct a spotlight on social power and psychological differences.

I.2 Deficit Theory:

As its name implies, the deficit theory considers women's modes of speaking as an essentially "deficient" version of men's language (Sadiqi, 2003; 4). The essentialist view was the bedrock of this theory concerning the relationship between gender and language. Along this line of thought, a host of essentialist theories in language and gender studies have so far discerned gender as a possession of a set of behaviours which is imposed by the speech community upon women and men as adhering to two different categories. It must be noted that speech community, as defined by Bloomfield is "a group of people who interact by means of speech" (1933: 42) (Quoted in Abdelhay, 2008:24)

This concept was further elucidated in Gumperz (1968) as:

> *"In analyzing linguistic phenomena within a socially defined universe, however, the study is of language usage as it reflects more general behaviour norms. This universe is the speech community*" (Gumperz: 1968: 114)

In general terms, the speech community framework states for the assumption that a group of people, mainly women and men, are likely to be confined to certain ambits of their

speech community norms, and if one tries to transgress those limits, they would be, most of the time, judged as aberrant.

Abdelhay (2008) states that " *essentialism give legitimacy to both gender differences and gender dominance by virtue of biology, culture stereotypes or all together*" (p.21). According to the bifurcated essentialist view of gender and language, it is possible to state that gender can be seen from three main characteristics: innateness, strict binarism, and bipolarization. Gender was described as innate in the sense that biological endowments are innate; it is bipolar, mainly, because human beings belong to one of the two bipolar categories: male or female (Sadiqi, 2003)

In the same vein of thought, one of the most pervasive characteristics of the essentialist model is bipolarization. The categories "male" and "female" were tacitly assumed to be homogeneous, opposite, rigid, invariable and strict complementary distribution (ibid). To put it briefly, a human being is either fully male or fully female; nothing is welcomed in between.

Along the lines of the essentialist model, the deficit theory of language and gender portrays women as deficient and excluded. It argues that language ignores, deprecates women and defines them as inferior to men.

I.2.1 Lakoff's Model:

This American linguist subscribes to the deficit theory with her pioneering work "Language and Women's Place" (1973) and in (1975). As reported in the literature on gender and language studies, her book launched a new era in the area of research as having the prime importance of inspiring academic curiosity in the conundrum field of research.

Albeit women are supposed to be bilinguals in the sense that they know both men's and women's language (Lakoff, 1975) and oft-cited superior female's language abilities, female's language behaviours of handling communication are often evaluated as handicapped, maladaptive, and needing remediation (Henley and Kramarae, 1991). Lakoff was the first feminist linguist who delineated the features of women's use of language and conversational rules in terms of their lexical selections and the syntactic structure of their utterances (Behm, 2010). Accordingly, it is possible to aver that Lakoff's endeavour to lead a close scrutiny about women's modes of speaking is a robust genesis of the modern study of language and gender. Beyond this level, she went on to claim that the speech patterns attributed to women are weak, frivolous and hesitant in comparison with men's, through the elaboration of a

8

number of features that she believed were characteristics of " women's language". Lakoff (1975) tends to underpin reasons why, in her view, manifest women's language as less powerful and even deficient than men's language features.

I.2.1.1 Lakoff's Women's Speech Features (1973, 1975):

I.2.1.1.1 Heavy Use of Tag Questions:

Lakoff (1975) portrays women as having been taught to use language in ways that relegate them to a subservient status in society. According to her views, the use of tag questions such as: "isn't it?" "don't we? "is, in point of fact, considered as an insignia of women's trivialized and uncertain speech. By "tag question", we mean the restating-in form of a short question- the previous spoken utterance. It can signal politeness, emphasis or irony, and it may suggest confidence or lack of it. In this respect, Lakoff argues that "*Women's Language shows up* in *all levels of the grammar of English.*" (1975: 8). The use of "tag" questions are language strategies that combine an assertion with yes- or-no questions such as, "The movie does not start at seven-thirty, doesn't it?" (Hendricks, Oliver, 1999: 4). Such questions indicate that the speaker is sure enough about the answer to eschew asking for information, yet uncertain enough to require confirmation from the respondent. Along this line of thought, Lakoff implies that this move, though it symbolizes a reluctance to create a conflict within discourse, is also indicative of powerlessness.

In Chlef Spoken Arabic (CSA for short), the following snatch of conversation-from our corpus- are, nearly almost, used by both women and men:

(1) /ræhi ssxæna, məʃi?/ (It is hot, isn't it?)

(2) /sæɛti ʃæba, məʃi?/ (My watch is nice, isn't it)

It is worth noting that the tag question [məʃi] is used by Chelifian speakers of Arabic for all the sentences, regardless of the differences in verbs. That is to say, this Algerian Arabic tag questions parallel all the forms of tag questions in English (Don't you? Isn't it? Or haven't you?)

Concerning the community under scrutiny in this dissertation, the use of tag questions is not only ascribed to women; this linguistic tactic is adopted by both male and female speakers of Arabic in Chlef. This would not be surprising since Lakoff (1975) confines her examination solely to women of "Middle America", as she labelled them.

I.2.1.1.2 Question Intonation on Statements:

Lakoff (1973) maintains that women tend to end statements with the rising intonation which is a characteristic of questions rather than with a falling intonation which indicates assertion. By analogy to the effect of tag questions, the answer "Oh around six o'clock."-to the question "when will dinner be ready?"-, can be interpreted as a signal of hesitance and lack of confidence by diminishing the force of the statement.

There is no gainsay, there is a set of language properties which are peculiar to only men or women; each sex has to comply with the social norms imposed by their community. By "norm", is meant the standard of behaviours, which does not exceed certain ambits or limits, or does not deviate from an average of standards that are designated as normal. We do agree with Abdelhay (2008) that the robust pressure which is exerted on women can be very harmful since it relegates females to a lower position.

According to the normativeness of the speech community model, adjectives such as relentless, tough and aggressive must be male referential. Notwithstanding, women are obliged, in many times, to accentuate their positions of prominence like being a teacher, a headmaster, and a political leader. By this token, Abdelhay's (2008) work-that refreshingly accommodates plenty of interest for this research work- demonstrates that the presence of authority in females' voices does not necessarily reveal authority.

I.2.1.1.3 "Weak" Directives:

According to Lakoff, women tend to use requests rather than direct commands. Formality and the frequent use of polite forms by women can be well illustrated in framing directives "shut the door" on requests "would you mind shutting the door, please? " Requests, Lakoff argues, carry a more authoritative tone than directives which take the imperative form. It seems that one can readily re-interpret "weak" directives as "polite" directives which signify that those who use them are more attuned to the social and linguistic requirements of fellow conversationalists than those who adopt more direct directives. Whilst " *"weak" directives may indeed be indicative of uncertainty in some situations, they may indicate mere politeness in other settings and even hostility or distance in others"* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998: 251). By way of explanation, a speaker may abruptly commence by using ultra-polite language forms during a conversation with an intimate friend to exhibit anger.

I.2.2 Consequences and Implications of Female Deficit Theory:

As Henley & Kramarae (1991) say, theories of female deficit, along with those which are used as an explanation of cross-sex miscommunication, have probably had the most repercussion in our daily lives. Perhaps similarly, we can conspicuously discern in our community that one of the most primary consequences of female deficit theory is the expansion of male normativeness. By this we mean the view which interprets female/male differences as female deviance from what is normally called "the norm". From this vantage point, advocates of the deficit theory provide the explanation of the linguistic problems or barriers that tend to plague male/female communication. More importantly, the male normativeness is manifested in a number of ways. The pressure on women to use "men's" language may be considered, for instance, as most of the blatant consequences of the deficit theory since Lakoff (1975) argues that the language practices that ideally or appropriately pertain to women are a distinct language, vindicating this by women's notable use of uncertainty, weakness and excessive politeness in their language as it was revealed earlier. Along this line of thought, Lakoff takes for granted that women carry the tendency to use men's language, though she does not always call it, so:

> *"most women who get as far as college learn to switch from women's language to neutral…if a girl knows that a professor will be receptive to comments that sound scholarly, objective, unemotional, she will of course be tempted to use neutral language in class or in a conference."* (1975, pp6-7)

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the potent problem with communication between women and men was manifested as women's hesitancy in conveying their interests and wishes. For this reason, the ideal solution presented by many "experts" was (particularly in the U.S) assertiveness training, for the sake of helping women to change their behaviour by being more assertive (Henley & Kramarae, 1991).Put differently, the blame of unsuccessful communication lies, principally, in the fact that women experience trouble in making others understand them. Besides, there is an expectation that women should (re) interpret men's expressions. Lakoff (1975) postulates that females have to be bilingual, to speak both women's and men's languages. It seems imperative to note that Grosjean (1982) defines the term " bilingual" as the one who speaks more than one language regularly in everyday life. Lakoff does not give, however, any suggestion calling attention that boys or men have to be bilingual. Notwithstanding, she avers (1975, pp. 6-7) that boys learn women's language- in

their early years- as their first language, wherein they are supposed to stop learning it around the age of ten. Interestingly enough, the sum of taken-for-granted ideas and beliefs about women and men's linguistic behaviours can be considered as essential implications of the "deficit theory".

I.2.2.1 Stereotypes:

More importantly, the above explanation would be insufficient without revealing a cursory overview about the various stereotypes used in our community endorsing female deficit theory and even male dominance and social power which will be elucidated later as another pivotal interpretation of male/female miscommunication. We tend to mean by the term "stereotypes", the social fabric of society and the different social beliefs that exist in the minds of individuals, especially about men and women in this research work.

We think that the female deficit theory has an indelible mark on the stereotypes as socially shared conceptions of men and women, and how these cultural conceptions give birth to gender-related expectations and ideas which, in turn, press and even coerce people into gendered roles and norms because:

> *"gender stereotypes represent a form of cultural knowledge to which everyone has repeatedly been exposed, this should have been relatively easy. Even if you personally do not agree with a particular stereotype ... stereotypes tend to "stick" to your head."* (Rudman & Glick, 2008: 81)

Since we are dealing with the implications of the deficit theory, we are going to focus our attention, principally, on those which express dwell on the view that women are underprivileged and co-opted, and that men are the only ones that possess a *savoir-faire* and aplomb.

As a matter of fact, popular stereotypes usually picture women as trivial and deprived. They overtly see that men are more serious and possess higher value than women. A stereotype is used, as a term, by linguists to refer to the different beliefs about language, for example as Abdelhay (2008:46) states, the belief that women's gossip which has, for a long time, been a favourable burning issue for linguists and non-linguists.

Gender stereotypes are intimately related with and corroborate "*gender ideologies to which women should accommodate their behaviour. They function to sustain hegemonic male dominance and female subordination*" (ibid).

Moreover, Mill (2003) says that stereotypes may represent negative effects to both women and men, since they are comprised of notions which may totally differ from our own recognition and perception of ourselves. Femininity means, for the most part, being physically attractive, adore children, and care about them and home making. These features are, *de facto*, claimed to be prototypically allotted to women as a biological part of being female, whilst

"*one of the defining features of masculinity is seen to be aggression, which is often considered to a biological part of being male (caused by testosterone*[1]

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[1] A potent steroid hormone secreted mainly by the tests.

Moreover, gender stereotypes in Moroccan culture may be divided into two types: explicit and implicit. Explicit stereotypes bring emphasis to the ambivalent attitudes of society in general, and men in particular, towards women (ibid). Men manifest, for instance, positive attitudes towards mothers and "good" wives, but negative attitudes towards a "female leader" because the latter may jeopardize their *status-quo*. Explicit stereotypes underpin the intimate relationship between women and their homes and "fight", in Sadiqi's words (2003), any participation of women in the public sphere such as the street. Accordingly, this kind of stereotypes can be well-illustrated in the two popular sayings in Moroccan Arabic (3) [ʃawər lmra wala ddir 3la raɪha] (consult a woman but do not take her opinion into consideration) and (4) [lmra 3qalha sghir] (a woman's mind is small] (Sadiqi, 2003: 124).

By analogy to the Moroccan culture about gender stereotypes, Algerian Arabic has ample evidence of the negative attitudes towards women's verbal behaviour. By way of explanation, Abdelhay (2008) states that if we espy beyond being a human being of female sex, the word [mra] (a woman) connotes the physical and the mental weakness and immaturity, elucidating this by exhibiting the cultural equation of femininity and powerlessness via real-life examples such as (5) [mæddirʃ 3liha hadik ghir əmra] (don't take her into account, she is only a woman) which portray her as immature and deprived (p. 62). In support of this, we have widely heard expressions such as (6) [nta gæ3 mahbu:l dir 3la mra] (you are crazy to believe a woman). Like the above explanations revealed by Sadiqi (2003) and Abdelhay (2008), this example refers, for the most part, to the pettiness of the woman, and depicts her as immature and empty-headed. More importantly, the renowned Berber saying (7) [mahadrən jargazən, θilawin tsusumənt] (when men speak, women should quieten) makes us keenly aware of the conventional rule that calls for the necessity to respect men when they speak. We think that there is no big difference between this adage and the instruction taught to young children: (8) [lkbar ki jahadru, əsgha:r jəssuktu](when elders speak, young people must be silent); this, of course, does not entail that women parallel children, but it does denote women's modes of speaking as being bosh in comparison to men.

As for implicit stereotypes, they constitute the number of internalized attitudes and beliefs about gender as a social category, which are the result of the unconscious socialization and the cumulativeness of daily behaviour, at home, at school, at work, etc. That is to say, Moroccan women are implicitly assumed to be weak public leaders, poor interlocutors in religions matters and in serious matters, etc. (Sadiqi, 2003). Such implicit stereotypes

"*operate in a way which often escapes conscious control and end up by constituting some kind of symbolic law for the member of the community*" (ibid:124). Compared to explicit stereotypes, implicit ones are particularly rigid and pernicious.

It is worth paying careful attention to the following adage which is conspicuously a social illustration of the general belief about men's sway; as if females deprive their existence from males (9) [ḍal rædʒəl wala ḍal haɪt̪] (Man's shadow is better than wall's shadow).

This sequence is widely known to denote the exigency of men in the social life of women. In Algeria, it seems that a great number of people widely believe that it must be better for a woman to bear and endure her husband even if he is bestial and brutal. She has not the right to complain or return back to her family home after she got married; she has just to succumb to her ruthless and hard-hearted husband. They bear the idea that a divorced woman would be underprivileged and lacking the rights and advantages of the members of society.

Masculinity is often described in terms of battle and warfare" (Mills, 2003: 188)

It is worth noting that throughout this chapter, we will attempt to provide a synoptic overview of the most renowned theories which, for the most part, constitute the bedrock of early gender studies, and offer, at the same time, some explanation of cross-sex miscommunication. For this reason, we think that the exposition of the different social stereotypes concerning women and men's verbal behaviours, and how these stereotypes are imported to language is worth mentioning.

Interestingly, it would be relevant to state that our intention through the above explanation is not to sketch the man as savage or brutish, but we think that it might be the best illustration to elucidate the hidden connotation of the previous saying and popular stereotypes. In short, our immediate concern through the foregoing survey is to flash the various sayings people usually use to convey the genetic consensus upon to women's subordination and domination by men.

Albeit the cultural progress and the proliferation of civilization in our society, the latter is mainly saturated with a variety of stereotypes that picture the system of the human organisation generating distinctive cultural patterns and institutions interlinked by social relationships.

On the whole, people's impressions are not necessarily correct; yet we are, in some ways, inclined to discern to what extent the persuasive negative stereotypes influence our interpretation of male/female linguistic practices and their failure of communication most of the time.

One eminent spotlight, in the sphere of sociolinguistics, lies mainly in dissecting how popular and cultural stereotypes, about women and men, reflect their linguistic behaviour. It would not be surprising to state that most of the male respondents-we asked to disentangle the maze of male/female miscommunication, declared that the woman plays a potent role in exacerbating the barriers of communication and arousing the impetus to misunderstanding. We cannot deny that this group of respondents bears in mind negative stereotypes which create, in turn, prejudice and draw a powerful and lasting male-biased group mentality

I.2.2.2 Androcentricity:

As the essentialist model strives to state, a wide range of stereotypes are blatantly androcentric. By androcentric, is meant the notion that man is the foremost part which dominates and exhibits sovereignty upon women. This concept is attested by the fact that a host of gender stereotypes portray the female sex in a negative manner. Males are, in general, the core power from which females derive their stamina to carry on their lives, as is defined in (Sadiqi, 2003).
Dealey and Ward (2009:127)

> *"Andocentric is the view that male sex is primary and the female secondary in the organic scheme, that all things center, as it were, about necessary in carrying out the scheme, is only the means of continuing the life of the globe, but is otherwise and important accessory and incidental factor in"*

We have tremendously revealed the two term "sex" and "gender" throughout the preceding pages, yet without providing a clear-cut definition of the two concepts till now. Above all, the simplest explanation of gender is

> *"a social instruction organized around biological sex. Individuals are born male or female, but they acquire over time a gender identity that is what it means to be male or female"* (Gregson, 1997) (Quoted in Buckingham, 2000:53).

From this vantage point, we should note that by sex, is meant to be the biological traits of the human being, whether male or female. It has to do with anatomy[2] and physiology. Meanwhile, "Gender" as a term differs from "sex" in being about the socially and psychologically expected characteristics rather than the biological organs provided by nature. Assuming for the moment, that we are in front of a biological make up that is either male or female; we should normally recognize them from their physiological and anatomical cues. It would be easier to identify the female from her pregnancy, for instance and the male from his moustache or beard (see Montgomery, 2008: 174). If we are, however, to identify their social roles and behaviours performed in their daily interactions, we must spring gender differences into considerations.

I.2.3 Evaluation of the Deficit theory

The requirement of bilingualism, for girls and women, as rendered earlier, would be more invidious that it might at first appear. Over all, many linguists define bilingualism as "the use by an individual, a group or nation of two or more languages in all uses to which [they] put either" (Bouamrane, 1986: 15). It is not an intricate task to find definitions of language. To put it simply, language means a system for the expression of thoughts, feelings, etc., by the use of spoken sounds or conventional symbols (Aitchison, 2003: 23).

Having taken the above definitions into consideration, we can recognize that the deficit theory and those advocates, who sharpen the linguistic differences between the two sexes,

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[2] The science concerned with the physical structure of animals and the human body.

tend to exaggerate gender variation. We think that the term "bilingualism" was too strong as a solution for filling the gaps of the different styles of women and men. In tune with theories that claim language differences as embedded in cross-Sex communication, we can point out that the differences between the speaking styles of both males and females may be two distinct registers of the same language, but not different languages. Register can be defined either narrowly or broadly. The narrow definition sees register as "*an occupational variety of language*" (Stockwell, 2002: 6). So, for example, teachers, mechanics or sociolinguists tend to have modes of speaking which involve specific word choices and grammatical constructions. As for the wider definition, register is considered as a sort of social genre of linguistic usage, which varies according to the formality of the occasion and the medium used (ibid: 7). Some linguists those who had affinity with the deficit model (Jesperson, 1922; Lakoff, 1975), claims that women are reluctant to adopt obscenity and insulting in their speech, in general, and in their special female register, in particular. Unfortunately, things seem to have tremendously changed a lot since then.

Of course, not all of the society, but except a particular segment of the community of female speakers are not likely to demur severing and coarse expressions. It would be a common fallacy to blindly believe that women are "more conservative than men" as a great number of early gender studies postulate. Generally speaking, the onus to grapple with these issues rests entirely in analyzing the current linguistic practices -in the subsequent chapter-, performed by women and men as two separate groups, if this is true nowadays, of course.

I.3.The Difference Theory:

As it was thoroughly exposed, Lakoff (1973-1975) argues that woman's language is inferior and uncertain to man's language. Men adopt a language style that implies powerfulness, since it portrays certainty and sway. Lakoff's claims were based on her proper intuition rather than an empirical data collection (Wilson, 2001:66). Notwithstanding, her work grabbed much attention and stimulated considerable interest. Many studies were, therefore, conducted to find systematic evidence for her claims.

Despite the lack of empirical evidence, the accepted conclusions in Lakoff (1975) led to an emphasis on training women to remediate these suggested negative styles. It must be noted that 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)[3]

That is, the goal of this assertiveness training is to boost women to stop using inferior "women's language" and start to use the superior " men's language"   as an alternative mode of speaking.

The retort of this assertiveness movement was that it took into consideration solely one side of the problem. In a nutshell, if women require assertiveness training to counter socialized passivity, men may need to counter socialized insensitivity and passivity (Wilson, 2001).

I.3.1 Maltz and Borker's Cultural Approach:

As we have just stated, the assertiveness model pictures men's communication styles as having no blemish by putting the burden squarely on women to improve and reframe their language behaviours that were seen to be inadequate. This model ignores the possibility that the linguistic remediation may be requisite for both sexes. However, the acknowledgment of this one-sided approach (Wilson, 2007) led to the proliferation of what is labeled the "two-culture" approach by Maltz and Borker (1982), which postulated that men and women may face communication problems because they come from very distinct cultural backgrounds. Bay way of explanation, Talbot (2010) discerns that children, very often, they are growing up; spend their time playing in single-sex- groups.

> "*Boys and girls group seem to be rather different, so that children grow up, of an extent, in gender specific cultures; they learn about such things as how to interact in friendly way from their peers rather than from adults. Consequently, learning cross-sex talk can be a big problem in childhood"* (Talbot, 2010:80).

This line of thought has been explored by various American linguists. The first to do so were Maltz and Borker (1982). Their attempt was to scrutinize the different roles of male and female speakers in informal cross-sex conversation in American English and to dig out the main reasons behind male/female miscommunication. Overall, their major argument was that the general approach recently developed for the examination of difficulties in cross ethnic communication could be applied to cross-sex communication as well. They highlight their

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[3] Quoted in Abdelhay (2008: 88).

preference to ponder the difficulties in both cross-sex communication as two, mainly, related examples of the same "larger phenomenon": Cultural difference and miscommunication (Malts and Broker, 1982:162). This is not surprising since their influential (1982) paper "A cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication" was largely influenced by the sociolinguistic work of Gumperz (1982) about difficulties in cross-ethnic communication.

Maltz and Broker's work was one of the first papers on sex-related differences and similarities to tackle systems of talk rather than looking solely for collection of variables. (Henley & Kramarae, 2001). Before knocking the door of adult communication, they argue that boys and girls learn to do different things during play. Girls learn to create and sustain relationships with others on an equal basis, for the sake of avoiding the criticism which may be directed to them by others, and to show sensitivity with their playmates.

On the other side, boys engaging in play learn to be dominant with much assertiveness of themselves. Study after study, Maltz & Borker (1982) assert, provided several striking differences in male and female contributions to cross-sex conversation. They claim that girls and boys grow up in different sociolinguistic cultures, and that the rules they are expected to use are linguistic tools to cater to the communicative goals which are very different in these cultures.

I.3.1.1 Minimal Responses:

One of the most significant conversational rules that lead to misinterpretation is the different use of minimal responses. (A minimal response is something like "Uh-"or"mm-hmm", accompanied with response to another's talk.). Women tend use minimal responses to indicate consensus with what is being said (Maltz & Borker, 1982). That picture might be, then, conspicuous that minimal responses are sometimes a real impetus for misunderstanding and verbal harassment. Most of the time, a man receiving minimal responses, is likely to think that the woman agrees with him whilst she may merely be indicating that she is listening and encouraging him to continue.

A lack of minimal responses by man could be, however, irritably interpreted by woman as an averred signal that he is not listening. Unsurprisingly, the overwhelming majority of women-at least in our community- exhibit such accuse to their husbands of being apathetic and showing little or no feelings of affection, just because a great number of men

bear the mentality that good listening does not necessarily require the use of nods and minimal responses to underpin the speaker's news and chunks of information.

I.3.1.2 The Meaning of Questions;

The meaning of questions plays a important role, either in supporting or disrupting the conversations. Whereas women use questions for conversational maintenance and showing solidarity, men tend to use them as requests for information. Consequently, women display a greater tendency to ask questions. Fishman (1978:400) comments that "*at times I felt that all women did ask questions*" and Hirschman (1973:10) points out that" *several of female-male conversations fell into question-answer patterns with the females asking the males questions*" Quoted in Maltz and Borker (1982:162).

I.3.1.3 The Linking of One's Utterance to the Previous Utterance:

The linking of one utterance to the previous one is explicitly adopted by women, but for men no such rule seems to be suitable, or they even explicitly ignore it. In this respect, women show a tendency to make utterances that require or encourage responses from their fellow speakers and are, thus, in Fishman's (1978) words, "*more actively engaged in insuring integration than men*".

I.3.1.4 Topic Flow and Shift:

More interestingly, women show affinity with an inchmeal progression and expansion of topics they are talking about. In women's conversations topic shifts are gradual. They are usually irritant by the men's tendency to make an abrupt topic shift. (10) [æna nahdar hæk w huwa jgul hæk] (I say this and he says that), is an expression widely used-in our community-by women manifesting reluctance to the brusque and unexpected topic shifts of their husbands. Unsurprisingly, a good number of men are annoyed as a result of the long conversations their wives engage in with other women at the door. Yet, men ignore that it is not easy for women to shift from one topic to another; and they, most of the time, strive to painstakingly close their previous conversation before switching to the farewell, which is another tiresome topic men are compelled to listen to. As expected, most of men's impressions whose we intended to record corroborated this view, indeed.

I.3.1.5 Problem Sharing and Advice Giving:

It is believed that women show the tendency to discuss and share their problems to reassure one another and listen mutually. Men, however, interpret the introduction of a problem as a request for providing a solution, and they seem to act as experts and yield advice rather than showing the sympathy or, in other words, the kind of sympathy women wish. It is worth paying careful attention to the following, *de facto,* reality rendered by an American husband "*sometimes, I will start showing real concern and trying to find a solution to her problem, and she will just stop and say, oh, I'm just bitching*" (Young, 1999: 156). In this respect, women are more likely to respond to ritual complaining with a plain and sympathetic response such as " I know what you mean" or " I often feel the same way".

I.3.2 Tannen's Difference Model:

Differences of language usually spread -head the explanation of gender enquiry, whether there is adherence to the voices that deprecate women and picture them as secondary to men, or not.

Tannen (1990) explains gender difference-which may cause the communicative breakdown by calling attention to the significant role the process of socialization plays from the very early years of childhood. We can elucidate this by quoting Tannen (1990)

> *"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).

In support of this, Tannen (1990) endorses the idea that women and men do belong to two different subcultures. When members of different cultures engage in communication, they attempt to maintain and show their own assumptions and rules of conversations to understand the interaction.

As Tannen (1990) states, boys are instructed to cooperate with teammates for the sake of winning, whilst girls learn to cooperate with friends in order to build and maintain relationships. A host of other differences are actively cultivated and learned in Childhood, as well. As a result, the different standards and rules which are shown variably by women and men might be quite confusing. The linguistic modes of conveying information may, therefore, exacerbate female and male miscommunication.

Therefore, to be accepted as a female, the latter requires to speak sleekly and decently, to show reluctance to blaspheme or uttering profanities, to walk smoothly and gesticulate in a gentle and polite way. In a word, a female has to comply with the norms she learnt as she was reared, and those norms are, for the most part, the bedrock of adulthood differential communicative styles of speaking.

Transmission of the norms is held among the family and the peer groups. Speaking about the family, the primary social group consisting of parents and their offspring, we can notice that children (girls and boys) acquire from their early childhood how to interact socially. Most of the time, the parents reveal attempt to teach their children what is socially acceptable from what is unacceptable. For a start, they must probably be in a state of readiness for learning the norms and social ambits that should not be transgressed, just aiming at a strict respect of the two different cultures girls and boys should belong to. Lest future social deviation, parents try to transmit the norms to their children and offer them different instructions divulging them what is inimical to his masculinity or to her femininity. In an endeavour to initiate a spot-on process of socialization, parents constantly order their female infant with instructions such as "Don't be tough" "speak politely" "don't speak harshly". Girls are, in many times, prevented from uttering words or expressions which are conventionally agreed as male speech properties in Chlef Spoken Arabic. Females are not allowed to articulate the word [li:k] (look), which is ascribed only to males. From an early age, girls are instructed not to imitate male properties as harshness and toughness, but rather to behave in a courteous manner. Similarly, expression such as "don't cry" is often directed to a boy since a man is not supposed to cry or even to convey his innermost emotions and feelings. In addition to that, the peer group plays a key role as an important medium for the transmission of social norms and the child often feels the necessity to adjust his peers. Whereas boys, for instance, speak more about cars, violence and sports, girls communicate about fashion, cosmetics and colors.

Yesteryear (2010), albeit the grabbing and exciting attention directed to football by all segments of the Algerian society-because of the qualification to participate to the World Cup, we have noticed a considerable difference between boys' and girls' interests. Whereas the latter are more intrigued with the players' physical infrastructure and manners of running; the former are more interested in the players' sporting performance. They show special awareness of the players' fouls commitment and wasting goals.

Not to violate the moral code of society, children are grown up with special teaching of what to be in the future. Through the family's instructions, parents stipulate a set of ambits not to be transgressed by children as to painstakingly perform their future social roles. On the whole, according to the essentialist view, subversions of the norms is itself a deviance usually met with rejection and severe sanction. From this vantage point, we may think that women and men are taught from an early age how to interact differently. They should, fundamentally, learn how to understand the other with his/her proper culture and social norms, just for the sake of avoiding bitter miscommunication between them.

On the whole, the "Two cultures" theory resides in the notion that men and women belong to two different cultures as if they are coming from two different worlds (Tannen, 1990). But how do those early socialization processes tell boys and girls about the secret of being men or women?

Plethoric attention has been directed towards the nature of the traditional female sex role, but little has been written about what men are supposed to be and do. (Young, 1999). Perhaps this is because scientists and researchers are ardent to dissect things that are seen as cumbersome. The traditional male sex role was enormously ignored by researchers because it was not seen as problematic. In the same vein, David & Brannon's (1976) canvass the major dimensions of this role. The male sex role is characterized, according to these authors, by four major themes, viz. "No Sissy stuff", "The Big wheel, "The Sturdy Oak" and Give "Em hell" are learned by boys and are reinforced throughout the different stages of life.

For a start, what does the theme "No Sissy Stuff" mean? This role taboos effeminate, weak or cowardly traits for a boy or a man. It stresses, in particular, that they must refrain from expressing strong and warm feelings in anyway, especially via crying.

By analogy to many other cultures, our culture corroborates the necessity to teach boys at an early age-to be reluctant to cry. "Don't cry like girls" is a pervasive expression sent by a host of parents to their sons. To put it briefly, boys are taught to eschew the tendency to shed tears, alleging this as being peculiar to women, whilst crying is seen as unexpected and inadmissible by a man. This popular and cultural stance might be crystallized by the Algerian Arabic expression (11) /jəbki kima lmra/ (He cries like a women), with a special scorn.

"The big wheel" of male sex role requires that the man should endeavour and strive to be respected and well-thought- of for successful achievement. Moreover, the "Sturdy Oak"

theme demands that a man should be intrepid and seeks risky-undertaking adventures even accepting violence if necessary.

Finally, the "Give 'Em hell!" theme requires being bold in taking risks and being aggressive. It reads that they should occasionally become a hostile bulwark. In one word, this theme states that calling a man "aggressive" is usually revered as a compliment.

I.3.2.1 Consequences and Implications of the Difference Theory:

In earlier studies of language and gender, the problem with women's language expressed dwell in the fact that women's modes of speaking are uncertain and derogative. The dawn of early gender and language perceptions anchored on the claim that women language is entwined in non-assertiveness. But, more recently the basic problem has been labeled "miscommunication" (Henley & Kramarae, 1991: 41). The generic solution aired to the public by a great number of professional researchers is to help everyone recognize that women and men belong to two different cultures and share different needs and experiences, and this may, in sober fact, lead to different ways of interpreting and understanding one another. Bouchez (1987:4) collates and summarizes the evidence from academic and popular media for "these different worlds". She states that women and men have often "*enormously different interpretations of some of the key emotional words*", that adults in the same culture often manifest "*very different and often conflicting languages*", and some of the latest psychological research reads that "the misguided signals" between the two sexes

> "*may in fact be the underlying problem in such serious contemporary issues as sexual harassment, some forms of job discrimination, and may also have an effect on the rising statistics of divorce –and so called 'date-rape*" (Quoted in Henley & Kramarae, 1991: 41).

I.3.3.2 Evaluation of the Two Cultures Theory

It would be worth mentioning to state that we have rendered the "two cultures" theory in such detail because it seems that it is both a salient and seductive explanation for the breakdown of the communication held between women and men. It probably offers quite a bustling concourse of voices and perspectives about women's and men's different modes speaking focusing, for the most part, on the chasm of the two cultural and social backgrounds men and women have from their early years of life.

Henley and Kramarae (1991) state that previous scholars, those who revealed their dissatisfaction with this theory, have provided, however, brief criticism (Coates, 1986, p.154; De Francisco, 1989; Graddol and Swann, 1989; Thorne, 1986; Treichler and Kramarae, 1983; Whalen and Whalen, 1986).

At first, Henley and Kramarae see some truth in the claim of cultural difference. Conspicuously, there are differences in communication styles performed by women and men, which surely sharpen the misinterpretations of the speakers' communicative intention, and all these are implicated in misunderstanding. As Henley and Kramarae (1991) have been among those indexing these differences, they claim that they could be among the last to deny them as their potential effect. They pinpoint, further, that cultural difference alone cannot provide an adequate explanation of the full pattern of language differences and miscommunication; and they put forward that "*in fact such an explanation badly misrepresents these phenomena*". In support of this, they beckon that female-male differences, that Maltz and Borker cite, innocently promote miscommunication, and argue that those proposed differences may be reframed drawing on another line of exploration when the context of cultural dominance as well as that of cultural difference is taken into account (Henley & Kramarae, 1991: 43).

I.4. Social Power:

Commenting on the renowned work in Tannen (1986 & 1990), for instance, Cameron avows that misunderstanding arises, not because of linguistic gender differences, but because of variations in power. When the man says to his wife "Is there any Ketchup? The message is virtually "Bring it to me". If the daughter, however, asks the same question, it is much more likely that the mother will respond by merely informing her that it is in the cupboard. (Edwards, 2009: 139). I personally go, immediately, to the kitchen in order to bring coffee to my father after receiving his request via the implicit question "Is there any coffee?"

Great social power gives men:

"*the right to pay less attention to or discount, women's protests, the right to be less   adept at interpreting their communications that women are of men's, the right to believe women are inscrutable*" (Henley & Kramarae, 1991 : 42).

Besides, greater social power provides men with the capacity to turn definitions of the situation into physical violence (ibid). So, if the trouble really evolved from cultural difference solely, would we have such scenarios?

By way of explanation, Mackinnon (1987) points out that:

"*Men's understanding is part of the legal definition of rape. A man must both understand a woman doesn't want intercourse and force her to engage in it anyway, to be conficted of rape*" (Quoted in Henley & Kramarae, 1991: 42)

But is rape in such a circumstance actually a matter only of "missed" communication. No, power, in reality, "*tracks its dirty feet across this stage*" (Henley & Kramarae, 1991: 42).

In purely cultural difference, the outcome might be wrangling arguments in which either part's definition would be prevalent and the "loosing" party would go home morose; or

"*the couple might have sullen evenings of unexpressed expectations and disappointments, or when a man's definition of the situation won out, the woman would only be forced to agree that her interpretation of their interaction was wrong -but she would not be raped as a consequence*" (Henley & Kramarae, 1991: 42).

Calling attention to the flaws of Maltz and Borker's (1982) cultural explanation, Henley & Kramarae (1991) avow that they drastically ignored the political use of minimal responses. Zimmerman and West (1975) reckon that men use delayed minimal responses (leaving a silence before giving a minimal response) with women more than vice versa. Similarly, Fishman (1983:95) reports that "*Male usages of the minimal response displayed lack of interest*".

Such a linguistic strategy discourages interaction and extinguishes a speaker's conversation, which leads; therefore, to the failure of the topics initiated by women. This innocent cultural difference has, then, the effect of endorsing male dominance in conversation.

Additionally, male's interpretation of questions as request for information rather than as conversational invitation and maintenance devices may, *in lieu of*, be heard as taking to themselves the voice of sway (Henley & Kramarae; 1991).

Men deliberate use of "aggressiveness" against an interlocutor in organizing the conversational flow may be interpreted as a prerogative of power as well (Maltz & Borker, 1982). As for the term "aggressiveness", we think that it is too strong. To put it mildly, it seems that the word "arrogance" might be more reasonable to be used concerning language usage. In loci of inequality, the one of lesser power brave not exhibit aggressiveness to the other, specifically unilaterally. Moreover, men tend to ignore and transgress basic conversational rules by their tendency to male abrupt and brusque topic shift. Likewise, this may be seen as a privilege of power, the power to define and restrain a situation.

