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**PHD**

**Male/female language in Marrakesh: a sociolinguistic study**

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UNIVERSITY OF BATH

School of Modern Languages  
and International Studies

MALE/FEMALE LANGUAGE IN MARRAKESH  
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

submitted by S. Hader  
for the degree of PhD  
of the University of Bath  
1992

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**To the people I do not know how to  
acknowledge the debt I owe them  
except, in part, by the dedication**

**To my father and mother  
To my brothers and sisters**

**in recognition of their unfailing  
understanding, kindness, help and support.**

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**"A person who is gabby, talkative, and gossipy, a nag,  
a shrew, or a chatter-box, must be a woman. What are  
the male equivalents? There are none."**

**Chaika, E. 1982**

## ABSTRACT

The present study seeks to investigate male/female language in Marrakesh. It does not concentrate on the linguistic differences per se, rather it is an attempt to highlight the underlining factors which determine these differences, and which brought about a great deal of controversy in the literature on language and sex.

To achieve this aim, two main procedures were used in the collection of data. These are a questionnaire and recordings of naturally occurring conversations.

The results give strong evidence that male/female language in Marrakesh is perceived differently by both men and women. The linguistic differences tend to reflect social inequality between the sexes. Despite the social and educational changes that took place in Marrakesh, people's attitudes towards women and their language remained unshaken. Female's use of language, compared to that of men, is still negatively evaluated.

The results also seem to indicate that the sex of the speaker is one of the most outstanding variables influencing male/female language differences. In addition, the results emphasize the fact that other factors such as age and social class can also affect language use. It was also found that each of the determining factors operates according to the context of use. This includes participants, topic and situation. Finally, the study proposes another way out to redress women's image in society other than changing sexist language.

Based on a sample from the Arab world, the present study can be considered as a new outlook in the development of the study of male/female language.

## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following is the list of symbols and abbreviations used in the present study.

### CONSONNANTS

**A:** as in Aabd "slave"

**D:** as in tay-DHak "he is laughing"

**G:** as in Gal "he said"

**h:** as in hiya "she"

**H:** as in Hlem "he dreamed"

**k:** as in kal "he has eaten"

**q:** as in qlem "pen"

**r:** as in raSi "my head"

**R:** as in Rdda "tomorrow"

**S:** as in SdaA "noise"

**š:** as in šuf "look"

**T:** as in Teyyara "a plane"

**w:** as in walidik "your parents"

**x:** as in xali "my uncle"

**y:** as in yimta "when"

**z:** as in zid "come in"

**Z:** as in Za "he came"

**?:** as in ?u "and"



## VOWELS

**a:** like the "a" in "has"

**e:** like the "u" in "purse"

**i:** like the "e" in "he"

**u:** like the "u" in "prudent"

**o:** like the "o" in "frost"

**(=)** marks overlap between speaker and addressee.

**(#)** indicates interruption of the speaker by the addressee.

## ABBREVIATIONS

**MA:** stands for Moroccan Arabic

**CA:** stands for Classical Arabic

**MSA:** stands for Modern Standard Arabic

**KA:** stands for Colloquial Arabic

**FN:** stands for first name

**LN:** stands for last name

**TFN:** stands for title plus first name

**TLN:** stands for title plus last name

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1 THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE 3

1.1 Introduction 3

1.2 Origins of Sex Differences in Language 3

1.3 Factors Influencing Sex-Role Differences 5

1.3.1 Biological factors 6

1.3.2 Sociological factors 10

1.4 Sex-Role Stereotypes 15

1.4.1 Impact of sex-role stereotypes on male-female language 16

1.4.1.1 Women's use of prestigious language 18

A) Conservatism 18

B) Status 19

C) Solidarity 20

1.4.2 Determinants of Sex Differences in language use 21

1.4.2.1 The dominance-subordination approach 21

1.4.2.2 The deference approach 24

1.5 Conclusion 25

CHAPTER 2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND 27

2.1 Introduction 27

2.2 Linguistic Perspective 27

2.2.1 Berber 28

2.2.2 The Arab invasion of Morocco 28

2.2.3 The French protectorate 29

2.2.4 Diglossia 32

2.2.4.1 Definition of diglossia 32

2.2.4.2 Origins of dialects 35

2.2.4.3 The linguistic situation in Morocco 35

2.3 Sociological Perspective	44
2.3.1 General view of women's condition in the Arab world	44
2.3.2 Women in Marrakesh	46
2.3.2.1 Sex-role stereotypes	46
2.3.2.2 Marriage	47
2.3.2.3 Education	48
2.3.2.4 Employment	49
2.3.2.5 Witchcraft	52
2.4 Conclusion	53
<b>CHAPTER 3 MALE/FEMALE SPEECH STEREOTYPES</b>	<b>56</b>
3.1 Introduction	56
3.2 Methodology	56
3.2.1 Informants	56
3.2.2 Procedure	57
3.2.3 Data analysis	58
3.4 Results and Discussion	59
3.5 Conclusion	102
<b>CHAPTER 4 FORMS OF ADDRESS</b>	<b>104</b>
4.1 Introduction	104
4.2 Methodology	104
4.3 Importance of Forms of Address	105
4.4 Major Motives for Using Forms of Address	107
4.4.1 Power and solidarity	107
4.4.2 Occupational status and age	107
4.4.3 Sex	108
4.4.4 Setting	108
4.5 General Kinds of Forms of Address	109
4.5.1 First names	109
4.5.1.1 Reciprocal vs nonreciprocal usage	109
4.5.2 Title plus last name	113
4.5.2.1 Reciprocal vs nonreciprocal usage	113
4.5.3 Terms of respect	115
4.5.3.1 Madame/Mademoiselle/Monsieur	116
4.5.3.2 /Awinti/ and /xxeti/	117
4.5.3.3 /siyatikum/	118

4.5.4 Sex-related taboo language	119
4.5.4.1 Swearing	120
4.5.4.2 Street remarks	122
4.6 Lack of Forms of Address	125
4.7 Conclusion	127
<b>CHAPTER 5 MALE/FEMALE CONVERSATIONAL INTERACTIONS IN SAME AND MIXED-SEX GROUPS</b>	<b>129</b>
5.1 Introduction	129
5.2 Previous Studies	131
5.3 Methodology	131
5.3.1 Participants	131
5.3.2 Procedure	131
5.4 Results and Discussion	132
5.4.1 Women's Language in Same-Sex Groups	133
5.4.1.1 Politeness	134
A) Requests	135
B) Apologies	136
C) Deference	137
D) Diminutives	138
5.4.1.2 Uncertainty	139
5.4.1.3 Question-asking	141
5.4.1.4 Cooperativeness	142
5.4.1.5 Overlaps and interruptions	143
5.4.2 Men's Language in Same-Sex Groups	144
5.4.2.1 Imperatives	145
5.4.2.2 Requests	147
5.4.2.3 Apologies	148
5.4.2.4 Uncertainty	148
5.4.2.5 Question-asking	149
5.4.2.6 Overlaps and interruptions	150
5.4.3 Conversational Interactions in Mixed-Sex Groups	153
5.4.3.1 Imperatives	154
5.4.3.2 Requests	155
5.4.3.3 Apologies	156
5.4.3.4 Deference	157
5.4.3.5 Diminutives	158
5.4.3.6 Uncertainty	159
5.4.3.7 Question-asking	160
5.4.3.8 Overlaps and interruptions	161
5.5 Conclusion	165

<b>CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>173</b>
<b>APPENDIX 1 The Questionnaire Measuring Attitudes Towards Men's and Women's Language in Marrakesh</b>	
<b>APPENDIX 2 The Arabic Version of the Questionnaire</b>	

## INTRODUCTION

Over the last few years, there has been a growing interest in the study of men's and women's language, and the way it reflects and maintains male/female power relationships in a given society. It has attracted the attention of a number of sociolinguists, psycholinguists and anthropologists.

However, research on Arab women in general has so far concentrated mostly on the rights and roles of women in the family and society at large. A review of literature in this domain reveals that little attention, if not none at all has been given to male/female language. It can be argued that such studies cannot be fruitful if they are not accompanied by investigations into this equally important social phenomenon, which has been recognized to shape people's lives and perceptions and reflect their social reality.

The present study takes up the challenge. It tries to examine sex-related differences in language use from an Arab point of view, and focuses on an example from the Arab world.

In so doing, it will show to what extent its findings would support the claim usually reported in the literature on male/female language that differences in the language spoken by men and women are common to many, if not to all, cultures, and that they are but a reflection of sex-role stereotypes.

To achieve its goal, the present study is organized into five chapters, each of which begins with a brief introduction presenting its aim and results. Chapter One gives a review of the literature on language and sex and presents the various

explanations put forward to account for such differences. Chapter Two sketches briefly the sociolinguistic background against which the investigation is to be set. Chapter Three examines people's attitudes towards male/female language in Marrakesh, and the impact of sex-role stereotypes in shaping their attitudes. Chapter Four tries to trace power relationships between men and women, as reflected in the choice and asymmetry of forms of address. Chapter Five explores male/female conversational interactions in single and mixed-sex groups, and gives further insight into women's social condition in relation to men. Chapter Six sums up the main points addressed in the study and presents suggestions for further research.

It must be emphasized that this study is not an end in itself but rather a beginning for further research. It is also important that limitations of this study must be recognized. The picture of sex differences in language as presented in this study is not fully representative, neither is it complete.

It is hoped that the present study, approached from an Arab point of view, will make a significant contribution to our knowledge of the inter-relationship between language and society on the one hand; and our understanding of sex-related language differences on the other hand. It is also hoped that it will stimulate more interest in Arab women's studies, a particularly poorly studied area, and initiate more insightful studies on Arab women, the picture of whom has not always been correctly portrayed.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to review the literature on language and sex. It will try to trace the origins of male/female linguistic differences, and shed some light on sex-role stereotypes and their impact on men's and women's linguistic behaviour. It will also try to report the diversity of approaches and view-points with respect to the variables operating to determine such differences.

#### 1.2 Origins of sex-related differences in language

It is often stated in the literature on language and sex that interest in the study of the different relations of both sexes to their language goes back to the period of time before 1900 (Smith,1985). However, the classic and most famous example which is usually presented in ethnographical and linguistic studies as an illustration of sex differences is that of the Caribs of the small Antilles. The 'story' of the Carib language as reported by Jespersen (1922) -quoting Dominican Breton, 1664- indicates that the chief of the Caribs slaughtered native people except the women, who conserved part of their language. But the most reliable of the subsequent accounts, Jespersen goes on to suggest, is that of Rockefeller (1665) who argues that the Carib men used to have many expressions which the Carib women could never use although they could understand them, and vice versa. Consequently, it seems as if the women and the men spoke two different languages. The reason behind this sex difference in language use is usually given a historical justification: the Caribs' occupation of the islands and their complete extermination of the Arawak men. The women, however, were kept alive to populate the country. Having retained their own language, these women taught it to their daughters. By contrast, the boys learned and



spoke the language of their fathers and brothers and never tried to use that of their mothers and sisters even if they were able to understand it.

In discussing the Carib case, Cameron (1985) draws attention to the distinction social markers theory makes between two types of sex marker, namely the sex-exclusive and the sex-preferential. The first type, which means that certain features are used only by one sex, can be illustrated by the Carib language. The second type refers to the features which both male and female speakers can produce, but which are more likely to be used by one sex than the other.

Concerning the reasons behind sex differences in the Carib language, Smith (1985:4) points out that the fact that the Island Caribs are descended from Carib-speaking males and Arawak-speaking females, whose males were exterminated by the Carib people (Hudson, 1980), cannot explain "...the enduring differentiation between the sexes...and its perpetuation seems to have been due in part to superstition regarding the pronunciation of some words by one sex or the other and in part to the fact that the activities of traditional Carib society were highly differentiated along male-female lines (Jespersen, 1922; Taylor, 1951)". Indeed, Jespersen's (1922:241) explanation was mainly based on gender role; men who went out hunting and fighting in war developed lexicons different from those of women who, kept at home, indulged in idle chatter. He also argues that linguistic differences between males and females are found in many countries "where two languages are struggling for supremacy in a peaceful way - Thus without any question of one nation exterminating the other or the male part of it".

Since then, there has been a slow development in the study of sex differences in language. However, by the 1960s it gained more and more popularity, and with the emergence of women's movement, there has been a tremendous growth of interest in this topic, reflected in the number of books, articles and reports which have been published. Also, more than often related literature reports that linguistic

differences between men and women are nothing but a reflection of sex-role differences.

### 1.3 Factors influencing sex-role differences

Tuttle (1986:293) argues that the concept of sex-role as developed by sociologists is : " A way of describing the appropriate social functions filled by men and women. Behind the term was the assumption that there are certain traits and qualities which were naturally masculine or feminine, and which explained why women were best suited to the role of wife and mother and supportive companion, whereas men were suited to a much wider range of roles as an individual in the world."

Research on language and sex indicates that according to traditional stereotypes, males are usually encouraged to be independent, active, competitive, assertive, more of a leader, more willing to take risks, capable of solving problems, superior, persuasive, extrovert, analytical, strong, innovative, and they are not supposed to be involved with domestic concerns. Women, by contrast, are taught to be cooperative, dependent, interested in interpersonal relationships, passive, introvert, emotional, subjective, caring and better suited for the home.

A vast body of literature indicates that researchers who carry out studies in the field of sex differences seem to diverge in important ways from one another, and that much controversy has evolved around the origins of such differences. In support of this argument, Spence and Helmreich (1978:5) maintain that explanations of the sex-role differentiation together with the personal traits that are observed to distinguish between men and women within a given society, are the subject of scientific controversy: "At one extreme are those who argue that the near-universal regularities in societal arrangements can be attributed to profound, genetically determined differences in the psychological make up of males and females (e.g. Tiger, Fox 1971). The other extreme is represented by those who, more

impressed by the variability of human societies, claim that the origins of sex-role differentiations lie in a more limited set of innate differences between the sexes (e.g. Murdock 1949, D'Andrade 1966)". According to Trauth and Huffman (1980:52), there are biologically inclined researchers who have demonstrated that sex-roles are defined by anatomical differences and "therefore not subject to cultural influence". On the contrary, there are schools of thought which focus on androgyny as the original human state and "that it is culture only that fixes sex-roles". The main factors, therefore, that are usually putforward to explain these differences are biological and social.

### 1.3.1 Biological factors

Miller and Swift (1977) state that biological differences between males and females are universal, and that every society has used them as a basis on which to assign roles. Role assignment according to sex, they argue, does not stop with the reproductive function, but is extended to other ways. For example, they say that in their society men work in the fields and carry heavy burdens and in others women do.

Similarly, Forisha (1978:57) indicates that the findings of a number of researchers and theorists support the hypothesis that sex roles are determined by biology more than anything else. Among the examples she gives is that of Barry, Back and Child (1957), who in examining different societies, came to the conclusion that despite the variation some of these societies exhibit (e.g. societies where there is a shortage of women, men endure the task of child care), there are certain consistencies. Unlike boys who are usually supposed to be achieving and self-reliant, girls are encouraged to be obedient and nurturing. From their data, Forisha points out, these researchers conclude that: "The universality of sex-role behaviour and task division implies a biological basis for behaviour."

Concerning language use, most of the information available on linguistic sex differences support the view that female speakers are superior to male

speakers in verbal skills, vocabulary, spelling, and fluency. For example, Kramarae (1981:7) reports that studies of the brain organisation for linguistic abilities show that, unlike men's language processing which appears to be more located in the left hemisphere of the brain, women, generally speaking, tend to show biological predisposition in linguistic processing which uses both the left and the right hemispheres of the brain, (the processing of the left hemisphere is usually described as "linear, sequential, analytical, and externally focused", and the right as "holistic, imagistic, and inner-focused"). However, the results of sex differences research appear to have been influenced by the gender of the researcher. She argues that "at least in pre-1960's studies", male researchers were more likely to find men's superiority on "various measures", while female researchers were more likely to find female superiority. She also points out that it is important that one must be cautious in generalizing about sex differences; some studies in the field reveal that whenever women are found to have "...slightly higher test scores, they are said to have 'superior' overall linguistic abilities".

In her study (1968:11-54) which sets out the evidence of women's biological superiority, Montagu emphasizes the fact that women have been socialised in the belief that they are inferior to men and because everyone believes in this view, women have taken it as a natural phenomenon. The superiority of men is also regarded as a natural one because men, in almost all societies, occupy the superior positions, and "...during men's long period of subjection, women have been treated as chattels, slaves, housekeepers, economic advantages, and sexual conveniences; indeed, throughout a great part of the world they are still so treated". The myth of female inferiority, as she calls it, is very old and it has constituted a part of men's ideas and beliefs for a long time, to such an extent that it has been generalized to describe almost every trait of the female personality, including physical as well as mental features.

This view seems to imply, according to Montagu, that "...where women are different from men, they are inferior to men". Throughout her book, she recognizes the presence of certain biological facts in this situation but less so the way they have been interpreted; because women bear children and take care of them, they are conditioned to stay at home and prepare food. Men are encouraged to go out for the hunt. To put it more clearly, the significance of the biological differences between the sexes is often misintepreted. The findings of modern science, she goes on, contradict the traditional stereotypes of female inferiority. It is possible to show that most of the characteristics which negatively describe women are false, and that women are in reality better endowed than men. Generally speaking, women have a great number of biological advantages than men, but most of the time they have not been permitted to enjoy them. Scientific tests have shown that women's superiority in verbal activities is "consistant and marked" from infant to adulthood. She also maintains that these tests have supported, for example, the hypothesis that girls of pre-school age have a larger vocabulary than boys. On average girls are also superior in language processing and are more rapid and accurate in learning foreign languages than boys.

In this context, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) assert that boys and girls are reported to be very similar in verbal abilities during the period from pre-school to early adolescence. But the appearance of sex difference starts at about age 11, where female superiority increases through high school and probably after. Their superiority is shown on "high-level" verbal tasks such as analogies, comprehension of difficult written material and creative writing as well as on "lower-level" tasks like fluency, for instance. They also argue that more than half of the studies focusing on verbal memory, however, have found no sex differences between men and women; but where they found differences, girls are reported to excel in every case. This superiority in verbal memory is clear especially after about the age of seven.

In addition to the issue of female linguistically superior capacity, Shucard *et.al* (1987) state that there is clear evidence of earlier language development and frequency of self-expression for girls than for boys - a finding consistent with differences in hemispheric specialisation. They also point out that, through different ways, men and women can reach similar linguistic competence; but studies that measure children's verbal abilities do not give clear evidence of male/female developmental differences. Philips's (1987:6) argument in this respect is that the great body of literature on language acquisition does not reveal developmental differences between boys and girls upon which scholars can agree. To illustrate her point of view, she cites as an example the studies carried out by Jacqueline Sachs, Jean Berko Gleason, Marjorie Harness Goodwin and Charles Goodwin and Bambi B. Schieffelin (1987), which do not show differences in the forms controlled by children from ages two to five years but which only reveal differences in how they are frequently used.

Philips also states that a similar observation can be made with respect to some studies (e.g. Tanet S. Shibamoto, Elinor Ochs, Susan U. Philips and Anne Reynolds, and Joel Shezzer (1987)) which give no evidence of male/female cognitive differences, but indicate that there is great diversity in "...the gender - differentiated aspects of language form, in their social organization in relation to other dimensions of social life or aspects of social context, and in the presence and nature of ideology about men and women and their speech". On the basis of such diversity, Philips comments that the Western women's preference for standard forms is referred to as a pattern quite limited to Western European societies and some of their colonies, and as "a dominant and widespread" one. Moreover, she notes that Shucard's *et. al* (1987) study is representative of the view that if men and women are different with reference to hemisphere specialization and the like, the only conclusion which can be made is that the differences do not matter for basic cognitive competences such as that of constructing a grammar.

However, other sociologists and anthropologists argue that it is the social factor which gives more insight into understanding sex-role differences.

### 1.3.2 Sociological factors

Anatomical differences between men and women are regarded by other researchers as insufficient factors to provide information about human behaviour.

In this context, Kramarae (1981:31-118) says that she is "very reluctant to suggest biological imperatives as answers to our question about female/male differences in behaviour". She also argues that with reference to Western society, the idea that "speech is socially situated action" is linked with a description of women's place in that society as separated in space and ideology from men's position; "...the division of labor- with more value given to men's activities- means that women and men have different resources and different amount of legitimate power, and will thus use different strategies to obtain their goal." The rise of industrialized capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has reinforced, in her opinion, the division of labor between men and women, and the separation in the location of their activities; men are more invisible in the public sphere whereas women are relegated to the domestic sphere. These differences between male and female speakers together with their different relations to power influence and shape their linguistic behaviour.

The same point was also mentioned by Jespersen (1922:254) who argues that male/female linguistic differences resulted mainly from the division of labor found in primitive tribes and civilized societies. For thousands of years, he maintains, the man was expected to do the kind of work that required strength and energy, especially in war and hunting, where there was little opportunity to speak. Once this work was finished, there was nothing he could do except to go to sleep or "...idle his time away...more or less in silence." By contrast, women were assigned a number of domestic occupations which did not demand male's energy and fortitude, but which "...were performed in company and could well be accompanied with a

lively chatter." He also points out that the effects of such a situation still exist in his period of time, despite the great social changes which he thinks may eventually change even the linguistic relations of the sexes.

Berryman and Eman (1980:60-232) also argue that biological definitions of sex differences "collapse and obscure individual sex-role identity characteristics". Men's and women's behaviour is not an outcome of their biological sex; many factors, "including their sexual identity, socialization influences, age, status, education, relationship with interactants, and behavioural situation or context", may influence their behaviour. Also Morse and Eman (1980) state that according to communication researchers, sex differences are biologically defined. These scholars think that being born with male or female genitals is sufficient to explain sex related behaviour. However, Morse and Eman write that the biologically founded definition of sex differences is not enough to provide insight into human behaviour. Some researchers (e.g. Hasenauer, and Freimuth (1977) and Greenblatt *et al.* (1977)), they argue, find it problematic and unnecessary.

Key (1975:17-102) does not deny the fact that language structure can be biologically determined. However, she argues against the belief that biology is the only explanation of linguistic sex differences, claiming that there may be some differences in the brain which people have not yet understood. In her opinion, the only physical difference in the speech apparatus, "the size and length of the vocal cords...which control pitch and quality of voice", does not account for the linguistic behaviour of men and women. Most of sex differences deal with vocabulary choice and grammatical devices, a feature which is far from the physiology of speech mechanism. And even if assuming that there are anatomical differences between men and women, these differences cannot apply equally to all males and females because "some females have more muscle than some males. Some females weigh more than some males, and some males have finer hand movements than some females". Although all cultures, without exception, recognize different roles for males and



females, the rules for this role behaviour, she goes on, differ from culture to culture. In other words, what is considered female behaviour in one culture may be seen as male behaviour in another. As an illustration, she gives the example of the Amazon, where men make the pottery in one village, the task carried out by women in a neighbouring village. Probably, as she indicates, most of the differences can be explained in terms of role expectations and beliefs of society, a point on which she seems to agree with Miller and Swift mentioned above, concerning their argument about sex role assignment.

In addition to spatial dimensions (e.g. the southerners talk differently from the northerners), and temporal dimensions (e.g. grandfathers talk differently from grandsons), Key also argues that there is a myriad of "highly complex" social and cultural factors which are inherent in every dialogue situation, and which all human beings have to learn from birth. These are age, sex and status dimensions. Moreover the mood of the society itself, as she puts it, subtly permits and prohibits the use of certain linguistic forms. Hence people must always remember that they must not look at the behaviour of men and women in isolation. Her view is that: "All kinds of restrictions and limitations have been imposed on female's linguistic habits, with the idea that those behavioural patterns would ensure their femininity. Thus she is not permitted to swear or use 'coarse' language. She is given titles and respect and males must not swear in her presence ... in countless ways she is given 'better' treatment. But all of this simply results in keeping women out of the running".

Similarly, Ardener (1975) does not deny the existence of some biological bases in the definition of women in society, but till now, she maintains, people know very little about the extent and influence of the biological differentiations between men and women, and they still face problems, even when discussing the biological definition of women in society because various societies may not assign the same physical properties to women. This is a view which he seems to share with many scholars like Key (1975) and Miller and Swift (1977).

A related argument is that of De Beauvoir (1972:635) who believes that the comparisons which tend to describe women as superior, inferior, or equal to men are idle because women's situations are profoundly different from those of men. If one compares these situations, rather than people in them, one can clearly see the privilege and preference given to men, who are, she explains, offered more opportunities to exercise their freedom in the world. Therefore, muscular accomplishment is viewed as far superior to that of women, "who are practically forbidden to do anything... It is evident that women's character, her conviction, her values, her wisdom, her morality, her tastes, her behaviour, are to be explained by her situation".

Philips (1987) points out that the disciplines concerned with the study of sex differences and language, especially anthropology, linguistics, and psychology, share the view that biological and social processes guide and direct human behaviour. Yet, as she points out, researchers within each discipline tend to propose as a cause of sex differences in language-related behaviour either biological or social factors. However, evidence from cross-cultural studies of gender and language and of language socialization shows that there is a great diversity in the role which language plays in the social construction of gender, and indicates that the impacts of socialization appear at a very early age. Parents differ from each other in their way of speaking, the way they speak to boys is different from the way they speak to girls, and boys and girls speak differently. These studies, she argues, offer convincing testimony of human plasticity and of the ways in which biology does not constrain the nature of gender in human society.

In a summary of his data on Yana (a language used in northern California), Sapir (1949) reports that there are certain words common to both men and women, but most of Yana words have distinct male and female forms. In general, female words are reduced forms. They are constructed he thinks, in such a manner possibly because they reflect women's social status, the less considered and the less

important in the community. Among each other, men use a full and deliberate style; and the "chipped" form of style is used only when women are concerned. However, he argues, the words used by women in Yana, form a complex and completely formal system which contrasts in a number of ways with that used by male groups. Sapir's argument ties in with Stanley's (1980) idea that sexist language is nothing but a symptom of the real problem of male/female social inequality, and that "linguistic change follows social change."

Barrie and Henley (1975:10) state that when people want to ask questions like why there are differences in language and speech, why the differences focus on certain features and not others, and why sexual stereotypes do not always reflect reality, they must go beyond linguistics and examine directly the social context. "Speech...is intimately bound up with the social differentiation of the sexes..., with the structure of male dominance (expressed and maintained through language about women and men, as well as in the ways men and women use speech), and with the division of labor." As it can be noticed here, the idea of the division of labor is once again mentioned. It was referred to previously by Jespersen (1922) and Kramarae (1981) as one of the defining factors of sex differences.

Chesler (1971b:384) maintains that, despite the view that there is no other significant difference between boys and girls at birth than the biological difference, from this stage onward, boys seem to be perceived differently and, therefore, treated differently by the adults around them. Unlike girls who are taught to be passive and obedient, boys are encouraged to be aggressive and rebellious. The parents tend to shape their children's behaviour in accordance with social expectations, and, as she argues : "The children come to meet the expectations of their parents and so mould themselves into the preordained shapes just as generations did before them. And so the sex- role cycle is completed once again as it is perpetuated from generation to generation." In view of contrary evidence and the variability of human behaviour as a result of cultural influences, she says that she agrees with

Stewart (1976), Oakley (1972) and others, and believes that almost all-if not quite all-human behaviour is learned.

#### 1.4 Sex-role stereotypes

Studies on language and sex show that male and female speakers are differently perceived according to traditional stereotypes.

Unger (1979:26) argues that the term stereotype was invented neither by a psychologist nor by a sociologist, rather "...it derived from printing and was first applied to humans over fifty years ago, in 1922, by Lippman who has defined stereotypes as pictures which are determined by culture and which "...impinge between an individual's cognitive faculties and his or her perceptions of the world." Similarly, Skerchock (1980:93) states that stereotypes influence and control people's perceptions, and that they are "kernels of truth upon which great myths are built." According to the phenomenologists, she reports, "A stereotype is a presupposition, that is, a belief or conviction in which some system of knowledge is founded."

In her discussion of sex roles and their impact on social behaviour, Howe (1971:77) came to the conclusion that: "Sexual stereotypes are assumed differences, social conventions or norms, learned behavior, attitudes and expectations." Forisha (1978) argues that some researchers of sex differences agree that the concepts of masculinity and femininity assume that the sum of human characteristics is divided into two groups; one group describes men and the other describes women, and although some features, such as sincerity are common to both male and female speakers, many other features are exclusively assigned to one sex.

A vast body of sex difference literature has presented stereotypical characteristics of men and women. Many scholars in this field have shown that these characteristics are taught to human beings since early childhood. Howe (1971), for example, argues that children learn about their sex roles in their early years of age.

This process of learning is required through relatively patterns which are, most of the times, taken for granted and is reinforced by schools which reflect "the society they serve" as she puts it. Parents, friends and the mass culture in which people live, she maintains, prescribe sex-related colours and toys for children from their earliest days. Montagu (1968:41) argues that the word "woman" itself is strongly linked with and reinforces women's social condition: "The origin of the English word "woman" indicates that the female's very right to social existence was determined in the light of her secondary relationship to the male, for the word was originally "wifman", that is, "wife-man" the wife of the man; in the fourteenth century the "f" was dropped and the word became "wiman", and later "woman".

In this context, Broverman et al. (1972:75) maintain that the results of their study on sex-role stereotypes suggest that: "Stereotypic conceptions of sex roles are not immutable. In so far as perception of sex roles are subject to variation as a function of the individual's experience, then societal sex-role stereotypes may also be subject to change."

#### 1.4.1 Impact of sex-role stereotypes on male/female language

Most of the stereotypical traits mentioned above tend to support the point of view of a number of researchers concerning the relationship between these traits and male/female linguistic behaviour.

According to Miller and Swift (1977), in America, both sexes have been brought up to speak differently. Girls, as opposed to boys, are expected to be more constrained and considerate in their verbal as well as physical behaviour. In time, they further argue, these expectations affect male and female speech patterns. While men assume a more direct and forceful liberal behaviour, women adopt a more tentative and questioning way of talking.

A related point is Key's (1975) argument that the expressions "men yell" and "women scream" are among the conceptual categories which reflect the male and female image in life. Following the same line, Kramer (1977) argues that many of the stereotypic traits said to differentiate between men and women are related to speech, and that they have an effect on the social relationships among people, especially during their first encounters. She also points out that the study of male/female speech stereotypes is valuable partly because, generally speaking, it contains sexual stereotypes, and thus can reveal beliefs about important sex differences. The results of her study on male and female speech behaviour underline the fact that men and women differ in their stereotypic speech characteristics, or more precisely, female speech is seen as "a sort of counter language to men's".

Cameron (1985:28) presents a similar view. She states that researchers in the field of sex differences usually presume, in an implicit way, that "men are the norm from which women deviate", that they are, therefore, superior to women, and that the difference is biologically founded. She argues that sex-based language distinctions are related to the power of men and the powerlessness of women, and that people's speech behaviour reflects and perpetuates patriarchal norms. She also maintains that feminists in the field of linguistics have frequently indicated that many studies on sex differences are nothing but "elaborate justification of female subordination". To back up her statement, she argues that these feminists believe that, for example, because girls are inferior to boys on tests of spacial ability, they do not become engineers. Her view, therefore, is that sex differences research is the result of sexist ideology and it is not surprising that its findings are interpreted in ways that reinforce this ideology.

To show to what extent sex-role stereotypes influence people's attitudes towards male/female language, the following section presents one of the most common examples usually put forward in related studies.

#### 1.4.1.1 Women's use of prestigious language

One of the most reported differences identified in sociolinguistic studies is that women's speech is more prestigious than men's. The reasons which have been proposed to explain this difference are mainly conservatism, status, and solidarity.

##### A) Conservatism

This approach usually refers to the belief that men innovate whereas women retain the traditional standard forms of language. Cameron and Coates (1988:14) argue that on the basis of contradictory views: the one held by Jespersen (1922) that women do not innovate because of their conservatism whereas men produce new forms of speech, and the one which emerged in the eighteenth century, blaming women for introducing new and ephemeral terms in the English lexicon -the implication here being that men, perceived as more conservative, "guarded the purity of the standard language"- it can be said that women are classified as conservative only when this trait is negatively viewed. It follows, therefore, that whatever is thought of as proper and correct is linked with men's verbal behaviour, and whatever is described as devalued and unimportant is connected with women's linguistic behaviour. Moreover, Cameron and Coates argue that Jaberg and Jud, and Pop, and many other dialectologists, prefer women as informants because their way of speaking is more conservative, whereas Gillieron and Orton disapprove of them as poor and inefficient informants because their speech is not conservative.

It is clear, therefore, that the conservative-based explanation raises a problem, namely the fact that women's greater use of forms of speech closer to the standard than men can be interpreted in two different ways. According to middle-class women it would imply conservatism, but for working- class women it would stand for innovation because, in their opinion, a conservative form of style would require women to stick to older forms of speech. Besides, Cameron (1985) points out that

conservatism is not a universal female characteristic because, for example, in Madagascar, like other patriarchal peasant societies, it is women who do not stick to traditional standard forms, and it is men who are conservative. In this way, as Cameron and Coates (1988) argue, the concept of conservatism fails to explain the linguistic behaviour of women as a group.

## B) Status

This explanation refers to the point that female speakers tend to elevate their status through the way they speak. Cameron and Coates (1988:15) argue that this view is strongly related to the notion of social stratification discussed by Labov (1972a) and Trudgill (1974). This concept points out that "The distribution of variants of a speech community is socially stratified", and that some variants are distributed in terms of the formality of the situation in which they are used. According to this approach, women are said to use more prestigious variants and correspondingly fewer stigmatized forms. They are more consciously aware of the social meaning of speech, and try to elevate their social status by imitating prestige usage.

In this context, Cameron and Coates (1988:15) argue that women's sensitivity to linguistic forms is tied up with their social insecurity shown in their lifestyle, by which Trudgill means "domestic labor", and a focus on family rather than "waged work". A related argument is presented by Thorne and Henley (1975) who point to the research carried out by Goffman (1956) and on the basis of which he demonstrates that inferior status leads to careful behaviour.

From the above arguments, it can be observed that the notions of conservatism and status contradicts each other. Women, as Cameron (1985) puts it, cannot be conservative and social climbers at the same time.



### C) Solidarity

Cameron and Coates (1988:20) argue that Milroy (1980) emphasizes the importance of solidarity as a significant factor in language use, and assumes that sex differences can be accounted for in terms of social network. This concept gives greater insight into understanding linguistic variation because it enables people to see the individual in relation to the group. Milroy, they say, supports her argument by the fact that a tight-knit network, traditionally associated with working-class men, is an important determinant which helps maintain vernacular speech. By contrast, the relatively weaker-knit network, usually associated with women, has less power to enforce linguistic norms.

Despite its apparently great explanatory potential, the solidarity approach, according to Cameron and Coates, leads to some problems related to the notion of density and multiplexity. Being a member of a "high density, territorially based cluster", as Malory points out, is the first requirement an informant must satisfy in order to score a network strength point. However, all the data she collected to support her claim was single-sex, an issue which Cameron and Coates (1988:20) assert to raise the following questions: "Is it always the case that dense clusters are single-sex? And if not, what are the linguistic correlates of mixed-sex clusters?" The second problem springs from the notion of multiplexity. This phenomenon refers to the different kinds of relationships (e.g. relatives, neighbours, and work-mates) between members of a network. The link is said to be multiplex if and only if two individuals are related in more than one way. The multiplex-related criteria for network strength is based on four conditions: "1. Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood (more than one household in addition to his *sic* own nuclear family; 2. Working in the same place of work as at least two others from the same area; 3. Having the same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the same area; 4. Voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours."

Cameron and Coates (1988) criticize and discard this approach for its unsatisfactory treatment of women. It does not provide any criteria which take into account the conditions of women's lives, nor does it offer female multiplex links which can help women score points. On the basis of their data they conclude that the assumption that women's linguistic behaviour is nearer to the standard form of language is not always valid nor is it true everywhere, and that some women adhere to vernacular norms whereas others do not.

From the above discussion, it can be noticed that neither conservatism, status, nor solidarity seems to be the one and only explanation for women's supposedly greater use of prestigious language. Yet it can be argued that the different arguments presented in relation to this linguistic feature do not come as a surprise. They reflect the diversity and complexity of men's and women's sociolinguistic behaviour. It can also be argued that the controversy about this speech pattern brings into discussion the controversy concerning the approaches put forward to account for male/female conversational interactions. These approaches are the dominance-subordination approach and the deference approach.

#### 1.4.2 Determinants of sex differences in language use

The two main approaches usually reported in the literature on language and sex to explain male/female differences in conversational interactions are the dominance-subordination approach and the deference approach.

##### 1.4.2.1 The dominance-subordination approach

This approach stresses the fact that male and female speakers have different linguistic behaviour, and that this linguistic behaviour, they argue, mirrors men's dominance and women's subordination. The proponents of this approach argue that women's speech, as is that of other oppressed people including the poor, the

Blacks, and children, is nothing but a reflection of their powerlessness and low status in relation to men. Among the proponents of this view point is Lakoff (1973,1975).

Lakoff (1975:4) claims that women are discriminated against by language in two ways: "...in the way they are taught to use language, and in the way general language use treats them. Both tend...to relegate women to certain subservient functions: that of sex object or servant; and therefore certain lexical items mean one thing applied to men, another to women, a difference that cannot be predicted except with reference to the different roles the sexes play in society." Moreover, Lakoff asserts that society, in the form of parents and friends, teaches girls from the very start how to speak. In this way it keeps them in their place and demeaning position. Later on, they will be criticized as being unable to speak precisely or to express themselves forcefully just because of the way they speak. Consequently, they will be ridiculed as unable to think clearly, unable to come up with strong statements, and unable to take part in serious discussions.

Lakoff also maintains that there is a difference in the way English is used by men and women, and that in America the social inequalities between the position of men and that of women is reflected in linguistic disparities. Generally speaking, women's language greatly affects their personalities. It denies them the means of expressing themselves in a forceful way and encourages them to use trivial and uncertain expressions. The differences between men's and women's speech become apparent, according to Lakoff, in the use of linguistic features such as the choice and frequency of certain lexical items, the use of hesitations and rising intonation, which she associates with uncertainty; tag questions, intensifiers, and qualifiers; all of which tend to weaken the speech of the speaker. She also emphasizes the point, for example, that tag question formation, a sign of approval-seeking which, according to her, reflects lack of self-confidence in the user, is used more by women than men in conversational interactions. She assumes that since women use, as a result of social pressures, these mitigating features in their speech, they appear

passive, unassertive and weak, the kind of qualities women are traditionally taught and brought up to display in their language.

Cameron et al. (1988) reassess Lakoff's work, which they say relies on her personal intuition and casual observation of her peers' language use rather than on empirical data. They draw attention, for example, to the case of tag questions. Lakoff assumes that unless a tag question requests information unknown to the speaker, it is to be interpreted as a mark of tentativeness and/or desire for approval. In response to this argument, they maintain that, in their opinion, the explanation of a given linguistic form with one particular communicative function or meaning is questionable. Using two separate studies of contrasting data, they set out to challenge Lakoff's view concerning the function of tag questions.

The findings of these two case studies, Cameron et al. (1988:91) argue, show that the use of tag questions in conversations between participants of equal status tends to be linked with conversational role and not with gender *per se* whereas in the case of asymmetrical status they reveal that certain sorts of tag questions were used more by dominant than subordinate groups, a finding which contrasts with Lakoff's assumption that such linguistic forms are weak. Moreover, these findings indicate that it is absolutely necessary for the researcher to take into account both the linguistic as well as the social context when analysing forms because most utterances have more than one function at a time. Also he/she should not depend on gender only but consider the non-linguistic variables as well, such as "...the role taken by participants in interaction, the objective of interaction, participants' relative status on a number of dimensions and so on." They also state it is equally important that the researcher should not assume that the linguistic features used by subordinate groups are in themselves markers of subordination."

Apart from the explanation of sex differences based on power and status, which represents one extreme of the explanatory framework, there is the explanation based on deference.

#### 1.4.2.2 The deference approach

The deference approach relates male/female differences in language use to the fact that men and women come from different sociolinguistic subcultures. Among the adherents of this approach are Maltz and Borker (1982).

Maltz and Borker argue that they based their work on Gumperz's (1982b) study which focussed on problems in inter-ethnic communication. They consider cross-sex and cross-ethnic communication as two examples of the same larger phenomenon which is cultural differences and miscommunication. They also maintain that they were influenced by Goodwin's (1980) study which emphasizes the fact that male/female linguistic differences derive from the gender-specific subcultures that are formed in childhood play. In this work, leaders of the male group were found to use direct imperatives whereas subordinate members did not. On the other hand, female groups were found to produce fewer direct commands. Goodwin also found that male speech was aggressive and competitive while that of women tended to be more cooperative, a finding which Cameron et al. (1988) say supports traditional stereotypes of male/female language.

In their study of male/female interactional conversations, Maltz and Borker (1982:215) present speaking patterns of men's and women's language and argue that these patterns are a result of the fact that both sexes have learnt different rules of friendly interaction and interpret the use of certain conversational features differently, and that: "...aspects of behaviour are most strongly gender-differentiated during childhood." They also maintain that men and women acquire their conversational competence in single-sex groups and that communication between the sexes may break down in mixed-sex gatherings mainly because each group interpret

the use of specific features differently. To support their argument, Maltz and Borker state that minimal responses, such as nods and comments like "yes" and "mm hmm", have different meanings for men and women. In all-female groups they mean "I'm listening" while in all-male groups they have a stronger meaning such as "I agree with you" or at least "I follow your argument so far". This difference in meaning, Maltz and Borker argue, may lead to "...occasionally serious miscommunication" between men and women.

In this context, Cameron et al. (1988:79) state that it is worth noticing the difference between Lakoff and her followers and subculture theorists: "For Lakoff, women's style is deficient, lacking authority and assertiveness. For subculture theorists like Jones (1980) it is different, but not deficient, and may indeed possess virtues of its own." A related argument is that of Coates (1988:73) who points out that many sociolinguistic studies stress the need for the dominance as well as the deference approach arguing that: "...both power and subculture have to be incorporated into any reasoned account of male/female linguistic behaviour."