In the same vein of thought, men's tendency to tackle the mention of a problem as an opportunity to act as experts and provide a gamut of advice rather than showing sympathy-especially with women-or narrating their own problems and innermost emotions is, again a prerogative of power. As mentioned earlier, it has been claimed that women tend to frequently interject questions as a way of showing interest. In most cases, it is nevertheless interpreted by men as indications of ignorance rather than signs of interest. Asking questions and the tendency to interject supporting utterances are used mainly to indicate interest, albeit they are sometimes seen as interruptions to the speaker. Many studies of interruption reveal that women and men interrupt in different ways. It has been found that interruptions are more common in all-male conversations than in female conversations (Young, 1999).

From a plurality of sight lines, Bohn and Stutman (1983) found that men were also more likely to interrupt each other than women are. Men not only interrupt but are also vulnerable to other men's interruptions. The conversational rule among men reads "*I will interrupt you when I want because I know that you will do the same*". The rule among women, on the other side, seems to be "*I won't interrupt you, so please don't interrupt me*". (Young, 1999:158). Obviously, these rules conflict and crash when women and men talk with one another.

More importantly, there are two social power-based explanations that have been pointed for differences in women's and men's speech in cross-sex conversation as Henley & Kramarae (1991: 45) put it:

Social power (a): this explanation reads that men's conversational dominance is analogous to their social/political dominance; men use their power as a vehicle to underpin the effectiveness of their speech. Maltz and Borker (1982) state that men enjoy power in society and also in conversation.

Maltz and Borker (1982) quoting Fishman (1978) say that norms of appropriate behaviour for women and men are to offer power and interactional control to men while keeping it from women (Maltz and Borker, 1982: 164).

So far, we have not tried to define the term "power". Let us say that the concept of power refers to *"a whole series of particular mechanisms, definable and defined, that seem capable of inducing behaviours or discourses"* (Jager and Maier, 2009: 35).

It must be noted that according to the theory of social power, women are unsuited to wield power over men. To be socially acceptable as women, women cannot, in the words of Maltz and Borker, "*exert control and must actually support men in their control*" (1982: 164).

Social power (b): According to this explanation, gender inequality enters the conversational flow through the mechanism of gender role training, which serves to obscure the issue of power. When men display power, they are not necessarily flouting power in a conscious manner, but merely "*reaping the rewards given them by the social system*" (ibid).

This may be interpreted in the light of the idea that the use of power by men is an unconscious echo of gender role prescriptions and expectations.

I.4.1 Evaluation of Social Power Theories:

Henley and Kramarae (1991) tremendously endorse the explanation of social power as crucial to the understanding of female/male communication and the problems that may plague the needs of successful communication. Unlike Maltz and Borker's claim "*It is the examination of dominance that tells why certain and not others are used by the different genders*". (Henley and Kramarae, 1991: 45).

The foregoing evaluation of the two cultures theory as reported by Henley and Kramarae (1991) explores the advantages of social power analysis in more details.

Despite their affinity with the contribution of social power in unearthing some hidden reasons behind cross-sex communication, they state that "*social power does not in itself tell the full story*" (Henley and Kramarae, 1991: 46). The social power theory ignores psychological differences and intercultural misunderstanding which arise from differential social power and the different processes of socialization. A theory that welds these different

sources of gender differential styles seems to offer thorough and exhaustive explanation of cross-gender miscommunication.

I.5 Psychological Difference:

One psychological explanation, that Lakoff (1975), also reviewed in Maltz and Borker (1982), states that the socialization process through which girls learn to speak and act like "ladies" and behave in a punctilious manner, makes women as *"unassertive and insecure as they have been made to sound"* (Maltz & Borker, 1982:164).

The impossible burden of *"trying to do both women and adults, which Lakoff sees as culturally incompatible, saps women of confidence and strength"* (Maltz & Borker, 1982:164). As a result, their linguistic behaviour becomes designed not just to meet gender roles expectations, but because it fits with the actual personalities they evolve as a consequence of sex- role requirement.

Importantly, males and females have different chemical and hormonal balances which lead them to think and behave differently (Munroe, 2005: 84). By this token, it has been demonstrated that the brains of women and men are, for the most part, similar. However, it would be possible to expose, in some way that they are different in the overall size (Hines, 2005). The human brain is *"roughly organized like a peach, in that there is a large outer layer (the cerebrum) surrounding and inner kernel (the brain stem) which keeps people alive"* (Aitchison, 2003:144).

It has been claimed, therefore, that the brains of men are larger and heavier than those of women, as it is claimed by Janowsky (1989):

> *"In fact, women's brains are somewhat smaller than men's brains; male brains at birth are approximately 12 y heavier and 2 y larger in circumference than female brains".* (Quoted in Halper, 2000: 195).

In the same vein, the psychological theory which is put forward by the French Structuralist/feminist psychoanalysts Irigary (1980) and Cixous (1976), who direct a spotlight on the necessity to consider language as a medium that places humans in culture. These theorists argue and stress the significance of women's different biology and distinctive sexual differences that create a distinct unconscious from that of men (Henley and Kramarae, 1991: 64).

Munroe (2005:84) claims that man is a logical thinker and the woman is an emotional feeler. He, further, states that for a woman, spoken language is an expression of what she feels. For a man, spoken language is an expression of what he thinks (2005:75). That is to say, the woman reveals what is on her heart while the man reveals what is on his mind.

Munroe (2005:86) narrates the story of the couple (John and Sarah). John has promised to pick up Sarah at 5:00, just right after work. John is running late and finds Sarah being sulky. When John finally pulls up at 6:00, he apologizes first: *"Hi. I'm sorry I'm late"* giving her a sheepish grin. He's telling Sarah what he is thinking. After several more minutes of her silence, john says *"why don't we go out for dinner?" "No, I don't want to go"*, she answers.

Munroe (2005) settles on the idea that when a woman speaks, albeit she may be conveying what she feels, a man will typically hear it as information. It's easy, therefore, to observe how much the situation may be confusing. When John offers to take her out for dinner, he thinks that she is conveying a piece of information, and he thinks at the same time that he was late, he apologized, end of the story.

From a psychological standpoint, men are logical thinkers and women are emotional feelers. Whilst John is thinking that his wife gives him a chunk of information which states that she simply doesn't want to go out, he ignores that the problem is that Sarah is saying what she is feeling, not what she is thinking. Sarah is thinking, *"I am so mad at you. You keep me waiting for an hour and now you have the nerve to suggest we go to dinner as though nothing happened? Not so fast, mister? "*(Munroe, 2005:37).

I.5.1 Evaluation of Psychological Difference Theories:

The psychological effects of socialization, subordination and societal constraints *"should not be ignored in any examination of sex differences in communication and cross-sex miscommunication".* (Henley and Kramarae, 1991:46). Psychological difference cannot be ignored and men can tackle the same data and get up be poles apart in how they interpret that data. If the French theorists -Irigary (1980) and Cixous (1976) - proposals are valid, women and men create and display different psyches altogether. However, as with the foregoing explanations, a theory based only on psychological difference is restricted; communicative interaction does not come about within a single psyche, but rather between individuals with different psyches in social contexts (ibid: 47).

In an attempt to reach an accurate examination, an essential task for communication researchers and theorists, should be the delineation of the interaction of the psychological and the societal aspects.

I.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to provide a brief symposium of the most renowned theories as seductive explanations proposed to disentangle the maze of male/female communication breakdown. We have, principally, focused on the three eminent theories that opened the doors for early gender studies: the Deficit Theory; the Difference Model and the Social Power theory. Advocates of the deficit theory such as Lakoff (1973, 1975; Spender, 1980) point out that women are defined to be secondary to men, and that their language is, most of the time, frivolous and not certain. Followers of this view derogate the linguistic behaviours of women.

The deficit theory reads that the linguistic styles performed by women convey weakness, uncertainly and unimportance. Lakoff (1975) stresses, accordingly that women's language is inferior to the "neutral" language of men. By this token, male/female miscommunication has been interpreted as women's deviation from "the norms" or the normativeness of men's language. The general problem with communication, in tune with this theory, was presented as woman's triviality and hesitancy in expressing herself and in engaging in conversational interactions. In addition to that, the "Difference Model" interpretation avers that the difficulties men and women usually encounter in the ebb and flow of conversational interactions have its roots in the dawn of the socialization process that children experience differently according to their sex. Thanks to the distinct lessons and instructions directed to boys and girls, some cross-sex communications fall prey to misinterpretation and misunderstanding. Other researchers in this arena went on to claim that the difference between men's and women's speech styles is intimately related to social power. By way of explanation, men's conversation power parallels their social/political dominance.

This theory stipulates that man usually uses language to display the power afforded to him by society. According to this explanation, gender inequality puts its feet on the flow of the conversation via drawing gender role traces.

Above all, it is worth reminding that these three theories of gender and language that can be counted as interesting interpretation of the problems of cross-sex communication are based on the essentialist model. Essentialism is, as revealed throughout this chapter, the view that sees gender as a possession of a set of behaviours upon the linguistic modes that should

be performed by women and men. That is, the basic premise of this model is that successful communication cannot be reached if one of the two sexes violates the moral code of society. The theories proposed in this chapter adhere to the binary opposition of gender and language, and they tackle the area of cross-sex miscommunication drawing on this view. The following chapter will examine the communicative styles performed by women and men in their communities of practice. To put briefly, we shall attempt to immerse our efforts to deal with how male/female gender identities are constructed through the dynamic linguistic differences they display, not the static code that should not be transgressed. In an endeavour to reach research evidence, we are going to try to explain why our choice falls on the community of practice perspective.

II. Introduction:

As we have stated in the foregoing chapter, the dawn of the sociolinguistic scrutiny in the arena of language and gender resides, fundamentally, in the essentialism ideology. This was fuelled by the recognition that men and women construct gendered identities differently through distinct conversational styles. That is to say, researchers who took the onus to figure out the differences between women and men's modes of speaking-drawing on this perspective- have interpreted gender differences as a binary opposition. Essentialists aver that the gender identity that has already been designated by the speech community should not be altered by either sex. There must be some linguistic features that are ascribed only to one sex. Overall, the speech community would not accept any linguistic behaviour out of the norms and the folk expectations. Hot criticism has been, therefore, directed to this perspective which maintained that gender language is entwined in male dominance and female subordination. In this chapter, we shall attempt to study the different linguistic styles performed by women and men to construct their gendered identities in their communities of practice, not as social orders from the community but as social practices based on particular choices depending on their communities of practice. Let us say that this part of our research work will be devoted to a comparison between the interpretation of male /female modes of speaking from the speech community and the community of practice perspective. This would not be worth mentioning without referring to the reasons behind our selection of this model to tackle the linguistic differences in our community.

II.2 Critics of Essentialism:

The last three decades have provided a bustling concourse of voices and perspectives striving to offer a thorough explanation of the distinct linguistic practices between women and men. The most salient studies of that period of investigation highlight the differences perceived in the speech of women and men, for the most part, in the spheres of linguistic politeness, women hesitance versus men directness, the picture of women as "chatterboxes" versus the delineation of men as robust "silent creatures"and of course all those linguistic aspects which portray women as linguistically deficient and men as more efficient. (Abdelhay, 2008: 85). This view preserves the idea that yields legitimacy to male dominance and female subordination. Following the essentialist character of the speech community, one may easily acknowledge that the speech community is split into fixed binary oppositions, viz.

Groups of social actors which are blatantly underprivileged or deprived and the other group would be, of course, the potent and powerful one.

Despite of the miscellaneous utterances and linguistics styles that can be performed by women and men, alignment towards the essentialist perspectives would shrink the multiple and fluid gendered identities that display masculinity or femininity. Above all, thinking about gender identity; it is far more than a simple female or male. Gender identity casts "*a net far wider than the biological features, including activities and interests, personal and social attributes, social relationship, communication styles, and values*" (Deaux, 2001: 1065).

In this respect, a girl's gender identity might embrace playing with dolls, being encouraged to adore children and take care of them, and looking pretty; a boy's gender identity might encompass special accentuation on self-reliance, reluctance to cry, and emphasize displaying autonomous and strength, particularly in competitive realms. It would be, then, possible to state that one of the most eminent problems with the speech community model is the reduction of gender identity to a position in the social structure. (Weatherall, 2002: 134). So, being a "women" or being "a man" is treated as a social address. A great number of gender researchers have been striving to explore the research avenue of how women and men come to construct their gendered identities.

Their keen of interest has also touched the flaws of the speech community model in providing a spot-on explanation of how speakers use language to shape masculinities and femininities to construct what has been called "gendered identities". Hymes (1972: 273) sent a bitter retort to those linguists as adopting a "Garden of Eden" view of language which serves to present an ideal speaker-a passive and unmotivated cognitive mechanism, not a person in the large social world.

There is no gain say, the concept of identity plays a pivotal role in reasoning the burning issue of language and gender. However, the explanations provided by the essentialists have been proved as ineffective and unsatisfactory (Abdelhay 2008; Bucholtz, 1999; Eckert and Me Connell-Ginet, 1992). The notion of essential identities of women or men has long given serious critical stands. Linguists have tried to promulgate the notion and the study of the multiplicity of gender identities beyond the dual fixed binary opposition of sexes. They postulate the idea of a wide range of different masculinities and femininities as: "*ongoing processes dependent upon systematic restatement, which is sometimes referred to as doing identity*" (Johnson, 1997: 22) (Quoted in Abdelhay, 2008: 88). The terms "masculinity" and

"femininity" are tremendously used in the scrutiny of male/female construction of gendered identities. Thus, it would be worthwhile to reveal the general interpretations of these terms.

To be masculine is to be strong, ambitious, successful, rational, and emotionally controlled (Wood, 2008: 24). In general, the "real man" who can successfully show his masculinity, must follow and exercise the four themes provided by David and Robert Brannon (1976), as was succinctly rendered in the previous chapter.

Femininity means, principally, being physically attractive, sleek, emotionally expressive, having low and smooth voice, and concerned with people and relationships (Wood, 2008). "Real woman" still look good, adore children, and care about them and home making.

Most interesting, the essentialist line would conspicuously inhibit speakers to draw their proper beliefs, cultures, capacities and needs in their communities of practice that should be blank. We cannot deny the necessity of calling attention to the requisite consideration of the Algerian community as an Islamic and multilingual country. In other word, we cannot say that male and female speakers are totally free to convey their emotions and express their ideas. But, it seems serious to coerce some speakers to espouse certain linguistic styles that may not tally with his/her current needs. What we want to point is that the community of practice perspective provides the opportunity to both sexes to display whatever they want following the needs of the context, religion, age, etc. Speakers would cull cornucopia of suitable language behaviours that are apt, of course, to be displayed in certain communities of practice. This is why the speech community perspective is seen as a barrier to the possible subtle and flexible variations of language.

As a matter of fact, women's voice in Algerian culture is [ɛawra] (taboo), since Islamic culture has got the foremost influence upon the Algerian people. From real-life examples, the female speaker would be, undoubtedly, condemned as being impolite and rude if she guffaws in a public bus or a taxi in the presence of male strangers. Outside familiar and intimate contexts, girls would be unlikely to guffaw; they are merely expected to chuckle.

According to the speech community model, those females who make a loud roar of laughs would be negatively judged, but this view will not be permanent, it must be changed according to the different communities of practice speakers frequently engage in. They share their modes of speaking the way they believe to fit the context conditions. That is, girls and

women are free to mutate their voice tone as they like without making themselves vulnerable to negative attitudes, but if they are surrounded by acquaintances and their in-laws. From this vantage point, it is believed that the speech community essentials ignore the flexibility of performing ample of gendered identities to correspond with the needs of the situation and the time of day-to-day interactions.

Along this line of thought, Eckert and McConnel-Ginet lucidly point out that:

"*Speakers are seen as making strategic use of the sociolinguistic markers in order to affirm their membership in their own social group, or to claim membership to other social groups to which they aspire… Variables that women use more than men throughout different strata of a community signal their male identity. In all cases, identity, interpreted in terms of place in the social grid is seen as given, and manipulation of the linguistic repertoire is seen as making claims about these given identities*". (Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet, 1992, pp. 468-469).

Eckert and McConnel (1992) note that the problems with the speech community framework are not confined only to the reduction of gender identity to a social address ; they declare that those analysts (essentialists) use a set of generalizations to form global statements about how women and men speech "ought to be", not how they are.

II.3 Communities of Practice:

Wishing to move towards a dynamic, and to make the argument relevant to practice, linguists strive to move away from a reliance on the binary categorization and the generic fixed statements about all men and all women to more malleable and clear-cut accounts about specific groups of women and men. Within this framework, women and men construct a variety of gender identities responding to particular circumstances that come about in different loci. In this vein, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have introduced the concept of "community of practice" (CofP).

They develop the notion of "Communities of practice" to corroborate the view that intermingles gender and language with the social practices of specific local communities.

To grapple with the full range of issues about gendered identities, we should first painstakingly recognize that the CofP is "*an aggregate of people who come together around*

mutual engagement in an endeavour" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992: 464). The concept of the CofP allows a rich, vital and supple tool for the close examination of the interaction of language and society and; therefore, "*for studies of female's and male's gender variations*" (ibid: 465).

The CofP perspective directs the utmost importance to the activities, the practices in which components of the community engage and through which they linguistically endeavour to define themselves as members of the group. In an attempt to disentangle and clarify the opaque concepts adopted in gender studies, the construct of communities of practice has been aroused for the sake of enriching the inquiry of gender identity through postulating a clear-cut and penetrating analysis in the intimate relation that exists between language, identity and practice.

Aiming for looking over male/female communication that fall prey to misunderstanding and eventually to miscommunication during the construction of their gender identities, we opt for using the CofP as a theoretical framework in tackling this query 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"* (Abdelhay, 2008 : 244).

Considering the CofP model as being of utmost importance of the wide range of frameworks that have contributed to examine the sphere of gender and language, it would be momentous to elucidate how it has been brought to light and how it has evolved.

The term CofP was coined for the first time by Lave and Wenger in 1991 in their seminal book "Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripherical Participation" where they attempted to spearhead the definition of the CofP. They saw that communities of practice as groups of people who have a keen interest and endeavour to perform something, and they have already learnt how to accurately reach it through their regular interactions. (Abdelhay, 2008: 107).

The basic point of the concept of CofP is a number of concourses of people who choose to interact together during their customary engagements in particular practices. In other words, those groups of people are no way compelled to take part; they themselves choose to engage in common practices. Then they are classified in relation to a set of characteristics and attributes mainly as in the view of the speech community frame work.

So, as we aim to canvass the authentic reasons behind male/female miscommunication, we should tackle how the two sexes engage in the process of "doing gender" based on the CofP model because:

> "*Identities are rooted in what we do rather 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 frameworks*" (Abdelhay, 2008: 129).

The community of practice plays a pivotal role in cogitating about the pliable nature of an individual's gender identity, since it is blatant that individuals are social actors who are constantly striving to anchor themselves in a wide range of different communities with different norms and values, and they will have; therefore, miscellaneous identity positions within these groups, both dominant and marginal. By way of explanation, women and men are not passive components who slip into claims of the social grid; if they misquote what the strict norms and standards of the speech community, they should be criticized for their deviation from the conventional rules. We think that this line of thought carries a certain fallacy, not in entailing a set of attributes and gender roles, but in the fixed and passive picture of the construction of gender identity.

The basic premise that the community if practice framework posits is that individuals develop the manners of doing things together in the enterprise they engage in; being a family, teaching, learning, or playing music…etc. They develop the activities through refreshing common knowledge and beliefs. Of course, the communities of practice do not invent their way of speaking out of the whole cloth (Talbot, 2010), but orient to the different practices of larger speech communities, refining the practices of those speech communities to which individuals aspire. In comparison with the aforementioned theories such as the speech community one, the community of practice theory was more comprehensive which allows for a penetrating examination, because it is based on psychology, sociology, anthropology and women studies.

At the level of the CofP, ways of speaking seem to be most closely coordinated. It is through the participation in a range of communities of practice that people reify their personalities, their mental and social needs. Drawing on the community of practice perspective, our limelight should be directed to the term of "practice" which is the core sense of the whole framework. Lave and Wenger (1991) reckon that practice refers to the activity of

"doing", but not doing for its proper purpose. That is to say, Lave and Wenger strive to point out that practice is doing in a social context (Abdelhay, 2008: 108), which offers meaning accentuation to what individuals do.

Overall, the CofP approach calls for a priority to the local and practical on the assumption that these hand over certain variability of gender practices. Along this line of thought, Eckert (2006) claims that practice is not simply a by-product of those groups of individuals; the communities of practice themselves are created and developed in practice. (Abdelhay, 2008: 108). The notion of practice was a potent concept of the CofP framework in the sphere of sociolinguistics concerning the area of language and gender. Theories of social practice pinpoint the necessity to find out ways to produce and reproduce manners for the sake of contributing in the various activities covering the world. These theories are

> *"concerned with every activity and real life settings, but with an emphasis on the social systems of shared resources by which groups organize and coordinate their activities, mutual relationships and interpretations of the world"* (Wenger, 1998: 13).

As it has been stated earlier, the gist which can be taken from the connotation of the concept of "practice" is that it refers to the activity of doing, but this activity of "doing" should prevail a social context, which gives certain value and specific meaning of what we do. To put it briefly, practice is, to the greatest extent, the medium via which our real and daily experiences reveal special meaning and become meaningful. The enterprises we engage in our life would be "valueless" (Abdelhay, 2008: 111), if it is likely to be bereft of meaning. So, we cannot reckon any activity we do as a practice-in a community of practice-unless it is destined for a certain purpose. That is, the practice, we intend to mean as having a critical role in the definition of the CofP framework, cannot be futile or empty of meaning.

As Abdelhay (2008) claims, the meaning we aim to produce as an everyday experiences, can be neither found in dictionaries nor in philosophical queries; where does the ball start rolling then?

The answer to this question would not be intricate by bringing into open the proposition rendered by Wenger (1998) to highlight the negotiation of meaning as a social practice. He stresses the concomitance of participation and reification as extremely interwoven into the human experience of the negotiation of meaning.

II.3.1 The Negotiation of Meaning:

Above all, the negotiation of meaning refers to the vital, active and productive process, a process which affords individuals the opportunity to make sense of their living in the world. Negotiation of meaning refers mainly to a continuous process of interaction to negotiate stands to obtain an agreement between people; and this kind of negotiation is not, Abdelhay (2008:113) argues, different from negotiating a transaction and price. As a term, "negotiation" is used to convey the unceasing trials to succeed in passing rounds of daily interaction. This means *"the ongoing achievement of meaningfulness"* (Samaras, Freese & Kosnic, 2008: 38).

The concept of "negotiation" is meant to be, according to Wenger (1998), the general need to reach meaningfulness while practicing daily activities in our world. Whether we are talking, acting, thinking, solving problems, or daydreaming, we are asked to achieve meanings.

Negotiation of meaning doesn't only dwell in a spate of words; it denotes far more than producing and making meaning through language. Since the construction of meaningfulness arises from the variety of activities we engage in everyday, it "*may involve language, but is not limited to it*" (Wenger, 1998:53). We cannot deny that language is one of the best mediums of human communication; yet it is not the only social practice individuals adopt to express themselves, swap news and convey essential commands. Spoken communication or direct contact is not the unique arena that allows the negotiation of meaning; clothes and body postures may be among the various factors of social relations. Drawing on Wenger's practice theory, the conventional notion of femininity and masculinity, which has been for a long time claimed as sharing bipolar meanings, are in fact, altered. It means that femininity does not necessarily equate with femaleness in the same way as masculinity no more equates with maleness (Abdelhay, 2008). This makes us keenly aware that the CofP framework allows for a tremendous breadth of coverage of the salient aspects of how women and men come to readjust the meaning of femininity and masculinity, to shape and construct their gender identity; not as a bundle of fixed binary rules but as a tractable practice to negotiate the meaning in order to convey the *status quo* of the social actors those are interested in playing part of the social negotiation of meaning. Male/female speakers of Chlef Spoken Arabic and Berber ones tend to choose the most appropriate linguistic styles to participate in the social grid. Of course, they have some demarcations-as social components of a Muslim and Multilingual country-between the speech styles attributed to males and females.

Notwithstanding, men and women sometimes tend to break the chasm outlined by the speech community model for the two sexes, and they are likely to discuss their day-to-day interactions through the construction of different gender identities. To put simply, negotiation is both dynamic and historical.

Along Wengers' broad understanding and development of the concept of "meaning", he provides analytical tools that minutely investigate this process as it is constructed by people in different communities. He reckons that the negotiation of meaning constitutes of two convergent and interlinked processes which he labels "participation" and "reification". The negotiation of meaning is brought to light by virtue of the convergence of these two processes.

II.3.1.1 Participation

Participation can be classified as a significant concept in the CofP perspective. For a start, the overwhelming majority of dictionaries would offer the definition of participation as taking apart and becoming actively involved in some activity, enterprise, etc. It would be conspicuous, then, that participation is the social practice which refers to the continuous activity of partaking and also to the relations shared with others that reflect this process.

For Wenger (1998), participation denotes both action and connection. People engaging in communities of practice exhibit various aspects of participation that give incentive to individuals to join and take part in a community. The bottom line is that participation is far more patulous than merely a restrictive engagement. Abdelhay (2008) states that the adjective of "academic" is not likely to be evanescent once the academic leaves the academe. Of course, we cannot deny that the teaching task is the most intense moment of participation for teachers, yet participation is not something that a teacher merely gets rid of it once s/he leaves the university. This is because it symbolizes who she/he is and it is omnipresent with her/him. It would be worth reminding, accordingly, that *"our participation as teachers has surfaced in short encounters on board a plane during trip, in public gardens or even in social gatherings and family dinners or celebrations"* (Abdelhay, 2008: 114). From this point, we can agree with Wenger (1998) Abdelhay (2008) that our engagement and participation within our communities is social and designates conviviality even in the absence of the direct contact with others.

When an Imam, the leader of the congregational prayer in a mosque-is preparing the *résumé* of the Friday sermon, for instance, under the rubric "Be righteous and dutiful to our parents", he feels the presence of the prayers looking at him and listening to his religious exhortations, and they react of course, silently. That is, he feels how the prayers will be influenced by his religious instructions and verses from the Quran sent to them from his pulpit.

Similarly, the bride, in the hairdressing salon, getting ready for the wedding party, seems to feel how the guests are going to react and look at her hairstyle, makeup, attire gowns, accessories and so forth. For this reason, Wenger (1998) directs a spotlight on the fact that the notion of participation spreads to refer deeply to the social character of our experience of life.

II.3.1.2 Reification

Let's start by etymologically speaking, the term reification means *"making into a thing"*. (Wenger, 1998: 58). Its usage in English may carry an important twist. However, it is used to refer to the idea that has been made as real and concrete. Wenger used the concept of "reification" to mean the process of reincarnating our abstract experiences by the innovation of objects that congeal the meaning of these experiences into "thingness".By so doing, we beget points of interest in which the negotiation of meaning becomes organized. In other words, Wenger (1998) attempts to explain the term"reification" as the process participants trace in a community to tackle an abstraction as substantially existing or as concrete material things. He figures out reification as the act of transmuting an experience or an idea to a tangible form.

Most significantly, the process of reification is a core stage to every practice. In any community of practice, there exists a number of abstractions, tools, symbols, stories, terms and concepts that reify something of that practice in a congealed shape or form (Wenger, 1998).

We think that reification as demonstrated by Wenger (1998) would be tremendously beneficial in the scrutiny of how women and men construct their identities. Whilst a fashion designer contrives garments and accessories aiming at incarnating his /her aesthetical ideas, language can symbolize the process of reification in the case of constructing gender.

II.4 Dimensions of The Community of Practice

As it has been revealed earlier, the CofP framework, unlike the aforementioned theories, drew its roots from sociology, psychology, anthropology and women studies. The limelight of this theory was directed to five aspects of analysis, viz. No presupposition of gender differences as a starting point, it stresses the significance of the constructive practices of a group, especially mutual active engagement of attaining a jointly negotiated practice of gender. It shows an emphasis on learning and mutability in gendered linguistic styles displayed across groups. The CofP perspective evinces that the intra-group variation should be interpreted as natural, and the crux of this theory is that the social construction of gender is local and cross culturally variable. In other words, argumentation and evidence of this theory was usually offered by canvassing activities and interactions, not differences.

Of course, the communities of practice are not produced out of a thin air. Wenger (1991) defines the CofP as one of the central insights which calls for a shared expertise. The emergence of communities of practice arouses from the shared expertise, specific ardency and position, which form the bedrock of the participation of the group of individuals in the world and catalyze those members to negotiate meaning via shared practice.

According to Lave and Wenger (1991), we are members of communities of practice. Needless to say, communities of practice are omnipresent. The substantial overlap of teachers in the department of Biological and Agricultural studies, for instance, takes place because the teachers partake the same interests.

In an attempt to duly preserve and maintain the interests of the department and strive to engross in a variety of practices that tend to bring their academic roles to fruition, they should, according to Wenger (1991), sustain mutual relationships, either harmonious or conflictual. It is not necessary to manifest a permanent concurrence. Put differently, albeit they may face disagreement, the be-all and end-all of those teachers is to be personally involved or implicated into how they would create a set of strategies to deal with the potential obstacles that may plague the prominent task of those teachers.

Similarly, radio journalists can symbolize one kind of the communities of practice. The members of this community tend to weld their formal academic backgrounds with their talents and viewpoints aiming at putting it into practice. By so doing, they attempt to keep themselves in tune with their audiences and improve the services and programmers. It is true

that the entire world is saturated with different sorts of communities of practice. Yet, it is not usually, according to Wenger (1998), possible to call everything a community of practice. We and the cohort of our neighbours may constitute what is known as a "community", but it is not always a community of practice. (Abdelhay, 2008: 117). For this reason, community of practice was defined by three elements.

-Mutual engagement

-a joint enterprise

-a shared repertoire

II.4.1 Mutual Engagement

There is mutual engagement among the individuals of the CofP. As it has been revealed earlier, the construction of communities of practice is not from scratch, the members of each CofP are not randomly motivated to engage in practices whose meanings are negotiated with one another. The history which ties the teachers and even the Master students of Biological studies commenced long before they came to participate at the university along a continuum of teaching and learning. If we take Master students as a community of practice, their history would be seen as a preamble which offers relations of mutual engagement by which they can do whatever they want. The members of this community: *"develop practices, routines, stories proper to their department but which may overlap to practices of other teaching communities"* (Abdelhay, 2008: 117). According to Wenger (1998; 94), mutual engagement is the pivotal component that plays a key role in any practice. It enables action, typically via "regular interaction"

Unlike the speech community which sets a bundle of instructions that should be taken into consideration by the members as a potent benchmark in order to be considered as belonging to a certain social category. The CofP leaves room for the participants to join the community and take the onus to grapple with the variety of practices to engage in the process of the negotiation of meaning. By this token, we are inclined to tackle the differences of male/female modes of speaking from a community of practice perspective, because women and men engage in an interlocking networks of interpersonal relations from which practice is likely to spearhead the engagement with miscellaneous practices. Overall, engagement in a community calls for the involvement in what matters inside the community. This is, not only

for the assurance that we belong to a particular community; that requirement would boost the preservation of the community's coherence as well.

It is true that mutual engagement plays a crucial role in making what we call a community of Practice; it must be worthwhile to point that the CofP does not read for homogeneity. The heterogeneous manner of engagement adds a productive impetus to the process of practice. That is to say, the interactions and relations that make the nexus between the members of the community are not based on the homogenizing social expectations attributed to them. They can be rather epitomized as that they strive their relevance from the complexity of doing things together with an open variability; no rules regulate the form that it may take. (Wenger, 1998).

II.4.2 Joint Enterprise

The community of practice is further defined by a joint enterprise, negotiated by the members of the community. The joint enterprise denotes the practices by which participants strive to meet their mutual engagement. Wenger (1998) directs attention that the joint enterprise refers to the joint for the joint action. In the case of the biological teaching community, the joint enterprise was to ensure that the students come to capture the subtle biological ideas. Said differently, joint enterprise is the community's interpretation and the response to its shared situation. This enterprise is negotiated among community members and league persons together.

II.4.3 Shared Repertoire

Finally, the CofP is defined by a shared repertoire for sustaining the joint enterprise. The shared repertoire refers to the daily habits such as the three meals of the day, rituals for special occasions, ways of speaking, modes of walking, lores and so forth. These routines and daily actions become part of the community's practice. In support of this, Wenger (1998) suggests that the repertoire includes

> *"routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures symbols, genres, actions or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence which has become part of its practice".* (Wenger, 1998:83)

That is to say, thanks to their shared repertoire, members of the CofP contrive meaningful expressions about their ambient world and their identity, and *"their creation of*

styles-including linguistic style-by which they express their forms of membership and their identities as members" (Abdelhay, 2008 : 120). As a community is based on shared practices, the repertoire is a momentous component in recognizing and defining them. It seems interesting to note that the repertoire will not be static, but will creep over time as a response of either internal or external factors. From this vantage point, it would be clear why recent studies of gender and language adhere to the community of practice analysis; this framework allows for the diversity and fluidity men and women adopt to generate and fine-tune their enterprise to display a number of social meanings.

II.5. Identity and Communities of Practice

For a start, let us point that identity merely means how individuals come to construct themselves, of course with respect to those surrounding cohorts. Gender researchers have recognized, across the social sciences, that gender cannot be assessed as fixed or stable category because this would be generalizing the myriad experiences of women and men. In this line of thought, individuals contribute in various communities of practice and those communities are nested in a host of ways with other communities. Inasmuch as these processes of participation and interaction are continuously changing, members of the community of practice constantly reshape any sort of individual's identity, including gender identity. Wardaugh (2009) claims that individual identity is created in and through several interactions with others, and the change may be tremendous. By this token, Ivanic (1998:10) notes that "identity" is a useful term, since *"it is the everyday word for people's sense of who they are"*.

The analytical framework of the examination draws on Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet's (1992) paradigm of "communities of practice", gender is constructed through the social practices that people display in the miscellaneous communities in which they are members. Gender is, furthermore, what individuals do, not what they have (Wardaugh, 2009). It is a set of social practices and behaviours emanated from certain ideas about what a particular culture at a particular moment in time reads as "masculine" or "feminine". Thanks to the concept of "community of factice", we gain the opportunity to canvass the individual's co-construction of the identity from the calibration of day to-day social membership and activity of individuals. Along this line of thought, Wenger (1998) defines identity as spatio-temporal, which means that identity is constantly constructing in a social context and through time.

Ivanič (1998) demonstrates that an individual's multiple identities are unlikely to be equally essential at any particular moment in time; one or more may spear-head at several and different times. Above all, Ivanič (1998) suggests that it would be beneficial to use the plural form of the word "identity" rather than its singular form. The plural form of identity, accordingly, allows for a tremendous breadth of coverage of the plurality and multiplicity of identities. She stretches the idea by asserting that:

> "*The plural word 'identities' is sometimes preferable because it captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously with a variety of social groups. On or more of these identities may be foregrounded at different times; they are sometimes contradictory, 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*". (Ivanič, 1998: 11-12).

By this token, individual identity is not built in a vacuum; it is co-constructed with a group of identities. In tune with recent gender studies, the emphasis shifted from the fixed and ready-made gender identity. Instead of looking at how selections of identities change in a number of different circumstances, linguists began to concentrate on figuring out the fluidity of gender identity. Gender identity is no longer tackled as fixed or unidimensional, but rather as a vital process, incarnated and reincarnated as the situation changes, time mutates, and the relationships are negotiated in the social practices of the community of practice.

II.6 The Relevance of the Community Practice Framework to Gender Studies:

It is worth reminding that the CofP is seen by Lave and Wenger (1991) as

> "*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-in the course of this mutual endeavour*" (Wenger,1991:464).

The definition highlights the critical role that practices play in constructing group membership and belonging without glossing over social and linguistic differences. The community of practices framework places language in the column of the different practices performed by individuals. A host of traditional researchers of gender and language studies (Lakoff, 1975), for instance, postulated that this arena of research should imperatively direct

the limelight on women and how they deviate, or how they are perceived as turning aside from what is called "the norm".