## 1.5 Conclusion

It can be noticed from the review of literature on language and sex that many, if not most, of the differences that have been reported to exist between men and women derive in one way or another from social inequalities between males and females. From the literature surveyed so far, it appears that the problem related to men's and women's linguistic behaviour is not yet resolved. Theorists and researchers continue to disagree on the origins and the extent of sex differences as well as on the reasons behind women's tendency to use more prestigious forms of speech than men. Their contradictory views show up in the differing theoretical tendencies commonly put forward to account for sex differences. The implication is that researchers must be aware of the fact that almost all research methods have advantages as well as disadvantages. Hence to rely on one particular approach or explanation of sex

differences is not adequate. Also they must be aware of the fact that even within one gender category, (i.e. male or female group) people do differ. They differ in status, class, education, age, etc. They do not live under the same conditions, they do not behave in the same way, and they are not exposed to the same experiences.

In this context, Berryman and Eman (1980:230), for example, argue that experiments have shown that interdisciplinary concerns can provide greater insight into communication, language and sex research: "Communication/language/sex scholars must realize, accept, and pursue the interdisciplinary implications of this area. The research perspectives and methods of one academic area can clarify and heighten the heuristic value of the questions posed by other academic areas." It is also important that researchers in the field of women and language should take into consideration the conditions of women's lives, especially the place they occupy in social spheres. Furthermore, they should know more about women's actual nature, conceptions and values, and not just rely on traditional stereotypes. However, one can argue that despite the fact that a number of researchers give different explanations to sex differences in language, they seem to agree to the idea that linguistic behaviour provides an insight into the nature as well as the relative status of both men and women.

Last but not least, it should be noted that in the literature on language and sex, there is a range of speech communities which have not yet been investigated. A case in point is Arab communities of which the present study gives an example.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

#### 2.1 Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to give background information of the linguistic situation in Morocco, and its impact on men's and women's language. Such information is intended to pave the way for a clear and comprehensive understanding of the work under study. Furthermore, this chapter will present a picture of the Marrakeshi community, focusing on women's social condition, a point which can provide part of the context of the present study. Since language is a social phenomenon, reference to the social context cannot be ignored in such studies. Supportive argument can be taken from Hymes (1974:75) when he says that the study of language should not overlook, but rather begins with an analysis of the "social matrix".

It is worth noting that each section of this chapter has been carefully selected for its considerably significant influence on male/female language in Marrakesh.

#### 2.2 Linguistic Perspective

It is often reported in related studies that a number of historical factors contributed to the creation of the present language situation in Morocco. The presence of the Berber population and language, the Arab Invasion, the Spanish Invasion are all of major importance. (Concerning the point of the Spanish Invasion, no attempt will be made to discuss the influence of the Spanish culture and language on the Northern part of Morocco for the simple reason that this study focusses on a dialect which was affected by the French colonial presence).



### 2.2.1 Berber

Morocco is situated in the north-west of Africa. It is bounded in the north by the Mediterranean Sea, in the south by Mauritania, in the east by Algeria and in the west by the Atlantic Ocean. It was originally inhabited by the Berbers. The language of these people is Berber. It was and still is predominantly used in the mountains, the areas usually associated with the Berber population. The latter knew no other language till they were invaded by the Arabs. The Berber Language is composed of three dialects: Tashlehait, Tamazight and Tarifit. It can be heard on the radio, at home among Berber families or friends, and in some business and commercial places.

### 2.2.2 The Arab invasion of Morocco

Discussing the language situation in Morocco and the influential changes the Arab conquerors brought about, Sayed (1981:4) argues that "...the Arab conquest created one of the most interesting sociolinguistic situations in the world."

In fact, the Arab invasion of Morocco brought with it a new way of life marked by the Islamic religion and the Arabic language. By virtue of their geographical position next to the Arab settlement, some Berbers learned Arabic in order to trade and communicate with the Arabs. The new language was acquired mainly through reading the Koran and attending Arabic lectures. Gradually, Arabic established itself because of its direct link with religion. Generally speaking, the Berber population welcomed Islam and adopted its language. In this connection, Hoffman (1974), cited in Bentahila (1988:332), reports that "large numbers of these Berbers became completely arabized, abandoning the Berber language altogether, while there were also Arabs who learned Berber and abandoned Arabic. Thus, the Arabic monolinguals in Morocco today include descendants of Berbers, and the Berber speakers include descendants of Arabs, language is not altogether an accurate indicator of ethnic origin." However, in view of the complexity of the linguistic

situation in Morocco, one can argue that such assumptions cannot be taken for granted unless supported by thorough empirical evidence. Hence, more research is called for to clarify these arguments and related interpretations. Another result of the Arab invasion of Morocco is Berber Arabic bilingualism which can be considered as an important marker of the linguistic situation in Morocco, and which is becoming more and more established.

### 2.2.3 The French protectorate

Also basic to the treatment of male/female language in Marrakech is the study of the impact of the French invasion on the Moroccan people and especially on their language. In this context, Labov (1972:265) maintains that according to Martinet (1964:522) "social upheavals" create linguistic change, and Chomsky and Halle (1968) state that the Norman invasion had a great influence on the English language which can still be felt today. Labov further argues that: "No one would deny the importance of conquests, invasions, and massive immigration, with consequent extinction, superposition, or merger of whole languages."

In addition to Berber, Moroccan Arabic, and Classical Arabic co-existing together in the Marrakeshi community, as is the case in the rest of Morocco, except the Northern area, the French language left over by the French colonisation, and in the face of which most Moroccan people showed no resistance whatsoever, became firmly established as a vehicle of literacy and instruction, adding more weight to the complexity and diversity of the Moroccan language situation mainly through the imposition of a new form of language on the community's linguistic repertoire. Factors such as the spread of French through the creation of new and different types of schools, and people's positive attitudes towards it, have contributed to its establishment and accelerated linguistic change in its favour.

French was, and is still, seen as an opening into the West and Western culture. It is regarded by most people as the language of science and technology

needed for contemporary institutions, the banks, commerce, industry, insurance...etc. and useful to keep up with modern developments. It is associated with prestige, high status, modernity superiority, power and civilisation. Despite the fact that Classical Arabic is the official language of Morocco, French is widely used to such an extent that , as Gallagher (1968) and Bentahila (1983) both observe, it can be seen alongside Classical Arabic on everything and everywhere: medical prescriptions, notices, road signs, and certificates are but a few examples.

This situation resulted, among other things, in a clash between the traditional system said to be old, outdated and impractical and the new system associated with the liberal life style personified in Western culture, values and ideologies. The more the French system was established, the more acute the opposition between the old and the new ways of life became. The changing attitudes culminated in the underestimation of the Arabic language. A case in point is the one Gallagher (1968:139) mentions with reference to Morocco: " The present head of the Bureau of Arabization described the language as underdeveloped and not ready to play a role in technical matters."

It is quite apparent that the more prestigious the language of the coloniser becomes, the less the chances become of getting a good position and of living a prosperous, life because only people who speak French have the opportunity to reach key positions in society. Prosperity was and is still thought to be achieved basically via the French language and the Western way of life, a non-French speaker can almost never dream of. This attitude can be seen in people's correlating Arabic with uncivilized, old or uneducated people. Education in Arabic is believed by most people not to be a true education; it leads nowhere. To put it more clearly, in the face of the seemingly insurmountable influence of French, the monolingual Arabophone is left with no choice except the one offered by the fields which cannot do without Arabic, or those areas which primarily depend on the knowledge of Arabic, the religious domain, the ministry of interior and the like. It is unlikely that he/she

participates in the modern sector, such as tourism and positions in which the use of French appears to prevail.

Gallagher (1968:140) points out that signs of weakness in Arabic result from "...the hesitancy of this language to borrow...its inability to prefix and suffix easily and its failure to produce combined forms." However, historical evidence shows that such a weakness does not lie with the language itself but rather with the people who speak it. The following observation, ironically enough made by Gallagher himself can to a certain extent be presented in support of this argument: "The performances of Syria and Egypt in recent decades...prove that an Arab country can function using Arabic almost exclusively in all fields of endeavor without running up against insurmountable problems." Additional support in favour of the above argument is the view of Al-Hajj of Lebanon, cited in Chejne (1969:145), who states that "...if the people rise, the language rises...whatever the virtues or defects of a language may be, they are directly related to the general philosophy of a people, to their psychology, inquisitiveness, and creativeness."

The strong presence, therefore, be it psychological or physical, of the French colonisation in the life of the Moroccan people led to dramatic results. A close observation of these people's Arabic-French bilingualism can provide evidence. In discussing the existing linguistic situation of North Africa, Gallagher (1968:130) points out that perhaps the true North African dilemma is the search for the proper tongue. Given the present social conditions in this part of the world, one may further argue that this search for the proper tongue calls for another but no less important search for the true identity.

To sum up, the main objective of the French policy was, among other things, to change the cultural traditions of the people by increasing the spread of the French language at the cost of Classical Arabic and the different dialects. This policy went too far in that the coloniser perceived its language to be powerful enough to

almost destroy Classical Arabic. In this regard, Chejne (1969:107) states that: "Arabic suffered enormously in Algeria following its conquest by the French in 1830, in Tunisia in 1881, and in Morocco in 1912...The French embarked on a policy of assimilation of Arabic and Arab culture ultimately bringing them to extinction."

To help solve the different problems resulting from the present sociolinguistic situation in Morocco as a whole, Arabisation [it is not within the scope of the present study to deal with the process and results of Arabisation. The interested reader is referred to Bentahila (1983)] was chosen as a promising step. It was partly intended to limit the ever-growing Arabic-French bilingualism by limiting the spread of the French culture and language which contributed to the degradation of the Arabic language and Arab culture and worst of all to the widening of the gap between Classical and Moroccan Arabic making it easier for the problem of diglossia to be firmly established.

#### 2.2.4 Diglossia

It is often reported in the literature that one of the major sociolinguistic problems which faced the Arab countries is the one commonly referred to as diglossia.

##### 2.2.4.1 Definition of diglossia

Wexler (1971:332) maintains that the term diglossia comes from Greek and it means "two"+"tongue". Chejne (1969:163) states that it should be noted that this linguistic dichotomy has existed since Arabic became a literary language, following the wide territorial expansion of Islam. A similar view is presented by Ferguson (1959:327) when he says that: "Arabic Diglossia seems to reach as far back as our knowledge of Arabic goes." Al-Toma (1969:4) argues that the origin of diglossia can be traced back to the pre-Islamic period. Many philological and literary studies, which according to him began only in the nineteenth century and continued up to the present time, have dealt with a number of its aspects. Moreover, till the

nineteenth century, no attention has been paid to the increasing influence of this linguistic phenomenon upon the cultural as well as the literary spheres of the Arab world. It is only, he goes on, in modern works that the question of the adequacy of the Classical Arabic as the medium of Arab culture and literature has been seriously discussed.

According to Abboud (1970:439) scholars began to study modern dialects in Europe (i.e.: in Italy, France, Austria, England and Russia) in the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Because of cultural and commercial interests in the Arab world, these countries established schools where colloquial(s) were taught with the help of native speakers from Egypt and Syria.

In addition, Zughoul (1980:208) argues that according to Sotiropoulos (1977:10), the term diglossia was first introduced by the German linguist Karl Krumbacher in the book he published in 1902 and in which he discusses the nature, origin and development of this linguistic situation focussing on the Greek and Arabic situations. However, Zughoul further states that it is commonly reported in the literature that it was William Marçais (1930:401) who coined the term "la diglossie", and defined it as: "La concurrence entre une langue savante écrite et une langue vulgaire parfois parlée."

Yet, it appears that the concept of diglossia has not been widely accepted till after Ferguson's publication of an article (1959:336), in which he proposes the following classic and often-quoted definition of this linguistic phenomenon with special reference to the linguistic situation which prevails in Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and Haitian Creole: "A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex), superposed variety, the vehicle of a

large and respected body of literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation." In this context, Wexler (1971:330) maintains that there are similarities as well as differences between Even-Zohar's definition of diglossia, "...as a form of multilingualism in which each language fills diverse functions which are not entirely overlapping.", and that of Ferguson.

According to Wexler, both definitions focussed on linguistic situations characterized by multiple norms whose functions are performed in some degree of complementary distribution. However, he argues, the definitions disagree on whether the multiple norms are forms of a single language. In Wexler's opinion, the reason behind this disagreement probably results from their difficulty in defining the terms "dialect" and "language". But a more important reason, he states, may be that Ferguson and Even-Zohar answer the following question in a different way: "Can the effect of multiple norms upon the structure and development of a standardized written language be a function of the structural relationships of the norms?"

Referring to diglossia as a problematic situation, many scholars [e.g. Chejne (1969) and Zughoul (1980)] maintain that it impedes economic, educational, and national development. Unlike Kaye (1972) who suggests that because of diglossia the Arab countries are on the whole massively illiterate [i.e. speakers of well defined systems are taught an ill- defined system (MSA)], Zughoul (1980:231) believes that: "...the high percentage of illiteracy in the Arab World (70%)" has undoubtedly helped in widening the gap between the low and the high varieties of Arabic, but is not the result of diglossia. Rather, it is an outcome of Turkish and Western colonial exploitation. The extent of illiteracy is bound to diminish, he argues, as soon as the exploitation is over. One can also argue that such discussions about diglossia tend very often to provoke heated debates about the origin of dialects.

#### 2.2.4.2 Origin of dialects

In discussing this point, Abboud (1970:453) argues that CA "...which was itself based on the ancient dialects", lies at the origin of the modern dialects. He also reports that in relation to this hypothesis many refinements have been offered. For example, Fück (1950) maintains that as a result of the Arab conquest, a spoken koine emerged in the military camps, followed by the development of various vernaculars as an outcome of the inter-marriage and inter-communication between the conquerors and the conquered. These vernaculars revealed a considerable difference from the language of the Arabs and are considered to be the "ancestors", to use Abboud's word, of the modern dialects outside Arabia. In this regard, Ferguson (1959a) argues that most Arabic dialects originate from a common homogeneous spoken language, which is not identical with any of the earlier dialects and different from CA. However, Cohen (1962:126) refutes such argument, and states that the dialects cannot be attributed to one single origin : "...il ne peut être question d'attribuer les traits des parlers de sédentaires à une origine commune." The difference, he claims, can be explained only by the fact that : "Les sédentaires continuent d'innover plus vite que les nomades, et que leurs innovations sont aptes a propager largement." A similar argument is presented by Macais (1930) when he says that written Arabic is probably originally based on one or many old dialects; the Koran and the Koine poetic, which could have been formed in Arabia towards the 5th and 6th century.

#### 2.2.4.3 The linguistic situation in Morocco

After its independence from the French colonial power, Morocco faced many different problems. Chief among these is the problem of diglossia. As is the case in the rest of the Arab world, the language situation in Morocco is characterized by the co-existence of two overlapping forms of speech, namely Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic. These two varieties which according to Ferguson (1959a) can be referred to as the high variety and the low variety respectively, form a diglossic situation. From the point of view function, CA differs considerably from MA



relegated to the position of a less prestigious variety. The factors which Ferguson puts forward to account for the high variety seem to meet the features characterizing CA. It is the official, standard and written form of the language of Morocco, (contrary to some Western people's belief that it is French which is the official language of Morocco). It is regarded as the symbol of literary heritage, the language of the Koran and the Islamic religion.

According to Zughoul (1980:204), CA can be largely understood by the "illiterate Arabs", and in the view of Musa (1955:410), it can be "easily understood by the common people". However, these two arguments are not altogether convincing. They can be refuted on the grounds that not all illiterate or common people can understand CA and that illiteracy and comprehension are a matter of degree. Another characteristic of CA is that it is the symbol of Arab unity . It is almost always used for formal purposes, which gives it a marked prestige. It can only be taught and learned in schools and universities, and has no native speakers, a fact with which Zughoul (1980) partly agrees but with which other scholars seem to strongly agree. Kaye (1972:37), referring to CA as MSA, argues that it is : "...an artificial language , meaning that it has no native speakers." Marçais (1930:441) follows the same reasoning and asserts that CA is a language "...qui exactement telle qu'elle se présente à nous, n'a peut être jamais été parlée nulle part et qui dans tous les cas ne se parle aujourd'hui nulle part."

However, the term KA describes, as Zughoul (1980:205-206) puts it, "...the native variety of the Arab masses the illiterate as well as the educated." The following features are among the ones he listed to characterize this variety of Arabic. It is the language of everyday life, generally used at home, with the family, friends and relatives and in informal interactions. On the syntactic and lexical levels, it is simpler than CA. On the phonological level, some sounds of KA have no counterpart in CA. He further argues that " Colloquial Arabic is looked upon by the majority of the Arabs not only as inferior to FA, but also as a distortion of that highly regarded

variety." Al-Toma (1969:37) expresses a similar point of view and states that: "The colloquials lack the prestige enjoyed by the classical and are looked upon, often with a considerable degree of contempt, as a stigma of illiteracy and ignorance."

In relation to this point, Kaye (1970:379) argues that: "...all colloquial forms of Arabic are learned natively and must, by definition, be well-defined systems. On the other hand, all non-colloquial forms of Arabic, by which I mean any type or variety of Arabic learned non-natively, as for example in school, are ill-defined systems." Two of the examples Kaye presents to give validity to his hypothesis are respectively drawn from Cairo Arabic. These are first /ʔeeš/ "bread" and second /fii madaarisin/ and /fii madaarisa/ "in schools". (Concerning this example, one may argue that the mistake results from the person speaking the language and not from the language itself because the grammatically correct form is /fii madaarisa/). On the basis of the above evidence, he suggests that teaching a well-defined colloquial system would be "certainly much easier" than teaching an ill-defined one. He also argues (1972:47) that the most appropriate colloquial would be that of Damascene "...since it has been recently shown that Damascus Arabic shares more compatibility (lexically) with all other colloquials and MSA as well." However, this view seems to contradict the one he expresses, namely that: "There is no such entity as any colloquial coming closest to Classical Arabic; the two are not even comparable. They are entirely in two different dimensions; one in the realm of well-definedness - the other in the realm of ill-definedness, (Kaye, 1970:26).

Strongly opposing Kaye's findings, Shorrab (1981:28) argues that Kaye's point of view regarding the well-definedness of the colloquial variety agrees with the findings of many linguists such as Labov, Fasold, and Wolram. He also points out, however, that the examples Kaye presents are not convincing. They do not show that colloquial Arabic is consistent and that it can, therefore, be precisely described, while Classical Arabic cannot. He builds his criticism on two arguments. First, if Kaye's idea can ever be valid, it can be so only for the spoken form of

Classical Arabic because the written form is "in fact a well-defined system." In his analysis of the linguistic situation of the Arab world, Shorrab limits himself to the spoken form of the formal variety, from which he takes some examples and generalizes them to include the written form of MSA. Thus, it can be argued that his argument that MSA is ill-defined can only be true as far as the spoken form of this variety is concerned. Second, the fact that Colloquial Arabic is well-defined is a matter of to which degree. To support his claim, Shorrab gives the example that in his Palestinian Colloquial variety a speaker will substitute the invariable /ras/ for "head" while in the case of the word "face", he may choose between the variable /wijh/ and /wiš/. On the basis of some examples taken from the dialect under study, one may argue in favour of Shorrab's second argument. The example Kaye has chosen from Moroccan Arabic to support his opinion is not satisfactory, namely /kayekteb/ "he writes". He fails to notice that the variable /tayxaTaT/ may also be used to convey the same meaning. Moreover, a Marrakeshi speaker can use either /dderGum/, /l-kemmara/ or /l-wejh/ for "face"; and /drari/, /lulad/ or /jnun/ for "boys". The choice of any of these variables largely depends on the situational context, which Kaye fails to take into account.

With reference to colloquial forms common in the Arab world, it is often reported in related studies that these forms of Arabic differ from one Arab country to another in grammar and lexicon and more specifically in phonology, a diversity which Chejne (1958:26) describes "as great as any of the divisive elements which separate the Arabs in the political, economic, and governmental systems." Rabin (1955), cited in Bentahila (1983:4), argues that MA is similar to all the other colloquial varieties because of its historical link with CA.

Describing MA, Sayed (1981:4) states that it is the result of the process of time in addition to linguistic contacts mainly with the French and Spanish language. He also maintains that according to Belkin (1964:13), MA as it stands today is a subdialect of the Maghrebi dialect group composed of Algeria, Tunisia,

Morocco, and Libya. He further states that MA contains two major dialect groups: an urban dialect group and a rural one, and that it "...is considered a lingua franca among the speakers of the different languages." However, one may argue that this is not always the case. There are lexical items, for example, in the Northern dialects which are not found in the linguistic repertoire of Southern speakers, or which have a completely different meaning. It is also worth mentioning here that some of the studies dealing with the MA show that a close examination of the relationship of this variety and CA as used in Morocco reveals a considerable amount of differences between these two forms of Arabic. These differences can be detected on the morphological, phonological, grammatical and lexical levels. For instance, CA has phonemes which have no counterparts in MA. The interdental fricatives of CA /θ/ and /ð/ are produced in MA as /t/ and /d/, the uvular stop /q/ is sometimes changed into a voiced velar stop /g/, and the voiced emphatic interdental /ð/ is almost always realized as a voiced emphatic dental /d/. Moreover, MA lacks many of the inflections of CA, but enjoys freedom in word order and borrowing from Berber, French, and Spanish.

Unlike Harrell (1965), Sayed (1981) and Bentahila (1983,1988), who in their study of the linguistic situation in Morocco base data on a certain dialect(s) and yet refer to it(them) as MA, Keegan (1986:4) makes it clear that he is dealing with a particular dialect of Moroccan Arabic, the Northern dialect spoken in the town of Chaoun. In fact, it is significant, as stated above, to draw attention to the difference between the dialects used in Morocco and especially between those spoken in the Northern areas and those used in the rest of the country mainly because they are clearly marked by the influence of the Spanish and French languages respectively. As a result, these two groups of dialects, none of which enjoys the prestige of codification, are not always mutually intelligible. Moreover, as is with the Berber language, they can be further divided into a number of subdialects.

Another point which ought to be mentioned in this respect is that the linguistic dichotomy in the Arab countries has given rise to a new variety, mainly that of MSA. Ferguson (1959b:332) refers to this variety as the intermediate language (al-lugha al-wusTa) and Schulz (1981:2-3) describes it as an "admittedly messy middle level which is neither pure colloquial nor pure classical." (Other scholars refer to it by slightly different names. Some of them, according to Kaye (1970:397) are: "Inter-Arabic, Inter-common spoken Arabic, Spoken Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic).The development of this new form of Arabic was intended to bridge the gap between CA and KA and help bring the language into harmony with the changes society can undergo; historical, social, or linguistic. Generally speaking, the most common features of MSA are presented by Schulz (1981:4): "...its grammar is a simplified version or proper subset of CA, but in practice, anything possible in CA may be "borrowed" into MSA. Besides, not using many of the more complicated grammatical constructions of CA, MSA also has incorporated large numbers of new vocabulary items, either as borrowings or as translations or simply as new formations ... to deal with the 20th century and its technology."

The review of literature on diglossia in the Arab world indicates that in general the most clear cut solutions to eliminate this linguistic problem are those two extremes more than often proposed by many related studies. The first option is for the low variety to replace the high variety. To back up their views, the proponents of this proposal mostly argue that the colloquial form of Arabic is directly linked with people's feelings, and that it will make the task of education easier for them because it is their mother tongue. It is an effective medium of translation which people can readily communicate. Moreover, as Al-Toma (1969:114) states, the development of new literary genres such as the drama, the novel, the short story, and the extensive use of mass media, have provided the low variety with a new and important function. The amount of written and oral literature produced in this form of language is gaining wider circulation. Similarly, Chejne (1969:20) notes that: "...the interest in dialects has

been increasing from the number of dictionaries of colloquial expressions." Shorrab (1981:9) also speaks in favour of the argument and points the fact that: "Today, the use of the colloquial in folk literature is receiving great attention from many quarters, to the extent that there is a chair of Al-Adab Al-Shaabi (folklore) in Egyptian universities." The function of this variety has been increasingly stressed because most people think that this variety reflects and characterizes social problems, a point referred to by Musa (1955:42) when he says that: "The common word of the people is sometimes more expressive than the classical word."

However, opposing arguments indicate that this solution seems inappropriate and unlikely to be achieved for many reasons, some of which are given below. First, the adoption of the low variety will increasingly reduce the speaker's exposure to Classical Arabic, a solution which may result in the corruption and eventually the loss of this form of language which is a cultural heritage. Second, how can the language of the Koran be modified? If it ever happens, the religious and cultural values will not remain the same any more; the Arabic identity will be destroyed. Third, Classical Arabic reflects the Arab's unity. Mostly, it is through this variety that the inter-Arab exchange of ideas occurs. Other views against the vote in favour of KA are outlined in Zughoul's article (1980:210-211). For example, his informants maintain that the use of dialects may widen the gap between CA and KA. This may result in the creation of new languages in the Arab world. A case in point is "...the development of the Roman language from Latin." The emergence of new dialects may reinforce separatism among Arab countries and ultimately destroy their unity, not only at the linguistic level but also at the cultural one. The proposal of adopting the colloquials originated in Western policy where the goal was to "...dominate the Arabs rather than serve them." Another argument is that : "The colloquials are not developed enough to be used as a means of communication for sophisticated purposes. Generally, when discussing sophisticated topics speakers shift to FA." In this context, Musa (1955) claims that attempts to use the colloquials -Cairo

and Beirut- have always resulted in failure. Chejne (1969:164) also argues that the classicists follow the same line and refer to "...any dialect as vulgar, deficient, and devoid of any linguistic wealth for expressing thought in its various ramifications." This they argue is in addition to the fact that the use of dialects is limited to daily interactions, that they hold people back to old and outdated ways of life, and that they are not codified. It follows, therefore, that the choice of KA will reinforce rather than reduce the sociolinguistic problems facing Arab countries .

The second extreme solution is the one whereby KA would give way to CA. This stand is usually favoured on the ground that CA is the common denominator unifying the Arab countries mainly at the religious and cultural levels. It enjoys the advantage of having a great literary heritage in addition to a divine nature. In this regard, Mahmud Taymur, cited in Chejne (1969:165-174), maintains that "Arabic is unique and could not possibly perish as Latin did because it is the language of a heavenly religion (lughat ddi:n ssama:wi:). It is here to stay as long as the Kur'an and Islam are in existence." Chejne tends to support this argument when he states that: "In the past, Arabic faced many problems but proved that it was strong enough to surmount any difficulties including internal as well as external pressures and that it would remain as glorious as ever."

Usually, scholars who refute this option seem to agree on the following inadequacies of CA. The fact that this variety is an abstract and superficial language restricts its use to certain formal situations. It is far from being able to reflect the experiences of real, day to day living. It cannot be a faithful mirror of situations such as the street, the family or informal settings in general, nor is it an efficient instrument of communication among people in daily life. Moreover, it engenders a feeling of distancing between the language and the people speaking it. At the educational level, it presents a hindrance. Pupils have to acquire a new form of language different from the one they speak at home. Of similar importance is the point that CA is not in line with modern times, science, technology, the needs and experiences of people. In

contrast with KA, CA is sometimes described as an unfamiliar and lifeless form of language. All together, these factors make people reluctant to adopt it as the one and only form of speech.

Yet, despite all the foregoing debates which give the impression that there is no hope in the solutions which have been proposed so far, Ferguson (1968:380-381) writes that there seems a general feeling among Arabs that in future Arabic will be : "Unified, standardized, universal in the Arab world, used for both speaking and writing, and appropriate for all kinds of literature." In his opinion, factors such as education, mass media, and "the increased mobility of Arabs will help in the realisation of this dream. But how and when it will come true?"

In contrast, Sotiropoulos (1977:10) stresses the fact that the Arab countries due to their problematic linguistic situation cannot come out with a satisfactory solution: "The Arab world particularly immersed in a very acute diglossic problem cannot provide the model for eliminating diglossia." Another related view held by Chejne (1969:168) is that the linguistic controversy over the problem of CA versus KA will remain as a source of heated debates "...as long as mixed feelings exist concerning one or the other or both."

On the basis of the above arguments, one may argue that whether or not a solution will ever be reached is still an unanswerable question. But in any case, among the factors that should never be underestimated is the attitude of the average Arabs about the linguistic dilemma and the proposals they suggest to resolve it. Their attitude should be taken into account so that a successful solution based on a general consensus can be found, in line with people's needs and aspirations, and regardless of their origin, class, and sex.



## 2.3 Sociological Perspective

Equally important, before proceeding to the subject of this thesis, is to make the readership aware of certain preconceptions about women's condition in the Arab world in general with specific reference to Marrakesh. Such a step is relevant and useful because an adequate understanding of the nature of their condition will lead to a greater understanding of their use of language, a variable of considerable importance in women's studies. It is one which seems central, but has largely been ignored and most specifically in connection with studies on Arab women in general and one which will, in turn, give a more complete and meaningful picture of women's position in relation to men.

### 2.3.1 General view of women's condition in the Arab world

The literature on Arab women reveals that one of the most heated debates in the Arab world today revolves around the question of women's role in society. Some of the research of social scientists and ethnographers tend to explore various dimensions of women in Arab societies. Issues such as their legal status, family planning, rates of employment, virginity, and sexual repression have been their main focus.

The image the studies on Arab women usually try to portray is that of the unimportant, ignorant and subordinate women whose life is dedicated to serve men and care for children. Although these studies vary in their theoretical approaches and ideological commitments, they seem to be similar, either implicitly or explicitly, in recognizing the fact that Arab women occupy a position which is secondary and inferior to that of men. The debate on the role of women in society, as Hijab (1988:148) asserts is partly tied up with the Arab quest for economic development and national independence. This situation she describes as a "vicious circle", implying that the role of Arab women in society cannot be redefined until the Arab world gains real political and economic independence, which cannot be achieved until the social problems in the Arab world, including the role of women, are solved. She also argues

that both Arab women and women in the rest of the world have faced one form of discrimination or other because of their sex. Studies have shown that the position of women all over the world is the same. They face and fight against similar obstacles, and are still viewed as underprivileged, passive and weak: "The involvement of women in non-governmental bodies is not a phenomenon restricted to the Arab world. It is an indication of the extent to which women worldwide have been excluded from formal structures, and have found an outlet for their energies in informal ones."

In this connection, Rassam (1984) argues that it is clear that some of the similarities in the status of women cross-culturally derive from the sexual division of labor linked with the universal facts of child bearing. However, such a hypothesis, she goes on, cannot explain the variability and the historical change of women's status nor does it account for their confinement to the domestic sphere and men's dominance over the public domains. A related point of view is that presented by Memissi (1975:14-170) who argues that male/female differences cannot be explained by "...an ideological or biological theory of women's inferiority". These differences are, in her opinion, the outcome of specific social institutions designed to restrain women's strength and power. In this context, she refers to Qasim Amin who rejects the theories which give a distorted image of women, that which portrays women as not having the same capacity and intelligence as men. She affirms that if women were given the same opportunities as men to develop their minds and bodies, the differences would not have existed. Moreover, Memissi draws attention to the remarks made by Tarabishi that: "...people generally say that there are one hundred million Arabs, but in fact there are only fifty million, the female population being prevented from taking part in social responsibilities."

### 2.3.2 Women in Marrakesh

From the beginning of their life, Marrakeshi children, as the case seems to be in the rest of the world, be it Arab or Western, are brought up under social pressures. Sex differences are but one of the manifold aspects of these pressures.

#### 2.3.2.1 Sex-role stereotypes

From the moment they are born, both boys and girls are predisposed, for example to wear different colours; pink is traditionally associated with the baby girl. The boy's bedroom is decorated differently from that of the girl. Needless to say, the toys are different. The impression is as if these children are going to live in two different worlds. Moreover, there is the fact that the more they grow up, the more complex the social and cultural pressures become.

In the Marrakeshi community, girls are continuously incited to bow to social rules and regulations, intended to make them weak and inferior and to make boys strong and superior. Boys are encouraged to do whatever they like for the simple reason that they are men. For example, they do not need to have permission or approval of their parents to go out for a walk or visit their friends, while women always must.

Important also is the fact that in most families married women are referred to as "girls" and boys are most of the times referred to as "men" even if they are still little boys. They are expected to be heads of their families. Society, therefore, makes boys move forward, and with the same strength, but this time negatively directed, it pushes girls backward to the bottom of the social ladder, warning them to refrain from all sorts of things: Not to laugh loudly but only smile gently; not to speak constantly, but rather be silent; Not to go out frequently, as this will harm their honour and damage their families' reputation; not to forget that their eyes must always be down, looking up is socially unacceptable; to be shy, timid, and reserved;

not to voice their opinion, but unquestionably accept people's orders; "...just do as you are told; never say no, but be obedient and always say yes." To escape such and other overpowering forms of segregation, women seek shelter in the seemingly safe and protective institutions: marriage, education and employment.

### 2.3.2.2 Marriage

To free themselves from family pressures, most Marrakeshi women take refuge in marriage. They think that it is a sure way to a better life. However, they soon realize that it is nothing but another form of oppression, perhaps a bitter one.

In fact, marriage can be considered as one of the factors which highlights women's condition in Marrakeshi society. For example, some, if not most women, have no say in choosing their future husbands. Their fate has already been decided for them by their fathers and/or brothers. Once married, some of these women stop studying mostly because of family responsibilities, the husband and the children. In most cases, the daughter-in-law is expected to be a servant, obediently working in the service of her parents-in-law. If the husband turns out to be a bad person, the wife would have to face an ultimatum, the options of which are too hard to contemplate: either to put up with the unbearable conditions or to ask for a divorce. The second alternative might be more humiliating because people would start to gossip about such a woman. Some would say she did not prove to be a good housewife otherwise her husband would not have divorced her. Others would argue that she is weak. A strong and capable woman would have been able to put up with social and family problems. In this case, therefore, women have to live for others; the relatives, the neighbours, and the friends, and not so much for themselves. In line with the previous arguments, Peets (1988:20) lets a Marrakeshi woman speak for herself; "...what is a woman to the man? Absolutely nothing..." In comparison with other women of the Arab world, Shaaban (1988:6) writes about her own marriage experience: "Although all my older brothers got married to women of their own

choice, they all denied me the same right because of the stark fact that they were men and I was a woman." Despite her family's objection, Shaaban eventually married the man of her choice, and bade them "a last goodbye". A more general view of women in relation to men is presented by Ruthven (1984:84): "Inside any closely knit male-supremacist organisation, women are likely to be conceived of as a matter out of place, which is an anthropological definition of dirt."

To conclude the foregoing discussion about marriage, it can be briefly said that in the face of the above and other social pressures, women are predestined to endure. Yet, despite the fact that society looks down on the girls who have reached the age of marriage and are still single, many women have become convinced that marriage is no longer the sole goal for them. It is safer and more secure first get a job. Education is the only way to achieve this aim.

#### 2.3.2.3 Education

Education was one of the most important instruments which helped women break the doors of oppression wide open to rescue their self image from extinction and restore their social value and esteem which have been crushed to almost extinction.

Negative attitudes towards women gradually began to diminish after the independence from French colonialism. Independence brought with new horizons of hope and freedom. People began to hear about sexual equality in many spheres. At the educational level, for example, the number of girls who joined schools and later on universities was increased, a fact which might also be considered as a result of the gradual disappearance of patriarchal authority. Some women are nowadays allowed to continue their studies even if they are married. Generally speaking, women are given more and more opportunities to choose whatever school or university they like, and whatever subject they are interested in, including those which were traditionally associated with men.

Society became aware of the fact that for the sake of its progress and development, it has to open its doors to men and women equally, and welcome whatever help both of them can offer. From that time on, some women have proved that in education they can be as capable as men, and society has acknowledged their potential in this and other domains. To some extent, such women were able to destroy the myth that women are born only to be mothers and wives, and that they are controlled by their passions rather than minds. Hence, women's achievements in education has helped them, somewhat, to re-adjust their social image, reinforce their self-determination, and show their strength and abilities, a fact to which going out to work has added more weight.

#### 2.3.2.4 Employment

Among the different factors which had a bearing on women's social status, and are likely to have more influence on their condition in future, is their access to professional employment.

In recent years, women were not allowed to go out to work. It was socially degrading and shameful for them to join the work force. It was men who were expected to support their families financially. However, things have changed since independence. It marked a new beginning in the lives of both men and women. Women's condition has gradually changed, and their lives have taken on seemingly new forms.

Social attitudes towards women joining the work force have changed, and more liberal beliefs about the place of women in society began to emerge. Many men no longer want to marry a jobless woman, who can only bear children and wait on her husband. Such a woman is nowadays looked on as a burden both to herself and to others. Going out to work, however, has immensely improved women's position, and somehow elevated their social status. Working women are more and more highly regarded than those staying at home doing nothing.

Indeed, many women are employed in different kinds of jobs, as doctors, engineers, and solicitors. This they could not have dreamt of in the past. In so doing, they have proved to be capable, intelligent, and efficient. In her article about women and professions in Morocco at large, Forget (1962:108) states that both sexes: "...are aware of the fact that the women are doing jobs which might be done by men."

Going out to work, therefore, provided the basis for a better condition and a promising future. Despite the fact that there is only a handful of women who succeeded in lifting the ban on their freedom, they managed to bring about noticeable changes in the way they perceive themselves and in the way society perceives them. Women's conception of themselves changed partly because they have become more aware of their role, be it traditional or modern, in the family or society. They have become aware of their abilities, creativeness and strength. In her study on Marrakeshi women, Peets (1988:211) was able to observe this evolution in the thinking of one of her informants: "I sensed that over the years new ideas had begun to shape in the mind of this outwardly traditional, but wise women, ideas about the insecure and troubled existence of women...until slowly she had come to a clear realisation that something was wrong, that something in women's existence was not as it should be."

As a result of such awareness, the dormant ambitions are brought to life. Women no longer want to confine themselves to the family, bringing up the children, looking after the husband, and keeping the house nice and tidy. Their aspirations went beyond being mere housewives. They started to think that the fact of breaking through the door of the house into employment will, undoubtedly, help them escape social and more poignantly patriarchal control.

However, experience has proved that these women have been somehow disillusioned. Once they started going out to work, they thought that they would be able to take decisions for themselves and live an independent life; farfetched ambitions in a male-oriented world. Despite their outstanding

achievements, some women are still prone to traditionally stereotyped beliefs. At home, women are still treated as females and housewives. Topics of their discussions at work re-inforce traditional attitudes. For instance, they can be heard talking about cooking, needlework, dressmaking, or childcare. This argument can be supportive of the hypothesis that going out to work does not make women totally free from their traditional role as mothers and wives. This may be related to Forisha's (1978:42) argument about women in general, that: "Although young women today are more liberated in their beliefs, they are still influenced by the strong emotional undertones left over from a more traditional upbringing".

In addition to what has been stated above, the new experiences made Marrakeshi women realize that joining the work force does not always guarantee them a quiet and happy life, rather it calls for further sacrifices. Briefly put, for most women it is yet another extra responsibility creating more strain on their lives. With reference to Moroccan women in general, Nouacer (1962:128) argues that women working in offices is usually "frowned upon" because "they are in contact with men." She also maintains that: "The impression which such a woman creates among the people around her, among her colleagues, the general public, her customers, counts for a great deal. Women who work outside the home are the most liable to be watched and criticized; and hasty judgements are all too often brought against them because of a mere gesture or word."

The importance of public opinion in the life of working women is also emphasized by Forget (1962:106) when she argues that: "...public opinion, whose verdict everybody fears, is censorious of women who work. They play around with men is a widely voiced comment and 35 per cent of the men are convinced that this stricture is well-founded." Whether these judgments are true or not, the fact is that women have and are still suffering under overpowering social pressures, and that they are more liable to public shame than men. This, she further states, can still happen despite the fact that: "The Islamic faith...teaches a respect for human intelligence and



equality, stating clearly that there is no difference between men and women." To solve some of their problems and heal their pains, some women take refuge in witchcraft.

#### 2.3.2.5 Witchcraft

Powerless, as they are made to be, some women resort to witchcraft. A sort of power through which they can compensate for their so called weakness and subordination, and establish themselves as strong personalities to be respected, and sometimes, even feared.

To what extent such women use witchcraft as a source of power can be illustrated by the following quotations taken from Peets's (1988:X-161): "...then one of the wives attempts to grab power for herself through witchcraft. The husband almost takes the fateful step over a contraption which is supposed to make him impotent in relation to all other women except the one who has set the trap...and to make a husband impotent is the worst crime a wife can commit...and every male dreads more than death." Equally bad is when such women make sure that a girl/boy will never get married, that she/he remains unable to do anything, except eat and sleep, perhaps till the end of her/his life.

To undo the *tqaf* (the means witches normally use to make people suffer one way or another), men and usually women go and seek help from other witches, sometimes referred to as fortune-tellers or saints. In the shrines, women break through the barriers of silence. Sometimes in a wisper and others in a very loud voice, depending on the degree of their pain, they can be heard speaking to the saints about their problems, and asking for their help. In this context, Mernissi (1977:104) reports that: "Holding the saint's symbolical drape or another object like a stone or a tree, the woman describes what ails her...the task of the saint is to help her reach her goal." Shrines are also some of the places where women can be observed to use a somewhat different language from the one men might use.

Witchcraft, therefore, is a social factor which can highlight women's condition in Marrakesh, a condition which neither education nor employment could fully ameliorate. It appears that these women need more help and strength to pull them out of the subordinate status society traditionally assigned them.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter shed some light on the sociolinguistic setting of Morocco in general, and Marrakesh in particular, in order to provide the reader with the context in which the present study takes place.

It was divided into two main parts. The first part reviewed the language situation in Morocco as a whole. It showed that Arab and French invasions brought about many changes. They have clearly marked not only people's lives but also their language. Moreover, it indicated that the co-existence of Arabic and French alongside MA added to the diversity of and complexity of the linguistic situation in Morocco. In addition, this chapter looked at the problem of diglossia and presented the arguments commonly reported to support or refute one or the other form of Arabic as well as the obstacles which have been said to hinder the supremacy of either of these varieties. It stated that although MSA seems to have reached its goal in narrowing the gap between the two extremes of speech levels -CA and KA-, the linguistic tension resulting from diglossia is not yet altogether resolved. The case of Morocco shows that no reconciliation has been made between CA and MA, and that given the ever-pressing influence of the French language as a decisive factor, no such harmony would ever be reached.

The second part of this chapter presented a brief development of Marrakeshi women's life cycle and the society in which they are brought up. It was shown that from early childhood boys are usually preferred to girls, a difference which engenders another difference in the way both sexes are treated. They are socialized into different social behaviours. Sex appropriate expectations are basically

learned through family network and social relationships which tend to shape and restrict male/female social as well as linguistic interactions. Also, it was emphasized that women's activities in the economic and education realms had contributed to the progress and advance of the family and the society at large.