Eckert and Mc Connell Ginet (1992), however, argue that researchers must also examine the norm for the sake of uncovering how it becomes the norm and to challenge its status as a norm. In a community of practice, language is seen as crucial in reliance with other practices. In accordance with this conceptualization, individuals can participate in multiple communities of practice and individual identity is the eventual repercussion of the multiplicity of this participation. Gender construction and development, to *précis* the point once more, does not stop in childhood or adolescence; gender is constantly reshaping as we learn to act like journalists, students in the laboratory, teachers in seminars, and as we move in the market place. As another community which leagues persons together, the family via which individuals are taught how to cope with the constant status changes of the family. We learn how to be wives and husbands, mothers and fathers, aunts and uncles, sisters and brothers, grandmothers and grand fathers. (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1993). Besides, the age plays a decisive role in our continuous knowledge of novel manners of being men or women. It is - often falsely- to expect from a teenage girl what is expected from a woman in her mid-forties, and those expectations are certainly different from those for a woman knocking the door of the seventies or eighties. The community of practice perspective permits linguists to look over how males and females learn how to look and act in particular ways and to heed the way they participate in specific communities and relationships. So, the gist of the CofP perspective is to cast light on the activities and practices, in which members of the community perform practices striving to define themselves linguistically as members of the squad they belong to.

Eckert and Mc Connell-Ginet (1992) present the community of practice perspective as a theoretical framework to illuminate how women and men construct new and variable identities through breaking down the monotonous expectations of what women and men should be. they consider the CofP as an heuristic model which better helps capture the may femininity and masculinity are delineated. In a word, the community of practice perspective can be considered as feasible in analyzing the fluidity and the malleable perception of gender within the community.

II.7 Community of Practice and Gender Linguistic Variation:

Interestingly, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) introduce the concept of communities of practice attempting to rectify some gaps left by the speech community perspective. They

tried to use the CofP, *in lieu of*, speech communities to shun analyzing social identity as fixed and gender as homogeneous category. By this token, the CofP is explained as a combination of people who come together around a specific mutual engagement or enterprise. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) describe the CofP framework as a constructionist approach to the interlocking network between language and identity. Many arenas of gender research have considered the community of practice framework as an analytical tool which serves for a penetrating analysis of variation. Those researchers aim at moving towards a dynamic not static analysis and to explore the avenue of how gender is constructed through language. The construction of meaning by means of linguistic variation is part of the individual's participation in the different networks and communities of practice ; variation can be considered, *de facto*, as part of the speaker's active participation and his/her construction of the social world and himself or herself in that world.

Albeit the rapt attention towards the accomplishment of gender identity through the activities in communities of practice, research utilizing the concept tends to slip into conceptualizing identity according to the essentialist view. Notwithstanding the malleable and the dynamic nature of identity, its identification may involve the conflation of the essentialist with the constructionist perspectives.

In her study of a nerd identity, Bucholtz (1999) elucidates the construction of a nerd identity in the students that she examines. In her scrutiny, she finds that the students identification as nerds has to infiltrate a process of negotiating their identity via a complex and dynamic set of activities and practices. In an attempt to negotiate the nerd identity, those students endeavour to innovate their practices so as to be the *ne plus ultra* of the other students. They try to distinguish themselves from other students by creating specific practices as a *sui-generis* of their identity adopting formal language and inserting complex and sophisticated vocabulary and expressions. It was blatant, therefore, that the identification as a nerd was shaped within and in response to other identity practices. (Weatherall, 2002). In this vein, Bucholtz (1999) intends to sustain the assumption that identity is constructed prior to language.

Again, the CofP notion of identities is not predetermined by what the expectations of the speech community call for; it is neither fixed nor unified. People may rather choose to engage in the construction of identities through practices performed across times and places. Along this line of thought, Eckert's (1989) examination of the study of identity practices of students

in an American high school would be an illustrative example of the research conducted on linguistic variation and identity drawing on a CofP framework.

Eckert (1989) suggests that the social life of the students those who she investigated was defined by two salient social identity categories, viz. "Jocks" and "burnouts". "jocks" were effectively an adolescent version of the corporate middle class, where students' visibility was obtained through their commitment and success in school-related activities.

The term "Jock" originated in sports, which are core elements to the high school culture; this term is a classic North American stereotype of male athlete. By way of contrast, "burnouts" were likely to involve norms more associated with working-class ideals (Eckert, 2000).

"Burnouts" and "jocks" as CofP were defined by engagement and participation is certain activities, such as drug use for burnouts and the contribution in school sports for jocks. They do so through the use of a specific unprecedented Detroit accent for burnouts and a more standard Midwestern accent for jocks. As they label themselves "jocks" and "burnouts" gender and (class-based) burnout/jock identities interacted in order to leave room for burnout girls to display novel pronunciations from Detroit that discriminated them from burnout boys and from jocks girls as well. Albeit burnout girls identified with burnout boys more than with jock girls, burnout girls engage separately in practices from burnout boys. Say differently, these students seem as innovating multiple identities simultaneously, as burnout or jock, girl or boy.

As a host of sociolinguists that have taken up the concept of the community of practice, Eckert (2000) mainly bases her explanation of communities of practice through her rife ethnography of jocks and burnouts as adolescent style-groups at Belten High in the Detroit suburbs. She painstakingly explains how meaning is built through the interlocking network of relations. She elaborates as follows:

> "*Meaning is made as people jointly construct relations through the development of a mutual view of, and in relation to the communities and people around them. This meaning-making takes place in myriad contacts and associations both with and beyond dense networks. To capture the process of meaning-making, we need to focus on the level of social organization at which individual and group identities are being constructed, and which we can observe*

the emergence of symbolic processes that tie individuals to groups, and groups to the social context in which they gain meaning" (Eckert, 2000: 34-35).

A propos, Eckert (2000) dissects the way jocks and burnouts generate and live-out specific styles-styles of dress, activity and speech-so as to define themselves as separate from other groups. Aligning with this idea, individuals are capable to beget novel symbolic features into their proper interpretations of group-style. In support of this, Eckert (2000: 43) maintains that "*both individual and group identities are in continual construction, continual change, continual refinement*".

Concerning the scrutiny of language variation, the "practice" perspective pulls us away from what might be called, the strict pre-formed sociolinguistic structure. It, however, sustains the idea of structure as a potential attainment of language and discourse.

The limelight of the practice perspective has been on social meaning, which is veritably obscured by classical variationist researchers such as Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1974). Put simply, it focuses on the construction of social meaning in a given context:

"Variation does not simply reflect a ready-made social meaning; it is part of the means by which that meaning emerges. A study of social meaning in variation, then, cannot view speakers as incidental users of a linguistic system but must view them as agents in the continual construction and reproduction of that system. Social meaning in variation is not a static set of associations between internal linguistic variables and external social variables; it is continually created through the joint linguistic and social engagement of speakers as they navigate their way through life" (Eckert, 2000: 43).

Again, Eckert (2000) suggests, accordingly, that the phonological variation of language can serve in the distinctiveness of the jock and burnout social groups besides their variant engagement and commitment to school activities.

Eckert (2000) directs a spotlight on how certain discursive moments are extremely salient loci for highly styled socio-phonetic features. She finds out frequent communicative routines such as dude, cool, right, excellent and damn. (Eckert, 2000: 218). By this token, she elucidates how socio-phonetically tremendous variants infiltrate the utterances they reveal by adding social meaning to those linguistic articulations. By way of illustration, the word "right" said with a very high nucleus of [ai], excellent with backed [ε], damn with raised [æ] may

symbolize certain social meaning which differentiates them from the rest of the groups. The identities of those students were conveyed by the creative use of those phonological variants in their accents. Eckert (1996) interprets this fact of variation (the girl's use of [ai]) as a stigma of their pride of displaying particular styles that put them aside from the other jocks, albeit she is a jock. (Abdelhay, 2008)

As a theoretical framework, the CofP embraces the idea that language can be considered as one of the various practices individuals put forth to take part in their communities of practice as means of constructing gender as something we do, create, manufacture, perform and thrive.

More interestingly, it should be noted that the community of practice subtle ideas about how women and men engage in a constant creation of novel and, sometimes, unprecedented linguistic styles, are crucial in the study of gender and language. Put another way, this new perspective provides the opportunity for a host of gender researchers to discern the vast array of linguistic choices men and women tend to perform as they contrive to construct miscellaneous gender identities drawing on a number of factors such as age, race, religion, history, etc. That is, the CofP model pulls us away from looking at gender differences as a fixed and binary opposition. This framework does not abort the existence of some linguistic differences between women and men, but it has been trying to dig out facts proving how gender differences are significant in understanding the relation between gender language and society, not as a stable and permanent roles that makes what is known as gender, but as a malleable and temporal social practices from moment to moment. Along this line of thought, gender implements the social practices is order to make them apt for the sudden and continuous situations that they spring each day and in every locus. We do think that the CofP perspective allows for looking at how social actors update their social identities corresponding to a great number of social and psychological factors.

II.8 Gender Differences in Communities of Practice:

There is no gainsay, the scrutiny of gender differences plays *per se* a critical role in dissecting prominent points in the arena of language and gender. The crux of this research paper is to unearth sociolinguistic explanations for male/female miscommunication. To explore such a research an avenue, we attempt, of course, to tackle male/female different linguistic styles, not as social expectations learnt by heart, but rather as a flexible social and linguistic practices. It seems beneficial to examine linguistic behaviours as vital and

continuous manipulations of new and subtle modes following the social contexts that are continuously variegating and emerging through time. Women and men tend to mutate, for instance, particular modes of speaking as they move from the family to another community of practice such as the university, either as a teaching or learning communities. Above all, the examination we attempt to do is not restricted on how women and men construct their gendered identities in their communities of practice; we endeavour to look at the linguistic differences, reckoned by early gender and language researchers as a seductive explanation of cross-sex miscommunication, from a CofP perspective. Said differently, male and female speakers are, undoubtedly, exposed to some linguistic differences, but these differences cannot be depicted as a chasm which necessarily breaks their communication. Notwithstanding, there is a propagation of innovation among women and men in order to define themselves and to render new linguistic manners according to the needs of the current ambivalent community.

-Participants:

The informants in this scrutiny are from different communities of practice. We intend to work on various contexts since the gist of this research paper is not to focus totally attention on the analysis of linguistic behaviours in a particular community. That is, we strive to ponder how women and men make various linguistic choices so as to acculturate to new social environments every single day. This is why our informants vary from teachers of the department of biology and the students there. Most importantly, both of the two communities are a mixture of 75 Arab speakers and 45 Berber ones living in chelf.

-The method:

Besides the rapt attention we directed towards a spate of words uttered by male and female speakers, we used straightforward "how-do-you-say" procedure. We attempt to ask both our colleagues and our students' questions concerning their opportunity to continuously create and mutate specific linguistic modes as they are nested in various communities of practice inasmuch as they are engaging in particular social practices. We asked, then, why they *de facto* adopt the linguistic forms that they reveal at the university and when they are at home with their relatives.

As a matter of fact, the participant's feedback seemed so spontaneous and honest as they boldly render their tendency to construct a bunch of gender identities in the course of a day.

Female speakers aver, for instance, that they are fervent to align to more sophisticated and embellished styles of speaking.

II.8.1 Phonological Variation in Communities of Practice:

As it has been thoroughly elucidated earlier, the CofP perspective gives priority to the local and practical on the assumptions that these must put their feet on the variability of gendered practices and perspectives. Indeed, the topic that covers women's speech styles has been of a huge interest to the arena of sociolinguistics.

The prominent sphere of language variation has been buttressed by the empirical studies of Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1972 – 1974). Overall, Trudgill (1972) evinces that women tend to concentrate on adopting a punctilious mode of speaking, choose prestigious patterns and reveal their reluctance to use stigmatized speech forms. In a piece of work which has now become renowned, he correlates "*phonetic and phonological variables with social class, age, and stylistic context*" (1972: 180). He, nevertheless, had a keen interest in taking into consideration biological sex as a sociolinguistic variable, following in that Labov (1972).

Trudgill (1972) finds, concerning the different pronunciations of words ending in 'ing', that women had the tendency to use prestige forms more than men and that they strive to over-report their utterances. Said in another way, when asked about their manners of pronunciation, said they produced more "prestigious" utterances than they actually did. Above all, Norwich inhabitants pronounce the 'ing' as in Standard English, and at other times they use [n] instead of [ŋ] when say, for instance, walking', talking', singing'. By this token, the first pronunciation with [ɪŋ] was considered as that of middle class workers those who used forms closer to Received Pronunciation (R P). In one word, this accent is to be delineated as more formal and more prestigious than that of working class speakers. The latter was, in Trudgill's sample, more associated with an accent which can be neither counted as formal nor as prestigious.

This gender-based phonological variation is explained by Trudgill (1972) via suggesting that women are keenly aware of the social status and the paramount importance of the correlation between linguistic variation and language usage. By way of explanation, women are likely to mitigate their underprivileged social echelons via selecting the more prestigious language forms and endeavour to continuously learn adopting manners to improve and boost their tendency to sustain sophisticated linguistic behaviours. Nevertheless, they can be

considered as social components that are in the lead of language change, especially when they are in charge of a social position associated with higher local prestige. (Labov, 1994). We cannot, however, claim that there exists a chasm between male and female conversational styles in CSA since no such examination has been undertaken up to the moment.

Now, let us touch the tip of an iceberg and state that it would be blatant to notice some phonological variables that are used, principally, by Chelifian female speakers as more elegant, *soigné* and refined. For a start, it would be worth mentioning to note that there are some phonological differences between males' and females' utterances.

The most obvious differences between the two sexes are in the realization of [g] by most male speakers and the adherence to realize the phoneme /q/ as [q] by most females. The following table will illustrate some real-life examples about the phonological distribution between [g]and [q] as determined by the sex of the speaker.

Female pronunciation	Male pronunciation	English translation
nqqas	nggas	I cut
Wqaf	wggaf	he stood up
qarrəb	garrab	he approached
θqi:l	θgi:l	heavy
marqa	marga/səgja	broth
tæqa	ṭa:ga	window
tbaq	ṭbag	bread basket
tqadəm	tgəddəm	he progressed/advanced
rqi:qa	rgi:ga	slim (for a woman)
qæbəl	gæbəl	he faced

Table1: The realization of the phonemes/q/ and /g/ by females and males in CSA.

More interestingly, the above examples do not only reveal the variant realizations of the phoneme /q/ depending on the sex; it shows different pronunciations of the plain /t/ and the emphatic /ṭ / in some words.

Indeed, females of Chlef Spoken Arabic exhibit greater tendency to reverse the realization of the emphatic /ṭ/ by the use of the plain /t/ to construct feminine identities that do

cope with particular loci and specific moments. Said differently, a host of Chelifian female speakers advisably favour the articulation of the consonant /t/, in some words, where the tip of the tongue touches the area where the upper teeth emerge from the gum rather than the position where the tip of the tongue spreads a slightly larger portion that touches the gum area. The central objective of this phonetic scrutiny is the attempt to canvass whether male/female speakers in Chlef sustain the bundle of phonetic articulations expected by the speech community or they strive to exploit the emphatic/non-emphatic counterparts so as to construct a plurality of gender identities in terms of masculinities and femininities.

According to Sibawayhi's taxonomy, the emphatic sounds are dubbed as "al huru: f al mutbaqa" or "al muntabiqah" as an opposed version of the remaining Arabic consonants i.e. al "huru:f al munfatiħa" (Bouhadiba, 1988: 26). A modern equivalent for this dichotomy would be: Emphatic Vs. plain consonants. Lehn (1963) asserts that what is known as emphasis in phonology as "Itbaq" would refer to the "*spreading and rising of the tongue*". Furthermore, Sibawayhi elucidates that "Al-Itba: q is "*the raising of the tongue towards the upper palate*". (Quoted in Bouhadiba, 1988: 26).

Overall, we have noticed that females of CSA choose between emphatic/non-emphatic sounds not as deriving from the gender-specific subcultures that are constructed in childhood; yet they engage in a malleable process whereby they adopt suitable emphatic /non emphatic cognates according to their communities of practice. In this sense, female speakers in CSA seem as not socially instructed to display non-emphatic pronunciation. Put another way, they may receive from their early years of childhood expressions like "be pretty", "don't be tough", "speak nicely" and "behave in a ladylike manner", but there is no evidence that they are taught to say [tæqa] (window) instead of [ṭa:ga].

As from real-life examples, female speakers (aged between 20 and 36) are keenly aware about the normal use of [tæqa] [nqas] [rqi:qa] in their homes, and they feel, at the same time, the necessity to sleek their pronunciation when they are at the university with their professors and their classmates. Our female respondents boldly told us that their speech styles (the pronunciation in particular) play a pivotal role in forming a vast array of femininities in different communities of practice by manipulating their utterances. Unsurprisingly, female teachers at the department of biology let us discern that their engagement in their teaching practice stipulates an alternative use of emphatic/non emphatic cognates as a distinctive social practice. So, a host of social variables are associated with the variation in emphasis in speech

production, embracing level of education, social class, and the difference between a "traditional" and a "modern" lifestyle (Wahba, 1996: 107).

As a matter of fact, what we have gleaned from this succinct analysis is a general consensus from females that the use of emphatic consonants are often perceived by others as "dull", "husky", "thick", or "heavy". In this vein, Harrell (1957) elaborates that the speakers those who usually exploit the full degree of emphasis in their spoken utterances are likely to interpret non-emphatic pronunciation as affected or effeminate. Whilst, those who tend to employ lesser degree of emphasis may perceive full emphasis either tremendously formal or unrefined and rough.

Needless to say, educated female speakers of Chlef are in the lead concerning the full awareness and care in the variation of emphasis. In this respect, Badawi (1973) cites that the choice of the degree of emphasis is, to a great extent, linked to the speech of educated persons since it reflects the influence of social progress and modern culture upon the well-educated speakers. Although, we share the same view point with Abdelhay (2008) that the emphatic/non emphatic distinctiveness does not necessarily symbolize male privilege or female weakness.

A striking fact about those women who produce the less emphatic /t/ is their purpose to reframe a wide range of identities through the strategic use of plain and non emphatic /t/. That is, less "emphaticization" in females' speech and full degree of emphasis in males's modes of speaking can be considered as a phonetic tool or "mechanism", in the word of Abdelhay (2008), which yields the opportunity to both women and men to become full members of the community and to guarantee their legitimate statuses in their community, of course.

In this scrutiny, we have observed that men stick to the pronunciation of emphatic [ṭ] in conformity with the conventional stereotypes that call for a particular manner in transforming phonetic clusters in which power and virility are attested. In similar vein, female speakers pay great attention to lessen emphatic cognates in response to the need of displaying softness and sweetness in their articulation. In one word, it is believed that the overwhelming majority of women strive to create and adopt more refined and *à la mode* speech styles. Badawi (1973) draws links between the weak production of emphasis and femininity. It is well mirrored in some linguistic styles performed by women in CSA that they are likely to be reluctant to utter words with emphatic [ṭ] in the sense that it is not possible to lessen the emphaticization. By way of explanation, 70% of our female respondents avoid using words such as: [gaṭawæt]

(cakes), [ṭwæbəl] (tables) and [ṭɒbsi] (a plate). In this context, they cannot fine their pronunciation by merely reducing the degree of emphaticization of /t/; they would be interpreted as though they are exaggerating in constructing their femininity. As expected, they switch from Algerian Arabic to French deem it a subtle linguistic ploy.

Instead, they would say "des gateaux", "des tables" and "une assiette", respectively. Let us say that women are likely to continuously select novel and flexible mechanisms to sustain suave speech styles, and in particular the manner of pronunciation. In other words, female speakers who are interested in embellishing their sound articulation, endeavour to switch to another language (French for instance) that enables them to get rid of the emphatic /t/. In one word, if they feel that their production of weaker degree of emphasis, in some words, would be a bizarre articulation, they would immediately switch to French as it will be thoroughly tackled in the subsequent chapter.

In addition to females' attempt to the lessening of emphasis, women in CSA seem to be conscious of the concept of femininity, and they interestingly, feel that there is an extra pressure on them to sound more formal and refined. In CSA, female adherence to say [ʔaðən] (the Imam has called for praying) and [ʔalfræk] (ten dinars) rather than [ɛaðən] and [ɛalfræk]. I personally prefer to use the glottal stop instead of [ɛ], but, of course, we have to record respondents' views about what pressurized them to use the prestigious forms of speech. There is a testimony that because of what the concept of femininity calls for, women tend to indulge in prestige variants to a greater extent than men. Men on the other hand are forced by the concept masculinity not to worry about prestige or standard rules of speech.

Trudgill (1974) highlights that women reveal higher tendency to be status-conscious to their sensitivity to the notion of overt prestige, whilst men are said to favour the concept of covert prestige. In this respect, let us direct the attention to the fact that females' preference of using less emphaticization and more prestigious pronunciation to manifest thin and weak voice does not necessarily signal women's weakness and powerlessness. Similarly, males' thick and sturdy voice symbolizes social order not inherent women feebleness and inherent men powerfulness (Abdelhay, 2008). As it has been stated earlier, a host of gender differences in CSA, not to say all, are flexibly constructed in different communities of practice. Put differently, female speakers may not pay great attention to say [tæqa] instead of [ṭa:ga] at home, for instance. Notwithstanding, they, especially young women, do not venture to use emphatic /ṭ/ or the voiced velar plosive /g/ in formal contexts; at the university when

participating in a seminar or when directing a formal powwow. You can nevertheless hear the word [qarəb] as uttered by the same woman who took great care not to seem rural and unsophisticated at the morning seminar. It would be note worthy to reckon that if you are a foreigner and you strive to capture the phonological variation by those women, you have to blow in while she is chatting with her close friends or acquaintances. What we intend to mean is that in response to the ongoing demands of any social interaction, both women and men employ a bunch of phonological styles so as to construct the social meaning (Wenger, 2000) stemmed either from masculinity or femininity.

Moreover, females and males in CSA tremendously reveal a conspicuous difference in the realization of the phoneme /r/. Albeit we will devote a whole chapter to the use of code switching as a social practice by women and men in Chlef, it seems worthy to cast some light on females' tendency to use the uvular /ʁ/ (Durant, 1993: 268). Whereas women usually pronounce the phoneme /ʁ/ , male speakers tend to pronounce it as a rolled alveolar sound: [r]. The following words will illustrate how a woman would pronounce the "r" sound in the French way i.e. a uvular trill, whilst a man would readily adopt the Arabic rolled [r]. So, the words "France", "portable", "laboratoire", "pizzeria" and "la route" are conspicuously pronounced differently by women and men concerning the realization of /r/ sound. In this line of thought, Walter (1988) demonstrates that there is a historical explication for women's tendency to show a preferred usage for the uvular[ʁ]. Women are closer to the supra-dialectal norm of mainland France where [ʁ] is considered to be the prestige realization. (Durand, 1993: 268). Moreover, languages, throughout Europe which have the phoneme/r/, the uvular realization have been steadily gaining ground over the rolled [r] variant (ibid).

Undeniably, females in CSA are likely to benefit from every linguistic (especially phonetic clue) to make themselves perfectly geared to exploit cornucopia of social practices to construct masculine or feminine personae as participating in different communities which may interact in various ways with one another, and these processes of interaction and participation are constantly mutating so as to negotiate gender identities in order to cope with the context of the interaction.

Oddly enough, female speakers in CSA aged between (19-36) tend to shift their pronunciation of some French words from the uvular trill [ʁ] to a sound which is well-nigh like the Arabic back construents /x/. It is possible to say that this novel feminine style is roughly pervasive among young educated females. By this token, French words that are

frequently used by those female speakers such as: "bonjour", "à tout à l'heure", "au revoir " and "encore" seem to contain a covert sound after the uvular [ʁ]. If one listens to them frequently, he/she would realize that such words end with CC [ʁx]. It is believed that the French articulation of uvular [ʁ] may roughly resemble the "pharyngeal consonant" of Arabic [ɣ], which can be articulated with a great constriction in the upper part of the pharynx (Bouhadiba, 1988: 35). Although those females may seem as if they experience the first moment of suffocation, we can phonetically interpret this by noting that they "*lessen the high pharyngeal constriction*" (Delattre, 1971: 135) of /ɣ/ to articulate /x/. The word /bɔ̃nʒu:ʁx/ is, from a sociolinguistic stance, a phonetic variation which is purposefully invented to create particular social meanings and construct a number of gender identities.

Generally speaking, what we can understand from women's greater affinity to adopt and adapt particular pronunciations such as the uvular [ʁ] of French is because this articulation is associated with French values of education and high prestige.

Concerning Berber speakers living in Chlef, they report that there are no such differences in CSA in the pronunciation of men and women to construct different gender identities in miscellaneous communities of practice. However there is a slight variation in the pronunciation of some words depending on the sex of the speakers; Berber women are likely to either make words feminine or minimize them. A striking fact about this variation lies in women's attempt to remake even masculine words seem as feminine:

The word	male version	female version
(12) My bell	[aɛabuḍ-iw]	[θaɛabuṭ-iw]
(13) My shoes	[asəbaḍ-iw]	[θasəbaṭ-iw]
(14) My mouth	[aqamu: ʃ]	[θaqamu: ʃθ]

Additionally, there is no rule which prevents women to say /æfus/ (my hand), they nevertheless, choose to say [θafətusθ] as an intention to employ diminutive forms. Obviously, in the first example, males would tend to say [aɛabuḍ-iw], whilst female speakers prefer to say [θaɛabuṭ-iw] as if it belongs to a little boy or a little girl. By analogy to Berber female speakers, we cannot deny that women in CSA are extremely well-known of their prolific use of diminutives, especially adjectives such as [ṣɣiwər] [qliwəl] [ʃbijəb] or the word

[rwidʒəlha]. They are diminutive forms of [ʂɣi:r] (small), [qli:l] (slim), [ʃbæb] (beautiful) and [radʒəlha] (her husband). Diminutive adjectives are extremely attested in the speech of women because it is stereotypically believed to connote signals of femininity in the Algerian social cultural context.

Surprisingly, male speakers in CSA are likely to adopt particular diminutive forms, but, of course, not for the same aim as women. In this respect, you should not be flabbergasted if you hear a man who possesses "Toyota Rav 4" saying [hæd lkriri: ʂa] (this small car) about it. It is, *de facto*, used among male speaker's utterances such as [dwi:ra], [ħwinita] which are diminutive forms of [dɑ:r] (house) and [ħænu:t] (a shop). It is imperative, then, to note that male speakers in CSA feel the need to make diminutive forms as part of their speech because they beware of averting /ɛajn Eħasu:d/ (the envious eye). They customarily use the above diminutive forms about things that may tremendously bewitch and attract you. Interestingly, this linguistic style is, fundamentally, apparent at the phonological level; this is why we can consider this as a phonological variation which is present in informal contexts; among the family or neighborhood communities. Accordingly, a male teacher would be reluctant to use such words with his students and foreign females.

II.8.2 Lexical and Grammatical Variation in Communities of Practice:

It is undeniably true that lexical variation among women and men plays a critical role in exploring the arena of gender and language and their intimate relation to society. This unanimous recognition of the significance of holding a variety of lexicon items has been perceived in, mainly, two different ways. Drawing on the community model, each word uttered denotes a particular meaning that must be gleaned according to the sex of the speaker. That is to say, vocabulary items are likely to demarcate the role of the speaker and its value within society. Thanks to the speech community interpretation of words, social categories are recognized as men, women, manish, womanish, sturdy, and weak; etc. (Abdelhay, 2008:58). By adding the suffix "ish", there is a signal of a deviation from what is called "the norm". In Chlef Spoken Arabic, male speakers, especially young ones, tend to spawn a vast glossary of terminology. Women are extremely, according to the speech community model, asked to sustain a chic, smooth and beautiful manner of speaking; including vocabulary. Men are on the other hand expected to display and reveal certain meaning of power, freedom, tough and courage. Yet, the community of practice framework reads, as a constructivist approach, that gendered practices are the construction of men and women as members of a community.

(Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992). Male speakers in CSA seem to innovate simultaneously a tapestry of codes, and females in Chlef are, surprisingly, not patient to follow the sociolinguistic expectations of the speech community model. They aim, recently, at displaying a variety of gender identities for the sake of defining themselves responding to all the needs of day-to-day interactions. Four years ago, [gæɛ ʃta kæjən] was an expression peculiar to men which denotes the English adjective "fantastic". This expression is, however, pervasive these days among female speakers. They use it, as a matter of fact, openly and with greater confidence to exploit an unprecedented expression among female speakers. We attempt, accordingly, to note that such an expression is extremely used by females in informal context, not between teachers and students in a formal lecture. By the way, women speakers using those expressions with their male or female friends strive to negotiate and exhibit a supple and open-minded gender identity. This might be suggestive in the sense that the forte of the community of practice perspective lies in its constructive lens. This framework does not belittle the social norms of the speech community, but it directs a spotlight on the great possibility that men and women, as human beings engrossing in their communities of practice, are capable of manipulating a variety of identities through the performance of feasible speech styles in their communities.

Undoubtedly, female speakers in CSA would be sanctioned and severely judged as deviant and impolite if they are exposed to blaspheme and utter profanities, especially publically. Tough and harsh language is, indeed, permissible to men. So women are asked to cull the linguistic features which go with their religious and cultural demands.

The following table will represent some general male /female linguistic items:

The word	Male (CSA)	Female(CSA)
She seeks for news	[təstaxbar]	[tnəsnəs] [tqarɛədʒ]
She gazes at	[tbərgag]	[tqæt] [tgæbər]
Harry up	[ṭalgi:na] [æktivi]	[əɣɣaṣbi] [xəfi]
I like	[nəbɣi]	[nħab]
I take off	[nəglaɛ]	[nnaħi]
She is angry	[zəgrana]	[zaɛfana]
She is nice	[zi :na]	[ʃæba]

Table 2. Lexical synonymous pairs: male version Vs female version

Most of the time, male speakers tend to use more rural lexical items (Dendane, 1993), but we cannot ignore their frequent tendency to manufacture a host of new words through different periods of times.

In support of this, the borrowed word from French [æktivi] is recently aroused by male speakers which carry, in fact, two meanings. This borrowed word may either mean to come quickly or to find out a viable solution so as to contrive vital ways to carry their lives and to catalyze, especially young men, in order to take their place in society as a "breadwinners". By the word "borrowing", we mean

"*the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one language to another. The items in questions are incorporated into the grammatical systems of the borrowing language*" (Gumperz, 1976: 8).

This word [æktivi] is integrated into the Arabic language, submitting to the modifications of its rules. Female speakers in CSA tend to exploit such fresh word with an endeavour to negotiate a vigorous and active identities in particular communities of practice, especially with male friends as a means to corroborate mutual engagement between them.

Unsurprisingly, the word [ṭalgina] which is male referential is seldom, if not never, used by women because it is considered as rural and unrefined term. Put in another way, women and men are in a constant process of defining themselves by either weeding-out or adopting particular lexical items to construct social meanings to their femininities and masculinities.

It is true that most of the novel words or loanwords are brought by male speakers, however, this cannot hide the fact that a host of men seem to boldly sustain the ancient words used by older generation. Surprisingly, I -as a non-native speaker of Berber language, have discovered and learnt that the word [wurdʒi:n] is used to refer to the word "never" at the same time with some female speakers of Kabyle. What is of particular concern here is that young ladies are fluent speakers of Kabyle, yet they seem to be reluctant to adopt ancient vocabulary maintained by elder people; they would rather say (jamais) in French. (This phenomenon will be thoroughly elaborated in the subsequent chapter). They prefer, then, to supplant the jejune-in their words- and unsophisticated ancient vocabulary with what does cope with modernity and prestige. Similarly, a great number of young female speakers of Kabyle seem to opt for the use of the English expression (Bye bye) *in lieu of* the Berber equivalent [arθufaθ] (Good bye).Besides their tremendous pride of their mother tongue (Kabyle), they merely responded

to our wondering about this words' manipulation by claiming that they usually intend to weed out all what may make them seem as lagging behind, they think that they should be aware of their selection of words especially in front of foreigners and in formal communities of practice. They are always looking for what is new and modern, not what is inherited by old people. Meanwhile, male speakers do not face any problem in their choice of vocabulary; they are much more likely than women to sustain and indemnify their language through the use of words that seem to female speakers as old and outdated.

Albeit this point holds true, female speakers in CSA are likely to use some words which are peculiar to old women such as [traɛraɛ] (she shouts), [təṭanəb] [təʃəgləb] (she plays up), [jləgləg] (he hastens). Notwithstanding, their insertion of such words is customarily preceded or followed by the sentence [kima jgu:lu lkba:r] (as it is said by elder people). Not to make these observations seem as a flagrant contradiction, female speakers are much likely to point out that such words are not theirs (part of their repertoire). By the term "repertoire", Milroy and Milroy (1985:119) postulate that it is *"the totality of styles available to a community"*.

Interestingly, those female speakers may intend to point out that besides their adherence to what is germane to enlightenment and modernity, they may find themselves in need of using some traditional words ascribed to the old generation, but they aim at reminding the other interlocutors that the words cited- above are not part of their identity. They would rather attempt to accentuate that they are quoting from the register of old people.

II.9. Conclusion:

Tracing the very early history of language and gender, we see that language differences between women and men are enormously perceived as a fixed binary opposition that is exempt from any novelties and supple social practices. Albeit the valuable insights, this approach does pull us away from perceiving how women and men display a bouquet of speech styles that is not a reflection of the gender of the communicators in a particular locus or situational context. For such reason, we have attempted to adopt the CofP framework to dissect male/female linguistic differences in Chlef.

Advocates' of this constructivist approach demonstrate that the intimate relationship between gender and language can only be determined by a rigorous scrutiny of the communities of practice in which it comes about. In the light that gender linguistic differences are of the uttermost importance in the explanation of male/female miscommunication, what we intend to do through this chapter is to pinpoint that gender linguistic behaviours cannot be canvassed separately from other social practices, and gender *per se* cannot be independent from the influence of other social variables. Not only the sex of the speakers which determines the social meaning of the activity, age, religion, ethnicity, culture , educational background and others do play an essential role in constructing the daily gendered identities as well. Undoubtedly, some speech differences are, in fact, attested in women and men's conversational styles. The bottom line here is that those distinctive speech styles are not necessarily imbued through the early years of childhood socialization process as host of essentialist advocates claim; this idea would thwart the malleable understanding of the actual parameters that invariably push women or men to speak or not to speak in particular ways.

Here we wish to direct a spotlight on the obvious, but important, fact that women and men in Chlef are not totally controlled by the boundaries of the speech community expectation and are not totally free to go beyond those lines. As it has been mentioned throughout the preceding pages, the same woman may use two or more linguistic variables to duly define herself in a particular community. In tune with the CofP framework, it is believed that the examination of language variation should reside in the fact that the arena of language and gender (gender differences in particular) is perceived from what a particular variable could spawn specific meanings, but not how variation in linguistic practices is quoted by the sex of the speaker. On the whole, variation is said to be a social practice in which women and men exhibit a wide array of linguistic styles used especially by women in the sense of the

community's social practice. The coming chapter will be devoted to dissect how women and men manipulate different languages in the same sequence of words as a social practice. The gist of the subsequent chapter lies, principally, in the examination of code choices among women and men which may flatten out important details in the linguistic differences in the communities of practice through a malleable perception of gender.

III. Introduction:

The foregoing chapter has taken the onus to tackle how male/female display some linguistic differences as supple ways to construct a wide range of femininities and masculinities. We have, accordingly, preferred to tackle those differences as linguistic styles performed as a social practice to negotiate certain identities and reproduce social meanings in a variety of communities of practice. Since the bulk of our research is to canvass male/female miscommunication, we have seen that it would of paramount importance to devote a whole chapter to the most striking phenomenon of the speech of Algerians in particular (and mainly North Africans in general) which is well known as code switching. In an endeavour to find out explanations of the verbal dueling between women and men, we intend to scrutinize how women and men manage to employ different varieties within discourse to realize their communicative needs. For this reason, we attempt to consider this phenomenon as a communicative device to construct and define particular identities. Particularly important here is the point that code-switching is the linguistic outcome of language contact in multilingual communities. We intend to say "language contact" because there are, mainly, four varieties in an ongoing contact, viz. standard Arabic (SA), Algerian Arabic (AA), Berber (B) and French (F). Women and men, to sharpen the idea, seem to manipulate the alternative use of those varieties according to a bundle of social and psychological factors; it will be lucidly shown that male/female in Chlef exhibit some conspicuous differences, or let us say variations, in their code choice. In Algeria, some researches have tackled different aspects of code switching and have undertaken structural analysis of this phenomenon following a host of models (Bouamrane, 1986; Benali-Mohamed, 2007; Benhattab, 2004; Iddou, 2001). In this chapter, we intend to direct a limelight on the socio-psychological motivations of exploiting different varieties in speech.

As far as the crux of the entire dissertation is concerned, we aim at highlighting to what extent women and men engage differently in defining themselves and constructing certain social meaning through the frequent mixture of different varieties in the conversations that form the bulk of day-to-day interactions. Put differently, what we attempt to do through this part is to comb out the salient relations between gender and code choice. One might profitably think that it would be beneficial in the arena of language and gender to descry how women and men build up their personae through the use of code switching as a linguistic device to trigger particular meanings in the ebb and flow of conversational interactions. I should leave room in this chapter to examine code switching as touching the four languages

which are in contact: Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber (with a special reference to the Kabyle variety) and French. The focus will set on approaches of social dimensions of code switching taking into consideration Auer's discourse analysis approach to code switching and the Markedness Theory of Myers-Scotton (1993).

III.2 The phenomenon of Code Switching:

There has been a wide range of attempts to give a precise linguistic categorization of the phenomenon of code switching. Crystal (1987) points out that this linguistic style occurs when bilingual speakers tend to alternate between two different varieties during their speech with other bilinguals. A host of linguists define bilingualism as *"The use by an individual, a group or nation of two or more languages in all uses to which [they] put either"* (Bouamrane, 1986: 15).

Above all, the main objective of this part of research is to reason how men and women use different varieties in the ebb and flow of conversational interactions in an attempt to cater to communicative needs of that period of time, the community where the spoken interactions come about and the kind of interlocutors to whom they are communicating. This thread of research seems as worth exploring because *"the basic principal of language style is that an individual speaker does not always talk the same way on all occasions"* (Bell, 1997:240). We think, accordingly, that it is possible to dissect differentiations in language choice as well as in grammar, lexicon and pronunciation.

The choice of the code is determined by the person you are talking to, the ambient community or environment and many other social factors. For this reason, we attempt to examine the socio-psychological motivations of male/female selection of the manner they code switch to construct some sort of meaning. Style shifts take place according to the topic, setting, audience and even personal desires. So far, we have extremely mentioned the term style, yet we haven't hitherto tried to insert a clear-cut definition of this significant concept especially to the community of practice framework, the model we prefer to draw on in the examination of differences in male/female speech styles.

So, we intend the term "style" to convey *"a process of bricolage -an appropriation of local and extra-local linguistic resources in the production not just of a pre-existing persona but of a new twists on an old persona"* (Eckert, 2000: 214).

By this token, the community of practice model allows for a tremendous breadth of coverage of a bundle of novel social styles which are not incidental to the ongoing shaping of social identities and constructing specific social meanings. In language choice and code-switching, women and men strive to employ the most felicitous varieties to fulfill dozens of communicative needs and to provide themselves with a means to distance themselves from others or reveal particular meanings of solidarity. It would be possible, in fact, to figure out other socio-psychological motivation of the alteration between different codes in discourse. Generally speaking, code switching can be defined as the mixing of elements of different linguistic varieties within a single utterance or even a text. A great number of authors provide vast array definitions of code switching, which accentuate different perspectives of this phenomenon. Poplack (1980) defines code switching as the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent, which is governed, in the case of balanced bilinguals, by both extra-linguistic and linguistic factors. Balanced bilinguals are those speakers who master both languages equally well in all contexts. (Romaine, 1995).

There are many kinds of code switching concerning the linguistic structures that are involved in this linguistic phenomenon. When the code-switch is done at sentence boundaries, this type should be labeled "inter-sentential code switching"; this type is defined as including variation in the language of its clauses. That is, one clause is being in a language, and the other being in another language. This definition might be illustrated by examples from our corpus such as (15) [lbærəħ ɛ̣ṭawhum l Ali il va afficher ce soir] (yesterday, they gave them to Ali, he is going to post them up this afternoon) (Algerian Arabic – French code switching). Furthermore, the example of Kabyle – Algerian Arabic code switching may be another illustrative example of inter-sentential code switching (16) [aðruħaɣ lar suq nəʃri ləfθ] (I will go to the market to buy kale). According to Romaine (1995), inter sentential code switching would call for a greater fluency in the two languages since major parts of the utterance must obey to the syntactic rules of both languages.

By way of contrast to inter-sentential code switching, the term "intra-sentential" is used to mean a switch within a sentence; within the clause boundary. In a nutshell, intra-sentential code switching is when the switch, to a different language, can either occur within the clause boundary or even within the word boundary. Some linguists opt for calling this switching as code mixing and it is assumed to require the greatest amount of fluency / proficiency in both languages. It gains, therefore, much significance as it bears the greatest risk of violating syntactic rules and even fluent bilinguals seem to be reluctant to engage in this type of

alterations (Romaine, 1995), since it is the most difficult one in terms of interpretation. The following sentence quoted in Benhattab (2004: 26) will elucidate the above definition :(17) [nəsɛa bəzzaf əswalaħ] (we have got many things) (Berber Algerian Arabic code switch).

Additionally, tag switching or extra-sentential code switching involves the insertion of a tag or an exclamation in one language into a sentence which is otherwise in the other language (Romaine, 1995). Unlike inter-sentential code switching, such a tag may be easily, according to Romaine (1995), inserted in an utterance without being at the risk of violating its syntactic structure. As for this type of alternation, let us reveal this Kabyle- French code switching:

(18) [aya ħəmaliw] je suis venue en retard (What's a pity, I came late).

(19) [wa:w ræki hæjla lju:m] (Wow! You are amazing today).

Surprisingly, this English – Algerian Arabic code switching is not concerning what we intend to examine in this chapter, yet this sentence as recorded is not incidental knowing that there has been a conspicuous alignment to insert some English words within totally Algerian Arabic sentences. Interestingly, the use of "Wow", the English exclamation of admiration and amazement would not be as odd as it seems because this word has been, for a long time, used by mainly young people as a sign when they are bewitched by something. What is worth emphasizing here is women's frequent use of some English words with a great ease; even for those who have not a great knowledge about the English language. This is an innocent observation among educated female speakers at the university as a community of practice, and rigorous examination might be premature in the meantime. Notwithstanding, it seems that the study of English – Algerian Arabic code switching will be, few years later, proliferated widely and spawned much work on it. Not to leave this point without argumentation, it is possible to note that young female speakers show great preference to use English words: "cool", "funny" and "shut up" in their day-to-day conversations because today, globalization, the mass media and new technical innovations rule our modern world. All these factors play an important role in the fact that most female speakers in Chlef (a town in North-East of Algeria) tend to employ the English language, which is beyond dispute the premier international language throughout the world (Trask and Stockwell, 2007). Algeria has abandoned, among many other multilingual countries, French as the preferred foreign language in favour of English (ibid). What we have noticed is that the Biological and Agricultural University of Chlef has come closer to adopting English as the sole language of

instruction for all subjects especially domains such as science, technology and communications. Not only in that university, great professors from other faculties are highly interested in boosting their level in English. More importantly, those young female speakers' tendency to embellish their speech by using English words as a state -of- the- art tool to designate that they are not old-fashioned and out of touch with modern society. Although it is not enormously persuasive, female speakers tend to occupy the spacious area in coping with all which is up-to-date and fashionable, and this can be most captured in their linguistic styles. Female speakers strive to blossom their manners of speaking in order to be perceived and delineated as sophisticated and modern, and these characteristics should be stemmed from the status of the languages that they are likely to use. And in tune with recent value of English in the world, it seems clear why female speakers reveal a greater tendency than males to use the language of globality and modernity.

Overall and, perhaps most interestingly, various types of code-switching have been interpreted in the light of the function of the switch. Thanks to the plethora of symposiums on code-switching as an interesting thread of research since the late 1970, a present overview of code switching can provide a much richer and a more precise characterization of the different types and function of code-switching (CS Henceforth).

In this earlier works Gumperz (1976) claims that it is necessary to make a distinction between situational and metaphorical CS. In this line of thought, situational code switching is the glue that links the use of certain codes to different domains. Thus, speaking one language when talking with friends and acquaintances at home and switching to other language at work would be a case of situational CS. Metaphorical CS, however, concerns the communicative effect the speaker strives and intends to convey. Said in another way, speakers can also alter their code actively and without the intention of changing the conversational situation, but aiming at enriching it and their messages. In this case, code alternations are not guided by a situational change, but make metaphorical use in their competency of the social meaning of codes.

Thus, metaphorical code switching can be recognized when the variety used is abrupt, unexpectedly happened; howbeit, this switch is not purposeless since it may signal a change in mood, status or attitude of the speaker (Benali-Mohamed, 2007: 64). By this token, the speaker can communicate, through the use of metaphorical CS, metaphoric information about how he intends his words to be interpreted and understood. Moreover, Gumperz extended his

earlier ideas and introduced the term "Conversational code switching". The term "conversational code switching" may indicate that Gumperz (1982) intends to emphasize, in particular, on the discourse function of language alternation which he classifies as "*the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems*" (1982: 59). Conversational CS, which may arise within situational code-switching, should be nevertheless distinguished from the latter in the sense that it is" *more individual, non-normative, and does not maintain structurally different codes*" (Bouamrane, 1986: 6). Besides, Gumperz (1982) compares conversational code switching to the language situation that is given in diglossia. The term was first coined by Ferguson in 1959 in order to describe the use of two different varieties of the same language existing in a speech community. The main idea of this concept is that speakers use only one variety in a particular situation. This type of code switching can thus be compared to what Gumperz defines as "situational switching". By way of explanation, Gumperz (1982) claims that conversational CS is more complex since speakers are less aware of the selection of the code which they use on a particular occasion and they are rather interested in the communicative affect that they attempt to reach. In this sense, conversational CS is where the switch is *"rather spontaneous and even unconscious"* (Benali- Mohamed, 2007: 64).

Benali- Mohamed (2007) states that despite of the vast array of claims that consider code-switching as a weakness and lack of sufficient proficiency to go on in the language in which speakers commence their conversation, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic investigations have succeeded to validate the opposite. Investigations aiming at dissecting why bilinguals switch code have revealed that *in lieu of* having a restricted knowledge, those speakers have beforehand particular knowledge of different cultures, different linguistic systems and conversational rules. Aligning with this idea, the gist of this chapter is to tackle to what extent knowledge related to the notion of gender influences speakers' language choice. The purpose of this study is, to stress the point once more, to probe how women and men vary in selecting codes to express their thoughts, to signal group solidarity, to exclude someone from a portion of a conversation, or any other reason that we may encounter during the investigation.

Grosjean (1982: 152) lists some of the most prominent reasons of code switching as follows:

- Fill a linguistic need for lexical item, set phrase or discourse.

- Continue the last language used (triggering).

- To quote what someone else has said.

- Specify addressee.

- Qualify message: amplify or emphasize.

- Personalize messages by specifying speaker involvement.

- Mark and emphasize group identity.

- Express confidentiality, anger, annoyance.

- Exclude someone from conversation.

- Change the role of the speaker, empower or raise status, add authority and show expertise.

The line of thinking which acknowledges a move away, through the community of practice perspective, from fixed notions of gender and language styles will be of foremost importance in analyzing male/female code switching in Chlef.

III. 3 The Present Study:

As more studies on code-switching have been carried out, it becomes more blatant that code-switching should not be considered as a random alternation of two languages but rather a patterned linguistic behaviour. Consequently, an adequate description of the behaviours of code-switching has become one of the most prominent arenas that direct much attention on the study of code switching among bilinguals. Generally speaking, the scrutiny of the alternate use of two or more languages in the ebb and flow of conversations has, *de facto*, proliferated in two distinct directions .viz, the structural and the sociolinguistic levels. The primarily concern of the structural approach to CS lies in the grammatical aspects and the overall syntactic structure of the language employed by bilingual speakers via mutating the different varieties used in their discourse.

Hudson (1996) states that if one considers "language" as a phenomenon embracing all the languages of the world, the term "variety" of language can be used to refer to different manifestations of it; in just the same manner as one might think of "music" as a general phenomenon and then draw a distinction between "varieties of music". In alignment with this, we opt for the use of "variety" as a general term that may be used at a number of levels. So, we can use this term to distinguish between Arabic and French, but we can also use the same term to distinguish between the two varieties of Arabic in Algeria i.e. Algerian Arabic and classical Arabic.

In addition to the structural analysis of CS which is conducted to identify the structural features of morphosyntactic patterns underlying the grammar of code-switching, the sociolinguistic approaches are propounded for the sake of dissecting the reasons behind the tendency of bilingual speakers to manipulate more than one code in their daily conversations. Said differently, the sociolinguistic examinations attempt to elaborate why bilingual speakers talk the way they do.

This part will take the onus to provide a critical overview of the theoretical practical questions most prevalent in the study of the sociolinguistic dimensions of code switching. The aim of this examination is to establish whether the use of French or the French CS differs according to gender in Algeria, particularly in Chlef and to assess the variability of the persuasive claim which reads that French is, in general, more favoured by women than by men (Ennaji and Sadiqi, 1994). By this token, we intend to identify how individuals (women and men in this dissertation) decide and manage to alter the code in response to particular reasons which may symbolize certain social meanings and cater to the communicative needs in different communities.

We cannot deny that much attention has been directed towards the phenomenon of CS in Algeria and ample research has been propounded in this arena of research. But, to our present knowledge, no deep scrutiny has undertaken the issue of male/female code switching that should discern how women and men code choice is, for the most part, very clearly affected by gender factors. As it has been revealed earlier, the ultimate query in this research paper lies, mainly, in how women and men can face some linguistic barriers and, therefore, reach the miscommunication state. We find the investigation of code switching among males and females of paramount significance and it is also suitable grist for the linguists' mill those who intend to tackle male/female conversational styles in their communities.

In the light that this chapter will fundamentally concentrate on the sociolinguistic analysis of code switching, it will be divided into two parts: the sociolinguistic approach of CS with a brief examination of language choice among women and men; how the two sexes select particular varieties rather than others in a number of different situations. Besides the application of Auer's discourse analysis to CS which we hastily linked it to some examples from our corpus, we shall direct much attention on Myers – Scotton's model, the Markedness model which is well-known in code switching research. Within this model, language choice is perceived as a matter of social identity; it affords an explanation of code switching which

adopts social information stemmed from ethnographic field work. Overall, the markedness model (MM for short) is more centered on the notion that individuals make choices because of their own goals and needs. The MM holds that speaker's choices, between a range of different linguistic varieties, are based on an evaluation of the degree of social markedness involved in favouring and selecting one from over another. Overall, this model can be considered as a cognitive model in that it reads that all speakers have a communicative competence which involves structures that are innate; those speakers have a communicative competence of what is stored and assembled in the course of language use (Scotton, 2006). By the term communicative competence, we intend to mean the ability of an individual to demonstrate knowledge of the apt communication behaviour in a given context. In support of this, a speaker *" acquires competence as to when to speak, where not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner"* (Hymes, 1972: 277).

Generally speaking, the crux of this chapter is to canvass how socio-psychological factors correlate with gender in the choice of language along the course of the conversation. In addition to the foci on the sociolinguistic investigation of CS, the second part will involve a brief examination of language choice among women and men and dissect the different variables that determine the choice of language. The overriding aim of this scrutiny is to unearth male/female different perception of the needs and the utilization of CS; we attempt to descry how gender factors bias language choice, and it is thought that an examination of this phenomenon would play an essential role in canvassing the thorny issues of male/female miscommunication.

III. 4 The Data:

Not only sociolinguistics, many other analyses related to language are best likened to the laboratory analysis of blood. As a phlebotomist and laboratory technician require a sample of blood that is typically extracted from a vein, the sociolinguist needs a sample of miscellaneous utterances welding together, which are usually collected from discourses of social actors (mainly women and men in our dissertation). As far as the sociolinguistic examination is concerned, we have to try to select the most appropriate method of collecting requisite data.

In an endeavour to reach a penetrating analysis, we opt for the use of primary data (originally collected) in our research. It is not, however, an easy task for the investigator. In our study, it might be tiresome to stick to only one technique when gathering our corpus.

From the various methods for the collection of primary data, we attempt to use the indirect technique.

Apropos, we intend to adopt the indirect method of collecting data to obtain information which cannot be directly achieved, since it is well-known that when people do not recognize that they are recorded, they habitually tend to offer natural spontaneous conversations full of real experiences. By so doing, we can guarantee that the resulted corpus does not submit to any control or external factors which may have nothing to do with any influences that might touch the recordings. Bouamrane (1988), Benhattab (2004) and Benali-Mohamed (2007) intend to draw on this method deem it the most appropriate to get a spontaneous and uncontrolled corpus. This view is fuelled by the recognition that the respondents' awareness that they are recorded would enormously hamper the investigator to take their real and reliable speech. From this vantage point, we have recognized that this method would help us to meticulously record women and men's speech without letting them know that they were recorded. It is believed that this indirect method allows for a natural speech that doesn't give the informants the opportunity to reroute the conversation so as to make it as formal as possible and meet the expected norms as well.

As expected, a good number of female respondents wondered why they were not informed that they were recorded. Naturally enough, female speakers usually gravitate towards establishing their speech styles and even appear as formal and modern in their linguistic behaviour. Accordingly, such a case corroborates the advantages of the indirect method of collecting the datum.

Calling attention, however, to the flaws of this method, we may say that this technique may be fallacious in the sense that the informants do not know exactly the core problem we aim to descry (Benali-Mohamed, 2007). As a result, they would provide information and personal attitudes according to their own interests. Moreover, a lot of problems may plague – in different ways – the investigator because the recorder must be ensconced; otherwise, it should be labeled the direct technique. It is worth mentioning to reveal that the recordings were taken from various communities of practice (formal and informal) such as the university, home, shops, pizzeria and the like. Of course, the informants are from both sexes aged between twenty and sixty years old.

III. 5 The Method of Analysis:

Prior to undertaking this investigation, we have transcribed the required examples that we intended to select from the recordings of long hours. Unlike Algerian Arabic and French snatches of conversation, Kabyle informants were asked for boost in the course of the transcription. The potent reason behind this is that we are not native speakers of the Berber language. So lest the twist of the original pronunciation and the real meaning, we attempted to ask Kabyle respondents for more elucidation about how they utter such or such a word, and what they intended to mean by some expressions.

It must also be noted that questions such as: What do you mean by saying this? Why do you choose to speak this way? Are, in sober fact, directed to both Arab respondents and Kabyle ones. This is because they are all the pivots of the conversations we have recorded, and they are aware of the other interlocutors, the topics under discussion, the roles of each interlocutor and so on.

More interestingly, our purpose is to either corroborate or confute the view that dictates that women reveal greater tendency to use French then men via eliciting evidence from real-life examples. Albeit it was hard, we have tried to find out examples from both women and men sharing the same social factors and who stood on the same needs of switching the code, but the choice of the code was blatantly different. By and large, this is the crux of this chapter; does gender play a significant role in altering the code even in the same utterance?

III. 6 The Languages of Algeria:

As it has been noted earlier, Algeria is a nation that embraces more than one language. The history of the Maghreb as a whole and of Algeria, in particular has been reported that it was saturated with wars. Different invasions and conquests namely the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Turks, and The French to be closed with the Arabs.

Overall, the original people of North Africa are the Berbers who got in touch with myriad races of people, either through conflictual confrontations or through trade links. These peoples have constantly tried to perpetuate the different prints, culture and the language of Berbers on their life. Among a host of languages that have existed in the whole of North Africa, Arabic obtained *"The lion's share to the extent that it has become the most used language in the Maghreb"* (Benali-Mohamed, 2007: 26). This can be explained by, *inter alia*, the fact that Arabic is the language of the Quran and Islam. Besides Arabic and Berber

languages, French is, in fact, still sustained till the Algerian independence in 1962. It is considered as the language of modernity, sophistication and science. Obviously, the limelight we attempt to focus on is to pinpoint the relation between gender, code-switching and language choice. But before engrossing in this discussion, it seems worth mentioning to provide a brief overview of the languages that make Algeria a multilingual country.

III.6.1 The Arabic Language

To put simply, Arabic is the language which is known to be spoken by Arabs. Above all, we opt to direct a spotlight not on all the entire Algerian society, but on a limited sample from Chlef, having taken both Arabs and Berbers into consideration. They are, indeed all Algerians, yet the history and language must put their feet to disentangle the maze.

So, an Arab is a person whose language is mainly Arabic which is a Semitic language originating in Arabia. It has been claimed that the entire population of Mesopotamia, dubbed in Arabic as [bilaad arrafidajn], stemmed in the population movement of (Arab's Island), a locus between the red sea and the Persian Gulf.

Given the multilingual dimension of Algeria, classical Arabic (Cl.Ar) enjoys a great prestige, given its historical background as the language of the great Arabic literature.

Interestingly, the feature of "purity" is grossly associated with (Cl.Ar), The Arabic of Quran, or the dialect of the prophet's tribe (Quraish). In modern period, the purity of the language is well-nigh situated thanks to the prescriptive Arabic grammar books and dictionaries which attempt to develop the modern variety of Arabic via education and academic research on Arabic and Arabisation (Ennaji, 2005). In this line of thought, Ennaji (2005) states that classical Arabic is a sign of erudition and Arabic scholarship. It is customarily adopted by religious scholars to tackle Islamic topics or undertake Islamic studies.

By the term "Arabisation", we mainly refer to *"Arabisation as a language planning policy"*[4]. By this token, the endeavour of the Arabic Islamic movement to maintain to build up what is called "The Arab World"; policy makers strive to introduce Arabic in all active fields such as the private sector, science and technology, aiming at supplanting French (Language of Colonizer) by standard Arabic. Albeit there is no such big and blatant

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[4] In Ennaji and Sadiqi (1994: 103).

difference between Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA for short), we have to note that:

"Modern standard Arabic is standardized and codified to the extent that it can be understood by different Arabic speakers in the Maghreb and in the Arab world at large. It has the characteristics of modern language serving as the vehicle of a universal culture" (Ennaji, 1991: 9) (Quoted in Benali-Mohamed, 2007: 28)

Overall, classical Arabic refers to the language that has been laid down in the traditional Arabic grammars. By (MSA), we understand the standard language as it is continuing to develop in the 20th century to be used in literature, media and in formal conversations. Thus, the main difference that can be worth mentioning is, for the most part, in the vocabulary. Whilst classical Arabic fits the needs of older generation styles, (MSA) tend to cater to the contemporary needs of Arab speakers. Modern Standard Arabic has been adopted by Arab researchers and scholars in an endeavour to avoid the terms "literary" of "Classical". This term is a misnomer since it suggests two distinct language varieties: old and modern, in mainly the same way English is classified into old, Middle and Modern. (Darwish, 2009: 57). Notwithstanding, a present speaker of Arabic can easily read any written text in Arabic in any period along the timeline between pre-Islamic to the present day (ibid). Dealing with this line of thinking, Bentahila (1983) argues that:

"... these labels [i.e. CA/MSA do not seem to designate clearly distinct historical changes in the development of the language, for its grammar has remained unchanged throughout this time. The only linguistic contrasts between the various periods distinguished are of style and vocabulary; so the number of labels may be misleading since they do not refer to grammatically distinct varieties". (Quoted in Benali-Mohamed, 2007: 29).

There is no gainsay that any word, meaning or any grammatical structure in (Cl.Ar) is hitherto adopted and accepted in Modern Standard Arabic, either in the written form or the spoken one. Yet, to nuance the picture and to disentangle the maze, we opt for the use of the term "Standard Arabic" (SA) in this examination to benefit from the meanings carried by both the two terms cited above, and also to refer to the variety of Arabic which is decidedly classified as the academic and standard language.

Additionally, Algerian Arabic (AA) in the variety which is considered to be "low" and non-prestigious one. It is the vehicle via which the majority of Algerians use to communicate with each other, swap news and convey their emotions. It is not essentially oral; since we can note that a great number of short messages are written in Algerian Arabic despite of the fact that those messages are written, most of the time, in Latin characters. One cannot deny that the variety used is the one which is called AA. The latter differs according to the geographical distribution. Three major varieties can, then, be distinguished: the eastern one, the western, and the central one.

In contrast to Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic is neither codified nor standardized. Mildly to say, both Arabic and Berber are the varieties which form the mother tongue of the majority, via which their speakers exploit to share and maintain their culture, traditions, lores and the most intimate activities in their daily life.

III.6.2 Berber:

The term "Berber" is, in fact, the label that was given by the Romans "Barbarous" to the Libyan peoples that were obstinate and refractory to the Roman Civilization. Later on, that word that has been taken over by the Arabs, about the inhabitants of Maghreb "Barabir" as opposed to the term "Rum", used to dub the Romans or more accurately the Byzantine (Haddadou, 2000: 13). More importantly, the Berber people did not develop in a vacuum and their history must be put into its North African context.

Berber, the second national language in Algeria, is comprised of a number of regional varieties, viz. the Kabyle /θəqvajliθ /, the Touareg /θamaʃevɣθ/ in the extreme south of Algeria, in Hoggar and in the Tassili, the Chaouia /θaʃawiθ/ which is used by the Ishanouiyen in towns like Cherchell and Tipaza (The West), The Mouzabit /θamzaviθ/ which is spoken in the valley of the M'zab (the south of Algeria).

Today, the word for Berber is either "Tamazight" or "Imazighen", the first referring to their language, the second to the people who use it. In this work, we attempt to restrict our examination to the most important variety of "Tamazight", namely Kabyle (Taqvaylit). What we push us to specify this variety with the adjective of "important" is the fact that their great loyalty to their linguistic and cultural heritage pulls them together to indemnify their language and makes it thrive; the Kabyles *"have always carried the demand for an official*

recognitions of the Tamazight language and identity in the Maghreb" (Benali – Mohamed, 2007: 45).

Interestingly, lest the risk of overgeneralization, we prefer to confine our scrutiny to a special reference to the Kabyle variety. The second reason behind this limitation lies, for the most part, in the fact that there is a great number of Kabyle speakers those are living in Chlef in comparison to other varieties. The overwhelming majority of them are from Tizi-Ouzou (blaad lqbayel) (Kabyle's land) as it well known among the Algerians. Obviously, many Berber people in Chlef are originally from the region around Tizi Ouzou.

Overall, the Kabylia region is split into two famous centers, namely Great (High Kabylia) in Tizi-Ouzou and Small (Low Kabylia) in Béjaïa. Tizi Ouzou stands 105 Km to the east of Algiers (the capital of Algeria) and 130 Km east of Béjaïa.

The region of Kabylia is quite different from any other region of Algeria, with a distinct landscape, culture and even the indigenous Berber people who have clung to their tradition and their language. Not only the people who live there, Kabyles who are living in Chlef pride of their Berber heritage as well. Although Berbers in Tizi Ouzou will like to remind you that they were the original people there and that they are not Arabs, and it would be, therefore, undue to force them to speak Arabic, Kabyles who live in Chlef are more likely to code switch between Kabyle, Algerian Arabic and French according to a vast array of factors in order to tally with the actual needs of day-to-day interactions.

It would be worth mentioning to point that Tifinagn [θifinaɣ] is a system used by Berber speakers as it is considered to be the original writing system of the Amazigh people. The word "Tifinagn" is supposed to mean "our discovery". It is comprised of two words "Tifin + Nagh" /θifin / (Discovery) and / aɣ / (our) (Iddou, 2001: 4). It has been reported that the origin of Tifinagn is Phoenician, as it is the case for a host of Semitic and ancient Mediterranean alphabets.

This hypothesis stemmed from the fact that there exist a number of similarities between tifinagh and the Phoenician Alphabets. This hypothesis is, however, not convincing because the origin of this writing in one of the issues that is differently perceived and tackled by linguists and specialists (Haddadou, 1994: 228). In Algeria, Tifinigh is used sporadically (Ennaji, 2005: 21). In light of this, the most commonly adopted alphabet is the Latin one combined with the Phonetic alphabet and diacritics. As a case in point, the writings of the

renowned Kabyle writer, Mouloud Mammeri, are those of contemporary Kabyle writers. They are, indeed, in Latin script corroborated by diacritics and phonetic symbols.

Amazighs' reliance on the languages of the peoples they are linked to them with a particular contact in writing may be the point, Benali-Mohamed (2007) suggests, that impeded the thrive of the Tamazight writing system.

III.6.3 French:

After a long period of French colonial rule during which Algerian-Arabic was neglected to a secondary status, Algeria had a long tradition of using French as the language of government and instruction. So, French possesses a prestigious position in Algeria and is considered as the most suitable language for undertaking scientific and technical arenas of research. Following the Algerian independence, the country opted for a grand policy of Arabization in an attempt to reinforce and elevate Arabic to a status of an official language.

We squarely agree with the fact that despite the political attempts to sustain the use and the holistic reliance on Arabic at the educational and institutional levels, French remains 'The semi-official' language in Algeria which is, may be, the point where both Arabs and Berbers meet. Say differently, those Arabic speakers and Berber ones reveal, mainly a similar preference for the use of French. The ultimate goal behind this examination of code-switching and language choice is to check the unanimous hypothesis that reads that women tend to extremely use French more than men, even intellectual males those have a good background of French. Besides, it seems interesting to scrutinize the social and psychological motivations behind male/female code choice.

III.7 Auer's Discourse Analysis Approach to Code Switching:

Above all, with the vast recognition of the commonality of multilingualism, how bilinguals manipulate their use of different languages has become a moot subject of primary concern. Although we have revealed a definition of the term "bilingualism", it seems necessary to state that "bilinguals" are often broadly defined as individuals or groups of people who reach the knowledge and use of more than one language. In this vein, Haugen (1953:7) states that bilinguals are those individuals who are capable of being fluent in one language but who "*can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language*". As it has been pointed earlier, the popular beliefs that speculate that the alternative use of different languages within the same discourse is a sign of lack of knowledge and linguistic deficiency

have been, for the most part, changed. Overall, the scrutiny of the alternate employment of two or more languages in the discourse has proliferated along different but related directions: structural and sociolinguistic dimensions. By the structural approach to CS, it is meant to be the focus on grammatical aspects. The crux of this approach it to identify syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on CS. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, concentrates on embarking upon explaining queries such as how social meaning is constructed in CS and tries to elicit particular discourse functions that this phenomenon serves. It should be noted that the theoretical empirical part of our research in CS is to canvass why bilingual speakers talk the way they do, directing a specific attention on how women and men manage to mutate codes within the same discourse. Interestingly, the term "code" is relatively neutral conceptualization of a linguistic variety; this latter be it a language or a dialect[5].

Milroy and Muysken (1995: 7) define code switching as *"the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation"*. In alignment with Romaine's (1995) definition, you may encounter – in this examination – the alternative use between two varieties of the same language, not solely different languages.

Importantly, the publication of Auer's bilingual conversation (1984) signals a significant turning point in the studies of code switching. He vehemently claims that Blom and Gumperz's notion of situation is to be too restricted. According to Auer (1984), situation is not a predetermined bundle of norms which serve solely as a constraint on linguistic performance. In this sense, participants in a conversation constantly produce preliminary frames for subsequent activities, which in turn innovates novel and new frames. In this line of thought, every utterance and every turn, then change some features of the situation, and sustain or reproduce others. The previous chapter has been devoted to highlight how social actors participate in their CofP to negotiate particular meanings and construct a multiple of identities. Auer (1984) states, in this respect, that the phenomenon of CS is *inter alia* an important resource used to negotiate social meaning. We will focus on how women and men through language enact, create, elucidate and reproduce culturally apt and relevant constructs of personhood, gender, knowledge and socialization. More specifically, what we intend to

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[5] Romaine (1995:121) inserts that: "I will use of the term code here in a general sense to refer not only to different languages, but also to varieties of the same language as well as styles within a language".

explore here is the critical role of language and the engagement in code switching in the negotiation and fabrication of a multiple of identities among women and men.

In an attempt to afford a discourse-based model for a rigorous examination of CS, Auer (1984) tries to draw on a conversational analysis approach in the scrutiny of bilingual's linguistic behaviour among Italian migrants dwelling in Germany. Conversation analysis is a method which Auer (1984) adopts for the sake of describing the functions of code switching as having the approach of ethnomethodology as bedrock. Ethonomethodology tries to understand how people see, describe, and jointly develop a definition of the situation. (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1970).

In an attempt to reach a spot-on study of the meaning of code-switching, this latter should be taken seriously as a conversational activity. In support of this, Auer (1984:92) points out that "*The proper locus at which semantic values may be assigned to the codes are the very same situations in which language juxtaposition is used for communicative purposes*". Overall, Auer (1984) elucidates a conversational model which filled the room left by macro – sociolinguistic investigations into code switching and the grammatical approach. Stated in very general terms, macro-sociolinguistics investigates what societies do with their languages. That is, the different attitudes and attachments that account for the functional distribution of speech forms in society (Coulmas, 1998).

Conversational categories are, according to Auer (1995), ill-defined since they are not stemmed from a theory of interaction. He, therefore, gives an alternative approach which spans both the analytic framework of the methodology, conversation analysis and Gumperz's theory of contextualization (as will be elaborated later). As the most basic level, conversation analysis is the study of talk. It is unanimously defined as the systematic examination of the talk produced in the ebb and flow of conversational interactions in everyday situations of human interaction: talk -in- interaction. Under this approach, language choice is primarily determined by the relation between the knowledge of social actors about interaction and their tools and models in daily interaction. This knowledge is built through conversation i.e. the interchange through speech of information, ideas, etc. More importantly, Auer directs particular limelight on the sequential environment of the meaning of CS that must be tackled according to its preceding as well as to its following utterances. The paramount importance of this condition may become apparent when he states that:

> "*Any theory of conversational code-alternation is bound to fail if it does not take into account that meaning of code alternation depends in essential ways on 'its sequential environment'* " *(Auer, 1995: 116).*

By sequential environment, Auer (1995) intends to refer to the preceding and following language choices which must be taken into consideration in the interpretation of code alternation. Thus, specific attention must be paid to the generic organization of the discourse with particular emphasis on the sequences in which codes alternate. With regard to the interpretation of code alternation as a contextualization cue, Auer (1995) distinguishes a number of code alterations as linguistic tools according to specific functions within conversation. In addition to revealing some fundamental sociolinguistic answers about the functions of code switching, our investigation has also been directed towards dissecting how women and men differ in their language choices and dissect the validity of the persuasive idea that women are much more likely to adopt French language than men under the rubric of French is a symbol of "social mobility", "modernity" and "enlightenment"

1. A device to signal a change in topic

Auer (1995) claims that code-switching may contextualize a shift in topic or a change in the participant constellation. Not only monolingual speakers (knowing or expressed only in one language), bilingual speakers alter the topic under discussion even within a single conversation as well. Auer (1995) states that this kind of alternation has the function of taking part into the organization of the discourse in a particular situation. It is usually interpreted by the participant to contextualize a particular feature of the interaction. Discourse-related switching is considered as a type of conversational code-switching where constituent of different varieties are exploited in the conversation to commence a new topic (Alfonzetti, 1998: 197)[6].

Obviously, both women and men in Chlef tend to switch code for the sake of signaling an initiation of a new subject or topic. Alfonzetti adds "*code switching may therefore be seen as one of the devices by means of which the task of changing topic may be carried out by bilingual speakers*".

(20) A: lju:m tlæqi:t mɛa ʃʃi:x tææ lpsiko xlaɛni ki gæli ɣadwa l'examen.

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[6] In Benhattab (2004:41).

(Today I met the teacher of psychology; he shocked me when he told me that the exam will be held tomorrow).

B: ʃæ fi:ha ? (Where's the problem?).

A: / ami? jax akkən inɛawəz laɛʃa / (How? We stayed up together last evening and I didn't revise).

This is a conversation between two Kabyle male classmates about the fact that (A) met their Arab teacher of psychology. This is why speaker (A) intends to inform his fellow about the date of the examination using Algerian Arabic. When speaker (A) was asked about his choice of AA in swapping this piece of information to his friend; he responded that this code choice is spontaneous since the professor is an Arab speaker. Albeit that speaker (A) starts the conversation in AA, he himself switches to Kabyle in order to send a message that he is going to change the topic. He may not change completely the topic, but he aims at reminding his friend that they were enjoying their times together last night, and that there was no occasion to open any book of psychology.

(21) A: Enfin, la conférence est terminée. Je suis très fatiguée.

(Lastly, the lecture is finished. I am very tired).

B: Nous irons directement à la maison.

(We will go directly home).

A: məʃi θəniḍd atəqḍuɤ ? (Didn't you say that you will go for shopping?).

The above dialogue is shared by two Kabyle female students of Biology (the study of living organisms). The two ladies prefer to use French at the beginning of the conversation, but speaker (A) changes the topic through the use of the Kabyle variety to ask her friend if she still plans to go for shopping. A propos, the two female speakers seem to favour French because they were attending a lecture which is normally held in French. Then, the shift to Kabyle seems rational since speaker (A) starts to speak about "shopping", a topic which immediately pulls them away from the formality of the lecture to the informal topic which triggers the use of their mother tongue (Kabyle).