However, the current rapid change in women's role has not greatly affected people's traditional views towards women. In this respect a review of related literature reveals that Marrakeshi women are not the only women who suffer from sex segregation. In support of this argument, anthropological studies about men's and women's social status report that total equality between the sexes does not seem to exist in any society. Male dominance is so widespread that it is virtually a universal phenomenon. For example, Minces (1982:14) argues that: "The role of women in the Arab world has not, historically, been so different from that of women in other countries and cultures over the centuries." However great women's achievements in the public sphere are, therefore, they continue to live at the mercy of family laws and public opinion. Despite the progress and development society has known, hierarchy remains the basis of family structure, and judgements of the general public are the deciding factor of women's reputation. Two obstacles which may lead to self-denial and make it hard for women to come up to the surface of the male-dominated world in which they live.

Socio-economic status, however, on which almost all the studies on Arab women are based, is not the only differentiating factor among people. In addition to factors such as level of education, social class, there is the use of language. It is widely known in related literature that language has multiple functions. It is not only a mere medium of communication through which people can express their thoughts and ideas, voice their experiences and achievements, but also a faithful mirror reflecting people's personality, behaviour and condition. Chejne (1958:16) confirms this point of view when he says that language is : "...the reflection of the people who use it." Similarly, Hymes's (1974) emphasizes the inter-relationship

between language and society. Of related interest is Fishman's (1968:6) argument that: "since languages normally function in a social matrix and since societies depend heavily on language as a medium (if not as a symbol) of interaction, it is certainly appropriate to expect that their observable manifestations, language, and social behaviour will be appreciably related in many lawful ways."

Hence, bearing in mind the sociolinguistic background presented above, we will explore in the next chapter male/female speech stereotypes, focusing on Marrakeshi people's attitudes towards men's and women's language.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MALE/FEMALE SPEECH STEREOTYPES

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter reports some speech stereotypes men and women often tend to ascribe to themselves and to each other. In this respect, two hypotheses are presented. First, sex-related differences in language use are socially rather than biologically determined, as many studies have suggested (e.g. De Beauvoir 1972; Henley 1975; Brown 1980; Jenkins and Kramer 1981). Second, male/female speech characteristics contain an important part of stereotypes assigned to both sexes (e.g. Kramer 1977; Kramer, Thorne and Henley 1978). For example, men are usually referred to as aggressive, dominant, frank and self-confident; a description which also features in their linguistic behaviour. The same is said to apply to women with regard to their expressiveness, politeness and emotionality (e.g. Rosenkrantz et al. 1968; Berryman et al. 1980).

These hypotheses will be tested in the light of the following variables said to be important in sociolinguistic studies: sex, age and social class. Among the researchers who emphasized the importance of these variables are Ervin-Tripp (1964); Labov (1972a); Key (1975); Chamber and Trudgill (1980).

#### 3.2 Methodology

##### 3.2.1 Informants

The informants were 50 males and 50 females of ages from 18 to 45. They were divided into three age groups, 18-25, 26-35, 36-50. They were from various parts of Marrakesh and from different socio-economic backgrounds. They included, for example, teachers, students, civil servants, doctors, solicitors, secretaries, and housewives. In education, they ranged from the primary school to the

postgraduate level. In addition, the sample was divided into three social classes on the basis of their income. The first 27% of the informants represent the upper class, and the last 27% informants represent the lower class. In between these two groups there is a third group which represents the middle class. The table below shows the range of the mean income of the three sub-groups.

**Table 3.1**  
**Social Class Groups**  
**Based on Monthly Income**

Group	(N)	Range	Mean
1	27	167-1071.4	324.0
2	46	80-165	124.8
3	27	42-79	61.5

To ensure the significance of the differences between the three means of income, the F test was applied. F value which is 17.8 was found to be significant at  $P < .001$ .

### 3.2.2 Procedure

On the basis of the speech characteristics frequently reported in the literature on sex differences in language, a questionnaire was constructed. It was devised to measure male/female attitudes towards men's and women's speech in Marrakesh. The results will be discussed in the light of the sociolinguistic background dealt with in Chapter Two, and compared with the findings of previous studies.

The questionnaire consisted of a cover page containing a summary of its content and goal; and two main parts (see Appendix 1). To secure background

information from each informant, the first part included questions on sex, age, marital status, occupation, level of education...etc. factors, more than often, said to correlate with language use and people's attitudes. In the second part of the questionnaire, an attempt was made to ensure that the aim of all the items making up this section was to measure one single point: the general attitudes people commonly hold about men's and women's language in Marrakesh. Most of the items contained in the questionnaire were basically drawn from the review of literature on language and sex. In the wording of these items, considerable attention was made to avoid any possible ambiguities or effective influence which may have a bearing on the informants' responses.

To help achieve this aim, a pilot study was conducted before the formulation of the questionnaire proper. Twenty people, from the same background as those who completed the final questionnaire, served as informants in this pilot study. On the basis of the analysis of their answers, few modifications were made on the original copy. Some questions have been rephrased and others discarded. The purpose of these modifications was to make the questionnaire as clear as possible to the informants. The complete form of the questionnaire is given in Appendix 1.

### 3.2.3 Data analysis

To test the hypotheses presented in this chapter, Likert's scale discussed in Oppenheim (1966) was used as a base line. It was chosen as a point of departure because it seemed appropriate to meet the goal of the present study. According to Oppenheim, this scale is one of the best known and more popular methods of attitudes scaling. Likert's method includes a five-point scale, to which we have added another point to make it a six-point scale in order to serve better the purpose of our research. The informants were asked to check agreement or disagreement on this six-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Each statement was given a score of 6 when put in category (1), a score of

5 when put in category (2) ... etc. Category 4 and 5 will show how near the subjects' answers are to "strongly agree", and category 2 and 3 will reveal how close their answers to "strongly disagree". The scale, therefore, tends to offer a wide range of choices in order to give the informants the opportunity to express themselves on the one hand and to avoid any uncertainties or ambiguities on the other.

### 3.4 Results and Discussion

SPSS-X program was used to obtain the results. These results will be dealt with in terms of number and percentage in each category, as well as in terms of social class, sex and age.

Item 1. There have been many linguistic changes in Marrakeshi women's language especially since the 1950s .

Table 3.2  
The Result of Item 1  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	49	98	45	90
Agree	1	2	0	0
Agree to some extent	0	0	5	10
Disagree to some extent	0	0	0	0
Disagree	0	0	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0
Non-Respondent	0	0	0	0



**Table 3.3**  
**Group Differences in Item 1**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	.62	.538
	M 5.77 SD .69	M 5.69 SD .64	M 5.53 SD .77		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	2.15	.121
	M 5.76 SD .65	M 5.57 SD .70	M 5.88 SD .44		
Sex	Male		Female	.70	.404
	M 5.76 SD .51		M 5.64 SD .74		

As Table 3.2 shows, the overwhelming majority of the informants (98% females and 90% males) strongly agreed that Marrakeshi women's speech has undergone linguistic changes since the 1950s.

#### A. Social class

Concerning this variable, no significant differences appeared among the informants, as Table 3.3 indicates. Seventy-five of these informants argued that these linguistic changes were linked with education. This is not surprising because from that time on, more and more women were encouraged to join school and men's world. Of similar importance, is the fact that Morocco as a whole was experiencing drastic changes on the political and social levels. In addition to education as a determining factor influencing women's linguistic behaviour, the remaining twenty five informants maintained that the reason was partly because women started to take part in public life; for example, they said, women could be seen doing different jobs and attending social gatherings. This change in their day-to-day life led to a change in their way of speaking. Unlike women's world, men's world knows almost no

restrictions. A fact, the informants went on , which gave females yet another opportunity to meet and converse with people from socially different backgrounds.

### B. Sex

The fact that French colonialization played a major role in shaping women's speech was mentioned almost exclusively by male informants. One of these informants went even further to argue that the majority of women did not want to speak Arabic any more. One may also argue that the fact that some women have been greatly influenced by the French way of life and the French language is generally looked down upon by the opposite sex arguing that women have traditionally been regarded as weak creatures ready to accept and follow others. But the irony is that a close examination of both sexes' daily linguistic interaction would indicate that neither of them has been strong enough to escape the colonial's social as well as moral dominance. Moreover, the fact that slightly more women (98%) than men (90%) strongly agreed with the statement may be suggestive. Women's speech has indeed changed mainly because of education, a partly positive feature they have gained in their new competition with men. However, the latter always tried and are still trying to ignore the fact that women can be as good as men or, in some cases, even better.

### C. Age

It can be observed from the data (see Table 3.3) that the three age group informants share the same view. However, most of the answers of the informants between 18 and 25 of age were "Agree to some extent". Such differences, although they are not statistically significant, can be due to differences in level of education and social experience.

**Item 2. Mass media, such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television, have linguistically affected women's language.**

**Table 3.4**  
**The Result of Item 2**  
**Based on Number and Percentage**

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	32	64	36	72
Agree	0	0	0	0
Agree to some extent	12	24	0	0
Disagree to some extent	0	0	0	0
Disagree	6	12	14	28
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0
Non-Respondent	0	0	0	0

**Table 3.5**  
**Group Differences in Item 2**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	3.45	.035
	M 5.62 SD .64	M 5.25 SD .81	M 5.07 SD .95		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	3.24	.043
	M 5.48 SD .65	M 5.16 SD .70	M 5.61 SD .44		
Sex	Male		Female	2.04	.158
	M 5.24 SD .82		M 5.48 SD .76		

As it can be clearly seen, Table 3.4 yields supporting evidence to Table 3.2, showing that women's language has indeed changed. It suggests that mass media, such as television, radio and magazines, have played a significant role in this process.

### A. Social Class

Table 3.5 shows that there are significant differences between the three social class groups. Nine upper class informants and mainly those who agree to some extent with Item 2 believe that education played a more effective role in women's linguistic behaviour than mass media. Concerning television, they argued that, for example, not all women can regularly watch it because it usually starts at 6:30 p.m. by which time, most women, especially those who do not have domestic servants, feel tired after a hard day spent in taking care of the husband and children, cooking and keeping the house nice and tidy, perhaps in addition to working. Such women have no other alternative but go to bed.

Another reason advanced by two lower class informants is that many women cannot afford to buy magazines, giving more importance, in addition to education, to women's programmes presented on the radio. In their opinion, these programmes have affected not only educated but also uneducated women's speech. It should also be pointed out that, generally speaking, upper social class informants seemed to be less specific concerning the factors influencing the way women speak. In other words, they seem to agree that in this respect neither education, mass media nor women's contact with the outside world should be undermined.

However, ten middle class informants disagreed with the Item, emphasizing the importance of education more than that of mass media.

### B. Sex

Table 3.5 reveals no significant sex differences with reference to Item 2. However, the difference between the number of the female informants and that of the male informants who disagreed with the statement (see Table 3.4) does not run contrary to expectations. With respect to women, to be influenced by the mass media, especially television, is not socially valued. Women usually, though this is true in some cases, do not accept the fact that mass media have shaped their language

because, in other words, this view gives evidence to the belief that women spend most of their time doing nothing.

### C. Age

Table 3.5 reports significant differences between the three age groups. Fifteen informants between 36 and 50 years of age differentiated between two age groups. They argued that education more specifically, is the determining factor affecting older women's linguistic behaviour while mass media is the one affecting that of younger women. However, forty informants between 26 and 35 years of age gave more importance, without totally ignoring education, to radio and television (including French films and programmes), emphasizing their clear impact on Marrakeshi women's language.

By contrast, forty-four informants aged between 18 and 25 emphasized the importance of mass media, rather than that of education, in influencing women's language. Three of these informants stressed the fact that the time women spend in education was less than that they spend listening to the radio and/or watching television.

Item 3. Education has a linguistic effect on Marrakeshi women's language.

Table 3.6  
The Result of Item 3  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	45	90	44	88
Agree	0	0	0	0
Agree to some extent	5	10	6	12
Disagree to some extent	0	0	0	0
Disagree	0	0	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0
Non-Respondent	0	0	0	0

**Table 3.7**  
**Group Differences in Item 3**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	.15	.854
	M 5.60 SD .73	M 5.48 SD 1.24	M 5.46 SD .87		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	.42	.655
	M 5.68 SD .69	M 5.49 SD .76	M 5.42 SD 1.62		
Sex	Male		Female	.00	.921
	M 5.54 SD 1.07		M 5.50 SD 1.01		

Concerning the effect of education on women's linguistic behaviour, it can be seen from the data that the majority of the informants agreed with the statement that education has linguistically affected Marrakeshi women's way of speaking.

#### A. Social class

According to the data in Table 3.7, this variable does not seem to greatly affect the informants' answers. Most of these informants, and especially those who belong to the lower class, gave particular emphasis to the influence of the French language on women's speech while the rest of them pointed out the role of education as a whole. It is interesting to note that many informants seemed to disagree on whether the influence of the colonizer's language is a positive or a negative one.

#### B. Sex

Concerning this variable, Table 3.6 shows that the majority of both men and women (90% females and 88% males) strongly agreed with the statement that education linguistically affected Marrakeshi women's language. In most cases,

women regarded it as a prestigious form of language whereas men looked at it as a corrupting force which has badly damaged both women's as well as men's linguistic and social behaviour. It is worth mentioning that none of the informants drew attention to the importance and impact of Classical Arabic on women's speech, a fact which can be said to confirm the low status given to the national language as opposed to the high status attached to the foreign language.

On the other hand, the informants (five females and six males) who agreed to some extent with the Item emphasized the importance of the mass media. They further mentioned that during the time of French colonization only a few people had access to education either because their parents were consciously aware of the importance of education or because they belonged to wealthy families. One female informant maintained that although she was from the middle class, her father refused to let her go to school only because he heard that she was going to have a male teacher. However, it can be argued that within the last few years, children from all different social classes have been given the same opportunity to attend schools and universities. With the spread of education, separation between rural and urban people, upper class and lower class, male and female groups begun to disappear. Yet, some men still assume that women do not need to be highly educated or educated at all on the grounds that women are just women and that not they but rather their husbands will have to provide for the family. Women's achievements, be it on the educational or the social level, have almost always been regarded by male society as less important than men's, a belief referred to by the results of the first two items and a point which suggests that the informants up till now have shown consistency in their answers.

### C. Age

According to Table 3.7, no significant differences appeared between the three age groups. Almost all the informants agreed that education has influenced Marrakeshi women's way of speaking. The only difference that can be observed among the informants in the light of this variable is in the extent of such influence. The informants between 26 and 50 years of age gave more emphasis to education while those between 18 and 25 years of age argued that the media played a more effective role in women's linguistic behaviour. This may suggest that time and perhaps, in some cases, educational experience made the older informants more aware of the actual determinant behind women's linguistic change.

Item 4: Marrakeshi women's language is different from that of Marrakeshi men.

Table 3.8  
The Result of Item 4  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	28	56	31	62
Agree	10	20	4	8
Agree to some extent	11	22	0	0
Disagree to some extent	0	0	0	0
Disagree	0	0	12	24
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0
Non-Respondent	1	2	0	0



**Table 3.9**  
**Group Differences in Item 4**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	.22	.800
	M 5.28 SD 1.15	M 5.26 SD .88	M 5.07 SD 1.03		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	5.19	.007
	M 4.73 SD .19	M 5.40 SD .84	M 5.48 SD 1.19		
Sex	Male		Female	.20	.655
	M 5.18 SD 1.08		M 5.32 SD .91		

The results of Table 3.8 indicate that 59 out of 100 informants strongly agreed with the view that linguistic differences do exist between men and women. In this respect, Key (1972) indicates that her study of male/female speech confirms the hypothesis that there are linguistic differences between men and women. In line with this result, Lapadat and Seesahai (1977) found that in most of the predicted ways, male language differed from that of females. Similarly, Borker (1980) argues that the fact that differences between the speech of men and women are frequently reported is not surprising.

Another supporting argument is that of Kramer (1978:647) who maintain that: "...even when women and men use the same words, the same pronunciation, the same intonation patterns and speak in the same situations, their speech may be interpreted differently. Listeners' understanding of what women say and of what men say depends in part upon the listeners' assumptions about what women do and should say and what men do and should say. Women's speech is conceptually and socially, if not in fact, separate from men's speech." In this context, Nichols (1980:141) reports that: "The growing body of studies on the language use of

women in a variety of settings and cultural groups provides convincing evidence that differences will exist in the speech of men and women in every social group." The result of the present study concerning this point is discussed below with reference to social class, sex and age variables.

#### A. Social Class

Table 3.9 shows that there are significant differences between the informants, according to the social class variable. Thirteen middle class informants maintained that there is the speech of women on the one hand and that of men on the other hand. In their opinion, each sex group tends to speak in a different way and about different topics. Women, they argued, spend most of their time at home. Their conversations very often focus on people's lives, cooking and shopping. However, men go out, meet with other people, and talk about much more important topics: work, sport, money...etc. In addition, five of these informants taking into consideration the above arguments, seemed to draw attention more specifically to intonation (Brend 1975 and Key 1975), vocabulary (Deaux 1976) and politeness formulas (Brown 1980). Three of them also claimed that women, as opposed to men, are generally characterized by the softness of speech. Among the examples presented by some informants to support their view that women's linguistic behaviour is different from that of men are as follows.

- 1) /yiswini-fik/ "I wish you would die", mostly used by female speakers.
- 2) /ʔal-xawa/ "my friend", almost exclusively used by a male speaker when he wants to call a male addressee.

By contrast, twelve lower class informants argued that women's language is not different from that of men while twenty-one upper class informants argued that men's and women's language is different only when the people in question are uneducated. In part one may argue in favor of this argument because

education tends in a way to bridge the sociolinguistic gaps that may exist between men and women.

### B. Sex

All men and women (except one female informant) seemed to agree that there are linguistic differences between males and females. Thirty-two male informants referred to women's speech as /fa:riR/ "empty" while forty-four females regarded that of men as /mufi:d/, meaning "interesting".

### C. Age

Generally speaking Table 3.9 reveals no significant differences between the three age groups. However, it is interesting to notice that seven informants between 18 and 25 years of age tended to agree with the item that there are linguistic differences between men and women while twelve informants between 36 and 50 years of age tended to disagree. Also the difference of the age variable was shown in the fact that the latter gave some examples to sustain their opinion while the former presented hardly any. This difference in view points may in part be due to the fact that older people tend to stick to traditional norms of behaviour more than younger people.

Item 5: The linguistic differences between Marrakeshi men and women arise in childhood.

Table 3.10  
The Result of Item 5  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females	(N=50)	Males	(N=50)
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	29	58	29	58
Agree	6	12	6	12
Agree to some extent	10	20	9	18
Disagree to some extent	1	2	1	1
Disagree	0	0	1	2
Strongly Disagree	3	6	2	4
Non-Respondent	1	2	2	4

**Table 3.11**  
**Group Differences in Item 5**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	.249	.780
	M 5.05 SD 1.69	M 4.98 SD 1.44	M 4.69 SD 1.88		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	1.85	.162
	M 4.46 SD 1.39	M 5.12 SD 1.53	M 5.20 SD 1.80		
Sex	Male		Female	.88	.349
	M 5.10 SD 1.35		M 4.84 SD 1.78		

On the basis of the above data, it can be noticed that the majority of informants (58% females and 58% males) strongly agreed that linguistic differences between men and women arise in childhood rather than in adolescence or adulthood. The arguments of thirty other informants varied from "agree" to "agree to some extent". Twenty-four of the informants supported their opinion by the fact that, because of social pressures, girls are expected to imitate their mothers' behaviour at an early age, including their way of speaking while boys are assumed to follow their fathers' example. This view seems to go hand in hand with that mentioned by Jespersen (1922:237) with reference to Arawak women (mentioned in Chapter One) who conserved their language and taught it to their daughters whereas their sons followed their Caribbean fathers and brothers and "...conform to their speech from the age of five or six...", a point which Labov (1972a:304) seemed to refer to later on when he argued, based on his dialect studies, that "...children follow the pattern of their peers."

In this respect, Eubanks (1975:110) strongly emphasized the power of socialization in yielding "...sex appropriateness, sex linked values, attitudes,

characteristics, behaviours, and feelings of relative worth..." and also in affecting "...ways and means of expression...thinking, perceiving, writing, and speaking." Furthermore, he mentioned that, according to Mishel (1966), differences between the sexes begun to be apparent after the first few years of life and the fact that "...these differences do not surface linguistically seems to be a remote impossibility." Concerning the same issue, Deaux (1976:58-78) stresses the fact that although differences in verbal ability "...are most apparent after the age of 10 or 11, some investigations have shown that girls are more vocal than boys even in infancy." She also argues that: "Children can imitate what they see and since they learn that men and women are different they may begin to model their behaviour on persons of the same sex." Similarly, Goodwin's (1980) research on speech patterns in children's play groups showed that both sexes reflect their ways of interacting in the use of linguistically different verbal behaviour. In addition to that, Nichols (1980,1983) maintains, on the basis of her study of the performance of elementary school children, that sex-related differences in language use start at about the age of 10.