More specifically, we may easily notice that female speakers tend to maintain the use of French even outside the amphitheater where they attended the lecture. By way of contrast, male speakers do not pay much attention to the daily necessity of using French.

Above all, it is possible to state that the overwhelming majority of Kabyle speakers living in Arab speaking communities have the opportunity to manipulate more codes than Arab speakers. Unfortunately, Arabs have a blatant tendency to learn foreign languages such as French, English, Italian and Spanish, but not the Berber language and it would not be surprising to encounter a native like control of one of those languages. Beside their mother tongue (Tamazight), Berber speakers can employ the varieties of Arabic (AA or SA) and French in their daily conversations, whereas speakers of Chlef Spoken Arabic are not capable to add Tamazight to their generic linguistic repertoire.

As for the case of switching code to signal a change in topic, we have noticed that women and men in CSA sometimes, share the same French expression "A part ça?" (Apart from that?), where they strive to alter the subject they are talking about. This French expression is conspicuously inserted within, may be, a whole conversation in Algerian Arabic. In addition to signal a shift in topic, this expression is *per se* a call for closing the conversation. In this vein, some speakers of CSA (males and females) state that they say (A part ça?) to suggest to the other interlocutor (especially on the phone) that he attempts to quit mainly the long conversation.

2. A device to introduce contrastive information:

Bilingual speakers may use code switching as a linguistic device to express contrast or distinguish by comparison of unlike or opposite qualities. For such,

(22) Les femmes Arabes savent très bien dancer /amaɛna θaɛravin usintara aðʃədħənt iθqvajliθ / / θiqvajliji:n ʃḍaħ nsənt xffi:f aṭas /

(Arab women dance well but they do not know how to dance like Kabylians. Kabylians' dance is very fast).

This snatch of conversation is taken from a Kabylian woman speaking with her neighbour about the difference between Kabylians' and Arabs' dancing. She prefers to use French in expressing her viewpoint about Arab's dancing. She immediately tends to mutate the code; she employs Kabyle in order to introduce a piece of information which serves as a

contrast with the proceeding utterance. Unlike Arabs dancing, Kabylian women- she intends to say- are much more likely to dance in a rapid and vibrating manner. This should be stunning for Oaks (2008) when he states:

>   *"if you are lucky enough to catch a wedding   then the dancing will also strike you as it involves more hip shaking than Shakira[7] could even dream about"*
> (p: 109).

(23) / æna məʃi kima nta nəbɣi nækul əṭɛæm / /amaɛna səziθ uzumu:r/ (I am not like you, I like eating couscous but with olive oil).

This sentence is, *de facto*, uttered by a kabylian male speaker with his brother. The subject under discussion is about the Couscous; the spicy dish, originating in North Africa, consisting of steamed semolina usually served with meat broth. He is capable of using the Berber equivalent of Couscous /sseksu/ or even uttering the whole utterance in Kabyle. Notwithstanding, he tends to switch code to K aiming at pointing to the difference of taste between him and his brother. In addition to the intention of signaling a contrast meaning, he seems as being aware that "olive oil" is the famous Algerian product of the Kabylian region and that it is of a grand significance in the preparation of a host of Berber dishes. Put differently, he seems to recognize that the most appropriate variety to speak about "olive oil" should be Berber.

Moreover, a striking fact about the disparity of using French among male / female speakers in CSA is that a great number of women tend to frequently use French to demarcate themselves from male speakers, especially in formal settings.

(24) /ħna ʃwija manæʃ xʃæn felhadra / mais les hommes ont toujours la tendance à prendre et conserver les pouvoir dans leurs discours.

(We are a little bit not harsh in our speech but men have always the tendency to gain and maintain power in their discourse).

This AA – Fr code switch is, in fact, produced by a woman as conveying her opinion concerning the difference between women and men which may lead to miscommunication. Unlike this female report of opinion, a male speaker does not signal any need to change the

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[7] A Colombian singer and dancer.

code even when revealing contrastive information. The male speaker keeps using AA in answering the same question by saying (25) /əræʒəl jtebbaɛ ɛaqlu bessaħ lmra tebbaɛ galbha / (the man leads with his mind but the woman leads with her heart). What is of particular concern here is that the man prefers to offer the contrast that states that a man is a logical thinker and a woman is an emotional feeler without descrying that the switch to French may be requisite for signaling the contrast as the woman does.

3. A device to emphasize one's message

In most cases, code switching in used for the purpose of reiterating of what has just been said. A message in one code is repeated in another code serves to corroborate and clarify what is said, but often they merely accentuate or emphasize the message (Auer, 1998).

(26) Je viendrais /adasa/   (I am coming)

(27)/adasa aqliji:n/   (I have already come).

The example (26) is uttered by a female when she is in a hurry and she was called by her friend who expressed her annoyance about her delay.

It's quite clear that the woman was not so calm; she was somehow hampered by the fact that she is so late. Besides her usage of French at the beginning of the utterance, she alters her language choice to K to stress the message that she is about to come. Meanwhile, a man in mainly the same situation finds it apt to emphasize the message without switching to another code. Again, most of men don't share the same tendency with women to direct much attention on the alteration of the code in the same utterance in general and the switch to French in particular.

Similarly, the utterance from our corpus is actually expressed by a man to his fiancé (28) /twaħaʃtek bezzaf/ (I miss you so much). This example has, in sober fact, nothing to do with the phenomenon of code switching. We purposefully reveal this snatch of conversation to beckon that unlike many female speakers, men are not usually reluctant to maintain their language choice in reinforcing and emphasizing his message. Whilst many females opt for changing the code in an attempt to accentuate and emphasize her message. For such, the fiancée herself favoured to switch to French (29) / twaħaʃtek/ tu me manque. By this repetition via the alteration of the code is to aver that she tremendously misses him.

4. **A Device to Structure and Segment the Information into Smaller Units:**

In addition to the functions cited above, code-switching can be used as a linguistic tool to slice information into smaller pieces (Benhattab, 2004). Auer (1984) remarks that some discursive activities such as the introduction of a new topic is likely to be expressed by bilingual speakers through the use of code switching which is, in fact, different from the one employed at the beginning of the preceding utterance. As a point in case, the following examples will endorse this line of thought and it will demarcate male/female tendency to use Fr in their conversations.

(30) /aqlji:n usiɣd mbaɛd anəmləlaf   2:00   / (I am coming, then we will meet at 2 o'clock).

(31) /aqlji:n usiɣd/ (après je vais vous voir l'après midi).

(I am coming, then I will see you at the afternoon).

The first utterance is taken from a male speaker when telling his male chum that he is coming to meet him. By so doing, he aims at adopting the switch to Algerian Arabic in order to divide the information into smaller pieces and introduces, at the same time, a new piece of information. As it has been demonstrated earlier, Kabylian males are more likely to switch between AA and K in informal contexts when talking with friends and acquaintances. Women, however, marked a greater preference to switch code to French as a contextualization strategy via the transition from one type of verbal activity to another. Said differently, female speakers (Kabyles) generally use more French than men. Example (31) demonstrates that the lady tends to continue in employing French code to the rest of the utterance. By analogy to example (30) uttered by a man, she alters the code in order to divide the whole utterance into two pieces of information. Notwithstanding, the disparity between women and men in the use of French is, mainly, blatant in the fact that the female speaker selects to say (après) instead of the Kabyle equivalent /θiʃəkki / or the Algerian Arabic one /mbaɛd/. Besides this, she intends not solely to use (après) to single the division of information; it is conspicuous then that she finds it more suitable to maintain the choice of French for the remaining part of the whole and dominant utterance.

III.8 The Social Dimension of Code Switching:

As stated earlier, we will direct a limelight on the sociolinguistic level of the analysis of code switching. This is because we think that there are no conspicuous differences in the morph syntactic of male/female CS. It is normally known that code switching is the repercussion of particular needs that can be brought into open from a sociolinguistic stance and sometimes psycholinguistic analysis. In order to pursue the inquiry of how bilingual speakers switch code to meet specific needs, it is essential to begin by looking at the claims that intend to answer the question of why bilingual speakers alter the code and strive to employ alternatively all the codes s/he has in his/her linguistic repertoire. What is of most interest here is that the be-all and end-all of this examination is to catch if women and men have different needs for the use of code switching or not, and if women really exhibit greater adherence to adopt French more than men in mainly the same situation and tackling the same topic.

III.8.1 Linguistic Deficiency:

One of the many reasons behind code alteration is the lack of proficiency in one, or more, languages that s/he employs in the ebb and flow of the conversation. In some contexts, code-switching is triggered by linguistic deficiency. To paraphrase Ennaji (2005), code switching may compensate for the linguistic deficiency. For instance, when the bilingual feels that he loses words he has already learnt them or he merely ignores them, his reliance on another code will serve to rectify this deficit. The following example will certainly support the claim of Benali-Mohamed (2007) that Tamazight speakers frequently rely on Arabic or French when conversing in Tamazight or vice versa.

(32)   /lazən anzən ðə∫u/ le probleme / iksa ba∫ adnaf la solution   /

(we have to find out what the problem is in order to find the solution).

It should be noted here that this sentence is uttered by a female speaking with her male cousin. Although she knows that "problem" and "solution" have Tamazight equivalents: /aggurən/ and / θifraθ/ respectively. She often forgets how to say it in Berber because she resides in an Arabic speaking community. Additionally, we have purposefully selected another example taken from a male's speech with his friend about some problem:

(33) /læzəm ənzən ðə∫u lmo∫kil/ (we have to find out what is the problem).

By way of contrast to the example (32), this male speaker actually knows how to say the word "problem" in both French and Algerian Arabic. Notwithstanding, he simply relies on Algerian Arabic rather than French. What is of particular interest here is that women in Algeria, particularly in Chlef, seldom lose the chance of using the French lexical items that are part of their linguistic repertoire. Most of men, however, do not recall this necessity to use French.

There is no gain say that men use French in most contexts, but what we intend to mean is that even males who master the French language very well do not call for the use of French as a requisite tool as it is for women in many contexts.

III.8.2 Situational Code Switching:

The concept of situational CS has been one of the more intensely disputed contributions postulated by Gumperz to the arena of code switching research. Blom & Gumperz (1972) in their examination of the situation of Hemmesberget in Norway, find that alternating the codes by local people was to be considered as patterned and predictable. Drawing on an ethnographic and linguistic approach, they classified two different types of CS: situational switching and metaphorical switching. As for situational CS, they reckon the fact of the teacher who gives lectures at the university in Bokmal which symbolizes his status and the formality of the locus where the interaction takes place, , but the teacher employs Ranamal so as to hobnob or talk informally with his students to encourage and give them a boost.

(34) A: /liɣ vɣiɣ aḍroħaɣ ar/ la marche /neldzæjər asəni nəsevθ aqlaɣ næja ði lehmu:m/

(I wanted to go to the march in Algiers on Saturday, we get fed up with this misery).

B: saħ θamurθ-aki θsaɛjajanaɣ hæ aʃu θafɣi: ḍ attxeðmaḍ ?

(That's true, this country tires us, what can we do?)

A: ɛandək əssaħ mandi:ru wælu ana fi roħi ḍrabtha btaħwisa felħama

(You are right, we can do nothing. I made a journey in El Hamma Garden).

As it must be stated here is that the conversation between the two male neighbours was held at the beginning in Kabyle. The subject under discussion was serious about some social and political problems that seem to be prevalent in the country.

Needless to say, the two men seem as disgruntled about some social conditions. More importantly, the two speakers prefer to use Kabyle to convey their anger about the socio-political status of Algeria that they think it does not meet their needs. As expected, the change of the topic will customarily lead to code alteration. Speaker (A) switches to Algerian Arabic when he intends to quit Socio-political issues that he was discussing with his neighbour; he considers AA as more informal than K to narrate his journey in the famous garden "El – Hamma" in the capital of Algeria "Algiers".

(35) A: Elle a travaillé sur l'amélioration de l'activité lactique chez les intolérants au lactose par utilisation de bactérie lactiques.

(She worked on improving the lactose activity of the lactose intolerance by the use of lactic acid bacteria).

B: Oui je sais, c'est pour ça elle ne peut pas les prendre, je vais parler avec Monsieur Dilmi.

(Yes I know, this is why she cannot take them. I will speak with Mr. Dilmi).

A: C'est bien (That's good).

B: /θura ðajən uxədmara aṭas . atsən 12. utəsruħuḍara atfəθraḍ   ? nekkini θura aḍroħaɣ saxxam uxədmɣæra θamədiθ/

(Stop! don't keep tiring yourself. It is 12:00. Aren't you going to take lunch? I' m going at home; I am not working the afternoon).

In this conversation, speaker (A), the husband of speaker (B) is talking with her about a scientific subject since they are colleagues at the same university. Basically, what we want to reveal here is that the beginning of the dialogue is hold in French inasmuch as the topic under discussion is about a scientific theme tackled by one of their colleagues. Not to leave room of any maze, let us say that by "lactose intolerance", they intend to mean the inability to digest lactose, a sugar found in milk and milk products. Besides, the lactic acid bacteria is a type of bacteria which is characterized by an increased tolerance to lower pH range, a measure of the acidity. Obviously, the wife, who is at the same time his colleague, immediately, switches to Kabyle which is normally considered to be the language of cultural identity, home, the family, village affiliation, intimacy, traditions, orality and nostalgia (Sadiqi, 2003). In support of this, the female mutates the code to K because she feels that it is time to address

her husband not her colleague of work. As a matter of fact, she claims that she intends to employ Kabyle to break the monotonous formal talks about science and administration. The professor who becomes a wife, she adds, wants to make her husband recognizes that his partner is worried about him and she really wants him to leave his office and take a rest. However, she beckons that she likes to use Kabyle in speaking about home, the family, etc. with intimate people, of course, those who understand K.

Similarly, women and men in CSA are likely to switch code if there is signal of situational change. What we want to dissect is not these types of CS *per se*; what we endeavor to look for is to what extent the two sexes employ differently the codes that constitute part of their linguistic repertoire. The subsequent examples will elaborate gender disparity in language choice.

III.8.3 Metaphorical Code-Switching:

In addition to situational code switching, bilingual speakers can also switch codes actively and without the intention of altering the conversational situation, but of enriching it and their messages. In this case, the speakers are not guided by a situational change; the switch depends on the speaker's own code choice which is, in fact, not expected to take part in the conversation. Said differently, metaphorical CS is triggered by changes of topic rather than the social situation. This type of switching takes place when a particular variety is used for the topic, interlocutor, setting or purpose, with which is not normally or expectedly associated.

(36) A: /atsən θħu:s səl lmaḍaki θsa arva sni:n sugasmi θəqo:m l'operation ði lxarədʒ/ /ananas bəli iroħas/

(She is suffering by this malignant illness (he means cancer). Four years ago, she was treated by a surgery outside the country and they told her that she was cured).

B:/ i:h ħəta anənd bəli iroħas/ /axən uɣalas θura atsan latsuqi:m/ traitement

(Yes, they told her that the disease disappeared but it comes back now. She is following the treatment).

A: Le cancer du colon réapparaît après un traitement. Il apparaît souvent dans le foie ou les poumons plutôt que dans le côlon.

(Colon cancer recurs after treatment. It appears frequently in the liver or lungs rather than in the colon).

Along this conversation, speaker (A) who is a female speaking with her fiancé about one of their relatives who has succumbed cancer for year. Naturally enough, the discussion is held in AA since they are speaking about the state of one of the acquaintances. What is not expected here is the sudden switch of the female speaker to French. By way of explanation, she tends to use French for the sake of transmitting her level of education and tell the interlocutor that the man should take women's educational "advantage" into account (Sadiqi, 2003: 269). Albeit she knows that her fiancé has a restricted level of French, she chooses to use French than keep adopting AA which was so clear for her fiancé and the other two persons those were with them. Let us say that this code switch would be an expected one if she is certain that F would be apt and clear for the other interlocutors, but in this context the switch depends, to borrow Benali-Mohamed's (2007: 107) phrase, *"exclusively on the individual who is in control of the codes"* she adopts. As for this example, she attempts to reveal that she has got a particular scientific background and she also intends to wrest the talk since she does guarantee that the other interlocutor was not expecting this code switch because she knows that his French background is not good enough to tackle such a topic in such a code.

(37) A: /Azzul amik̲ θəliḍ/ ça va ?   (Hi! How are you? Are you fine?)

B: ça va /ħamdullah/ (Fine. Thanks God).

A: /ʃħal ajaki ukəmwalaɣa baʃ anəhḍar/ (I have not seen you for a long time to   talk).

B: / ih kemmini laθxadmaḍ aki / (Yes. Are you working here?).

A: /ih jəlak̲ra isθaḍ niɣ mazal/   (Yes. Tell me, do you have something or not yet?)

B:/wallah mazal/ /vɣiɣ adaɣəɣ/ une chemise /bəssaħ mazal ufi ɣara/ la couleur igəvviɣ/ (By God! Not yet. I would like to buy a shirt but I haven't found the colour I like).

A: /aməllal adifaɣ fəllal/ / mazalik̲əm zəḍɣaḍ ð θamɣarθim? /

 (The purple goes with you. Are you still living with your mother in law?

B: Peut-être, je vais la prendre. Je ne veux pas perdre beaucoup du temps en choisissant la couleur. (May be, I will take it. I don't want to waste much time in choosing the colour).

This conversation is hold between two neighbours and ancient friends who met in a shop where female (A) works. Speaker (A) seems to be solicitous about unearthing chunks of information about her neighbour (B). And this can be attested in the fact that she is asking her if she is pregnant or not yet. It would be noteworthy to state that the question "Do you have something or not yet?" is automatically directed to a married woman, especially if she is a new bride. This question is, as a matter of fact, known as byword which is much ascribed to women. In other words, that question unanimously denotes the wondering if such a woman carries a fetus in her womb or not.

Moreover, speaker (A) tends to use short oath and swearing by God that she is not pregnant than she immediately reveals her desire to buy a shirt.

By analogy to the Moroccan context as stated by Sadiqi (2003), women are more likely than men - in the Algerian culture – to swear in order to guarantee security and as a vow of truths. Apropos, there is a conspicuous disparity between men and women in the use of oaths. In an attempt to seek public credibility that society denies them in some contexts, they use many oaths than men. They often feel that they need to justify themselves more than men, especially in public. More importantly, the answer of (A) with a short oath without any extension in the topic flattens out important details. Her reluctance to chronicle her private news is *inter alia* the most significant point that we can glean from her reply. Notwithstanding, speaker (A) keeps asking her about her family status and wondering if she is still living with her mother-in-law or she possesses a private house. On the whole, what should be under the sociolinguistic microscope is the fact that (B) switches to French in order to create a specific distance between her and speaker (A). She strives, by mutating the code from K to Fr, to tell sleekly the other interlocutor that she does not want to speak about her personal life and she wants solely to buy what she needs because she has not enough time.

In this respect, women are not passively waiting for what the norms of the speech community dictate, they constantly "fight back" by innovating, empowering communicative strategies according to a host of factors such as age, socio-economic status and level of education, as well as the linguistic choices that are available to them.

Above all, being a native language, Berber gains the dynamism and vitality which is one of the characteristics of mother tongues. Sadiqi (2003) states that the mother tongue status of Berber makes it closer to people's everyday concerns and worries. In the light that women who first speak Berber to their children; it is they who keep the language and they favour to use it in many communities of practice, and this might be attested in the fact that the overwhelming majority of Berber women (either literate of illiterate) do not miss the opportunity to use Tamazight with other Berber interlocutors in informal contexts about daily activities and subjects about home, family, intimacy, nostalgia and so on. Interestingly, this fact may roughly corroborate Sadiqi's (2003) claim that Berber is a female language, and this does not mean that men do not use the language, it solely connotes that they use it less than women. However, this view cannot be over generalized in the community under study because age and educational level play a prominent role in the maintenance of Berber language. According to our observation, old women tend to clung to use Berber both in public and private settings. By contrast, young females aging between 17-30 years old seem to be mindful communicators about their code choice; they adhere to the use of French rather than Berber in public contexts. They see that French fares better than the other varieties used in Algeria deem it the language of "modernity" which affords them some kind of prestige. In urban areas, this segment of society is more encouraged to employ French than young males. The educational level is also at play, for women, in the sense that a great portion of rural and illiterate females adopt Berber. Educated women attempt, on the other hand, to switch to French and employ it in their everyday life considering it as an urban, subordinate second language which is closely related to education (Ennaji and Sadiqi 1994). According to the community of practice framework, we should state in the case of example (37), speaker (A) is likely to manipulate *par excellence* two multiple identities by the alternation between Kabyle and French. Put differently, this woman, who is about 28 years old and who teaches physics in secondary school, was not reluctant to use her mother tongue in a shop with her ancient friend, but she intends to switch to F in order to meet the communicative need of making a certain distance between her and the other interlocutor. More specifically, she employs French code-switching because she wants to make a barrier between her friend and her private and personal life.

By contrast, a great number of men may simply make an abrupt topic shift or may elusively quit the topic that they don't want to maintain rather than choosing F as a linguistic device to create distance to eschew a particular topic.

98

III.8.4 The Markedness Model:

Meyers-Scotton (1993:3) claims that CS *"serves the same general socio-psychological functions everywhere"* and she developed what has become known "the markedness model" that seeks to elaborate social motivations for CS across different languages and contexts. She develops and propounds this model as a framework for describing socio-psychological motivations for the linguistic practice of CS. The theory behind this model stipulates that speakers have markedness metric *"that enables speakers to access all code choices or more or less unmarked or marked for the exchange type in which they occur"* (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 80). By the metric, she intends to mean a universal cognitive ability of all humans; speakers are conscious of what code is expected (unmarked) or unexpected (marked). As it has been stated earlier, the MM is more centered on the notion that speakers make choices according to their own goals compatibly, of course, with certain considerations for listeners.

The MM postulates that code switching is not determined by situations as assumed by Blom and Gumperz (1972). Instead, code switching is the choice that a speaker decides to make. Following the MM. all code choices can be interpreted in terms of speakers' motivations.

III.8.4 .1 The Unmarked Maxim Choice:

According to Scotton (1993), all people are equipped with a competence to access linguistic choices. By so doing, they tally with the norms and the expected choices through adopting what she labels "unmarked choices" or they transgress the norms and convey their disagreement via the use of "marked choices".

By unmarked choices, she intends to denote the switch which is normally expected by the audience; they are those that are more or less expected, given the ingredients of the interaction such as participants, topic, setting, etc. (Myers-Scotton, 2006). She postulates that the unmarked code refers to the "expected medium" in a particular type of conventionalized exchange (1993, 89 – 90). This choice is marked as expected because it has been used most frequently in such contexts, and Scotton predicts that it will be more frequently selected by speakers because it is unmarked. According to this model, a linguistic choice is always made on the basic of a particular evaluation of markedness for a specific "Rights and Obligation" set (or RO set). The selection of the unmarked linguistic choice reflects an unmarked set of rights and obligations between the social actors. To measure the markedness of a given

utterance, all speakers should possess a markedness evaluator and they tend to act rationally because they have a set of choices and they presumably make the felicitous choice. By "felicitous choice", it is meant to be the choice that will benefit the speaker most given his audience and the ambivalent surroundings of the speech event. (Bassiouney, 2006: 163). In support of this, a speaker must calculate the costs and rewards of one choice over another (Myers – Scotton, 1993). "Costs" refers to the quantity of words s/he decides to use, and "rewards" refer to the intentional and referential denotation they convey to their listeners.

(38) A: /ðəʃu θxəðməm ðəks θhaḍram jiɣəs niɣ mazal?/

(What did you do? Did you speak with him or not yet?).

B:Chaque fois nrɒħ ɣɒərs axdinin mazal idirɒħ (Each time we go to see him, they tell us that he is not there- in his office-)

A: aṭafnaɣ aṭas asuges baʃ aðizər bunadem imanis sana iθədud/

(They delayed us. A whole year in order to know our status)

A: θəfḍiḍ lxədma s l'ogiciel ixdifka?

(Have you started working on the software that he gave us?)

B: Non, pas encore. Je vais travailler sur logiciel aéraulique.

(No, not yet. I will work on Aerodynamic software).

A: Tant mieux   (Good).

The above conversation is held between two colleagues at the University of Chlef. They were talking about the results of their postgraduate theoretical year. They seemed vexed and worried since they haven't met their supervisor for the many times they come to his office. Obviously, speaker (A) who is a male shares a general consensus about adopting K with his female colleague (B) even in a formal community of practice which is the University. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the female speaker intends to switch code from K to Fr since the male asks her a question which is normally a preamble of a scientific subject. This fragment of conversation reveals a conventionalized exchange for which switching between Kabyle and French is an unmarked choice for the other bilingual peers, who are not native speakers of Berber language. In other words, the code was expected mainly for two reasons.

The first reason may be the need to employ the apt language for a scientific topic which is normally Fr, and she attempts to convey a meaning of solidarity with the other Arab colleagues who joined them (the two Kabyle speakers in the above conversation) at that moment. So, it is true that the MM directs much attention on the role of the speaker's communicative intentions, but the choice made by the speaker is related in some ways, to his/her audience expectation. By making an unmarked choice, the speaker aims at minimizing costs and maximizing rewards. As a case in point, male/female switch to F in this conversation shows that they are causing no social ripples since the other interlocutors predict and expect such a choice. To further embed the notion that women, in their communities for practice, perform and display a variety of social identities; this dialogue will be an illustrative example that points out that the woman was keenly aware that Fr is the suitable and most expected choice to both express solidarity and negotiate position and erudition.

The following example taken from CSA further shows switching as an unmarked choice:

(39) A: Salam comment vas-tu? Ça va? (Hi, how are you? Fine?)

B: Ça va, merci. (Fine thanks).

A: pouvez-vous modifier mon emploi du temps de surveillance d'examen ?

(Can you change my timetable of examination's supervision?)

8:00 ne m'arrange pas (8:00 does not suit me)

manəqdarch ənnawəd **Ayah** fi haðæk ṣba: ħ (I cannot wake up Ayah at that time of morning).

B: ræhi mliħa? rəjħat ʃwija? (Is she fine? Is she better?)

A:/ ħamdullah/ /raki ɛærfa lmard taɛ əṣɣa:r /

(Thanks God. You know the kids' illness).

Example (39) narrates a conversation between two female teachers at the university. Albeit speaker (A) commenced the conversation by using the Islamic greeting "Salam" rather than the French one "Salut", it is obvious that the first part of conversation war carried in Fr

which seems to cope with the context of administration and the formal topic about the schedule of the examinations. By switching then to the unmarked choice of French, teacher (A) is keenly aware about the change of topic and she accordingly decides to alter the code she intends to use it at the beginning of the conversation. She knows that this code alteration would be welcomed and expected by the other interlocutor. By analogy to the Berber language as characterized by the vitality of the mother tongue, CSA which is part of Algerian Arabic is much closer to people's everyday concerns and worries. The two female speakers agree on using French as an appropriate variety to discuss or negotiate with her colleague the modifications of speaker's (A) timetable, then the latter decides to call for the use of AA, the variety of home, family, intimacy, etc. By adopting CSA, she intends to draw a link, which does not extinguish the social norms and expectations, between the speech about her daughter and this code choice. As expected, she marks a natural unmarked choice to speak about personal facts that are squarely far from the formal subjects at the university.

Furthermore, we are more inclined to allow space for what might be described as women's negotiation of different identities all the time in a multiple communities of practice. As it has been revealed earlier, the idea of "mutual engagement" as defined by Wenger (2000) is very important in interaction between the participants of the conversation (speaker and listener). What we intend to mean here is that the unmarked choice used in this situation (example 39) is derived from generic agreement about the codes involved and speaker (A) does not venture to break the norms of the expected codes.

What is more, women in CSA may use F in order to say taboo words as a linguistic strategy to escape from the Algerian society's pressure. The following example will be a case in point:

(40) /kul wæħəd wtarbitu mahma jakuħ l əʃma mli:ħa/   il l'embrassa comme si personne ne les voit. (Each one has his/her morals; in any case, abashment is good) (He kissed her as if nobody sees them).

As it has been continuously intended to illustrate is that when speaking, women and men "perform" their identities and their use of Fr code switching. Algerian women, in particular, manipulate a number of social identities, and those miscellaneous identities seem to be momentous and prominent in different communicative events.

This example can roughly be considered as a type of women's daily gossip, a casual and ideal chat about other people. As far as content is concerned, gossip topics turn around social themes such as employers, marriage, divorce, and taboo which is the case in the above snatch of conversation.

Although the Islamic code of ethics in the Algerian society forbids gossiping and talking about other people's life in their absence, especially maliciously, women release, through gossiping, social and personal tension; they constantly redefine themselves in relation to their family and social surroundings (Sadiqi, 2003).

Albeit that the thorny issues of women's gossip have provoked a heated discussion in the study of women's language, what concerns us here is the female's switch to Fr in example (40), which is in fact very expected code in such context. This woman is, here, about to niggle a couple which went beyond the limits of social and religious ethics in the Algerian culture by creating an intimate picture despite of their knowledge that they might be watched by other people. More importantly, the speaker first used AA when talking about general views about the values of abashment in our culture, she then decides to adopt French CS as a bid to narrate a fact which is seen as taboo in an Arab-Islamic country, Algeria. To make this picture vivid, the female speaker's language choice for the interaction means embracing the expected 'RO' set for the interaction. That is, the set of rights (R) and obligations (O) which corresponds to the role relationship between the interlocutors. Naturally enough, knowing that she (the speaker) intends to criticize the couple about their lack of embarrassment and the fact that they overtly show their intimacy, she would, thus, build and portray, through this code choice, her social role and identity. In one word, she was aware that the switching to Fr was imperative to look as conservative woman which is the norm in our society.

III.8.4.2 The Marked Maxim Choice:

In contrast to the unmarked choice, making a marked choice signals an intention to disrupt a *status quo* and try to negotiate a different weight of rights and obligations. It is the case where bilingual speakers negotiate rights and obligations in an endeavour to leave room for them in order to select a code which may either maximize or minimize the distance between them and other interlocutors.

According to Scotton (1993), the marked choice stems from two sources: first, since it is not the unmarked choice, it is considered as a negotiation against the unmarked RO set;

and the marked choice calls, on the other hand, for another RO set. It is well known that the MM seeks to dissect what motivates speakers to follow any one of the maxims proposed by Myers-Scotton, but the gist of our examination is to tackle how men and especially women negotiate the RO set which they see as beneficial to them in some way. We should note that we specify women in this study not because men do not use code switching, but because it is believed that CS is more associated with women than with men. In this respect, the following example will cite how a man decides to alter the code for some purposes.

(41) A: Azzul amik̲ θəliḍ/ ça va ? (Hello! How are you? Fine?)

    M: ħamdullah   (Thanks God).

    F: iwaxamik̲ ça va? (Your family, are they fine?).

    M: ħamdullah lwaqθ akki   (Thanks God for this moment).

    F: swəʃħal θakki?   (How much this?).

    M: θakki 2200 AD bəṣaħ ikkemini 2100.

    (The price of this is 2200 Algerian Dinars, but for you it is 2100 AD).

    F: bu:h ɣlajaθ əru snaqsiji ʃwiṭ?   (Oh! It's expansive. Would you reduce the price?).

    M: wallah mafiha   (By God, I cannot).

It is important to note that this snatch of conversation is recorded in a shop of women's clothes between a salesperson and a woman who is Kabylian too. It is very prevalent in Arabic speaking communities that Kabyles, especially, women adhere to use their mother tongue with native speakers of the same language to haggle or negotiate the price in the market. This is blatant in her initiation of the conversation by using K starting by greeting 'azzul' and we can consider the first as unmarked choice since it is expected that women consider Berber as the language of daily activities, intimacy, etc. and this code choice is employed by women as a ploy for a successful bargaining with other salespersons.

This code has been unmarked until the salesperson decides to make the marked choice by switching to AA to increase the social distance as a smooth way to tell the client that he cannot reduce the price more than that, and he quickly decides to switch code because he

seems to be connoisseur about the women's persistence when negotiating a price. Interestingly, there is an obvious difference between example (37) and this snatch of conversation (example 41) in which the woman in the former example chooses F to create a certain distance between her and the other interlocutor, but this example seems to support what a host of Algerians believe; the fact that women in Algeria use French more than men do and Sadiqi (2003) confirms this for the Moroccan society.

Not to leave space for a contradiction, it is true that we have stated earlier that using oaths is much pertained to women; they enormously swear to secure gains in conversations (Sadiqi, 2003). As for men, they use, however, oaths for special contexts such as the bargaining that accompanies the buying and selling transactions as it is the case in example (41).

To return back to the use of marked choices, the following example will be another illustrative case of how women display their ability to switch from one code to another in order to show off their linguistic repertoire and benefit from displaying some personal intentions.

(42) A: /lju:m bħæl ɛi:d lmra/ /zənqət zwæwa ræhi təɣli bənsa/

(Today is normally women's day. Kabyle's region is boiling by women today).

(In this case, he intends to mean that Kabyle's region is full of women; he does not mean the boiling of liquids).

B: /ɛandhɒm əṣṣaħ xælihɒm/

(They are right, let them).

A: /ṭli:g qwa wəlħɒkma ræħət/

(Freedom is prevalent and dominance disappeared).

B: La journée de femme est un jour féminin. Pour vous (les hommes); la femme doit rester à la maison, et si elle sort, c'est-à-dire que l'homme n'a aucune autorité sue elle!

(Women's day is a feminine day. For you (men), the woman has to stay at home, and if she goes out, it means that the man has no authority over her!

This conversation between (A) a male speaker with his sister revolves around women's day which attested the use of two codes. The conversation commenced by employing AA. Obviously, the male does not believe in what is called "women's day" and he is humorously telling her sister and three other people (the mother, male cousin and a female neighbour) that he was astounded about the huge number of women in "Zənqət zwæwa", the famous region in the city of Chlef where everything pertained to women is sold, and it is so-called because it embraces a host of Berber salespeople.

First of all, the female speaker seems to sustain the code AA which is the more expected for such a case. Then she switches to F and construct the marked choice once her brother reveals his viewpoint about the right of women to celebrate their women's day. She chooses to use F for aesthetic reasons (Myers-Scotton, 1993). By this token, the fact that such code demonstrates particularly well the creativity met in making marked choices might be equated with what Sadiqi (2003: 269) labels a type of "linguistic innovation". As it may be seen in the overall Algerian socio-cultural context – not only In Chlef -, the use of code switching by urban women involves a "new style of speech" which indexes "modernity", "determination", and "will".

The female's switch to French in this conversation is a response to women's exclusion from the sphere of her rights. She perceives the male's speech as thriving her feminine *status quo* and she intends to use F as a device of power management and power negotiation in situations where she (an educated woman) feels herself as, in the words of Sadiqi (2003), "overridden" by less educated man (her brother) in the conversation. Above all, the female makes the marked choice as a gamble geared by a number of relative calculations of the costs and rewards that may be elicited from taking the marked choice rather than the unmarked. We agree with Scotton (2003) that this code choice is more speaker-oriented than audience oriented. Example (42) taken from CSA renders the state where the woman is thinking about her position in the rights and obligations set which is under the process of negotiation. Put differently, the speaker's orientation is extremely built in making the marked choice. Sadiqi (2003) says that the use of French in such contexts is often interpreted as "aggressive" and many males are "put off" by this linguistic behaviour and opt for "stepping back" and let the floor to women.

That is to say, women's employment of Fr code switching is a kind of self assertion in mainly the same way as the case of men's monopolizing the turn-taking part of conversations.

III.8.4.3 Exploratory Maxim Choice:

Finally, speakers may use CS when they are in a situation where they find themselves not certain of the expected or optimal communicative intent, or at least not sure about which code will be felicitous to attain their social goals. Said in another way, this kind of choice is the case where the unmarked choice is opaque; hard to be understood. This may cause a state of maze in the expected norms and role relationships.

As indicated earlier, the use of Berber among women expresses solidarity between them, and constructs a conscious way of embedding the symbolic value as a significant part of their identity. And this is not in all cases, the exploratory choice maxim is attested in the fact that women are, however, more interested than men to be reluctant to cleave solidarity with Berber speakers in the presence of non-native speakers of Berber and this lest the misunderstanding which may lead to miscommunication and the break of communicative expectations because of the language choice. Example (43) will be the case:

(43) A: /aqliḵmin ðəkki? si ṣvaħ lattanaðiɣ fellam/

(Are you here? I have been looking for you since morning).