However, the few informants (four females and three males) who expressed disagreement with the above item believed that linguistic differences between men and women tended to appear in adolescence. It is at this age, they argued, that such differences started to show up more clearly and more sharply; boys and girls are treated differently; consequently they are expected to behave differently both socially and linguistically. One informant stated that in childhood both sexes are referred to, for example, as /drari/ "children"; however, in adolescence, boys are referred to as /lulad/ "boys" and girls as /lebnat/ "girls".

#### A.Social Class

Generally speaking, this variable did not lead to significant results because most informants from upper, middle as well as lower social class, expressed the same opinion though in different ways. Their belief is that linguistic differences

between men and women appear in childhood and not in adolescence as some other informants claimed.

### B. Sex

Table 3.11 shows no sex differences with reference to Item 5. The first thing which can be noticed concerning the sex variable is that almost all men and women tended to share the same view. This result may suggest that males and females seem to be aware of the social forces to which they have to conform according to their sex.

### C. Age

As was the case with social class and sex variables, the age variable revealed no significant differences between the three age groups. Seventy-two informants of different ages stated that /huna:ka ?al-awla:d wa huna:ka ?al-bana:t/ "There are boys and there are girls". Hence, they maintained, it goes without saying that there is women's language on the one hand and men's language on the other. Forty-three of these informants further argued that there was no need at all to raise such point because, in their opinion, it is a social phenomenon which everybody knows. Such views can be said to support those linguists for whom, according to Cameron (1985:52), "...the varieties spoken by men and women are rather like regional dialects or aged-linked varieties: they reflect the differing socialization of women ...and the existence of particular feminine identities or gender roles which generate their own norms of speaking and behaving." As regards the last point of the informants' argument, it can be argued that if sex differences in language use are considered as part of social stereotypes, these informants' reflection may be said to support that of Howe (1971:77) when she says that: "Most stereotypes are well known to all of us."

Item 6: The linguistic differences between men and women are learned.

**Table 3.12**  
**The Result of Item 6**  
**Based on Number and Percentage**

Categories	Females	(N=50)	Males	(N=50)
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	39	78	32	64
Agree	0	0	3	6
Agree to some extent	9	18	3	6
Disagree to some extent	0	0	8	16
Disagree	0	0	2	4
Strongly Disagree	1	2	2	4
Non-Respondent	1	2	0	0

**Table 3.13**  
**Group Differences in Item 6**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	.66	.517
	M 5.37 SD 1.19	M 5.11 SD 1.44	M 5.53 SD .77		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	4.28	.016
	M 4.65 SD 1.81	M 5.34 SD 1.21	M 5.72 SD .89		
Sex	Male		Female	.47	.493
	M 5.18 SD 1.38		M 5.34 SD 1.37		

As is shown in Table 3.12, the majority of the informants (78% females and 64% males) strongly agreed with the statement. According to thirteen of these informants, the linguistic differences between men and women are learned mainly because from early life children are told to conform to social norms. Usually, they argued, both sexes are treated differently and addressed differently and,

therefore, expected to act and speak differently, a point which seems to support the arguments presented in Item 5. The impact of socialization on men's and women's behaviour has also been emphasized by Howe (1971:77) who maintains that all studies of children's literature besides her own support the view that: "Late or early, in catalogues or on shelves, the boys of children's books are active and capable, the girls passive and in trouble."

Similarly, Streicher (1974:125-172) argues that Weitzman et al. (1972) report that in some books for young children "...few girls or women are portrayed, and that those who are tend to be small, frail, helpless, dependent creatures who play unimportant, subservient, or nurturant roles." With these results in mind, Streicher set out to see whether females were doing better in the cartoons. Her study yielded supporting results: "In general, cartoon females were less numerous than males, made fewer appearances, had fewer lines, played fewer lead roles, were less active, occupied many fewer positions of responsibility, were less noisy and were more predominantly juvenile than males."

Another related argument comes from Deaux (1976:19) who argues that, in contrast to the results of the majority of works, there are some studies which suggest that there are differences in the socialization of boys and girls. She also emphasizes the fact that, in addition to other factors, the direct pressures of parents must not be underestimated as an important part of socialization. Moreover, she points out that a number of investigations which looked at children's books reached similar conclusions: "...Men are shown actively solving problems and going off to work, while women are shown in the kitchen, waiting for the father to come home to make important decisions." Of related interest, Thorne et al. (1983:9) state that Graham (1973) found, on the basis of his analysis of children's schoolbooks, that: "Males are clearly more visible than females in language content and use."



### A. Social Class

The differences in the informants views concerning Item 6 is significant, as shown in Table 3.13. Thirty-eight of the informants who belong to the upper social class seemed to support the same arguments presented above. However, ten of the informants from the lower social class and who agreed to some extent with Item 6 presented a somewhat different view. In their opinion, the linguistic differences between men and women are partly innate because both sexes are biologically different, a factor which, according to them, may well affect people's behaviour, be it social or linguistic.

By contrast, eight middle class informants argued that both the biological and the social factors play a significant role in shaping men's and women's linguistic behaviour.

### B. Sex

Although the F test showed no significant differences according to the sex variable as Table 3.13 indicates, the fact that more women (78%) than men (64%) strongly agreed with the statement reinforces the argument presented above that it is women who are constantly reminded to behave according to social norms, a point which may be said to have made women more alert to the differences between their own and the opposite sex. A female informant indicated that, for instance, when a man violates social rules, he may not be treated as harshly as a woman would be because she said people believe that /Ili-darha ?ulla Galha rrazel watatu/, meaning that whatever a man does or says is acceptable to society.

### C. Age

This variable did not seem to affect the informants' answers. Table 3.13 shows that  $P = .49$ . Whether old or young, most of the informants mentioned the point that since they were born, they were taught never to talk like the opposite sex,

otherwise people would think these informants did not know how to speak properly and would make fun of them.

**Item 7: The linguistic differences between men and women are indices of men's dominance and women's subordination.**

**Table 3.14**  
**The Result of Item 7**  
**Based on Number and Percentage**

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	44	88	31	62
Agree	1	2	1	2
Agree to some extent	0	0	4	8
Disagree to some extent	0	0	0	0
Disagree	5	10	14	28
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0
Non-Respondent	0	0	0	0

**Table 3.15**  
**Group Differences in Item 7**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	2.05	.133
	M 1.57 SD .97	M 2.13 SD 1.45	M 2.15 SD 1.62		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	.09	.911
	M 1.92 SD 1.46	M 1.89 SD 1.17	M 2.4 SD 1.56		
Sex	Male	Female		.09	.761
	M 1.92 SD 1.49	M 1.96 SD 1.19			

As Table 3.14 indicates, the majority of the informants (88 % females and 62 % males) strongly agreed with the view that the linguistic differences between Marrakeshi men and women are linked with their social status. This is not surprising mainly because people are becoming more and more conscious of the social discrepancy between males and females, a marked difference reflected in their language use. This point has been raised by Lakoff (1973,1975) when she describes women's language as powerless and deficient, reflecting women's social marginality. In this context, O'Barr and Atkins (1980) suggest that the view that women's language is mostly described as powerless and that of men as powerful may be partly due to the fact that unlike males, females usually occupy inferior positions in society. They also argue that both males' and females' linguistic behaviour is a reflection of their social status.

In relation to this argument, Spender (1980:12) argues that by controlling language men have conserved their power and dominance and "...consequently have ensured the invisibility...of females." In addition to that, Jenkins and Kramarae (1981) point out that the fact that men are accorded authority gives weight to their explanations. In contrast, they state, because women have no social prestige, their explanations may not be accepted. Similarly, Cameron (1985:170) asserts that: "Language is a resource of the powerful (or at least, that it can be used thus) and a potential instrument of oppression is not in doubt." In her discussion of language and gender, McConnel-Ginet (1988:91) presents further evidence that language use not only mirrors the social differences between men and women but also "...helps subordinate women and other dominated groups." Kramer (1974:82-83) argues that although these are popular stereotypes describing women's speech "as weaker and less effective than the speech of men", they are not based on empirical research and "do not necessarily correspond to real ones...they are important as indicators of cultural attitudes and prejudices."

### A. Social Class

With respect to this variable, Table 3.15 shows no significant differences between the three social groups. However, a difference was found between eleven informants. Among these informants, four from the lower social class disagreed with the statement, arguing that one must not generalise because, in some families, it is women who appear to be dominant and not men.

On the other hand, six upper social class seemed to agree, supporting their claims by some examples, the most common of which is that women's appearance in language tends to be less frequent, compared with men's. In their opinion, the use, for example, of the word /ʔal-ʔinsa:n/ "Man", which refers to both men and women, is a linguistic indicator that women are socially marginal. A different argument was presented by a middle class informant who maintained that the fact that there are linguistic differences between men and women may be considered as an indicator of women's individuality and independence.

### B. Sex

It is interesting to note that the result of this variable is compatible with that of Table 3.12 because in both items male and females showed somewhat similar attitudes. Once again, this might well be an outcome of the strong pressures under which women are forced to conform to the society's values and traditions. For example, a male informant said that: "I agree because I believe that women are not like men and that our society is a male's society." Another, but different argument comes from a female informant who maintained that: "When talking about women and women's rights in public, most men seem willing to transcend social barriers and accept women's full presence and contribution in the world of men. But once they are indoors, or when dealing individually with a woman, their real ideology comes to the surface."

### C. Age

The results of this variable seem to reinforce those linked with that of the social class and sex factors. Almost all the same arguments were presented regardless of age, sex and social class, except in some cases where the latter seemed to be the determining factor, as section (A) above indicates.

**Item: 8 Marrakeshi women switch to male's language when they enter male-dominated activities.**

**Table 3.16**  
The Result of Item 8  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	26	52	14	28
Agree	4	8	0	0
Agree to some extent	2	4	4	8
Disagree to some extent	10	20	13	26
Disagree	0	0	2	4
Strongly Disagree	4	8	10	20
Non-Respondent	4	8	7	14

**Table 3.17**  
Group Differences in Item 8  
Based on Age, Sex and Social Class

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	2.63	.077
	M 3.65 SD 2.22	M 4.61 SD 1.68	M 4.00 SD 2.08		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	1.21	.303
	M 4.07 SD 1.93	M 4.49 SD 1.82	M 3.76 SD 2.24		
Sex	Male		Female	26.50	.000
	M 5.08 SD 1.58		M 3.32 SD 1.93		

It can be observed from the above data in Table 3.16 that it is the first time that we have a table showing so much different views among the informants. Their answers range between "Strongly agree" to "Non-Respondent". This difference may be partly explained by the impact of the social traditions according to which both men and women are bound to conform. Talking like the opposite sex, especially on the part of women is usually frowned upon because such behaviour indicates a violation of the social order. In this respect, Labov (1972b) and Trudgill (1975) argue that women are more likely than men to shift style. A possible explanation for such linguistic behaviour might be that offered by Trudgill (1975:91) when he speculates that because women occupy a subordinate position, it is more necessarily for them to "...secure and signal their social status linguistically and in other ways." Key (1972) states that it appears that females attempt some kind of equilibrium by reaching a higher status in language to compensate for their lower status as members of society, and language is one way in which females can better themselves even if only in their own image.

Along the same line, Lakoff (1975:6) points out that: "...most women who get as far as college learn to switch from women's language to neutral language under appropriate situations (in class, talking to professors, at job interviews, and such)." She also states that women are damned if they use women's language and damned if they use men's language. In addition, Thorne and Henley (1975:19) argue that: "Women who use forms associated with men may be put down as aggressive and 'unfeminine'; men who 'talk like women' are called effeminate and regarded with disdain." Of related interest, Baird (1976), when discussing the concept of conformity, states that women tend to conform more than men on items labelled masculine and in mixed-sex groups. Under the heading of Speech style adjustment, Kramarae (1981:105) maintains that: "Accommodation theory predicts that low status groups will adapt their speech style to receive approval from high status groups."

### A. Social Class

Data analysis in Table 3.17 shows no significant differences according to the social class variable. However, it should be noted here that the answers of thirty-nine upper social class informants range between "Strongly agree" and "Agree to some extent". Eleven of these informants indicated that, in discussing the present item, one should differentiate between formal and informal language together with their domains of use. With reference to the former, they argued that almost no linguistic differences tend to appear between the sexes, especially when the participants involved are educated persons. The example they gave is that of a court situation where they said the language used by men is similar to that used by women. To a certain extent, it may be said that this view supports Lakoff's (1975) use of the expression "under appropriate situations", mentioned above. In the use of the latter, however, they stated that some women, and mostly those who belong to the lower class, tend to shift to male's language. They also reported that this behaviour occurs very often in public places but very rare indoors because women's switching to male's language in such a situation would be regarded as socially inappropriate.

By contrast, the answers of twelve lower class informants come between "Disagree to some extent" and "Non-Respondent". This is possibly because they had no answer whatsoever, a result which may be due to lack education (which may be said mainly with reference to the "Non-Respondent" informants). Two of the middle social class informants said they agreed with the statement because, in their opinion, women usually feel happy to follow men's example. Seven informants of the same social class said that women switch to male language because they know that women's language is inferior and lacks the needed qualities to cope with male activities.

## B. Sex

It seems from Table 3.17 that the differences are significant according to the sex variable. More women (52%) than men (28%) tended to believe that females adopt male's language in activities centred around men. A possible explanation may be that most women unconsciously accept the sex-role stereotype which gives men the authority to dominate most, if not all, social activities, and which confine women to the domestic circle. This argument brings up Miller's (1977:110) view point that: "The phenomenon of women's language is not limited to Western societies. It is apparently directly related to the almost universal judgement that women are inferior to men - a judgement arrived at by the male definers of what constitutes superiority and accepted by many females who obligingly behave as though the judgement were true." Concerning the comparatively small number of male informants who strongly agreed with the Item, it may be argued that one of the reasons might be that men have a preconscious idea that women's language is not good enough to be used in male-dominated activities. One male informant said that he agreed with the statement because women, in general, like to give their language more power, trust, and reliability not only when they enter male-dominated domains but also when dealing with their children. To achieve this aim, he claimed, women may use strong vocabulary or speak in a loud voice. A somewhat different opinion presented by a female speaker was that many women change their form of language and adopt that of men in order to be respected by others. Among the twenty-three who disagreed to some extent, five male informants maintained that it is not only women who sometimes tend to alter their speech but also men. These, they said, could be heard using women's language in female-dominated situations.



### C. Age

Fifteen informants aged between 36 and 45 argued that women switch to male's language because they know in advance that if they do not, they would not get a proper hearing neither from men nor from other women. Two other informants, one aged 30 and the other 35, argued that some women adopt such linguistic behaviour in order to show that they are up to the task they are handling, and that they are no worse than men.

Following the same argument, ten informants aged between 18 and 23 maintained that such women want and like to compete with men, and speaking is one way through which these women think they can show their abilities. The explanation presented by six other informants between 19 and 26 of age is because men's language is regarded by society as the norm. Last but not least, is the reason put-forward by three informants, one aged 20 and the other two 24, that women tend to shift to the language of the opposite sex so as to give their speech more force, sense and credibility. It can be noted that despite their differing explanations, the informants appear to show a strong agreement in their negative attitude towards women's occasional switching to men's language.

Item 9: Marrakeshi women have difficulty in public speaking.

Table 3.18  
The Result of Item 9  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females N	(N=50) %	Males N	(N=50) %
Strongly agree	4	8	11	22
Agree	5	10	3	6
Agree to some extent	0	0	2	4
Disagree to some extent	13	26	4	8
Disagree	3	6	5	10
Strongly Disagree	25	50	25	50
Non-Respondent	0	0	0	0

**Table 3.19**  
**Group differences in Item 9**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	2.08	.152
	M 2.82 SD 1.74	M 2.46 SD 1.54	M 2.53 SD 1.39		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	3.61	.031
	M 2.15 SD 1.12	M 2.49 SD 1.51	M 3.28 SD 1.94		
Sex	Male		Female	.56	.571
	M 2.38 SD 1.64		M 2.82 SD 1.52		

Item 9 can be said to have a link with item 8 because it seeks to look at women's linguistic behaviour outside domestic life. Among the researchers who seem to share the same view expressed in the above statement is Kramarae (1981:XII) who states that: "Women who speak publicly and to audiences that include men experience particular difficulties." One can also argue that Item 9 can be considered as an outcome of Item 8. The very fact that a woman steps up to a public forum is a challenge in itself because she knows, at the back of her mind, that in one way or another she is oppressed as a speaker, and that the topic and the setting of her speech, together with the type, sex and number of the audience, are restricted.

Among the reasons which might be put-forward to explain this lack of freedom is that of Kramarae (1981:XIV-1) when she maintains that: "Women (and members of other subordinate groups) are not as free and as able as men to say what they wish, when and where they wish, because the words and the norms for their use have been formulated by the dominant group, men." Consequently, such a woman feels that there is no doubt that she will face some difficulties in public speaking, no matter how qualified she might be. To support her view, Kramarae presents

Swacker's (1976) argument that: "Although there are few public discussions about whether "qualified" women should attend academic conferences, the evidence so far is that they do not talk proportionately as often nor for as long as men do at those conferences."

#### A. Social Class

With respect to this variable, the differences between the three social class groups are significant. Table 3.19 indicates that  $P = .031$ . Nine upper class informants argued that the fact that the majority of women have difficulty in public speaking may be due to a large extent to the way these women have been brought up rather than to age, education or social class factors. For example, they said, most of these women have lived in an enclosed environment mainly that of the house. They have always been and are still constantly reminded that the most socially praised woman is the one who remains quiet and silent especially in the presence of men. Another upper class informant added that whenever she tries to speak out her opinion or argue with her father or brother, they always try to reduce her to silence, advising her never to forget the popular expression /yila hDru rrzal, le-Ayalat tay-sektu/ "when men speak, women must keep silent".

However, six middle class informants who said they were against the statement argued that education, television, radio as well as the fact of going out to work made women no longer feel the kind of difficulty in public speaking as before. In their opinion, many women have acquired, through these factors, some degree of self-confidence and power. Two middle class informants presented a different argument stating that people cannot generalize with reference to both women and public forum. According to them, the answer to the Item depends, among other things, on the situation, including the audience. In part, Cameron (1985:53) seems to hold the same point of view, arguing that in some jobs a woman: "...must be more well-spoken than a man would have to be; in others, especially broadcasting jobs,

they may be told that female voices are too 'tinny' or 'high' and that they 'lack authority'." This argument may be said to highlight that of Kramer (1974) who indicates that in the world of the cartoons, she claims mirrors popular beliefs, women often appear unable to use the language 'appropriate to' the new settings, especially those associated with men's world.

On the other hand, four lower class informants thought that the women who find it difficult to speak in public are those who are not qualified enough. Eight informants who strongly agreed in support of the statement argued that because the public world is not women's domain, it is not surprising if they fail the task needed to be performed publicly. Two other lower class informants argued that women cannot always handle the small tasks connected with the domestic world let alone public ones. It can be noticed here, as is often reported in related literature, that things which are linked with the public world, men's world, are always considered big and of great importance whereas those related to women and the private world are always trivial and of little interest.

## B. Sex

In considering this variable, it can be observed that 50% of the female and male informants strongly disagreed with the Item. A possible explanation might be that the majority of women and especially educated women have been able to break through men's power and dominance. Some of these women believe that they can perform as good as or better than men in public-related fields. Sixteen of female informants stressed the fact that both men and women can face difficulty in public speaking if they are not qualified for the task to be undertaken. Five other informants expressed the same view that both sexes can experience some difficulty when speaking publicly but presented a different explanation. Three male informants argued that in some families, whenever the father comes home, there should be a

relatively total silence in the house, a behaviour which is expected both of boys and girls, and which, in the long run, may affect men's and women's speaking abilities.

The other two female informants argued that, generally speaking, society is not always objective in its judgement of women's activities. If, they argued, a man faces difficulty in public speaking, people would say: "Look! He is unable to do it properly, as if he were a woman.", but if a woman experiences the same difficulty, they would say: "Women are always like that." Society, these female informants believed, discriminates against women concerning not only what they say but also how they say it.

Also, eleven male informants strongly agreed with the view that women in general have difficulty in public speaking. Their agreement may result from the fact that they always tend to minimize the progress women have made in different social domains during the last few years. Generally speaking, such men do not want to recognize the fact that some women can be in equal or higher positions than the ones these men occupy. In connection with this point, it may be pointed out that nowadays Marrakeshi women are more and more encouraged to take part in men's world. A woman who can be seen in public places, driving her children to school, indulging in conversations with the other sex, giving speeches etc. is believed to be */mrat zman/* which can be literally translated into "the woman of time", a woman on whom her big as well as small family can depend whether in private or public life, a kind of women who, indoors, would show herself able to take proper care of her husband and children, and in the public world successfully participate in the development of the society at large.

Yet on the other hand, such a woman might be regarded by some people as behaving counter to social expectations as Unger (1979:77) argues: "A woman who serves a high degree of competence or leadership within a group is operating against prescribed role norms. Not only is her activity unlikely to be

unnoticed, but she may fear penalties if it is indeed noted." The controversy, shown above, in people's attitudes towards women's expectations reminds us of Goffman's (1977:308) point that: "Women may be defined as being less than men, but they are nonetheless idealized, mythologized, in serious ways through which such values as motherhood, innocence, gentleness, sexual attractiveness, and so forth."