B: /kæn ɛandi cours ṣba:ħ/

(I had a lecture this morning).

A: /vɣiɣ kən akkəm saqsiɣ majala θaqarəm/ module /ismis/ immunologie.

(I would like to ask if you study a module which is called "immunology"?).

B: i:h qri:næh

(yes, we have studied it).

A: /amala afkiji:d **les cours** nəl **module** akki laxaṭəʃ ħawadʒəxθa asugas akki/

(So, give me the lectures of this module because I need them this year).

B: D'accord (OK).

A: Merci (Thanks).

B: De rien   (for nothing).

In the sentences in example (43) above, the female (B) uses AA even though her Kabyle classmate keeps speaking in Kabyle. He was in a hurry and he intends to ask her about a module and he wonders if she could lend him the courses. What is of particular interest here is that the young lady does not use Berber which is customarily a strategy of alignment with other Berbers, and, hence, signals an ethnic identity. When we asked the male about his persistence in adopting K despite of the female's use of AA, he answered that he was not aware that they were communicating in the laboratory of an Arab speakers group and that he was most interested in how he would get the information he needs. By way of contrast, this woman is likely to manipulate the different values that are ascribed to each language such as education, prestige, modernity, ethnic identity, and intimacy in a given contexts, in order to score "gains" in a conversation. This is the case where the female student attempts to eschew any misunderstanding from the other group who might perceive this as an intention to exclude them from the conversation.

At the end of the conversation, it is obvious that the lady persists on avoiding the code (Kabyle) which surely builds a relation of solidarity between her and the other Berber speaker, but which might, at the same time, elicit negative attitudes from the rest of the group which does not understand Berber. She, accordingly, adopts Fr to close the conversation rather than the code which may clash with the expected norms and social roles. The Female's exploratory code switching can further be described as intent to employ a neutral choice which is to be acceptable for all participants of the conversation.

(44) A: aɛṭi:lu huwa **biotechnologie** wana nədi ɣi tawɛi

(Give him biotechnology (the module) and I will take mine (he means the modules he taught in the first semester).

B: Il ne peut pas, ce n'est pas possible.

(He cannot. It is impossible)

A: aɛṭi:lu maɛliha walu

(Give it to him, there is no problem).

B: Je vais voir. Chaque semestre, nous avons ce genre de problèmes, mais je suis sure qu'il ne peut pas le prendre.

(I will see, each semester we have this kind of problems, but I am sure that he cannot take it).

This snatch of conversation is taken from a reunion at the University between some teachers who are responsible of options. One of them is the female (B) speaking in this dialogue with the head of department about managing the distribution of modules and planning the timetable. In the light that speakers principally negotiate in order to reach a consensus about the mode of interaction (Bassiouney, 2009), women make choices either to accentuate their position, or to convey their own views which is the case of speaker (B) who decides to maintain F speaking with the head of department about discussing the possibility to give the module of biotechnology (the study of the use of microorganisms for beneficial effect) to a professor (X).

What deserves annotation here is the fact that the woman, along more than two hours of reunion, mixes alternatively between AA and F, but in this conversation in example (44), she seems that she does not agree on what is the unmarked choice (AA), which is clearly adopted by the head of department. Her deliberate use of F has the effect of breaking the stream of thought and forces the interlocutor (s) to pay attention to what she is saying. It is used, in this context, as *"a primarily empowering linguistic device"* (Sadiqi, 2003: 268). The female's first code is not reciprocated, but she persists, perhaps as a means to denote women's agency in everyday all-female or mixed interactions. Moreover, she strives to negotiate the identity of being topper in her arguments and try to impose herself by the use of Fr (as an exploratory code). To nuance the picture, women usually see the use of Fr in some contexts as equating with men's tendency to "snatch" turns in conversations. Let me conclude this discussion by stating that the negotiation of the RO set associated with F in this exchange is, for her, a strategy to impose her opinions and let the other participants of the community mind her viewpoint about the impossibility to give that module to teacher (X).

III.9 Conclusion:

This chapter has taken the responsibility to canvass how women and men employ code switching for a variety of reasons in conversations. A propos, what we can glean from this brief examination is that code switching is used, for many times, as an extra tool in communication which allows for a tremendous breadth of coverage of some pragmatic functions, meanings (connotative, denotative), and identity (psychological and social) effects.

We have mainly concentrated on Myer's Scotton Markedness Model in the sense that it minds a great attention to the fact that bilingual speakers constantly negotiate a number of identities employing a set of linguistic varieties depending on a host of factors: gender, age, level of education, cultural background, etc.

By and large, it is possible to state that men use code-switching but not constantly like women, or at least not paying much attention as women in their code choice. For the sake of clarity, what we have found in this study is that our findings correspond, to some extent, to Sadiqi's (2003) view that Berber is a female language deem it the most frequently used in women's domains such as home, traditions, etc. Notwithstanding, we cannot make it as an oversimplification because women's code choice depends on a variety of factors determining the community of practice. For the sake of illustrating, Berber women seem to cling to their mother tongue in specific contexts, and seem to be reluctant to maintain it in the presence of non Berber speakers (example 43) because it is well known that the woman is overall punctilious and meticulous about the other's intention in conversational interactions. This does not mean, however, that they ignore their personal motivations to choose a choice over another. Both AA and Fr are used by women and men. Needless to say, AA is the language of mass communication adopted in private and public settings alike. Likewise, French is also female and male language providing its association with domains like home, family, friendship, work and education. More interestingly, women according to these findings, tend to use more French CS as a bid to construct and negotiate a multiple of identities. French, in general, is more favoured by women because it is positively perceived as a symbol of "enlightenment", "social mobility", "modernity" and "opens to the western world". Invariably, women are still considered as the most interested in employing F in different contexts more than men, of course, depending on their linguistic ability and the topic addressed. We share a consensus with Sadiqi (2003) that this gender division should not be taken for granted and that it is not fixed and absolute because both women and men are in a

constant process of negotiation of identities by manipulating different languages in a variety of contexts. The gender parameter is *inter alia* a crucial point that should be taken into consideration as a determining factor of language choice, in general and code-switching in particular.

The bottom line is that code switching is one of the linguistic devices which are motivated by male/female's intention. And women in Chlef (both Arabs and Kabyles) seem to be mindful communicators about the use of the varieties they are equipped with to negotiate a multiple of identities even in the ebb and flow of the same conversation.

On the top of everything, we have noticed in the light of the findings of this succinct study that women manipulate the use of Fr to accentuate their presence, in both public and private contexts, with all the denotations of the notion of "femininity". To conclude in other words, women, under study, reveal the tendency to display femininity compatibly with the intention to derive social power which is stereotypically ascribed only to men; they code switch either to maintain the conversation or to transcend other interlocutors' expectations, especially men, and create some kind of confusion and misunderstanding. The next chapter will thoroughly elaborate how women and men's communicative styles differ and lead to what is known as "miscommunication".

IV. Introduction:

Nowadays miscommunication has become a burning issue and significant topic in linguistic and communication psychology. On the whole, communication is the process of transmitting information from sender to receiver i.e. a speaker and the listener. Albeit many acts of communication are at least partially successful, very few are perfect. By and large, some meanings can be lost as the message encounters a number of barriers along the pathway between the speaker and the hearer. Such communication barriers, which may hamper the success of the conversational interactions, can arise whilst the message is being progressed, transmitted, received or interpreted. The communication affected by those barriers is, therefore, called miscommunication. In very general terms, we mean by "miscommunication" the mismatch between the speaker's communicative intention and the hearer's understanding of it. A plethora of definitions seem to present speakers and listeners as the prominent and essential participants in miscommunication (Tzanne, 2004:44). Interestingly, we intend in this research paper to direct a spot line on women and men as significant agents in canvassing the phenomenon of miscommunication through sociolinguistic lens. Females and males seem to have frequent problems of miscommunication, most notably in adult interactions (at the level of family and work). Male/female miscommunication has been interpreted in a number of ways, most obviously as an innocent by-product of different socialization patterns and different gender cultures, taking place in interaction between speakers who are ostensibly social equals (Maltz and Borker, 1982). Above all, we opt for leaving room in this chapter to the analysis of the questionnaire which principally intends to tackle the reasons behind male/female miscommunication with special attention to gender inequality in conversational styles. This line of thought puts forward gender polarized conditions that provide different interpretations and evaluations of women's linguistic behaviours.

The questionnaire used for this part of paper is a number of questions which serve as a direct method of gathering what the significant social actors (men and women in this dissertation) think about the misunderstanding that may plague their conversational interactions. The respondents' answers are used either to underpin the hypotheses that read for the different cultures of women and men and the social power prescribed to men, or they can serve to reject those explanations propounded to understand male/female miscommunication in the community under study, Chlef.

IV. 1. The Objectives of the Questionnaire:

The first task therefore is to determine what questions require to be asked. Thus it may be clear from the information needed for the study that certain questions must be asked, e.g. do women and men have two different conversational styles?

In support of the claim that the heart and soul of any form of survey research is the questionnaire, we have meticulously tried to prepare a set of questions designed to generate the data necessary for accomplishing the objectives of this research project. It should be stressed that the ultimate objective of the questionnaire is to identify if male/female miscommunication in Chlef is the echo of the different conversational styles women and men exhibit during their engagement in oral conversations.

And, withal, much attention is directed to establish whether the difference theory of male/female miscommunication has a room in the lab of the Algerian society (particularly in Chlef). It is worth reminding that we believe that the community of practice perspective should play a critical role in classifying gender different linguistic styles, and this would be blatant in questions such as: With whom do you ask more questions?

On the whole, our examination of the validity of the "difference" and "social power" theories of male/female miscommunication would examine the conversational differences which might be detected, not as a fixed binary opposition, but rather as a malleable negotiation of a multiple of identities albeit that those negotiations might crash with the others' understanding and expectations; the phenomenon which can be best labeled "miscommunication".

IV.2. The respondents:

Concerning the number of respondents, there are 120 embracing both Arab and Kabyle males and females residing in the community of Chlef. We purposefully directed much care on making a balance between the number of females and males. In other words, this examination involves 60 males and 60 females ranging from 20 years to 65 years old. More importantly, it is imperative to note that our study encountered four age groups:

Group 1: 20 – 25　　　(32 respondents).

Group 2: 26-35　　　(13 respondents).

Group 3: 36-45   (41 respondents).

Group 4: 45-65   (34 respondents).

The respondents have, as it should be noted, miscellaneous occupations, viz. Teachers, doctors, lawyers, university students, some traders, and housewives.

IV. 3. The Type of Questionnaire:

The overall research project of which this chapter is a part, investigates questions of male/female linguistic barriers which often plague their conversations. Prior to asking the respondents to fill the questionnaire by choosing only one answer or more depending on the type and the purpose of the question, we intended to explicate the crux of the questionnaire which revolves around oral male/female miscommunication elucidating that we do restrict our intention solely to the sociolinguistic investigation of the linguistic problems of male/female conversational interactions. Said differently, we directed the respondents' attention to the fact that we are not in need of discussing the psychological and the emotional problems between women and men, it was pointed that we rather strive to gather their objective viewpoints concerning male/female different conversational styles and the intimate relation between those differences and miscommunication, elucidating, of course the meaning of this phenomenon.

The questions of the questionnaire are inspired from the theories of Maltz & Broker (1982) and Tannen (1994) in their examination of the differences in the speaking patterns of American women and men. Our starting problem is the different roles males and females play in cross-sex conversation in Algeria (Chlef). Our attempts to think about this inquiry have taken us to preliminary scrutiny of the different conversational styles attested in the speech of women and men in the community under study. Besides, we intend through this questionnaire to look for the validity of male's social power explanation offered by Zimmerman and West (1975) to the gender query of male/female miscommunication.

IV.4 The Analysis of the Questionnaire Results:

As it will be clear, this part of research will reveal a graph-based representations of the results we have gathered from the questionnaire.

Question 1: Do you think that women and men have two different conversational styles?
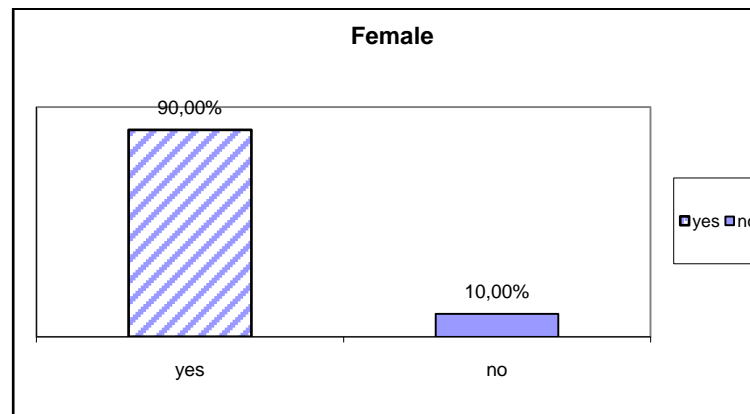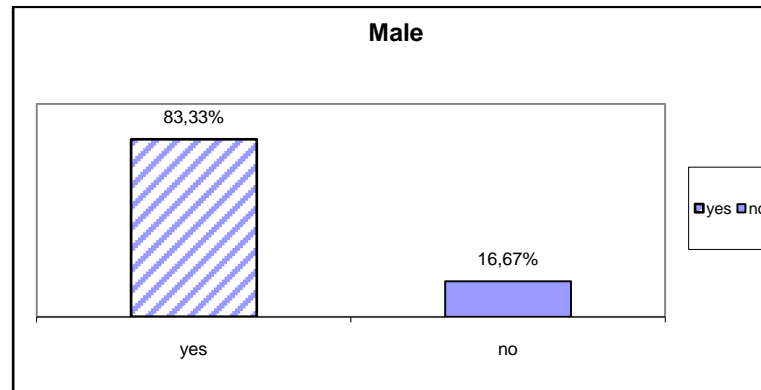
The results of the first question reveal that both women and men in Chlef seem to corroborate the view that women and men have two different linguistic styles. Some studies assume that differences between male and female speech have an intimate relation with cultural differences, rather than inequalities in social status (Holmes, 1992; Maltz and Borker, 1982; Tannen 1982, 1990, 1993, 1994).

Albeit there is no big difference between the results from males and females, the graphs blatantly show that females exhibit greater tendency to believe that there is a particular disparity between their linguistic behaviours and that of males.

The results of the second question will certainly provide a conspicuous disparity between males and females thinking about the source or the bedrock of the different conversational styles they display in their daily oral interactions.

Question 2: Those differences are the result of what?
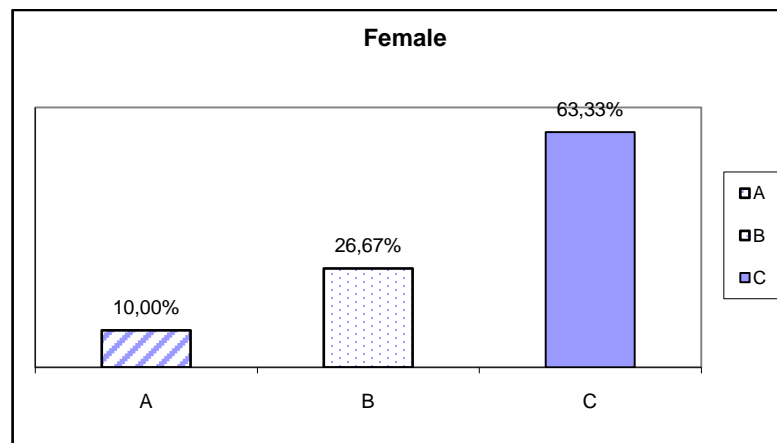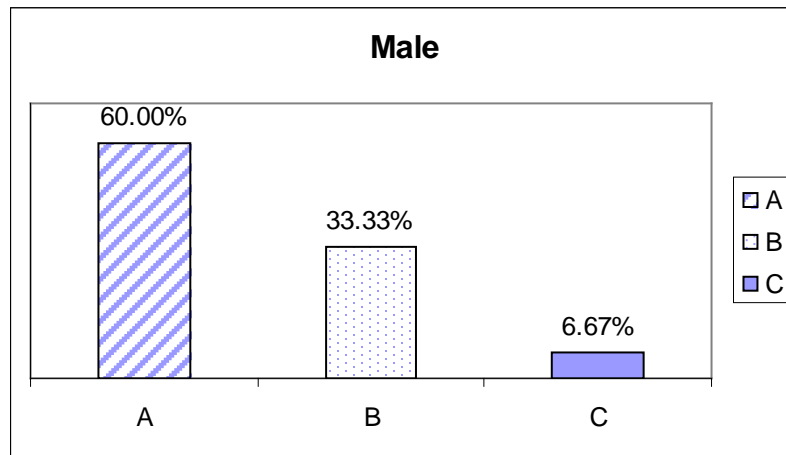
A: The culture learnt in childhood.

B: Male's social power.

C: They arise according to change in time and situation.

As for this question, a great number of the respondents in Chlef support the "difference theory" propounded by some researchers. By this token, the difference is glaringly obvious and big between male/female corroboration to the extensive research conducted by Tannen into the relation between gender differences in conversational style and the use of language. Tannen (1993) suggests that there are male and female conversation style and that are mostly (howbeit not always) different; men employ a male style and women a female one. She elaborates this by bringing to light the fact that this is the repercussion of differences in male and female cultures. That is to say, women and men virtually grow up and live in different

worlds. It must be noted that although similarities can be found, she directs much attention on the differences and proposes them as one of focus.

In this line of thought, Maltz and Borker (1982) postulate that girls are, on the one hand, brought up in a subculture where equality, support and cooperativeness are the norms. By way of explanation, they use speech to create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality, to criticize others in a sleek and acceptable manner, and to reveal a spot-on interpretation of the speech of other girls. Boys are, on the other hand, delineated as being brought up in a hierarchical subculture where dominance and competition are the norms. In tune with this theory, boys are then encouraged to learn linguistic skills to assert their dominance and social power and they intend to assert themselves by sustaining the notion of masculine arrogance. From this vantage point, Maltz and Borker (1982) reckon that the norms for men's and women's speech develop out from the norms of boys' and girls' modes of speaking.

More interestingly, male respondents tend, in this examination, to present a great consensus on the "two cultures theory"; they believe that women and men learn from their early years of childhood how to behave linguistically in a different way from the other. Tannen (1993) suggests that males' style of speaking stemmed from men's desire for independence and autonomy; so their conversation sends the message: "we are not the same, we are different". Aligning with this idea, male speakers of the community under study show this tendency of thinking; they usually say: (45) /ərædʒəl rædʒəl wəlmra mra/ (the man is a man the woman is a woman). They usually intend to sustain the view that each sex has its own world and its proper conversational strategies which should, in their view, tally with the norms proposed by the process of socialization they learnt from the early years of childhood.

Tannen (1993) suggests that female's conversational styles signal women's desire for intimacy and closeness, hence their conversation sends the message: "we are close and the same". 10% of females' support of the difference theory lucidly reinforces Tannen's claims about the different conversational styles women and men learn to adopt from their childhood. Notwithstanding, female respondents exhibit higher percentage concerning male social power which may create some different facets in conversational styles. Unlike male respondents, females seem to vehemently support the line of thought which focuses on differences in social power adhering to what West and Zimmerman (1977) postulate. They claim that men's dominance in conversation parallels their dominance and sway in society. In one word, men enjoy power in society as well as in conversation. What we can note hitherto is that despite of

the fact that both females and males in Chlef seem to agree on the presence of the differences between their conversational styles, it is not opaque that the overwhelming majority of the responses presented by males demonstrate that they believe in gender differences as dictated by the social norms of the speech community.

A striking fact about the third choice of the second question is that a great number of females prefer to interpret conversational differences as a flexible change to cope with the new situations which mutate through time.

What is of particular interest in women's responses of the third question is that they grossly interpret gender differences in conversations as the result of the ongoing innovations depending on the change of the situation, time and the like. In tune with the concept of a community of practice, conversational styles are not merely a reflection of the gender of the communicators in a particular situational context. Instead, the linguistic behaviours displayed by women and men in any interaction engendered from the social practices of the community in combination with the linguistic patterns that speakers develop as they participate in their linguistic communities.

Above all, let us note that the high rate of male respondents correspond to the answer which reads that the social lessons boys and girls learnt in their childhood preside over the making of differences between the linguistic strategies adopted by women and men. As expected, there are some norms that should be respected and women, in particular, are not expected to go beyond those social rules; they have to exhibit the conversational styles which the socialization process puts forward. In contrast, the rate 63.33% is so high to direct our attention that most females believe in the supple and flexible manner of engaging in our communities of practices. Not only the enormous use of code-switching for particular purposes, they (women) tend to manipulate meaning for that moment of time and in that locus.

As we hope is clear by now, we agree that women in Chlef are more likely than men to innovate and employ a variety of speech styles as they engage in different communities of practice. Some lexical and phonological variables revealed in the second chapter reinforce the views of that great number of females. This pulls us to understand that women are tremendously aware about the choice of their linguistic styles. Women customarily strive to

negotiate multiple identities in the course of the day via spawning a glossary of terminology with variant phonological and lexical items.

Question 3: Do you think that those differences cause male/female problems of communication?
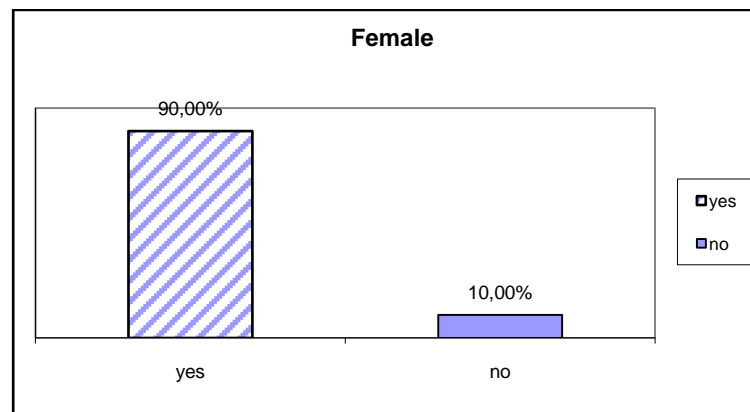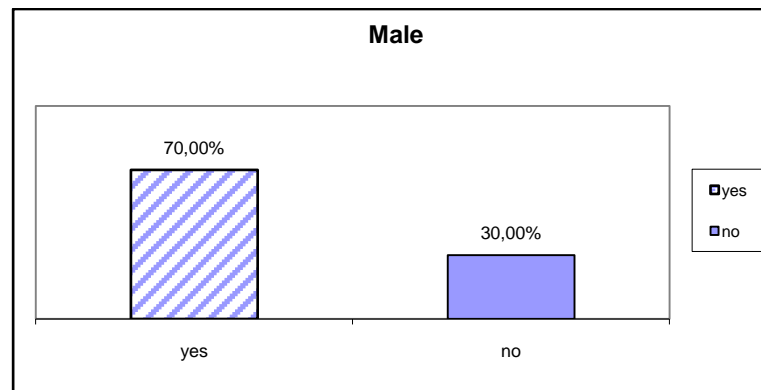
In the course of determining the rates presented by women and men as responding to the third question, it becomes apparent that they extremely interpret male/female miscommunication as the echo of the different conversational styles which come from different subcultures and have different conceptions of friendly conversation (Henley & Kramarae, 1991). In this line of thought, women and men have two different rules for engaging in the conversation, and even *"if women and men are attempting to interact as equals, the cultural differences lead to miscommunication"* (Henley & Kramarae, 1991:39).

The statistics, between our hands, demonstrate that although women and men in Chlef mainly differ in determining the source of the difference in speech styles, they grossly share a

generic consensus on the fact that the difference in the conversational rules may exacerbate male/female miscommunication.

A striking fact here is that if we link the results of the second question with the third one, we would certainly discern their enormous disparity in the answers. Whereas most males tend to perceive gender differences in speech as the norms they learnt when they were boys, women exhibit the higher rating for the answer which reads that the disparity in the conversational rules and styles of women and men are in a constant process of mutation and negotiation to construct particular identities in particular communities for a specific communicative needs. According to the results of their question, females and males in this study obviously corroborate the view of Maltz and Borker (1982) that miscommunication is likely to occur because women and men probably possess different conversational rules. Yet the gist of our inquiry is whether the different conversational styles found in the studies held in America tally with the females and males of "Algeria", having taken in particular the community of Chlef as case study. Thus the onus to dissect this point rests entirely with the analysis of the subsequent answers of the questionnaire.

Question (4) (Who interrupts more in the conversation?) is grouped with question (5) (with whom you interrupt in the conversation?).

93.33%

6.67%

Male

females
males

females   males

120
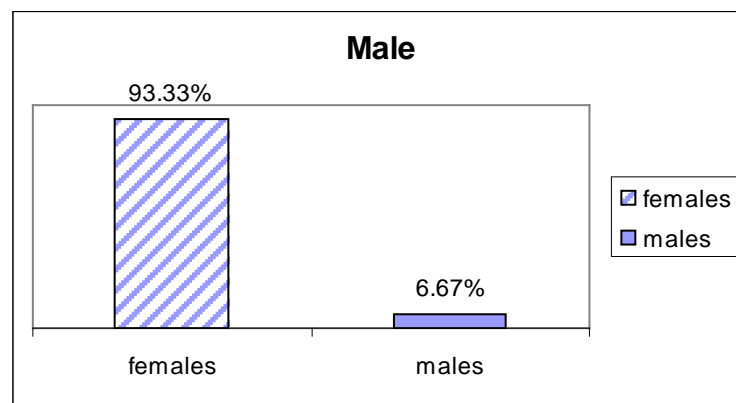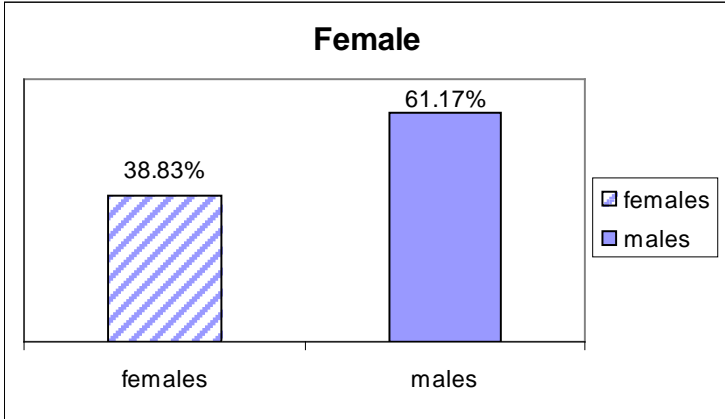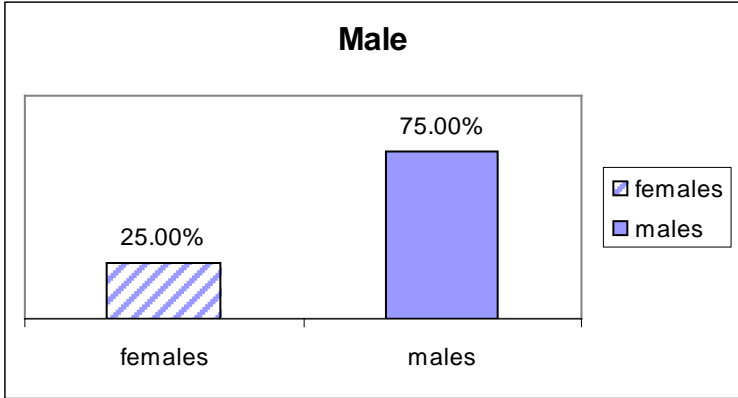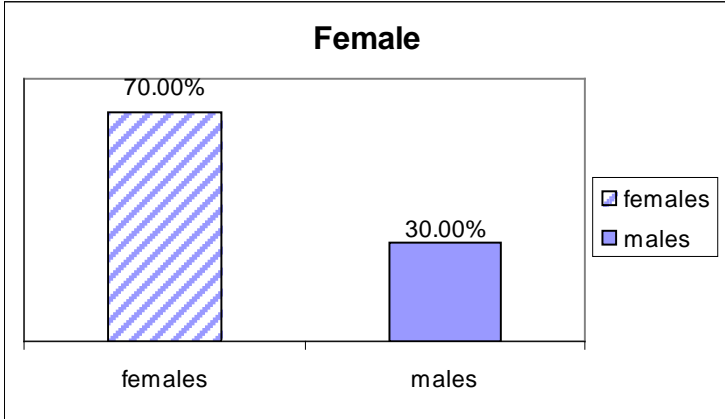
Studies of interruptions reveal that women and men adopt different manners in interrupting. In their examination of conversations from both private residences and public places, Zimmerman and West (1975) find that the great majority of all interruptions that occurred in male – female conversations were men interrupting women.

Overall, popular stereotypes usually see that men interrupt more than women. This popular opinion stems, in sober fact, from the notion that men gain the lion's share of societal and conversational power than women and that interruptions are, by default, a strategy to seize control of conversations. Since then, a number of studies have replicated their results, some of which also come to conclude that interruptions are more common in all male conversations than in all female conversations.

Interestingly, if we look at the graphs of the fourth question about the attitudes towards male/female interruptions in Chlef, it should be obvious that women tend to tremendously interrupt as it is attested by both women and men. The results of question (4) carries a factual tone about the fact that it is prevalent in present time, that women in Algeria (particularly in Chlef) are more likely to hinder or obstruct the continuity of the conversation by either questions, interjections or even comments.

Although there is no intention to mean that men do not interrupt in conversations, there is growing consensus that women are, for the most part, more prone to the feeling of the necessity to interrupt males.

As it was thoroughly elucidated to the respondents, the overlapping comments that are positive – those made while another is taking the floor – are not really the interruptions we attempt to study. Put differently, the interruptions we intend to mean are those brusque and unexpected interjections which may plague the conversational flow. To make the picture more vivid, an example of such, the positive comment which is not what we intend to refer to would be asking a male colleague, for instance, while he was talking, if he would like to sit down. Obviously, interruptions can be used to take control of the conversation enter into it, or express support for the speaker (Young, 1999). This is why it is imperative to note that the type of interruptions we look for is the one where speakers are certain that those interjections are not harmless which may serve to contest the speech of others or exacerbate the misunderstanding between the participants of the interaction.

As it is clear, women are more likely than men to make interruptions with males in particular as it is illustrated in the statistics of question (5). And as it is reported by male respondents, they interrupt the same sex (men) more than they do with women. That is to say, men tend to get interrupted more than women by both female and male speakers.

On top of everything, there is no room to state that men in Chlef are stripped from the notion of masculine social power which is portrayed in most of their linguistic behaviours, yet the rates, between our hands, show that there is a significant difference in the amount of interruptions by women and men. This belief seems to contain grains of truth but belies a complex reality about the females' constant attempts to make self-assertion and to try to outdo any conversational masculine strategies which may sap their *status quo* and attack their foible. It is possible to say, in other words, that women are always aware that men have the notion of social dominance which parallels their conversational social power. They tend, hence, to take their parts in the conversations, because they believe that male's social power will not cede the floor to them if they don't persist in accentuating their presence.

According to Maltz and Borker (1982) and Henley and Kramarae (1991), men use interruptions to take control of the conversation by challenging other interlocutors' ideas or taking the talk stage from them, and women interrupt others to be rapport building by elaborating on the other's theme and overlap speech in a supportive manner to reveal interest, show support or encourage elaboration (Tannen, 1990). We cannot say that things have vastly changed since that time, but it is possible to note, at least, that the present study of the community of Chlef report that women's interruptions are not scarce with other men, and that those interruptions are not necessarily a signal of interest and a boost to encourage the other interlocutor. Rather, women are likely to use interruptions for the sake of controlling the conversation and challenging the ideas of the other sex. Over and above, female speakers recorded in this study, have declared that the woman sometimes finds herself obliged to make interruptions with other men that "I am a woman and you have to listen to my viewpoint without interruptions". What we can glean from this is that this conspicuous arousal of female speakers' interruptions is a conversational strategy which serves as a reaction to the popular belief that men are much more likely to dominate the conversation as a means of "doing power".

According to Young (1990), the conversational rule among men seems to be *"I will interrupt you when I want to because I know that you will do the same"* and the rule among women is known to be *"I won't interrupt you, so please don't interrupt me"*. Obviously, these rules, Young (1990) postulates, conflict when women and men talk with each other. Misunderstanding customarily arises when conversations between women and men are derailed by the lack of agreement on the meaning. Oddly enough, it is believed that, according

to the statistics and annotations we have, women and men in Chlef may be likely to reach the stage of misunderstanding because women tend to bear in mind "I will interrupt you when I want to because I know that you will do the same", the same conversational rule used between males.

Question (6): Who tend to take control of conversation?

Male

40.00%   60.00%

females
males

females   males

Female

55,00%
45,00%

females
males

females   males
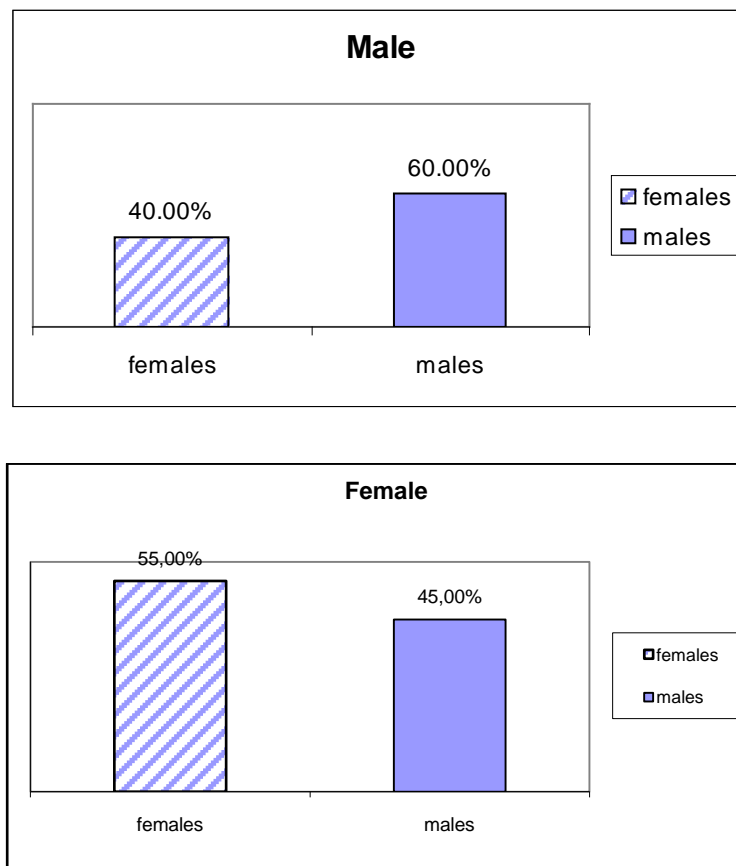
From research carried out, it is obvious that women and men have some differences in the linguistic behaviours. Question (6) is devoted to canvass the amount of control each sex has over the topic of conversation. Most research conducted in this field shows that men tend to control the topic of conversation, especially when speaking to women. Fishman (1977) states that they (men) are eager to hold the floor and control the topic of conversation, and they are likely to use language to establish status and to gain or convey information. This line of thought seems to be buttressed by the results of this question revealed by the group of male respondents. Although they agree that women are known to make interruptions in cross sex communication, they provide high rating agreeing on the fact that male speakers are typically in favour to dominating the topic under discussion.

It is very naturally to reckon that men generally strive to take control of the conversation in mixed groups, but what is surprising here is 55% of female respondents seem to agree that most of men contrive to rule or conduct the conversation in particular ways. Normally, control of the conversation sits very lightly on women's shoulders, but we can assume here that the rest of women are right in averring that they tend to dominate the flow of the conversation because they are in a continuous process of implementing a number of linguistic strategies to define themselves according to the communicative needs of each conversation they take part in.

Obviously, answers of question (6) are likely to construe the fact that the overwhelming majority of both sexes claim that they usually attempt to take control in the conversation. This makes us keenly aware that it should be a difference between the notion of "dominating" the conversation for the two sexes. It is not bizarre that the man attempts to be the head and in the lead of the conversation especially with women, but what it seems to require clarification is the claim of female respondents that they intend to control the topic of conversation. Unlike men, this can be achieved by manipulating a bundle of linguistic and conversational strategies such as the use of code-switching or making interruptions as empowering devices to further embed their presence as social participants in society. By control of the conversation, they mainly refer to their need of rerouting the conversation inasmuch as men wrest the talk from other interlocutors. To sharpen the idea, female speakers in Chlef seem not to challenge and intend to outdo male's social dominance, but we can descry from their answers on the questionnaire and their oral answers when we ask them, from time to time for more elucidation, is that they become aware that they have to play different roles in different contexts with a variety of linguistic strategies. To take a simple case, a woman who is a member participating in an academic reunion at the university, for instance, has to seek for devices in order to impose her opinion and to tell the other male participants that she is present as geared with her expertise and educational background to confer any lingering tension. In one word, the spat or the slight quarrel which might face male/female communication is, principally, the result of the woman's tendency to touch the tip of man's iceberg of control which is usually peculiar to him.

Question (7): "Who ask more questions in the conversation?" is grouped with question (8) "Do you ask questions to express your interest and attention?" and question (9) "Why do you ask questions in the conversation?"

Male

80,00%

20,00%

females   males

females
males

Female

96,67%

3,33%

females   males

females
males

Male

95.00%

5.00%

yes   no

yes
no

126
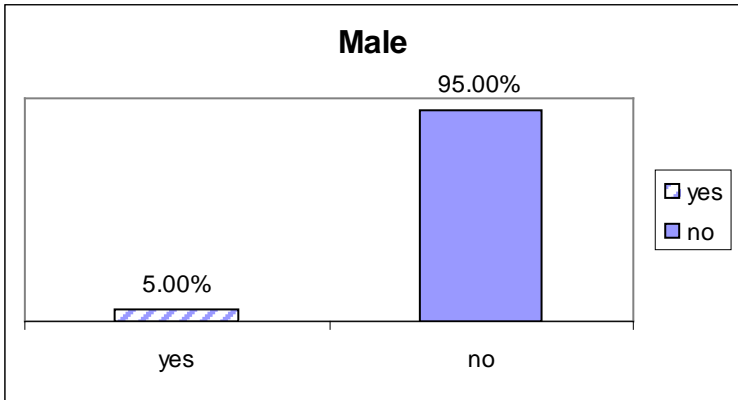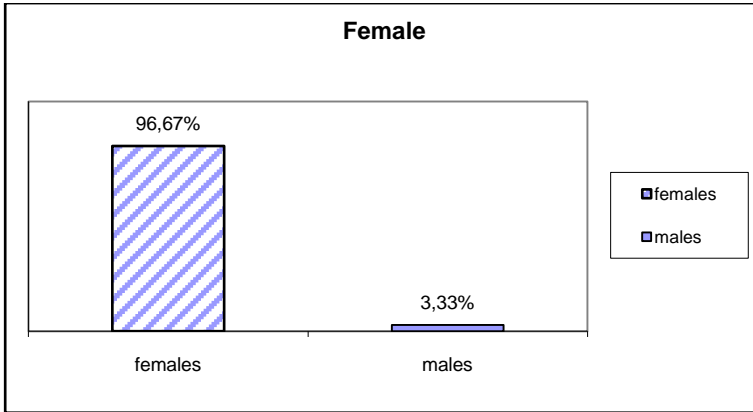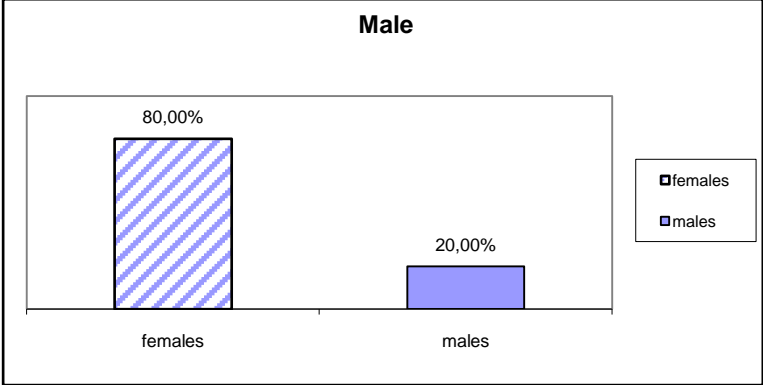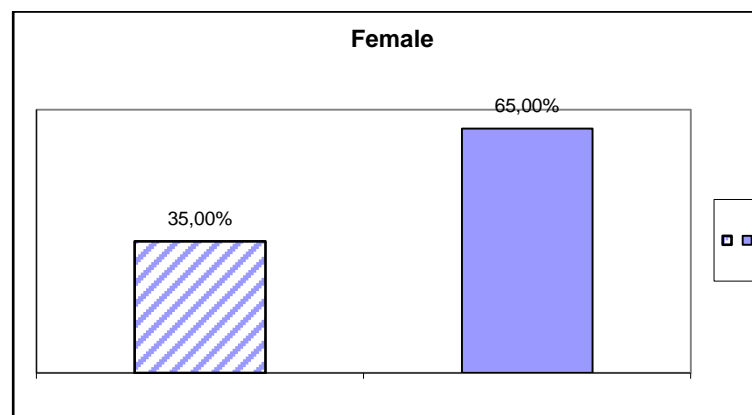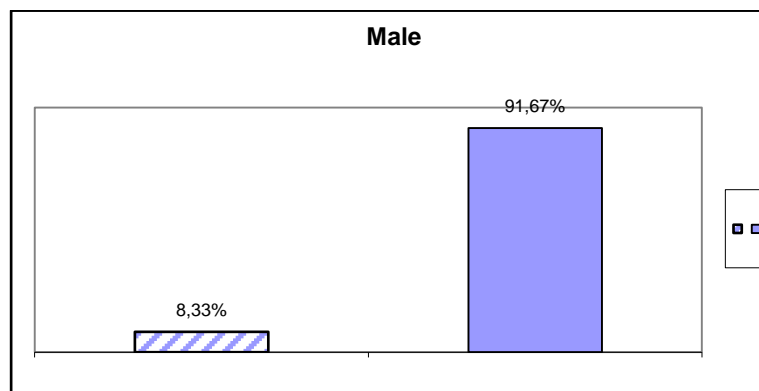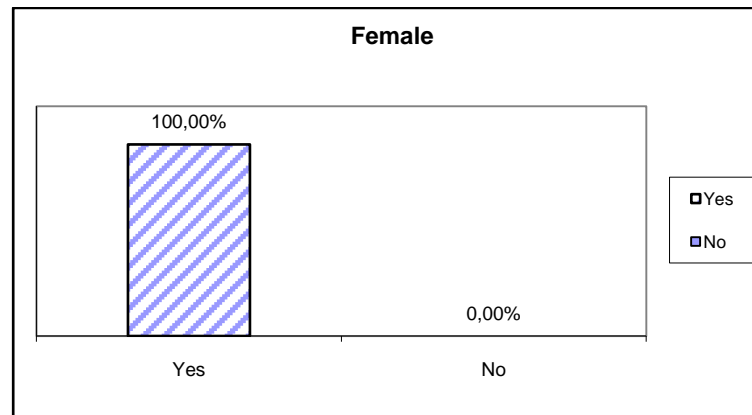
Maintain the conversation

Ask for information

As it is very clear through the graphs, both female and male respondents agree that women are more likely than men to ask questions in the conversation. Perhaps unsurprisingly, men are less likely to ask questions than women ask; this is because the latter is more portrayed according to our findings by the great tendency to make intersection in the midst of the conversation. On average, the results of question (7) seem to tally with the view that reads

127

that women display a greater tendency to ask questions especially in female-male conversation. These conversations fell into a question answer pattern with the female asking the male question which makes Fishman (1978) comments that *"at times I felt that all women did was ask questions".* In support of this, a sheer number of teachers from different universities in Chlef report that female students are more likely to unleash to their questions more than their male classmates. Females ask more questions and involve themselves more often in classroom discussions. Not in all cases, but this may fall under the umbrella of their great tendency to attract attention and exhibit their educational level and accentuate their scientific background.

Beyond this very general level, it was not expected that 20% of male respondents demonstrate that men ask more questions before marriage and women tend to ask a large number of questions per day after marriage. Despite they were given only two answers in order to select one, they deliberately intended to add this annotation. Interestingly, what orients us to take those glosses into consideration is the fact that those respondents have no relation which may let them influenced by the comments of each other. If this viewpoint is not persuasive, they would not think to direct a limelight towards this point. Of course, this annotation is worth closer examination, but we can succinctly state that the situation of most couples in Algeria may be the case; this is mainly because a man tends, before marriage, to figure out many things about his partner. It would be gross mistake to belie that women don't ask questions before marriage, but what we intend to mean is that females' tendency to inquire about seem to be replicated after marriage. Overall, women typically express their feelings and thoughts better than men and are often irritated by their husbands' reticence. This is why they may seem to put a lot of questions if compared with their spouses. What is, perhaps more important, than the amount of questions, is the examination of the meaning of questions. It is glaringly conspicuous that what we can debrief from the rating of question (8) is that men report that they do not employ question - asking to convey their interest and attention. By way of contrast, female respondents enormously report their endeavour to express their attention through making utterances that demand or encourage responses from the other speakers. As a matter of fact, no single woman has denied the fact that they customarily ask questions in an attempt to display their concern about being involved in the conversation.

Moreover, results of question (9) seem to endorse the view that men tend to use questions as requests for information, whilst women use them for conversational maintenance.

91, 67% is weighty enough to reckon that men generally share the tendency to ask questions for the natural and the conversational goal; demands and requests for a piece of information and swapping news.

If we look at the results presented by females, we should normally perceive that they see question – asking as a strategy for both maintaining the conversation and seeking for information. By way of elucidation, 65% of the same females who claim that they usually ask questions to unearth their interest, then tend, however, in question (9) as recognizing that the need for information is the prominent reason for asking questions. Question (8) and (9) ostensibly seem as having the same meaning and that it would be better to weld them in one question, but we purposefully separate between them attending to establish in question (8) whether women really express their concern and interest by asking questions, and to capture in question (9) both women and men's attitudes about question asking and their generic understanding of its meaning.

Question (10): "Who use more minimal responses in the conversation?" is grouped with question (11) "What do you intend to mean by the use of minimal responses?"

Males

60,00%

40,00%

0,00%   0,00%

Females

80.00%

20.00%

0.00%   0.00%

1   2   3   4
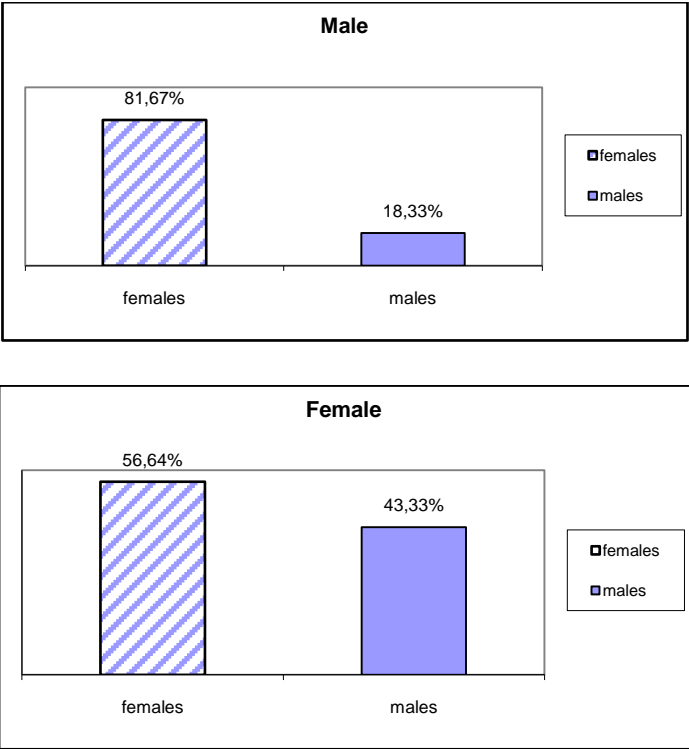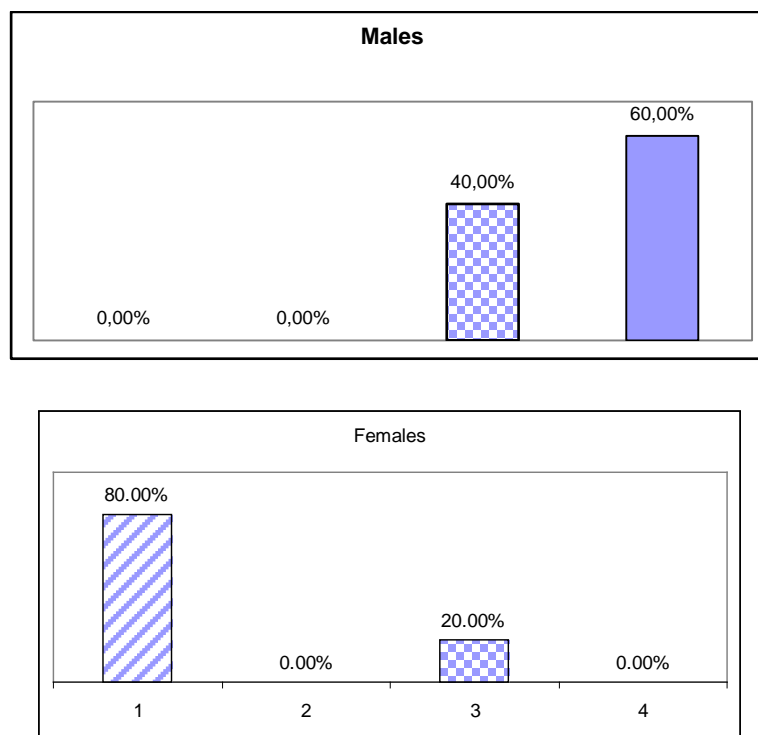
|////| Continue, I am listening. |++++| I agree, I follow you.

|▦▦▦| I don't want to speak more than that. |███| Speak, but I am not listening to you.

Question (10) and (11) were asked in an attempt to ascertain whether there are gender disparities in the communicative competence of speakers or not, with regard to their use of minimal responses. Above all, it seems imperative to note that minimal responses are verbal and non-verbal indicators of the individual's co-participation in the discourse. They are sometimes referred to as back-channel responses (Yngve 1970 & Thompson, 1991) or they are defined as assert terms (Woods, 1988). However, a review of literature serves to elucidate that there is a general consensus on a clear-cut demarcation of what is or what not a minimal response is. In this examination, the minimal responses I intend to refer to are "mm", "ih", "hih" and "aha", and as it should be noted, "ih" and "hih" are CSA equivalents of "yes".

It is quite clear that women in our study do, in fact, employ more minimal responses than men. Male respondents seem to believe that there is a gender differential use of minimal responses which resides in the fact that women are likely to have an increased use of those responses. The analysis of the datum confirmed only a few earlier studies. By this token, a great majority of both male and female respondents don't reveal uneven attitudes about the

130

use of minimal responses. In one word, both the sexes see that the use of such responses is more peculiar to women, of course in the community of Chlef.

As reported by earlier studies of minimal responses, women's their use of those responses is said to paraphrase "Continue, I am listening", whilst men's is said to be something like "I agree, I follow you". These two different meanings of the interpretation of those responses can elucidate, Maltz and Borker (1982) claim, a host of the sex-related differences and miscommunication findings.

Our findings, regarding the functions of the usage of minimal responses, reveal that meaning of such responses denote neither "Continue, I'm listening" nor "I agree, I follow you" which is assumed to be men's interpretation. Male respondents of this examination blatantly agree to perceive the use of minimal responses as a ploy to tell other interlocutors that they cannot go ahead in holding the conversation or they intend to send the message "Speak, but I am not listening" to the other speakers. As expected, the overwhelming majority of our male respondents tend to use minimal responses as a kind of a hoot or contempt, whilst some men tend to use those responses to convey their reluctance to duck or evade the conversation. In both cases, the findings clearly disagree with the rule which reads that men adopt minimal responses in an attempt to express consensus about what is being said by the other speaker. Additionally, female's responses span roughly between the tendency to maintain and encourage the speaker to continue in speaking, without averring any agreement, and the intention to tell the other participants that they don't like to speak or even listen anymore.

A striking fact here is that the answer "continue, I'm listening" which has not been selected by no male respondent, 80% of female respondents show, however, that their attempt to interject minimal responses while listening to others is to exhibit more interest and support, as it is reported by Fishman (1978). Meanwhile, 20% percent of those respondents aim at pointing out that women do not always use such response as cooperative linguistic device to boost the communication between them and the other interlocutors, but they sometimes strive to deviate from this general level and tend to express their unwillingness to speak.
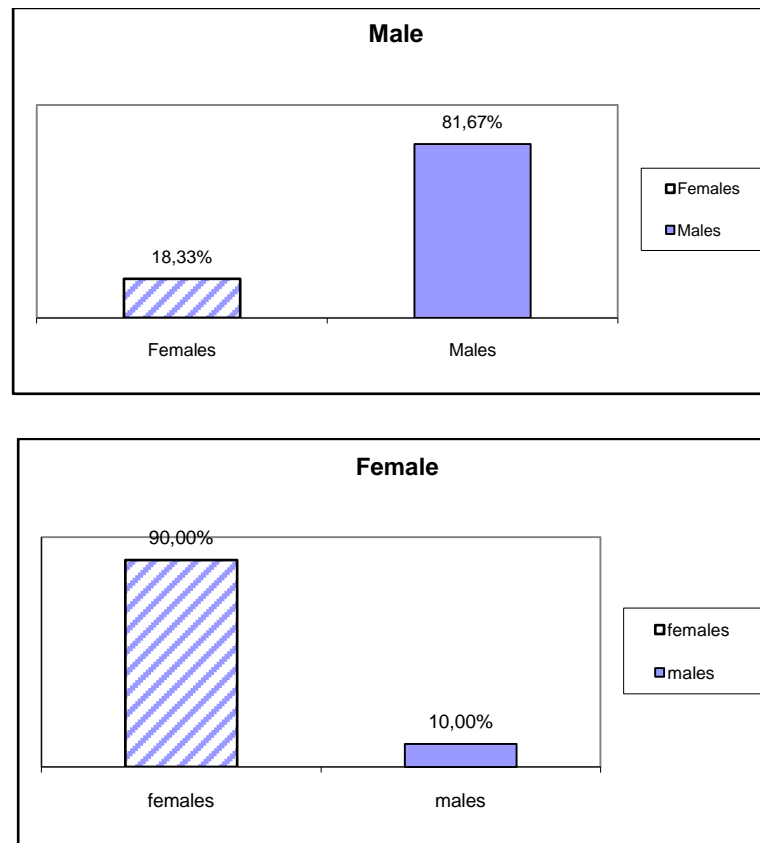
According to the findings of the questionnaire, the use of minimal responses in this study indicates that there is indeed a difference in the communicative competence of men and women where minimal responses are concerned. Despite that it has been found that there were some differences, males' answers did not concur with earlier studies which beckon that men's

understanding of the usage of minimal responses as an agreement on what the topic of discussion revolves around and what is being reported by the other participants. Needless to say, the graphs serve to nuance the picture by the fact that no single man chooses choice (b) (I agree, I follow you). More than half of male respondents claim that unlike women, they tend to eschew the conversation by adopting minimal responses. By this token, it would be easy to observe that in many different-sex groups, females use of minimal responses seem to vex male speakers because their understanding of the use of responses stemmed from the general rule among men that reads that the sense of "mm", "hmm" tends to belittle what the other interlocutor is saying.

Question 12: (Who usually attempt to challenge the word of their partner?) is grouped with question 13 (who usually attract and maintain the public?), question 14 (Who usually try to be assertive when others have the floor?) and question 15 (who usually attempt to orient to the person they are talking to?

Male

76,67% Females
23,33% Males

Female

95.00% females
5.00% males

Male

88,33% Females
11,67% Males

Female

76,67% females
23,33% males

Male

18,33% 81,67%

Females Males

☐Females
☐Males

Female

90,00% 10,00%

females males

☐females
☐males
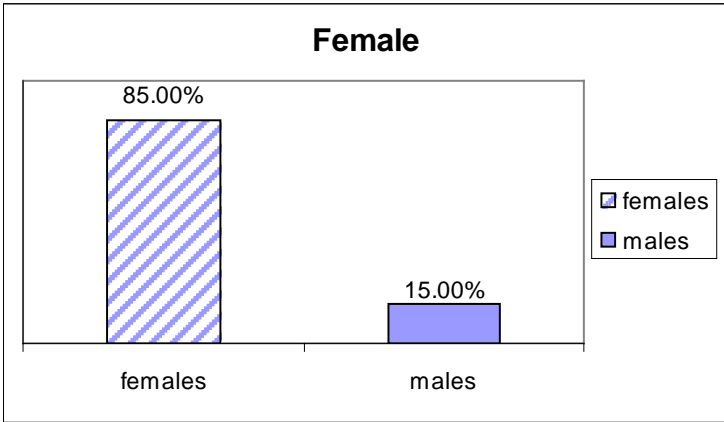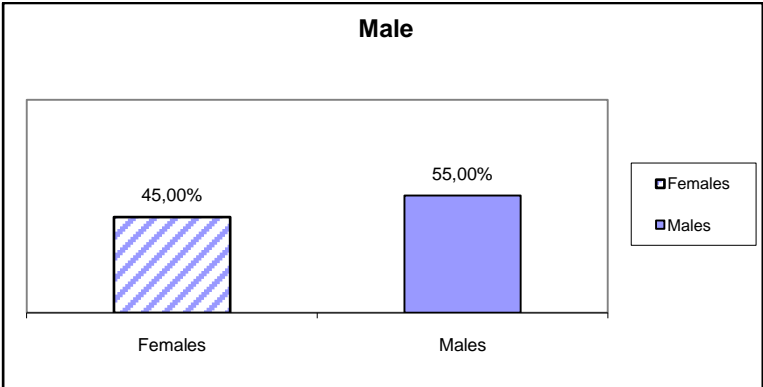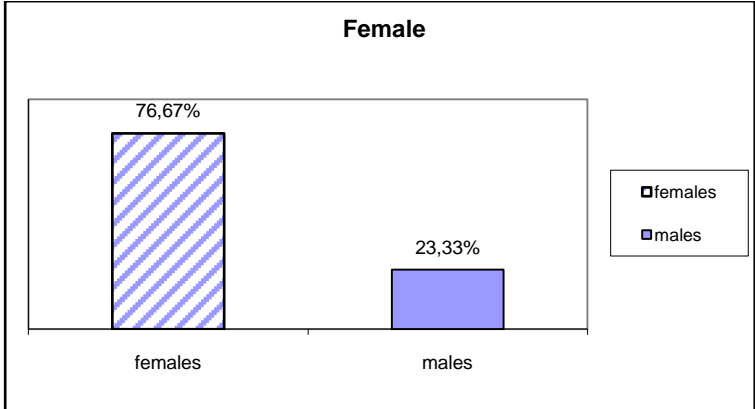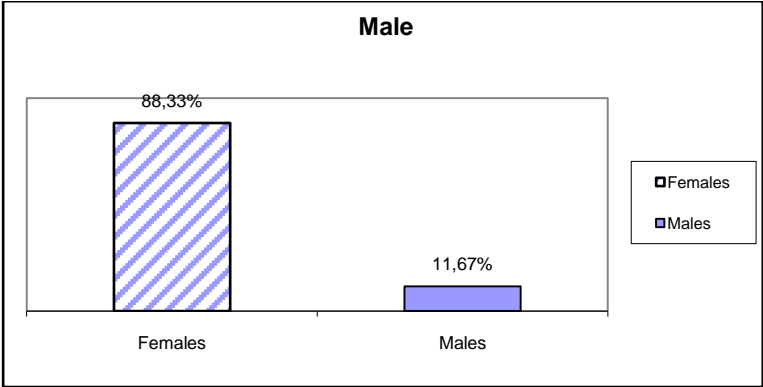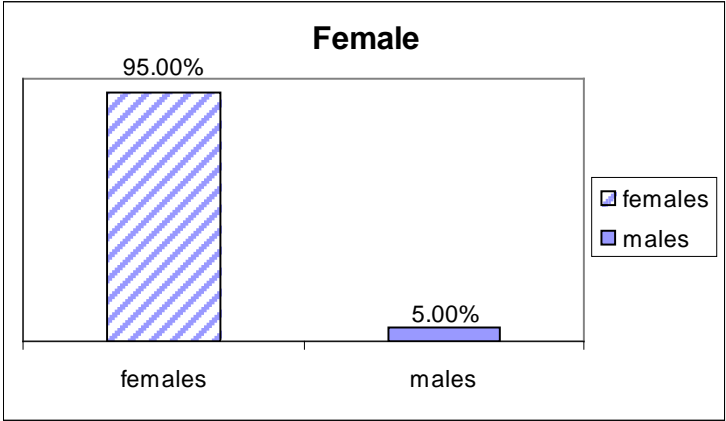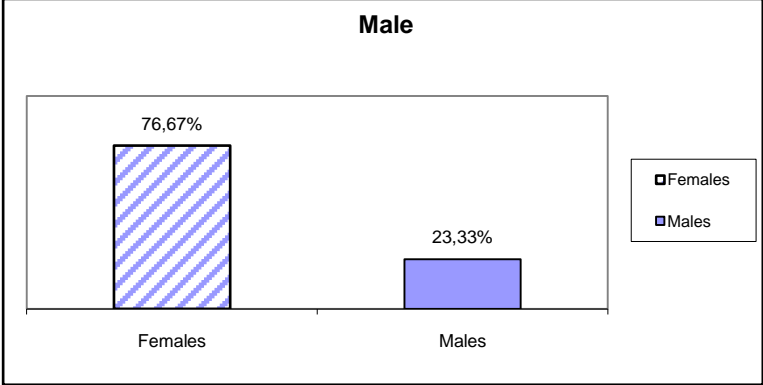
Clearly, male respondents perceive the tendency to challenge the speech of others as including both women and men. That is, answers' ratings of question (12) by male speakers demonstrate that not only men who tend to challenge the speech of others; women share this tendency as well. Apart from that, female respondents seem to endorse male's perspective. It is statistically shown that women seem to deny the line of thought which reads that men are more likely to challenge or dispute their partner's utterances (Hirschman, 1973). If we look at the structure of question (12) as it is organized, we should descry that we intend to identify who, among the two sexes, is likely to strive or, in many times, to contest what the other interlocutor is saying. Said differently, it is not surprising that both sexes are likely to challenge the speech of others, but what is of particular interest in this question is who are perceived to be more quick to challenge others. Obviously, female speakers are rated higher on contending the words of the other participants of the conversation. Stereotypically, women are expected to exhibit the virtues of silence and good housekeeping. Among males, the will to dominate others was acceptable and indeed admired; the same will in women was condemned as a grotesque. Although, statistics of this examination report that women clearly perceive their tendency to challenge the word of others more than it is claimed by men. A

very significant point that should be marked here is that results of answer (12) tend to mean that women are not likely to assail the other sex; what we can objectively discern from this statistic is that they are attempting to get rid of the subordinate and underprivileged perspective of their status. Albeit we do not belie what Sadiqi (2003) states about the fact that woman's chances of engaging in powerful types of discourse in and outside the family is very small, if not non-existent, we do not squarely agree with this line of thought. It is true that the power structure inside the family and society are heavily male-biased, but this does not mean that women become more capable of benefiting from the opportunity to express their thoughts and succeed in attracting attention to them. The notion of attracting attention in the conversation harks back to what has been highlighted in the previous chapter devoted to code-switching. As it has been indicated, female speakers show greater tendency to embellish their linguistic styles and employ a variety of strategies to direct the limelight towards them. As it is clearly observed in the graphs concerning the results of question (13), women and men unanimously state that women must gain more scores than men regarding their endeavour to attract and maintain public. To achieve this, they tend to continue and select the appropriate vocabulary, pronunciation or even the code choice to negotiate particular identities and construct specific social meanings to which they aspire. Again, the findings underpin the intimate relation between femininity and the tendency to arouse interest and maintain the public.

This is why we do think that when men tend to contest the speech of others is naturally a prerogative of power, but if it is the case with a woman, it fares better to interpret this as an implicit intention to express her views and pull the attention towards her as well. And, of course, it is imperative to indicate that not in all cases and not with all female speakers it is the case of adopting the strategy of challenging others as a ploy to attract attention. That is to say, the results demonstrated by the graphs are not absolute; they symbolize the restricted group under study and it is believed that a number of factors should be at play in canvassing this thread of research. In other words, some points such as age, educational level, social *milieu* and the social context where the conversation takes place, must be taken into consideration prior to giving an absolute annotation about the disparity between women and men's conversational styles.

Moreover, results of question (14) reveal that both females and males seem to disagree with the view which resides in the fact that boys adopt a more assertive approach to

conversation than do girls and it is not surprising to be the state for adult women and men. Although many studies replicated the findings of Zimmerman and west (1975) which demonstrate that men are more likely to make assertive comments either via interruptions or changing the subject of conversation, our findings seem not to reciprocate this assumption.

Needless to state, the great majority of female and male respondents tend to claim that women are much more likely to display the assertive styles which will enable them to answer spontaneously, speak with a conversational tone and volume and looking at the other person. So what we intend to mean by the assertive style is speaking to the issue, openly express the feelings and opinions, and mainly the most momentous point is to value yourself equally to others, and hurt neither yourself nor other interlocutors.

Algerian women are generally brought up in a Muslim traditional environment which venerates patriarchal values, but this does not mean that women, especially educated ones tend to accommodate the image of an obedient housewife with a carrier, modern and independent women (Sadiqi, 2003). Regardless of their socioeconomic status and educational level, Algerian – or more particularly – Chelifian women are never linguistically passive in some context; they feel a need to resist social oppression and assert themselves in different ways. The rise in calls for the recognition of women's rights in recent years paired with increased attempts by female speakers in the country's patriarchal society. This is linguistically manifested in phenomena such as code switching and other self empowerment strategies, and this should not necessarily put women in potential conflict with aspects of Islamic fundamentalism. This is why it is still believed that we should settle the question "why women tend to assert themselves?", or any other question among which are asked in this questionnaire, by the explanation of the female speakers' engagement and participation in different communities of practice. As a case in point, a working woman would act in manners associated with traditional female stereotypes in the presence of her in laws. In such context, she would often exhibit obedience and a kind of submissive behaviour to the husband and would seldom hamper those particular dogmas in the household (Sadiqi, 2003). She should not niggle or rebuff her husband in presence of foreign men; it must be perceived as a way-out deportment, even if she is a leader of her husband once they are not watched by other people. However, if the same woman is participating in a new community with male colleagues, she would act in more egalitarian ways.

Perhaps surprisingly, a great number of male and female respondents corroborate the findings propounded by Maltz & Borker (1982) and Tannen (1994) which state that women are more oriented towards each other in addition to their tendency to take control of the conversation and assert themselves when other interlocutors take the floor. So the results seem to stress that women's talk is generally oriented to maintain relationships and developing intimacy.

Interestingly, the results of question (15) express dwell in the idea that women are customarily taught and expected to be socio emotional, supportive and tentative. Notwithstanding, not all contexts allow women to be characterized by *"tentative, unsure, and differential patterns of speech"* (Lakoff, 1975). That is, women are generally in a constant process of defining themselves either by sustaining the expectations of popular stereotypes or by tending to cast their views and openly display their instrumental role in society.

Question (16): Is linking the utterance to the previous one important? is grouped with question (17): Who make an abrupt topic shift? is grouped with question (18): The abrupt topic shift is man's prerogative of power?
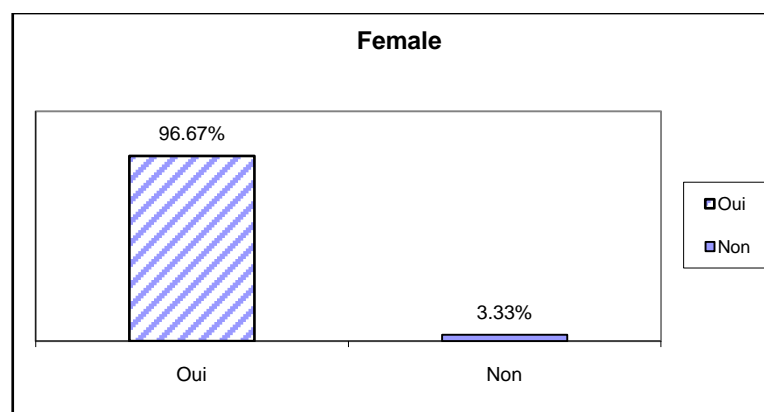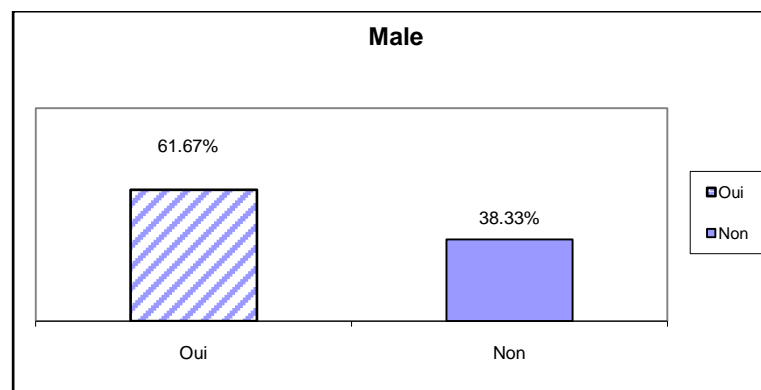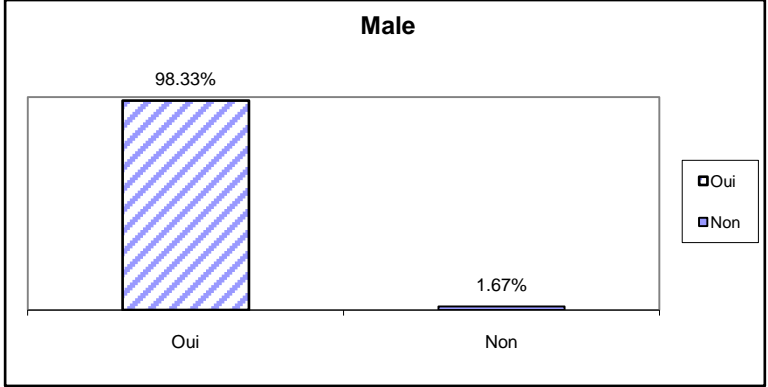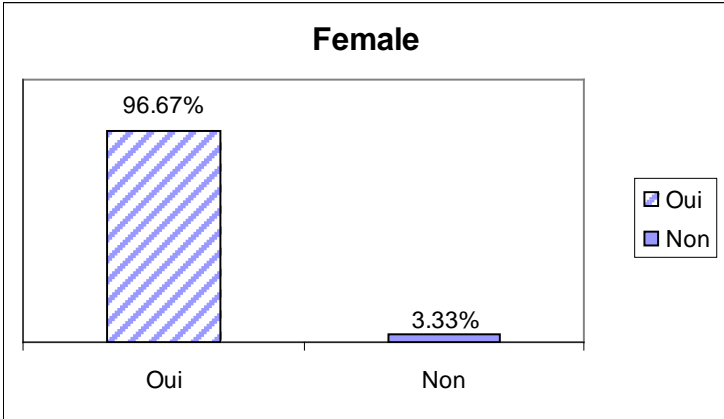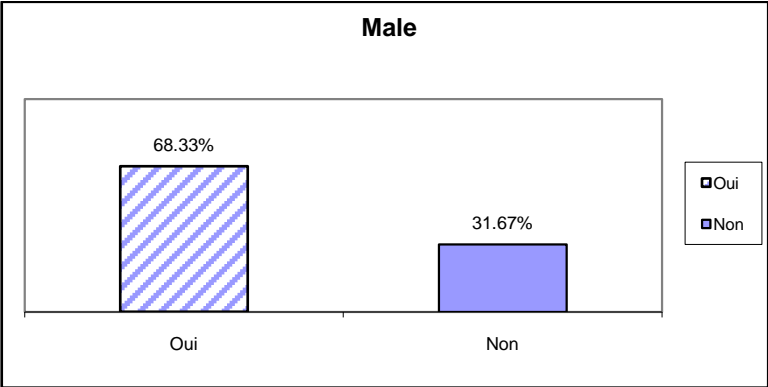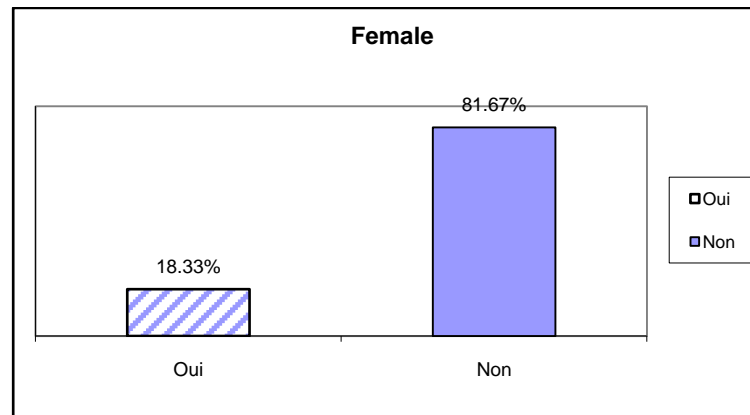
As it should be elucidated, these three questions serve to canvass the issue of the linking of one's utterance to the previous utterance as it is perceived by both women and men. In this respect, Hirschman (1973) states that women tend to make this link explicitly, but for men no such rule seems to exist, or they squarely ignore it. Results of question (16) reveal that female respondents themselves endorse the view that persists on postulating that women are more likely to link their utterance to the one preceding it by building on the previous utterance or talking about something akin to that topic. The rating of 96.76% is weighty enough to report that the great majority of women under study believe that they should draw the link between the previous topic which was under discussion and the subsequent utterance; they tend to seriously cogitate about not leaving a room of maze between the two different topics which seem to come one after another. Meanwhile, most of male respondents confute the view of Henley & Kramarae (1991) that perceives them as not having or ignoring a rule that demands the link between the utterances. Whilst the great majority of both sexes tend to claim that they identify building a relation between the two successive utterances as a strategy of paramount importance adopted in the conversation. Interestingly, what might appeal our intention here is that each sex seems to condemn the other sex of having the tendency to make an abrupt topic shift. As it is clearly laid, 83.33% of female respondents exhibit adherence to what Hirschman (1975) postulates about the fact that men tend to stay on topic as narrowly defined, and then to make a brusque topic shift.