Concerning the 50% male informants who showed strong disagreement with the statement, it can be argued that among the explanations that can be suggested to account for their attitude is, first, that these informants may be among those people who say one thing and do another, as an informant mentioned above. Second, they may belong to the category of people who are not fully aware of the important role women play in the development of society. Third, they may constitute some of the male speakers who share the view held by a few female informants that having difficulty in public speaking may be true not only of some women but also of some men. In this context, Spender (1980) argues that it is not surprising that women's language should be devalued in a society where women are devalued. Similarly, Kramer (1974:83) states that: "...men are in control of language wherever they happen to be, but women, when they do leave home, often seem incapable of handling the language appropriate to the new location."

### C. Age

Table 3.19 reveals no significant differences between the informants concerning the age variable. Eleven informants, especially those between 36 and 50 years of age, stated that it is not surprising that women face difficulty in areas dominated by men because these are not their prime concern, namely the house, however, they argued, is their best-suited place. Sharing the same point of view, six informants aged between 22 and 30 argued that women, even if they are qualified, should not appear in public places, and if they ever try, they may not receive proper hearing, if not at all; the only and appropriate place where they can speak is at home

and in the same but not mixed-sex gatherings. Two informants, one aged 18 and the other 21, explained their argument in favour of the statement by the fact that there are topics which women cannot discuss in the presence of men. With reference to the arguments presented in connection with the age variable, it may be argued that such attitudes tend to point to the stereotype that the only role women are expected to play in society is that of wife and mother.

Item 10: Marrakeshi women's language is looked down upon as a result of their social position.

Table 3.20  
The Result of Item 10  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females N	(N=50) %	Males N	(N=50) %
Strongly agree	3	6	20	40
Agree	2	4	12	24
Agree to some extent	0	0	5	10
Disagree to some extent	14	28	10	20
Disagree	9	18	2	4
Strongly Disagree	22	44	5	10
Non-Respondent	0	0	1	2

Table 3.21  
Group Differences in Item 10  
Based on Age, Sex and Social Class

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	10.80	.001
	M 2.68 SD 1.71	M 2.53 SD 1.51	M 3.00 SD 1.58		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	.80	.451
	M 2.69 SD 1.66	M 2.46 SD 1.38	M 2.96 SD 1.85		
Sex	Male		Female	.44	.693
	M 2.16 SD 1.46		M 3.14 SD 1.56		

The results as presented in Table 3.20 reveal a considerable number of different attitudes towards the above item. A close examination of the literature on language and sex shows that many researchers have dealt, either directly or indirectly, with the same point. Kramer (1974:85) maintains that: "If our society views female speech as inferior, it is because of the subordinate role assigned to women. Our culture is biased to interpret sex differences in favor of men." In this context, Cameron (1985:29-33) argues that: "Sex differences in language are related to the power of men and the powerlessness of women," and that "...as long as women are subordinate to men, their language has got to be characterized as indicating natural subservience, unintelligence, and immaturity." Following the same argument, O'Barr and Atkins (1980:104) state that: "...the tendency for more women to speak powerless language and for men to speak less of it is due, at least in part, to the greater tendency of women to occupy relatively powerless social positions."

#### A. Social Class

The F test revealed no significant differences between the three social group concerning this variable ( $P = .451$ ). Four upper social class informants argued that even if the presence of women is becoming more and more widespread in the public world, their original role is basically still the same, and so it will remain. Moreover, they indicated, people's attitudes towards women, and towards women's activities and language, do not seem to have really changed over the years. To support their argument, two of these informants stated that despite their education, women in general continue to talk about trivial topics, using a language that matches their sex, role and social status. Following the same tone of arguments, nine informants from the lower social class maintained that the majority of women have that special kind of power on which they largely depend to destroy social relationships among people. This power, they said, manifests itself primarily in the sort of language only women, and almost no man, can use. Three other lower class informants added that women's



language, like their personality, equals zero; in that it does people more harm than good.

### B. Sex

Table 3.21 indicates that there are no significant differences between the informants, with respect to the sex variable ( $P = .639$ ). Among the male informants who disagreed to some extent, six held the view that people must not deny the fact that many women have made great efforts to be in positions considered to be best suited to men, but women must not forget that they would better serve the society if they stayed at home and look after their husbands and children. A point worth noting here is that while the statement is about the relationship between women's speech and their social status, these informants totally ignored the first part of the Item and focussed their arguments on the second part. In so doing, perhaps, these informants wanted to say that women's social position is devalued let alone her language. Another male informant argued that no matter what women do or say to win men's approval in particular and that of society in general, they will still be inferior to men. In harmony with this view is the attitude of yet another male informant who argued that women, in reality, are trouble-makers and /li tbaA klamhum Aumru ma-yuSal/ "the one who listens to what women say would never achieve anything."

Particularly noticeable is the opinion of a female informant who maintained that what is usually said about women and their language is right. It is good, she went on, for them to be kept in inferior positions because most of the women she has dealt with or heard of, especially those who were in superior positions, doing jobs traditionally associated with men, treat people in a harsh manner more than a man would do, treatment, she said which was reinforced by their language use. By contrast, eighteen female informants thought that if women's language is not socially appreciated, it is because it has been predetermined to be so.

Every member of the society, they argued, has been brought up with the belief that women are subordinate creatures and that their activities are inferior to those of men. There is no doubt then, they stated, that language, which constitutes part and parcel of their sex, role and social status, is socially degraded.

### C. Age

Table 3.21 shows that there are significant differences between the three age groupd ( $P = .001$ ). Nine informants aged between 29 and 50 argued that, with regard to the above statement, one must not forget the fact that whether in or outside the home women's work is productive labour and, therefore, must not be regarded as inferior to that of men; furthermore, if women's language is less valued compared to that of men, it is probably because of traditional stereotypes according to which whatever women do or say is not always socially appreciated. To support his argument, one of these informants argued that the fact that /wara:?a kulli raZulin Aa i:min yimra?atun/ "behind every successful man, there is a woman".

On the other hand, twenty-three informants aged between 18 and 26 argued in favour of the statement that women's language is looked down upon as a result of their social position, arguing that since women are usually confined to the house, their language is not expected to enjoy the same importance and prestige assigned to that of men.

Item 11: Marrakeshi men's language is the norm.

**Table 3.22**  
**The Result of Item 11**  
**Based on Number and Percentage**

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	22	44	25	50
Agree	9	18	8	16
Agree to some extent	10	20	12	24
Disagree to some extent	3	6	2	4
Disagree	2	4	1	2
Strongly Disagree	2	4	1	2
Non-Respondent	0	0	0	0

**Table 3.23**  
**Group Differences in Item 11**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	2.73	.070
	M 2.68 SD 2.02	M 3.34 SD 1.74	M 4.00 SD 1.73		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	13.78	.001
	M 4.38 SD 1.67	M 3.22 SD 1.62	M 1.92 SD 1.77		
Sex	Male		Female	3.26	.074
	M 2.88 SD 1.74		M 3.52 SD 1.97		

Although Table 3.22 shows a variety of different opinions, the majority of the informants tended to agree with the statement. Also, in this respect, Lakoff (1973) maintains that women's language is in fact inferior to that of men which, in her view, is stronger and forceful reinforcing men's superior social position. Similarly, Kramer (1977:159) reports, on the basis of her research, that: "Female speech...is not perceived as different from men's speech, but it is perceived as a sort

of counter language to men's." In addition to that, Kramarae (1981) argues that women's language use is evaluated differently from that of men, and considers this attitude to be a result of male's control over language. Also, McConnell-Ginet (1980:14) argues that early twentieth-century studies revealed that: "Men's speech was often held to manifest the proper language with women's language considered a deviation." Additional support comes from Cameron (1985:30) who affirms that women's speech is regarded "...as a collection of deviations from the (male) norm." A related but different argument is that of Anderson and Trudgill (1990:33) who state that: "No word or phrase is in itself bad. It is bad only in the eyes of those who evaluate and look at the language." Smith (1979:113) seems to support this argument saying that: "The evaluative connotations of speech cannot be assessed independently of the people who use them."

#### A. Social Class

Table 3.23 shows that there are significant differences between the three social class groups ( $P = .001$ ). Twenty-five lower class informants argued that it is a matter of fact that men's language is the norm. Thirteen of these informants gave as a supporting example the popular belief that /kelmt rrazel dima hiya lfuGaniya/ which literally means that the word of men always comes first, an expression which undoubtedly refers to the superiority of men's language. Eight other informants argued that children tend to listen and do what their fathers tell them to do more than they do when asked by their mothers because, according to these informants, women's language lacks the authority and force which characterize the language of men.

However, four upper class informants seemed to share the belief that men's language used to be the norm only when women were uneducated, and their first and only role was confined to household affairs. Nowadays, because their role has changed to some extent, their language, especially that of educated women, can

sometimes be evaluated in the same way as, or in some cases even better than, that of some men. Concerning this argument, one may argue that such opinion on the part of these upper class informants may be said to carry an upper class tone, mainly because to show support for equal rights and opportunities for both sexes reveals the speaker as an upper class person. However, when it comes to deeds, the sociolinguistic behaviour of such informants very often showed itself consistent with popular stereotypes. On the other hand, eight middle class informants seemed to agree with the lower class informants who believed that men's language is the norm. The explanation they offered is that, since it is men who always dominate public domains and most of the private world, it goes without saying that their language should be the norm. To support their view, two informants gave as an example the fact that when addressing each other, women say: /ila-biti thedri hedri hdert rza/ "If you want to speak, speak the language of men."

## B. Sex

It is not surprising that many men and women tended to share the view that men's language is the norm, as Table 3.23 shows. This result may be indicative of the extent to which stereotypic beliefs about men's and women's language are deep-seated. In this regard, McKee and Sherriffs' (1957:3) study strongly confirms the fact that both men and women regard males more favorably than females and they "...consider these facts established beyond reasonable doubt." A related result is that of Kramer (1977:159) who argues that both men and women perceive women's language as "...ineffectual and unimportant." In her previous study (1974:83) Kramer maintains that the bulk of stereotyped characteristics found in this study : "...do not, of course, necessarily correspond to actual differences in the speech of females and males." These she describes as indicators of cultural attitudes and prejudices. Her study (1978:9) seems to confirm this argument. It shows that, in contrast with what can be found in folklinguistics, both men and women were found to "...perceive women's speech as being at least as positively valued as men's speech."

### C. Age

As regards this variable, Table 3.23 indicates that, in general, there are no significant differences between the three age groups. However, four informants aged between 30 and 45 emphasised the fact men's language is the norm, arguing that tradition has it that men's deeds as well as language are superior to those of women. This argument seems to echo the role traditional stereotypes play in shaping people's attitudes towards male/female sociolinguistic behaviour. By contrast, three younger informants aged between 18 and 23 argued that one cannot say that men's language is always and everywhere the norm because men sometimes can be heard using debased forms of language. Following the same line of disagreement, two other informants, one aged 19 and the other 22, stated that men's language used to be the norm in the past but nowadays there are some women who are more powerful, assertive and active in their use of language than some men. This point of view brings to light Hellinger's (1984:151) argument that: "Women of today are seen as harder, more active, more assertive, and more vigorous as well as less emotional, less gentle, and less submissive."

Item 12: Marrakeshi women's language is more conservative than Marrakeshi men's language.

Table 3.24  
The Result of Item 12  
Based on Number and Percentage

Categories	Females (N=50)		Males (N=50)	
	N	%	N	%
Strongly agree	35	60	30	60
Agree	8	16	9	18
Agree to some extent	4	8	0	0
Disagree to some extent	3	6	0	0
Disagree	0	0	2	4
Strongly Disagree	0	0	3	6
Non-Respondent	0	0	0	0

**Table 3.25**  
**Group Differences in Item 12**  
**Based on Age, Sex and Social Class**

Factor	Groups			F	P
Age	18-25	26-35	36-50	2.27	.108
	M 1.80 SD 1.10	M 2.46 SD 1.72	M 2.53 SD 1.61		
Social Class	Lower	Middle	Upper	12.16	.001
	M 3.38 SD 1.89	M 1.91 SD 1.13	M 1.68 SD 1.21		
Sex	Male	Female		.00	.97
	M 2.28 SD 1.49	M 2.20 SD 1.59			

To start with, it would be helpful to make clear the meaning of the terms conservatism, prestige, and social climbing, as they stand in the present study. Smith (1979:113) argues that: "Sociolinguists usually use the term prestige in one of two ways, to mean either 1) the value of a way of speaking for upward social mobility...or 2) the avoidance of stigmatized speech variables." In accordance with the norms and etiquette of Marrakeshi speech community, the word prestige tends to refer to the use of either: 1) Classical Arabic 2) the linguistic items usually associated with upper class form of language, 3) the French language or 4) up-to-date lexical items. Each one of these categories is generally linked with the level of education and/or the degree of knowledge a person enjoys, in addition to the impact of occupational opportunities. This argument seems to go hand in hand with the concept of social climbing (Labov 1972b).

With reference to Marrakesh, this linguistic behaviour is generally said of lower class people, and of women more than of men, in their tendency to imitate upper class forms of language, especially with reference to phonology and lexicon. The most common example of social climbing phenomena among Marrakeshi

speakers is the preference of some women and men to use the supposedly prestigious sound /k/ instead of its supposedly non-prestigious counterpart /G/, or when they use the words /Zles/, /Amal/, or /lkuzina/ while they are expected to use /GAud/, /dir/ or /lkuššina/ respectively.

However, the second part of the definition is what may be referred to as conservatism; that is the avoidance of taboo and slang words and expressions, and the maintenance of traditional and respectful forms of language. A further point to bear in mind is that conservatism, prestige and social climbing are context limited; their usage largely depends on factors such as setting, topic and participants. If such usage is not compatible with these factors, it may lead to a misunderstanding between the speakers, which may in turn affects their social relationships. It should also be emphasized that conservatism and social climbing as defined in this study are almost always to be considered as dichotomous.

In considering Table 3.24, it can clearly be seen that on the whole the informants do not differ much from each other concerning the above statement. The explanation most of them putforward to account for women's conservatism is that women, more than men, tend to respect and abide by the rules and values of the society, and in so doing, they want to show that they are better than men. A related explanation is that provided by Key (1975:104) who states that in being conservative, women try: "...to compensate for their lower status as members of society...and language is one way in which females can better themselves." With regard to Marrakeshi society, "women's respect for society and men's cavalier disregard for it", to use Cameron's (1985:50) expression, can be felt in the general tendency for women to maintain the traditional forms of language, especially terms of address, and for men to innovate mainly slang and swear words. /lAzawi/ and /lxawa/, for example, are two slang words denoting friendship, and almost exclusively used by men.



Yet the above argument does not rule out the possibility that some men in particular situations may tend towards conservatism, a point which brings up Nichol's (1983:66) claim that: "In some speech communities, men or sub-groups of men may exhibit more conservative linguistic behaviour than women; in others, the reverse may be true." This view is in line with Keenan's (1974) argument that the speech of men and women in Madagascar shows that men tend to be more indirect in their language use, and in this way they behave in accordance with social norms. Women, on the other hand, are regarded as norm-breakers; their straightforward linguistic behaviour causes more damage than good to interpersonal interactions. Cameron (1989:49) gives supporting evidence to such arguments "...cross-cultural evidence suggests that conservatism is not a universally feminine trait."

#### A. Social Class

On the basis of this variable, a sharp contrast can be reported among the informants concerning the notion of conservatism and prestige (see Table 3.25). 60% of upper class informants believe that conservatism keeps people backwards instead of pushing them towards social progress and development. Six of these informants added that the use of French in a conversational situation must not always be interpreted as a negative linguistic behaviour. They also argued that some people resort to French when, for example, they want to use a word or expression which has no counterpart in their national language, or which they believe gives the exact meaning of what they want to say, an argument which has also been referred to in Bentahila's (1983b) study of the motivations of code-switching among Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. Seven other informants argued that, since French is necessary for occupational and social mobility, it is not surprising to see its influence on people's language use.

On the other hand, thirty middle class informants seemed to share the view that there is no harm in using prestigious language, but only when appropriate, and this is hardly ever the case. In this context, ten lower class informants said that when the amount of French vocabulary in one's speech is always unreasonably high, it may in the long run, help cause the degradation of one's language. Nineteen informants from the same social class maintained that, in general, lower class women show less influence of French in their language use than upper class women. This, they believed, may be because the former, even those who have the same level of education as the latter, tend to be more faithful to their language, culture and tradition.

#### B. Sex

Concerning this variable, Table 3.25 shows that the majority of men and women seemed to agree that women are more conservative than men. A frequent explanation from some males and females was that unlike men, women and their activities are usually restricted to the home and family affairs. In a way, this point of view may suggest that being conservative is partly linked with women's subordination reflected in their predetermined confinement to the private world. A related argument was that given by eleven male informants who believed that even if some women use prestigious language, their inferior social status together with the society's negative attitudes towards them is still the same. In support of this opinion, Smith (1979:113) writes that: "Women, despite their more standard speech, do not enjoy a prestigious position in society compared to men."

Along the same lines, a female informant argued that women's greater tendency to be conservative may be partly explained by the fact that if a man uses prestigious language he can go with it unnoticed; but if a woman uses it, people would say that she wanted to show off. This claim seems to support the comment often reported in the literature on language and sex that anything men do is better than anything that women do. A similar explanation came from another female informant

who thought that according to the society's norms, it is taken for granted that women should be conservative; otherwise, they would not be socially approved of.

### C. Age

As Table 3.25 indicates, there are no significant differences between the informants concerning this variable. It can be noticed that informants of different ages seemed to agree that women, in general, are more conservative than men. They also shared the view that in some situations, some lower class women tend to change their way of speaking by using an upper class pronunciation and/or vocabulary, and this, they argued, is true of women more than men. Two informants, one aged 40 and the other aged 34, explained this paradox on the part of some speakers, arguing that usually such people have frail personalities which make them lose their self-confidence when confronted with unfamiliar social situations.

### 3.5 Conclusion

From what has been discussed so far in this chapter, it can be argued that on the whole the questionnaire has shown some general linguistic characteristics that Marrakeshi men and women ascribe to themselves and to each other. Also, and with the exception of some cases which unveiled significant differences in the attitudes towards men and women's language, it can generally be said that this chapter has revealed a considerable preference for male's sociolinguistic behaviour on the part of both men and women. It was also found that the way men and women speak is socially more than biologically influenced, and that male/female speech features are but a reflection of their social stereotypes. Moreover, the data revealed that the majority of women in Marrakeshi speech community tend to accept unquestionably the society's stereotyped beliefs of female speakers. Such beliefs are assumed to be mostly dictated by men as they represent the superior and dominant group. Women's submission to such and other phenomena can be explained, in part, by their social subordination. In contrast with the results arrived at by some studies,

mainly that of Labov (1972b) concerning the concept of upward mobility, the findings presented in this chapter suggest that social climbing does apply not only to females but also to males, although it is true of women more than men.

In order to check the validity of the answers presented by the informants, and in order to shed more light on male/female language in Marrakesh, an attempt was made to collect some data basically from tape-recorded conversations that took place between some men and women in natural settings. This endeavour forms the basis of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FORMS OF ADDRESS

#### 4.1 Introduction

To provide further insight into sex-related differences in the use of language and to what extent Marrakeshi women's social status is reflected in the way they speak and are spoken to, forms of address (FA) were selected as a relevant area. It has often been maintained that forms of address are considered as one of the most important fields to examine for linguistic sex differences.

Among those who stress the importance of FA in the study of sex differences in language are Brown and Gilman (1960); Brown and Ford (1961); Brown (1965); Ervin-Tripp (1976,1972); Kramer (1975); Henley (1975); McConnell-Ginet et al. (1980); Wolfson and Manes (1980); and Fasold (1990). The results, discussed with a major emphasis on the sex variable, support the following hypotheses forming the basis of this chapter: 1) Marrakeshi women are more sensitive to FA than men; 2) they use more polite FA than men, 3) there is a relatively frequent nonreciprocal use of FA between men and women. In most cases, each of these points was found to correlate with the sex variable while in others the determining factors were social class and age.

#### 4.2 Methodology

The data collected for the purpose of this chapter was primarily drawn from direct but careful personal observation of male/female behaviour in authentic conversational interactions. It was also based on some recording of incidental talk among family members, friends and relatives who did not know the tape was running. The period of time during which this recording was done was Spring. The reason behind this choice is that it is the time when social ceremonies like marriage usually

take place in Marrakesh. Such and other situations provided considerable information especially about the impact of the social context on the way people address each other. Also, it was quite useful to gather related information from some of the Marrakeshi plays shown on television. Last but not least, the data was collected with the help of a considerable number of friends and colleagues who took notes and sometimes recorded address terms used either to them or to other people in genuine social contexts.

The interactions from which this data was taken represent, for example, those between salesmen and customers, doctors and patients, and employers and secretaries. In most cases, the age of the informants was known to me because some of them were personal acquaintances and the rest were friends of my friends. Hence, the age variable did not present any problem nor did other factors such as occupation, marital status, and level of education.

The use of the interview procedure was avoided because the researcher thought that with regard to such a subject, it would be hard to elicit reliable information about casual speech using such a method. Also the atmosphere of the interview itself would not help the interviewee express his/her opinion freely and naturally.

All in all, I think that the data which forms the basis of this chapter represents a fairly accurate picture of the kinds of address terms Marrakeshi men and women commonly use to address each other. It also reveals the major factors involved in the choice of a particular form of address.