Here I wish to direct a spotlight on the obvious, but important fact that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (from both sexes) seems to consider that plaguing the flow of the conversation by making an unexpected and sudden mutation in the topic under discussion is most peculiar to male speakers.

139

Over and above, 98.33% of male speakers tend to endorse what Henley and Kramarae (1991) state about the fact that men's tendency to make precipitous topic shifts by ignoring basic conversational rules is seen as exercising a common prerogative of power.

What flickers in and out of the great majority of male respondents is that conversational styles cannot be separated from power relations in the Algerian socio-cultural context where power not only regulates but significantly affects women-men relationships in their everyday life. Male speakers tend, in point of fact, to claim that they benefit from the privilege of power, the power to define and control the situation. Men and women are associated with different social roles and these roles do not carry the same social power (Sadiqi, 2003). This is why women and men adopt different linguistic strategies that reflect their social roles and their different potential sources of social power. This may highlight why it is believed that linguistic acts are fully meaningful solely in their social contexts, which embrace, of course, the sex of the speaker. Males' answers on question (18) are likely to hint that if both men and women employ the same linguistic strategies, the social return will principally differ for both sexes. According to our male respondents, they seem as being aware about the fact that they have the privilege to enjoy the rewards of society and gaining higher scores for interpreting some conversational strategies, such as the sudden and unexpected topic shift as a prerogative of power. We may paraphrase the universal meaning intended by 98.33% of males by saying that they want to send a message for those who attempt to criticize their social or conversational power, and say they are merely exercising the gifts offered to them by society and that this conversation style can be considered as precept dictated by the social rights of the community. Meanwhile, 81.67% of female respondents confute the direct relation between men's tendency to make an abrupt jump from topic to completely another topic and the social power ascribed only to men. They seem to reject the concomitance between male's brusque topic shift and the prerogative of power. Misunderstanding may, in fact, arise from this point where men perceive the strategy of unexpected topic shift as embedded in men's social power and it is prerogative of this dominance, whilst female respondents deny them the privilege to exercise this conversational style.

Question (19): What is verbal aggressiveness?

Male

85,00%

15,00%

Female

98,33%

1,67%

Negative and disruptive.

A classical strategy in organizing conversational flow.

Above all, it is noteworthy that verbally arrogant communicators employ personal attacks rather than logical arguments in their interactions with others. This verbal arrogance may include insults, ridicule, universal put-down or even raising their voice tone more than in normal situations. Even if men are not inherently dominant, they may still possess various traits than women under contemporary conditions, and such differences could influence men's and women's suitability for leadership. As a matter of fact, gender popular stereotypes customarily suggest that men would show greater aggressiveness, assertiveness, sway, and competitiveness. More importantly, the crux of question (19) mainly lies in dissecting what verbal aggressiveness means to each sex. In this line of thought, Henley & Kramarae (1991) point that women seem to interpret verbal aggressiveness as personally directed, negative and disruptive. Meanwhile men simply seem to see it as a classical organization for conducting a conversation. Algerian (Chelifian) women scored highest on the denotation of verbal aggressiveness as provoking turmoil, and this does not mean that male respondents dissent

this notion; 85% of male informants tend to confute what American men are supposed to think. The analysis of the results report that most of the male respondents tend to moderate what popular stereotypes say; they are likely to belie the idea which reads that men perceive that their overt use of aggressiveness against an interlocutor in organizing conversational flow as a prerogative of power and a classical strategy to build the oral conversation. Contrary to expectation, one female respondent tends to choose answer (b) which a host of male respondents seem to reject. Put differently, she seems to jeopardize her feminine circle since women are generally well-known of their common feminine aversion towards violence in any form, but of course, this does not necessarily mean the cultural equation of femininity and powerlessness. By and large, both women and men in this study seem to eschew from the penchant of verbal arrogance, albeit they are differently prone to assert their opinions and object to others' ideas.

Question 20: In your viewpoint, what are the main reasons for male/female problems of communication?

Every day, women and men seem to have cornucopia of good ideas for their jobs, their marriages, and for their families in general. They are motivated by multiple of intentions; their ideas are sometimes ignored or reject, not because their ideas are bad or not apt, but because they are ineffectively communicated. When individuals in general, women and men in particular intend to reveal their ideas or what they want, they usually say it in whatever manner it comes to their mind. It would not be surprising if we encounter a case where the speaker thinks that he is peacefully casting his/her arguments, and the other interlocutor perceives however this as a "shoot from the lip". This ineffective communication may be the repercussion of the fact that speakers haven't taken the time to prepare saying things in a way that will enable their listener to lucidly understand what they are saying and what they intend to mean.

Following the findings of recent studies on the different conversational styles between women and men (Maltz and Borker 1982; Henley & Kramarae 1991; Tannen 1990), we have tried to propound a number of questions to identify if there is a parallel between the findings in America and the statistics we get in the community under study.

In addition to asking questions for the purpose of dissecting the validity of the "difference" and "social power" theories postulated for a proper explanation of male/female

miscommunication, we purposefully ask the respondents to give their viewpoints about the potential barriers that can hamper the successful process of the communication between women and men. The following graphs will demonstrate on what the two sexes tremendously consider as reasons that might be at play in the breaking of communication between women and men.

Male

48,33%

35,00%

16,67%

A   B   C
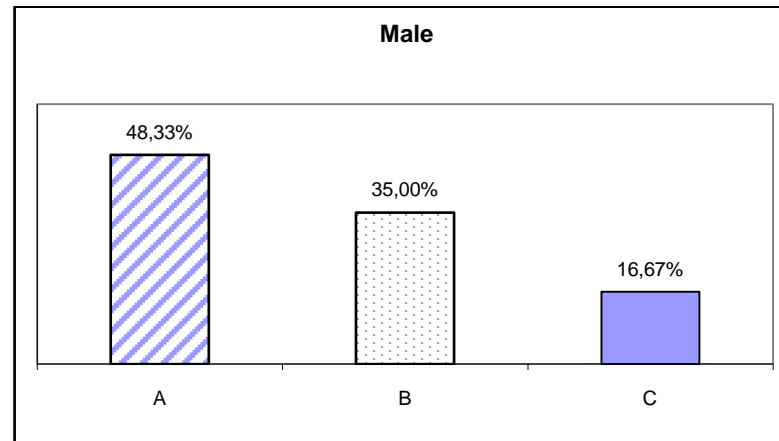
Each sex wants to prove that its viewpoints are right.

There are physiological and psychological differences between women and men.

Women raise their voice when disputing with men.

Notably, the difficulties which may challenge male/female communication are the result, male respondents opine, of the persistence of each sex on the accuracy and the validity of their viewpoint.

This may carry a factual tone in indicating what is actually pervasive in this society. In this sense, both women and men attempt to assert themselves and select the appropriate linguistic strategies to prove that they (both women and men) are eligible to conduct the conversation. Indeed, women in Algerian culture or well-nigh in all cultures of the world are still subordinate to men in one way or another, and this can be attested in a variety of language forms and language use in general. Notwithstanding, it would be a gross mistake to assume that *"women do not fight directly or indirectly in all cultures to assert their power, perhaps sometimes in an unexpected way"* (Bassiouney, 2009: 190). This line of thought harks back to what our findings report about the fact that women, in some communities of practice, manipulate a number of conversational strategies such as the use of French code-

switching or male interruptions, for the sake of imposing themselves and contrive a linguistic device of power management and power negotiation. The bottom line is that both women and men actually strive to accentuate their opinions either by virtue of male dominance or by female mission to create linguistically way of self-assertion. This notion may be corroborated by the sixteen males who tend to niggle women of raising their voice in front of men. They claim that one of the most prominent causes of misunderstanding between women and men is females' reluctance to "hush" their voices in public especially when speaking with men. Women's loud voice is not commonly heard in formal and public events. This attitude stems not only from the cultural belief, but also from the Islamic moral code that a woman's voice is /ɛawra/ "taboo". A number of men, if not all, still reject the idea that women's voice transcends theirs.

Howbeit we adhere to the malleable notion of constructing and negotiation a multiple of conversational strategies to index some notions such as "modernity", "will", "power", "determination" and "autonomy" by women, I as an Algerian Muslim woman, enormously believe in the fact that the Muslim woman should eschew from displaying very loud and harsh voices publicly in the presence of men. Even inside homes, women's voices are still considered as taboo in the presence of guests (Sadiqi, 2003). In mixed-sex conversations, women are typically perceived as listeners rather than speakers, especially in public spheres. A women "who listens" is socially categorized as a "good woman/wife" and a woman who talks too much in mixed groups or who interrupts men is negatively perceived as "too independent" and "not a potential good wife". (ibid: 148). But beyond this general level, the clever woman should, in our viewpoint, reconcile her linguistic competence with some significant rules of the speech community. In the social organization process, one of the first things that girls learn is how to monitor the use of speech (voice tone, in particular) in front of others especially males. No matter what is the status of the woman who talks, the man usually rebuffs the fact that woman's voice is louder than his. A good case in point in this respect is the fact that many, if not all male students, extremely reject the idea of being criticized publicly by a woman with the presence of a husky and loud voice, even if that woman is a teacher or a dean. For this very reason, the Arab Muslim woman should select the linguistic ploys to either perpetuate or to subvert the conventional gender roles assigned to them within the Algerian culture, but not to create a struggle between the notion of "enlightenment" and Islamic fundamentalism. As we have just indicated, the woman should be a mindful

communicator and relish her linguistic agency with the moral codes of Islam which certainly do not deny them the opportunity to assert themselves and negotiate power.

In a similar vein, Muslim women do not necessarily transgress the moral codes of the Algerian society in order to impose themselves and their lines of thought. The woman can employ whatever she wants from the linguistic choices available to such as code-switching or the conversational strategy of positive interruptions, without the need to talk in a very loud voice with men lest breaking the cultural and religious bedrocks in Algeria. Besides, this might be considered as an attempt to protect men's ego since a great number of Algerian men tempestuously react towards loudmouthed women.

Moreover, not only biologists who are constantly engrossing in the study of living organisms, a number of other respondents tend to claim that women and men are "wired" differently and that there are essential physiological and psychological differences that may engender male/female miscommunication.

A propos, thoughts and words that are insignificant as pebbles to men can be serious as giant boulders to women. Things that women can see as blatantly as neon signs may be *in toto* invisible to men.

A popular hypothesis holds that men tend to use predominantly the left hemisphere of their brains for language functions, while women tend use both hemispheres more systematically (McGlone, 1980). Said differently, men's brains are held to be more lateralized than those of women. More importantly, lateralization refers to specific brain functions that have been attributed to either the right or left side of the brain's cerebral hemispheres. McGlone (1980) asserts that scientists in this thread of research suggest that the issue of gender differences in brain lateralization is a complicated matter that has to be resolved.

Most significantly, 35% of male respondents reckon that psychological differences might be at play in the rise of male/female barriers of communication. In support of this, males and females have different chemical and hormonal balances which cause them to think and behave in different manners (Munroe, 2005). These fundamental differences, in the way women and men think and act, reside in the heart of the conflict, confusion, and misunderstanding that has occurred between the sexes for centuries.

So learning about general differences in women's and men's communication will enlarge our ability to appreciate the distinct validity of diverse communication styles. Overall,

Munroe (2005) states that the man is a logical thinker while a woman is an emotional feeler. To be logical means to think in a reasoned, organized, an orderly manner. The man has, as a logical thinker, an analytical mind that works like a computer, processing and assessing information in an accurate and precise patter. In casting that women are in general, emotional, Munroe (2005) postulates that they approach issues more from feelings than from reason. But we think that is not a bad thing; being emotionally centered is neither better nor worse than being logical; it is just different. We can say, in other words, that a man leads with his mind and a woman leads with her heart. While logic and emotion may be glaringly seem incompatible on the surface, in reality they complement each other very well. Both women and men have to benefit from logic and emotion because life would be rather empty for the one who is exclusively logical. At the same time, emotion stripped from logic would result in life without order. The psychological differences may tremendously attack many husbands and wives when they suffer needlessly from maze, misunderstanding, and hurt feelings simply because they do not understand each other's fundamental differences.
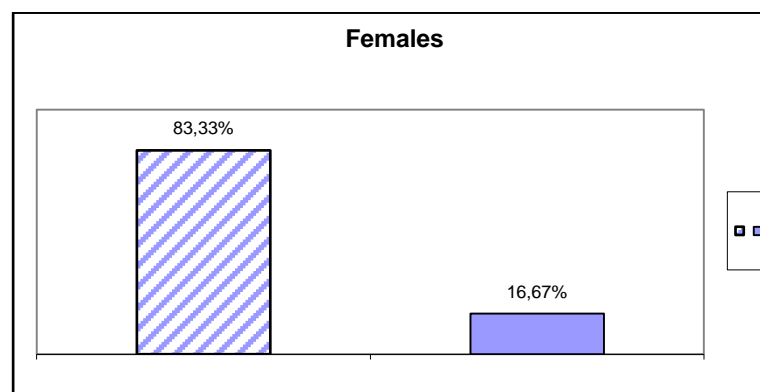
Educational level.

Men want to impose their opinions.

For a start, fifty female respondents perceive that differences in educational level between women and men may be a significant factor in exacerbating their miscommunication. Women in our country are ethnically, socio-economically, and educationally differentiated, and thus this differentiation is a thought-provoking in the attempts to unearth some prominent reasons of male / female problems of communication. The prevalent western view of Moroccan and Arab Muslim women in general disregards such distinction, resulting in disparities between women (Sadiqi, 2003). Real-life examples illustrate that Algerian women employ the rich linguistic resources that are available to them either to sustain or to transgress

the conventional gender roles assigned to them within the Algerian culture. Educated women use French in addition to one or both mother tongues, and this Algerian women's linguistic agency is part and parcel of their struggle for self-assertion. In the light of women's communicative strategies are primarily dictated by their level of education, the most momentous strategy among educated bilingual women in Algerian urban areas is code-switching, which most commonly embraces the controlled alteration and mixing of Algerian - Arabic / French or Berber / French. (See Sadiqi, 2003: Chapter 4). As it has been thoroughly discussed in the preceding chapter, code-switching requires competence not only in the two linguistic codes but also the capability to appropriately manipulate these codes in real-life contexts, and it is a phenomenon that is more prevalent in the speech of women than in that of men.

One piece of evidence that supports this line of thought in our findings about the fact that Algerian women, particularly in urban settings, employ code-switching to impose themselves by "snatching" turns in conversation and to divest non-educated men of authority, those who are communicating with them. Unlike educated men, the use of French in such contexts is often interpreted as "aggressive" by less educated men, and many males adhere to "putting off" of this mode of communication and favour to "step back" and to cede the floor to that woman.

So when there is a disparity in the educational level, Algerian women's use of code switching as a linguistic device for power management and power negotiation in mixed settings will be misunderstood by less educated men in conversations, and this perception can be explained vice versa. Belike, the communication between an educated male and an illiterate female will be, in many times, dashed.

Differences in education between women and men may engender further barriers of communication, not only regarding the use of code switching, but also in interpreting interruptions and the manners they use to opine. By way of explanation, both women and men seem to cling to their viewpoints and impose them. It seems that our words are often missed just because listeners are busy in thinking about what they are going to say *in lieu of* listening to what is being said.

IV. 5. Conclusion:

The overall research project of which this chapter is a part tends to canvass questions about the reasons behind male/female miscommunication. The gist of this inquiry is to dissect whether the findings, in this arena of research, hold up in our community "Chlef" today, directing a limelight on queries such as: In what ways have gendered speech patterns changed? What remains similar?

Contrary to expectation, what we have discerned from our respondents' attitudes about women's and men's conversational styles, which may engender problems in communication, is that there are notable disparities between the findings in the speaking patterns of American women and men and what we have gleaned from the succinct examination of the phenomenon of miscommunication in Chlef. Not only in America, the prevalent popular stereotypes have been for a long time delineating men as aggressive agents and women as passive listeners quoting the social norms expected by the speech community. As a matter of fact, the pendulum has swung to women's agency which is demonstrated in a number of conversational strategies they adopt for the sake of self expression and self assertion.

As a case in point, statistics of the questionnaire report that women are more likely to interrupt other men in conversations tend to take control of the conversation and challenge the speech of others. Let's face it; these findings may flatten out important details about the empowering use that women in Chlef make of the language available to them and the different linguistic strategies as part of their communicative competence. The significance of this use is enhanced by the fact that Algeria is a multilingual country where both the choice and manipulation of different conversational strategies is part and parcel of negotiating the power related to gender making and gender creating in our community.

Although we may consider the questionnaire as a preliminary examination, it is possible to say that the results presented on Chelifian women and men in talk reveal how women are perceived to interrupt, challenge and control the floor as much as men if not more. Without denying men's social dominance, it seems rational to infer that there are numerous ways in which women in the Arab world can invoke power and try to accentuate their agency both socially and linguistically and secure social gains. Apart from that, the findings in the paper report that women and men have principally different interpretations of the use of minimal responses. Whilst men are teased by women's use of minimal responses because they perceive

them as devices to eschew the conversation and get rid of them, women often niggle men about neglecting what they are saying since the use of minimal response for them (women) usually seem to be " I listen, I follow you ".

In addition to answering some fundamental sociolinguistic questions concerning male/female different conversational styles, this investigation has also been directed towards providing an insight about the fact that our religious and cultural beliefs play a prominent role in constructing gender identities via a myriad of linguistic strategies. In my view, the Arabic Muslim woman fares better by transmitting her erudition and agency via a number of language choices and conversational devices, but not by drastically transgressing the conversational rules of our cultural beliefs. It is true that women generally aspire more to social prestige as they need it more than men and they derive social power from being "civilized" and "modern".

Despite this conception, it is believed that there should be no room for the harsh attempts by females to empower themselves. Said in another way, expressing the inner selves, asserting our agency (as women) and challenging others still does not require arrogance and disrobing from abashment. The bottom line is that a woman should reconcile between the socio-economic and linguistic capacities with the fundamental moral and cultural codes of the society she resides in its lap.

GENERAL CONCLUSION:

Inevitably, many things have to be left out of a short work, but we may glean interesting points concerning the theoretical empirical pivot of our scrutiny which revolves around the enigma of male/female miscommunication that, most of the times, plague a host of families and work relations. This pervasive phenomenon is not, in fact, a cursory whim that quickly disappears, but rather a serious query that must be painstakingly examined.

In an attempt to make the topic of our dissertation and the methods interwoven parts of a whole and develop them in tandem with one another, we believe that the community of practice theory fares better in dissecting male/female conversational styles in Chlef. Prior to undertaking directly the phenomenon of miscommunication, we find it imperative to devote significant effort to investigate how women and men define themselves differently via performing particular linguistic behaviours. As a matter of fact, it is not a new line of thought to canvass the phenomenon of male/female miscommunication on the basis of gender linguistic differences. But what is of particular interest here is that we dwell in the idea that the contribution of the concept of the CofP to language and gender studies (particularly in the area of gender linguistic differences) has rightly been tremendously welcomed since the main difference between this framework and the aforementioned theories is that the former drew its root from psychology, sociology, anthropology and women studies. From this vantage point, the community of practice model seeks to examine the way gender interacts with other variables such as age, ethnicity, relationships and most importantly, the context.

In attempts to explore women and men's differences in linguistic behaviours, we opt for tackling these differences from a community of practice framework. The community of practice theory affords priority to the local and practical assuming that these influenced the variability of gendered practices and communities. One piece of evidence that corroborates this hypothesis is Eckert and McConnell – Ginet's (1995) analysis of the language of "Jocks" and "Burnouts" which revealed, *inter alia*, significant phonological variants which explained the students allegiances and alliances.

As expected from the rapt attention directed to male/female linguistic styles in Chlef, our findings demonstrate that (women and men) constantly twist and change particular linguistic styles as they are nested in different communities of practice. A good case in point in this respect is the realization of /q/ and /g/ by the two sexes in Chlef. Female speakers adhere to the use of /q/ instead of /g/ in some words aiming at displaying particular notions of femininity by the employment of *soigné* and refined pronunciations. What is of particular

interest here is that this mode of speaking is not the echo of the norms of the speech community or what those females learnt in their childhood; this phenomenon can be better elucidated by the CofP framework. By this token, the same woman alternatively adopts /g/or /q/ in the same word, albeit in different communities of practice. Apart from that, the CofP framework offers us the opportunity to descry that females of Chlef Spoken Arabic select between emphatic/non-emphatic consonants as though they are calling for the necessity to sleek their pronunciation, particularly when they are engaged in formal communities of practice such as the university with their professors, for instance.

Although it is believed that the empathic/non emphatic distinctiveness does not imperatively equate with male potency and female weakness, women and men seem to be in a constant readiness for varying their linguistic practices to define themselves and negotiate a myriad of social meanings in an endeavour to guarantee their agency in the community they participate in and to cater to the communicative needs of each moment of interaction.

In addition to our tendency to explore the avenue of how women and men construct a variety of gender identities in different communities of practice, we opt for seeking relevant answers to the question, which we do think that it is pertinent inquiry to pose: "Do women really direct more attention than men to sleek their speech and choose, *par excellence*, their ways of speaking? ". A propos, the disparity between women and men's realization of the phoneme /r/ in Chlef is apparent forcing us to infer that women are more closer to the prestige realization of / ʁ / which is known as the supra-dialectal norm of mainland France.

As it is observed, whereas a woman would pronounce the "r" sound in the French way (a uvular trill), a man would readily use the Arabic rolled "r". To put it mildly, men use rolled /r/ so as to mark their group identity and this might be a message which reads "Although I use French, I am Algerian". By way of contrast, it grows a general consensus, according to the findings of this quest, that women are very much in favour of modernity and openness to western values.

The overriding aim of this dissertation has been to offer an idea of the phenomenon of male/female miscommunication and dissecting what is the bedrock of these difficulties, tackling a number of hypotheses that has been propounded to disentangle the maze of male/female problems of communication. To explore such a research avenue, we concur that the examination of how gender bias language choice is of paramount importance to descry how women and men differ in defining themselves in the lab of their society.

In the light that identities are multiple and complex, women and men tend to compute social meanings that they see as apt and relevant in specific contexts and particular periods of time. The use of French CS in Algeria (particularly in Chlef) is a linguistic marker for both women and men, but with variant symbolic meanings for each. What we can infer from the daily observation and actual findings is that Chelifian women employ code-switching to score personal gains in everyday conversations. They are keen on the fact that French is a prestigious variety in the Algerian society. Through CS, women easily succeed in getting and maintaining attention, a goal which is not necessary to men since they are not in need of this self-assertion. Women, however, use code-switching as a means of controlling and keeping the floor for the necessary time without being interrupted. Beyond this general level, it seems very important to note that this does not connote that women always and only use French phonology or embed phrases from French whereas men never do. In urban settings of Chlef, CS is seen as a female type of communicative style; it is a kind of ploy to show difference not solely *vis-à-vis* other men but *vis-à-vis* other women. The most probable reason for this linguistic practice may be due to females' greater care with the manner they speak, given the higher social pressure on them. In this case study, both the interviews and the snatches of conversations we embezzled reveal that gender identity is perceived by a host of Chelifian women as intimately related to many other different identities. Thus, urban women generally see it as being more associated with education, economic independence, etc. To make the picture more vivid, intellectual women see it as having a voice public sphere, and the upper and middle class women see it as being associated with high prestige.

Not less interestingly than women's use of French code-switching, Berber can be seen as a female language associated by females' domains, albeit it is used by males as well. Berber CS is also used by them as a linguistic marker of in-group solidarity. More interestingly, the meanings associated with Berber afford these women the opportunity to use language symbolically both to construct identity and to exhibit opposition to the exclusion of Berber in the larger public discourse.

On the top of everything, the characterizing components of any particular linguistic behaviour performed by women and men seem to be restricted, but each component allows a tremendous breadth of coverage of a wide spectrum of variability according to context, situation, and individual interest. What we may understand from this investigation is that these components do not function in isolation; they constantly interact and acquire meaning and power within the culture that they broadly define. The Algerian culture owes its

152

dynamism and overall specificity to the nature of the correlation of the components that constitute it. On the basis, gender division, in either code switching or any other linguistic style, is not absolute and omnipresent because women and men use different languages and a myriad of varieties in different contexts. Summing up the findings of this part of research, we arrive at the conclusion that the gender parameter has a crucial place as a determining factor of language choice, in general, and code switching in particular.

Over and above, when females experience frustrating communication situations with males in their personal or work relationships, they typically attribute them to males' quirks or failings and *vice versa*. Instead, it seems, on the basis of our scrutiny, that these frustrating experiences may result from gender differences in communication styles. I don't agree, however, that these communication differences are totally fostered by traditional stereotypes and the socializing influences of parents and childhood interactions. In support of this, the analysis conducted in this dissertation reveals that our perception of gender differences and the disparity between women and men's conversational styles should not be disrobed from the vitality of taking into consideration a number of social, linguistic and psychological factors. For this very reason, we do concur with Tannen (1994) in the point that tells women and men to eschew and avoid problems of communication by being more aware of gender differences in communicative styles, but not as a simple dichotomy which would encourage gender polarization and overlook the critical role of other relevant variables such as immediate self-interest, social networks, types of discourse, cultural and status situational differences. Further, gender identities fluctuate not only during an individual's life time; women and men seem to be keenly aware of the significance of negotiating a multiple of identities and social meanings each time they participate in their different communities.

It is an insight worth attending to even now, the findings of the questionnaire do illuminate that there exists a notable disparity between the findings on the arena of male/female miscommunication in America and what we can infer, here, in this current study. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the difference of conversational rules that is propounded as reasons for miscommunication is patently different from those found in America. By way of explanation, the analysis of the questionnaire shows that women interrupt more than men.

Unlike the surge of commentaries and researches conducted by western linguists, in general, and Americans, in particular, the current findings demonstrate that men claim and women admit that the latter bombard the interlocutor with questions more than male speakers. Albeit asking questions is considered as a type of interruption, female respondents in this

dissertation extremely reports that their attempts to ask questions stemmed from their tendency to exhibit their interest and attention.

Further, the meaning of minimal responses is a fairly moot point that may engender male/female miscommunication. Whilst men interpret the use of minimal responses as a message to eschew from the conversation and a signal of phlegm and insouciance, the overwhelming majority of our female respondents tend to perceive them as a kind of supportive speech which does encourage the speaker. For this very reason, men are customarily irritated by females' use of minimal responses since they tend to restrict their expectations to only what they think and not what the other speaker really intends to mean. And, of course, this can be applied on women as well since they ignore that what they strive to mean is not the same expectation by other men, in some cases. It is true that the meaning of minimal responses for both women and men may hamper the proper understanding between them, but the data we report totally reject what Maltz and Borker (1982) claim on their examination of women's use of minimal responses. For Chelifian men, positive minimal responses never denote "I agree I follow you"; and this can be attested in male's complaint when women use those responses.

One of the most striking findings, reported mainly in most part of this dissertation, is that women are much more likely to display the assertive style via answering spontaneously, phonate with a conversational tone while looking at the other interlocutor. The data we report indicate that there is a generis consensus among Chelifian men and women on the fact that self-assertiveness and the intention to take control of the conversation does not sit very lightly on women's shoulders. Quite generally, this paper highlights the fact that both women and men in Algeria (particularly in Chlef) are ethnically (as in the case of Berber speakers), socio-economically, and educationally differentiated, and that this differentiation is reflected in their day-to-day use of language.

On the basis of the findings, Western models of gender feminism cannot be applied to the Algerian socio-cultural context without prior recognition and understanding of the workings of the latter. Both the historical intimacy and the overall cultural environments in which Western models evolved are, undoubtedly, different from the ones of non-Western models. Western feminism models drew its root from particular theoretical and political sources to nourish a powerful and original critique of patriarchy. In a similar vein, Western models of feminism need to take into account and interact with models of feminism that emanate from non-other Western socio-cultural contexts.

In addition to finding out that the current research paper does confute some claims propounded in the arena of miscommunication on American women and men, the difference in the scrutiny of western country and a Muslim community is glaringly conspicuous; this can be attested in the autonomy afforded by the Islamic society to women whilst dictating some moral codes that should be duplicated for the sake of maintaining the agency of each sex. At a more profound level, women in Chlef are not necessarily transgressed if they make interruptions or display linguistic ploys for self-assertion and linguistic empowerment. Empowerment is a process whereby women can establish their control over various assets and which helps them to develop their self confidence.

Interestingly, what we can reap from the current investigation is that women in Chlef are never linguistically passive, and that the data demonstrate that one ought not to take for granted the theories which express dwell on the view that women are underprivileged and co-opted, and that men are the only ones that possess *savoir-faire* and aplomb. Our data clearly illustrate that Chelifian women's linguistic agency is portrayed in this dissertation through creative and supple use of language, which is *per se* a potent side of resistance. Unadorned, women seem to play a vital role in asserting themselves, negotiating power via manipulating a sheer number of linguistic strategies or even language choices for self-empowerment. By so doing, they strive to nullify the idea of women's underrepresentation in tenured positions in society in general. Women are agents who can reflect on themselves and actively interfere with the actual events, despite of the strict grip of cultural forces and folk expectations. The individuals' language agency is monitored by his/her motives and immediate self-interest, without ignoring, of course, the significant external factors that are certainly at play all the time.

Let us now face the cornerstone of this dissertation (male/female miscommunication). Not only the disparity in women and men's conversational styles-which has been detected in this study-, the persistent tendency of each sex to sustain its viewpoints may engender further problems of communication as well. Put in a different way, women and men often misunderstand how to tell the other interlocutor "I am a man" or "I am a woman". The man is reluctant to relinquish his natural right of symbolizing the sway provided to him by society. Similarly, women refuse to submit to the cultural beliefs of their powerlessness and passivity in which our society is still uploaded with this kind of stereotypes.

In an endeavour to reconcile my modest linguistic background with my status as an Algerian Muslim woman, it is believed that women's linguistic agency and their instrumental

role in society is momentous, but without stripping from the moral codes of society. It seems imperative to note that the intelligent woman should embellish her agency, self-assertiveness and negotiating for power with a set of cultural and religious instructions; she should lower her voice and guard her modesty. By lowering the voice, it is meant to be mitigating her voice tone and not displaying very loud and harsh voice. As it has been stated, Chelifian men, in particular, seem to be dismayed once female speakers try to speak louder than them.

Algerian women's conversational strategies and use of language spark a contentious debate among those who thirst for knowledge about feminist linguistics and women studies at large. As I wish is clear by now, exploring male/female miscommunication inevitably involves dissecting the relationship between language, gender and identity which is deeply related to power. In addition to the paramount importance of understanding gender identity, we need a global, more comprehensive, and cross cultural account of gender that takes into consideration the vitality and the dynamics of multilingualism, religion and the agency of both women and men in the lab of society.

Although the current research is limited, it hints that women and men have to recognize and understand not only the differences in their conversational rules, but we do think that they should learn how the other interlocutor (woman or man) intends to perform her/his gender identity as well. In an attempt to bridge the gap of gender communication, each sex has to learn the art of conversational give and take. Self perception is not enough to play successfully the role in the conversation; let us give a rousing reminder that the individual's message "I am a woman" or "I am a man" are uneven inasmuch as they are susceptible to a sheer number of factors (which have been elucidated earlier).

This scenario demonstrates a compelling way that the study of gender and identity research is evident, important and frequently controversial in exploring the avenue of male/female miscommunication. Besides our intention for further education, we gravitate towards addressing this burning issue requiring substantial research and the possibility of contributing a solution with positive implications for the betterment of society. Language and gender and male/female miscommunication in Algeria is a worthwhile project that can benefit women studies at large, and all interested readers.

The bottom line is that male/female miscommunication can be applied neither by the strict binary opposition of gender differences nor by the damaging role of stereotypical prejudices that usually accompany any assessment of female speech behaviours. This succinct

investigation offers us the opportunity to harvest good ideas for further research and these findings need to be confirmed by more extensive research.

Age: ....

Sexe: ....

Niveau d'instruction: ……………………………………………………….

1/ Pensez-vous que les femmes et les hommes ont deux différents styles de conversation ?
Oui ☐ - non ☐

2/ Ces différences sont le résultat de:
-la culture savante dans l'enfance ☐

- pouvoir social de l'homme   ☐

- Elles se présentent en fonction de changements dans le temps et la situation ☐

3/Pensez-vous que ces différences peuvent entraîner des problèmes de communication entre les deux sexes ?
Oui ☐ - non ☐

4/Qui interrompent plus à une conversation?
Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

5/ avec qui vous interrompez plus ?

Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

6/Qui tentent de contrôler la conversation?

Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

7/Qui posent beaucoup de questions dans la conversation ?

Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

8/Posez-vous des questions pendant le discours pour exprimer votre intérêt et l'attention ?
Oui ☐ - Non ☐

9/Pensez-vous que poser des questions au cours de la conversation est pour :
- Maintenir la conversation.   ☐
- Demander des informations.   ☐

10/Qui utilisent beaucoup plus de réponse minimale lors d'une conversation ?
Comme : mm, ih, aha…
Femmes ☐ - Hommes   ☐

11/ voulez-vous dire par l'utilisation des réponses minimales :

- continuez, j'écoute. ☐

- Je suis d'accord, je vous suis. ☐

- Je ne veux pas parler plus que cela. ☐

- parlez, mais je ne suis pas à l'écoute ! ☐

12/ Qui tentent généralement de contester la parole de leur partenaire ?
Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

13/ Qui tentent généralement d'attirer et de maintenir le public?
Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

14/Qui tentent généralement de s'affirmer quand d'autres orateurs ont la parole?
Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

15/Qui tentent généralement de s'orienter à la personne qu'ils parlent?
Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

16/Relier le discours avec le précédent est important.
Oui ☐ - non ☐

17/Qui font un changement brusque dans le sujet de la conversation ?
Femmes ☐ - Hommes ☐

18/ Le changement brusque du sujet par un homme est une prérogative de puissance.
Oui ☐ - non ☐

19/L'agressivité verbale est :
- est négative et provoque des perturbations. ☐
- structure classique d'organisation de la conversation. ☐

20/ Dans votre point de vue, quelles sont les raisons principales des problèmes de communication entre les femmes et les hommes ?
………
………
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………

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Contents

Abstract

Females and males seem to encounter frequent problems of communication and their conversation typically falls prey to miscommunication. They find it, most of the time, tiresome to fathom the mind of the other. Male/female miscommunication has been interpreted in a number of ways, most notably as an innocent by-product of different socialization patterns and different gender cultures. Wishing to unearth the scientific explanation of male/female miscommunication, we have tried to examine gender performances and women's agency (Their creative use of language and the choices available to them) in the Algerian social culture with a tremendous belief that they need to be examined in relation to some factors such as the larger power structures that constitute Algerian culture, Islam, multilingualism and social organization. It is in this interaction of these factors which influence generic gender perception, gender subversion and language use reveal that the social and individual differences of Chelifian women and men can be understood solely within the social cultural context of the community under study.

Key words:

Women; Men; Gender; Code switching; Language; Culture; Society; Differences; Conversation; Multilingualism.