#### 4.3 Importance of Forms of Address

Many researchers have defined FA and demonstrated the role they play in the construction of sexual inequality. Their discussions showed a general agreement that FA have a great effect on social relationships. They symbolize a

person's social position in relation to the people around him/her so that by the use of one or the other form of address, the relative status of both the speaker and addressee is readily recognized.

Brown and Gilman (1960), Brown and Ford (1961); and Brown (1965) show how the use of FA clearly signals asymmetric as well as symmetric relations between people. They refer to the former set of relations as status relations and to the latter as solidarity relations. For example, Brown and Ford (1961:375) argue that: "When one person speaks to the other, the selection of certain linguistic forms is governed by the relation between the speaker and his addressee." In connection with this point, Key (1972) draws attention to the importance of FA in the study of the differences of the linguistic behaviour of males and females. She also claims in her study (1975:45) that: "Those who study human behavior have observed that titles of address, use of proper names and greetings reveal something of the structure of the community in question."

Similarly, Henley (1975:198) reports that terms of address are among the factors which "...contribute to the maintenance of the status quo." Kramer (1975:199) notes that: "The address rules can reveal important information about the relationships between the sexes in a society, especially the maintaining of distinctions." Ardener (1978:22) emphasizes the fact that: "The right to be addressed, and the way you are addressed, are determinants of a person's place in the structure of any society." Another supporting view comes from Ginet et al. (1980:56) who state that: "Terms of address have long been recognized as sensitive indexes of social relationships, especially in maintaining dimensions of power and solidarity." Last but not least, Fasold (1990:2) argues that: "The relationship between people affects the form of address, likewise, the form of address says something about the type of relationship established between the people."

#### 4.4 Major Motives for Using Forms of Address

Many researchers have suggested either similar or different variables involved in the choice of a specific FA. The following are the most outstanding factors which have so far been put forward.

##### 4.4.1 Power and solidarity

According to both Brown (1965) and Ervin-Tripp (1976), status and solidarity are the most influential variables in the selection of a FA. Brown and Gilman (1960) argue that the "power relationship" is non-reciprocal whereas "the power solidarity" which carries a degree of "shared fate" and "intimacy" is reciprocal. Key (1975:46) also maintains that the interchange of naming is usually motivated by status relationships: "Persons of equal status are more likely to use reciprocal naming...either they both use first names, or they both use titles and last names." In Mole's (1978) study, the informants used the terms "confidence" and "respect" which he believes to be the equivalents of the terms solidarity and power. On the basis of the review of literature on forms of address and the data collected for the purpose of this chapter, it is worth bearing in mind that, as Fasold (1990:29) puts it, "...from one society to another, and even from one individual to another, within a society, the definition of solidarity, and the level of the solidarity required for reciprocal address, vary substantially."

##### 4.4.2 Occupational status and age

Blocker (1976:8) states that in her study, "the most easily recognized and the most influential variable affecting the choice of address forms was occupational status." Age, she argues, seemed to play a less important role, and "...was neutralized by familiarity, informality, and/or equality of occupational status." By contrast, Fasold emphasizes the importance of both occupational status and age as the two dimensions governing the nonreciprocal pattern of FA.



#### 4.4.3 Sex

In the studies focussing on FA, the sex factor was generally found to play either a minor or a quite important role compared to other factors. Brown (1965), for example, classifies sex as one of the variables which form the basis of power. Such variables are physical strength, age, wealth or profession. Fasold (1990:9) seems to share the same view when he refers to sex and degree of acquaintance "...as well known factors contributing to address form usage." However, Blocker's (1976:7) data revealed that: "Sex had a minimal effect on the selection of address forms," especially when, according to her, "...occupational status, age, and formality are held constant."

#### 4.4.4 Setting

Concerning this variable, Moles found that the "situational context" influenced the decision-making process of terms selection for a number of the social persona. For her part, Kramer (1975:208) does not single out one or two particular variables as the most outstanding factors influencing the choice of a certain form of address. Rather, she argues that variables such as "social and physical setting; functions of the forms of address; the race and socio-economic level; of the speaker/addressee; and the age and sex of speaker/addressee; and other persons present...are all important in determining the culturally appropriate address term to be used in a particular situation." Similarly, although Fasold focusses on occupational status and age, he emphasizes the importance of the setting in making people convey their message in a particular way.

The findings of this chapter concerning the type of factors stimulating the use of address forms between Marrakeshi male/female speakers is revealed in the discussion that follows.

## 4.5 General Kinds of Forms of Address

As it can easily be observed in the literature on forms of address, the choice of a particular term is usually between first name (FN) and title plus last name (TLN) as, for example, in American English (Brown and Ford (1961). However in Marrakeshi society, the selection basically includes FN, T, LN, TFN, and TLN. In addition to these basic forms of address, there are others such as terms of respect, terms of abuse, and street remarks. Every single choice of these forms carries a social meaning in the sense that it reflects the kind of relationship that exists between the people involved.

### 4.5.1 First names

FN can be used either reciprocally or nonreciprocally. In the former situation, it mostly occurs between family members, intimate friends, and close relatives. In this case, it indicates solidarity. Supporting evidence comes from Brown and his colleagues mentioned above, and also from Spender (1980:26) who argues that: "The use of first names can be evidence of intimacy and friendship, but in such circumstances, the practice, generally speaking has to be reciprocal." However, when used nonreciprocally, FN signal status and power.

#### 4.5.1.1 Reciprocal vs nonreciprocal usage

As mentioned above, this pattern of FA can be found on a large scale between relationships governed by intimacy. This Brown and Ford (1961:377-381) define as "the horizontal line between members of a dyad" determined by shared values based on kinship, identity of occupation, sex, nationality, common fate, etc... together with frequent contact. With reference to Marrakeshi people, even if intimacy grows between two persons, the naming does not generally change; a fact which runs contrary to what Brown and Ford's study revealed. In their discussion of terms of address, they present the example of the German ceremony called the *Bruderschaft* when "...one waits for...a congenial mood, a mellow occasion...and says: why don't

we say *du* to one another? *Du* is the comparable form to the French *tu* and the mutual FN in English. Brown and Ford also argue that: "when there is a clear difference of status between the two, the right to initiate the change unequivocally belongs to the superior, the elder, the richer, the most distinguished of the two." Another example is that of Yassin (1978) who reports that in Kuwait, the presence of strangers and of casual acquaintances among family members makes the speakers switch to more formal address terms. By contrast, in Marrakesh, such a linguistic behaviour is very unusual. The pattern of FA almost always remains the same even if the social relationship between the people involved changes from distant to intimate. The term a speaker uses to an addressee the first time he/she meets him/her is not expected to be altered, otherwise, the fact of changing it would be regarded as anti-social and might undoubtedly exert a negative effect on the relationship between the persons in question.

The most common and appropriate ways of embracing intimacy among Marrakeshi speakers would be that of inviting one another to one's home or in other cases telling jokes. In the first case, usually it is the person of lower status who makes the first move, to show his/her respect and good manners. In the second case, any member of the dyad can initiate the first step, except that the subordinate person has to wait for the appropriate moment. But in both examples, the original form of address is left untouched. However, the only exception and socially recognized occasion where FN can be changed is when a person goes to Mecca. He/she then becomes a *HaZ* or *HaZZa* respectively, and people start calling him/her by this title. This is discussed fully below.

However, the use of FN may also be nonreciprocated mostly by either of the following address forms: TFN, T, or TLN. Usually, the titles which accompany FN are /*HaZZa*/ and /*lalla*/ for a woman, and /*HaZ*/ and /*si*/ for a man. /*si*/ "master" is phonologically derived from the Classical Arabic word /*ʔassayyid*/ "the master". Illustrative examples are:

1) a. Next door neighbour (female): ?a muHammad (FN)

b. The boy: ?a nAam ?a lalla xadiZa (TFN)

The next example frequently occurs between , for example, a husband and his wife.

2) a. Husband: ?a faTima (FN)

b. Wife: hani Zayya ?a si-Hmad (TFN)

But it is very unusual to hear a wife address her husband by FN and receive TFN. If she did, she would be criticized for breaking the social rules according to which a wife is expected to address her husband. The same can also be said of the relationship that holds between parents-in-law and daughters-in-law. The latter usually receive FN from the former while their family members give TFN to her husband.

In most of the data forming the basis of this chapter, men appeared to address women by their first names more often than women address men. This was found to happen usually between a husband and his wife, a master/mistress and his/her maid, a secretary and her superior and a daughter-in-law and her parents-in-law. This nonreciprocal naming is often said to be associated with dominance and subordination. Lakoff (1973) argues that this asymmetry of naming can occur even between men and women of comparable positions and equal ranks. Thorne et al. (1975:16) also found that : "Nonreciprocal naming patterns are found in relations between men and women; in many work settings such as business places, universities, hospitals, more women than men are called by first name only." This view is shared by Kramer (1975:205) who maintains that: "...women -inferior in power in society in general- are more likely to give to men forms of address more respected than those they were likely to receive." Further support is given by Spender (1980:26) who states that: "...males are more frequently addressed by their family name (and title) and women by their first name. Psychologically this can also work to produce sexual asymmetry."

Concerning the Marrakeshi speech community, the only case where the nonreciprocity can be neutralized is when men/women have become hajj and hajja. At this stage, both of them would exchange the same title and do away with any other form of address. However, this reciprocated usage does not mean that once they become hajjat, women attain the same social status as the one men enjoy. As evidenced in a recorded conversation between two shopkeepers, and as is normally the case especially between traditionally conservative men, it is socially inappropriate to say the name of one's wife in the presence of other and especially strange men. A husband would refer to his wife as /mmalin Dar/ "the owners of the house"; this is yet another way of making women invisible. The fact that the wife is referred to in the plural and not the singular form shows to what extent her public image is devalued. In this case, the singular form can be considered as a honorific usage, highlighting men's power and dominance in relation to women's ever degrading social position. Surprisingly enough, such an attitude has passed on from one generation to another though in a different linguistic form. Nowadays, many educated husbands would refer to their wives as "madame" when speaking to a friend. The following example is one collected by a colleague.

3) Speaker: (after he has been speaking about five minutes with his friend):  
 /men/ /Sbah/ /?uHna/ /waqfin/ /hna/ /tanhDru/ /yallah/  
 /nemšiw/ /lšiw/ /qehwa/ /?unGuAdu/?

We have been standing here talking for a long time, why do not we go and have a drink?

Addressee: /merra/ /?exera/ /madam/ /f-Tumubil/

Next time, madam is in the car.

Additional evidence of the way women, in general, are marginalised in society is given by Yassin (1978:57) when he states that: "Some Kuwaiti parents use teknonyms almost exclusively in addressing each other in the presence of their children, with the result that mother names are rarely used and, as time goes on, are

almost forgotten." This argument as well as the above example clearly show how frequently women are addressed by FN and how frequently men are given the more respectful TFN.

#### 4.5.2 Title plus last name

In contrast to FN, TLN has a more restricted use. In this study, it is meant to include the titles: mademoiselle, madame, and monsieur, which are borrowed from the French language. Their main domain of use is among government functionaries; for example, those who work in a bank and, even if the setting changes, the use of names remains the same. The family name referred to here is traditionally the father's or the husband's family names. These are usually passed on to the sons. A somewhat similar situation is that reported by Evans-Pritchard (1964:222) and which occurs among the Nilotic Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In his description of the way people address each other in this speech community, he says: "Personal names sometimes recur in lineal descent; a man may be called after his father or paternal grand-father, or great-grand father so that his ancestor's name may be remembered in daily speech." Both this and the above argument tend to show men's everlasting supremacy and women's enduring marginality. Miller and Swift (1977:14) also back up this argument indicating that according to their society, "...only men have real names...and they have accepted the supremacy of their names as one of the rights of being male."

##### 4.5.2.1 Reciprocal vs nonreciprocal usage

The mutual exchange of TLN frequently occurs between two persons of similar status or distant relationships. The following example was taken from a recorded conversation between two members of staff in a business company.

4) Speaker: /msyu/ /nnaxil/ /waʃ/ /Radi/ teHeDr/  
/l-liZtimaA/

Mr. Nakhil, are you going to attend the meeting?

Addressee: /fkkertini/ /beAda/ /ʔamadam/ /smawi/ /bRit/ /nʃufk/ /Ala/  
/qaDiyet/ /liZtimaA/ /t-lbaraH/

You reminded me Mrs. Smawi. I would like to see you  
about yesterday's meeting.

But this is not always the case. There are some instances where women give TLN to men and receive FN or TFN, both of which are marked with a lower status than that usually accorded to TLN. Spender's (1980:26-27) comment on such asymmetry of address forms is that: "...when one party is referred to by the first name and the other by the family name and title, it is usually evidence that one has more power than the other." It appears that the choice of forms of address is often based on the sex variable. Examples from the data indicate that in many situations, even when males and females occupy the same social positions, it is women rather than men who usually receive less prestigious forms of address. A related example is that of the title Dr. which has two different meanings not only in Marrakesh, but in Morocco in general; a person who works in the medical profession (he/she may not have a PhD) or any other person holding this degree.

In the first instance, the data showed that if the person is male, he is called by his last name plus the title Dr. If, however, the person is female, she is addressed by her husband's or father's last name plus the title. In some cases, a silent letter /t/ is added to the title to make it sound female; in others, it is kept in its masculine form from which is assumed to give it more value and power. In other professions like teaching, women are usually stripped of this title and referred to instead by the less socially outstanding title "madame" plus last name. The inequality of social status, therefore, is clearly reflected in the nonreciprocity of the address form.

#### 4.5.3 Terms of respect

In addition to the argument presented above concerning the most recognizable motives behind the use of address forms, it can be said on the basis of data information that in some situations, some people out of respect and politeness may exchange TLN regardless of whether their social status is equal or not. Blocker (1976:9) writes that: "...respect is reflected by address forms. A superior wishing to show respect for a subordinate can do so by using symmetrical address forms...Thus the relationship between people affects the form of address; likewise, the form of address says something about the type of relationship established between the people."

Concerning terms of respect, it can be argued on the basis of our data as well as personal observation of male/female speech in daily interactions that sometimes men and women use different words of address. For example, it is socially accepted that men call a taxi driver by: /fqih/ /si muhammad/; /lAzawi/; /lbehZa/ or /lxawa/. These are usually uttered in a loud and boasting voice. By contrast, it is out of character for a woman to use such terms. She is expected to say words such as /sidi/ "my master", and in a low voice, which reflects her social and physical weakness in relation to men. Also, her address term is almost always accompanied by a phrase like /llah/ /yarHem/ /waldik/ "may God have mercy upon your parents", which normally functions as a request. A similar example is mentioned by Kramer (1975:199) when she says that: "Women are more restricted in their possible choices of terms of address. Social rules permit a man to call a taxi-cab driver Mac...while a woman is likely to avoid giving any address form at all to cab drivers."

However, the situation is quite different in Marrakesh. One has to distinguish between outdoor and indoor settings. In the public world, as the above example demonstrates, it seems that it is men who have a greater number of address forms from which to choose. Indoors, however, it is men rather than women who have



less choice, especially when it comes to social ceremonies. The following examples are almost exclusively used by women:

5) /tbusi/ /qber/ nnbi/  
may you embrace the prophet's tomb.

said by a woman to either a male or a female when he/she kisses her child.

6) /ndxlu/ /fin/ /yidxul/ /lxir/  
may our entering your house bring you wealth.

said by a woman to either a male or female person when she goes to visit him/her.

7) /lAeGba/ /lAers/ /lbnat/  
I wish things will be the same when your daughters get married.

said by a woman to another woman during a social ceremony.

#### 4.5.3.1 Madame/Mademoiselle/Monsieur

These terms can also be used instead of their Arabic counterparts /ʔassayyida/ /ʔalʔanisa/ and /ʔassayyid/. These address forms are usually used in a symmetric way between people of equal or similar social status. They may also be used nonreciprocally; for instance, between men and women. The following is taken from a recorded conversation which took place in a firm, between a man and a woman of similar age and social position.

8) Female: /ʔa msyu/ /SaTHi/ /waš/ /qriti/ /Rapor/ /li-dirna/ /l-barH/ʔ

Mr. Sathi, have you read the report we made yesterday?

Male: /SaraHa/ /ʔa la-faTima/ /maza/

To tell you the truth, lalla Fatima, I have not read it yet.

It can be noticed that the addressee has given the woman the title "la la", the less prestigious form in this respect while she has addressed him by the more

respectful term "Monsieur". This example can be said to illustrate the role the sex variable can play in revealing the status of men and women in society. In some cases, both terms "madame" and "mademoiselle" can be used sarcastically by some men to address women and girls respectively. One of my colleagues noted the following example which exemplifies such use. A young lady was standing with her motorcycle against the door of a men's shop. The man wanted to open his shop but the girl, who seemed to be lost in her thoughts, did not move. He then addressed her in a sarcastic tone: /ʔa-madmazel/ /t-Herki/ "Ehl Miss., move". The term "mademoiselle" as well as its Arabic equivalent /ʔa-lʔanisa/ can be used in a more abusive situation at the beginning of a street remark, a point to be discussed later. The double sociolinguistic meaning the terms "madame" and "mademoiselle" have may partly explain the fact that women in general prefer to be addressed by /xeti/ "my sister" or /lalla/ "madam", which most of them think more respectable.

Furthermore, a recorded service interaction revealed that some young men approximately between 18 and 25 of age would use "mademoiselle" or "madame" to the lady serving at the desk. On the other hand, older men in the same situation would use /benti/ "my daughter" to the younger and /lalla/ "madam" to the older lady. In a similar setting, a woman would never use a French address term to the man serving at the desk. If she thinks he is the same age as she is, she would call him /ʔa-xuya/ "my brother"; if younger /ʔa-weldi/ "my son"; and if older /ʔa-sidi/ "my master".

#### 4.5.3.2 /Awinti/ and /xuyti/

To show respect, some people were brought up to use terms like /Awinti/ or /xuyti/ to their aunts and/older sisters. The first address form is derived from the word /Aayn/ "an eye" and the second term from the word /ʔuxt/ "a sister". No such words are given to men. It is also interesting to note that both these terms are always used in their diminutive forms, and that they function as a daily and unfailing

agent to remind women of their social status. They denote smallness, fragility and inferiority concerning both physical as well as mental abilities.

Another address form which is given only to women is that of /l-bnat/ "girls", referred to in Chapter Two. It is a term which some women receive all their life, even if they get married. In the eyes of the people addressing them by such a term, these women are and they probably always be "girls". This argument tends to accord with Kramer's (1975:208) study which indicates that in the American society, "...females remain girls longer than males remain boys..." She also claims that address forms women over 18 usually receive "...give connotations if not of youthfulness at least of immaturity...baby and doll, for example." This is a statement which Adams and Ware (1979:490) later support, maintaining that: "...it is common practice to refer to adult females as "girls". What is associated with youth tends to "lack stature", and therefore importance, almost by definition."

#### 4.5.3.3 /siyatkuḥ/

To mark the entire power relationship between speaker and addressee, /siyatkuḥ/ "your excellency" may be employed now and then throughout the conversation. Its Classical Arabic counterpart is /siya:datukum/, a word phonologically derived from /ʔassayyid/ "the master". Also, this word is always used in its plural form, communicating strength, power, authority and awe. According to the information provided by the data, it is usually used nonreciprocally by a man to another of higher social status but never to a woman even if she occupies the same social position. It is one of the linguistic items women are unlikely either to give or receive mainly because they are a sign of masculinity. Yet one of the exceptions where a woman can be heard using this address form is when she is angry. Depending on the conversational topic and her relationship with the addressee she would drop the original term with which she used to address this person and employ /siyatkuḥ/. In this context, it is usually used in a sarcastic way because normally the addressee does

not enjoy the required status which allows him to receive such a highly elevated address form.

#### 4.5.4 Sex-related taboo language

Taboo language may be considered as another aspect of language through which male/female power relationship is reflected. In Marrakeshi society, such language includes the discussion of topics such as sex, marriage and divorce (especially between younger and older people). It also includes certain parts of the body, the names of certain animals, hostile vocabulary, and some terms of endearment (e.g. dear) particularly when used in public places.

To demonstrate the role the sex variable plays in the use of taboo language, our attention will focus mainly on swearing and street remarks. Tradition has it that good, respectable and well mannered women should shy away from such and related forms of language. Society tends to rebuke women more harshly than men for using any word or expression considered to be "improper". Taboo language, according to our data, is an exclusively characteristic of men's language, a fact which provides further evidence of male/female differences in language use. In this respect, Gilley and Summerz (1970) report a significant sex difference in the use of hostile verbs with males using more of them than females. Concerning taboo words, Kutner and Brogan (1974:474) argue that many of them "...assign women an inferior status relative to men." In their study, men were found to have a greater number of slang expressions than women. They also state that the use of forms like "profanity" and "tough talk" has traditionally been tabooed for women. Of related significance, Berryman and Eman (1980) maintain that the growing literature on sex-based linguistic differences suggests that men use more slang vocabulary than women.

#### 4.5.4.1 Swearing

As often reported in the literature on language and sex, women usually disapprove of swearing. Jespersen (1922:246) states that women have an "...instinctive shrinking from coarse and gross expressions." In her analysis of male/female speech in cartoons, Kramer (1974:83-84) found that male characters swear more than female characters and that, "men curse for more trivial reasons." Her study also reveals that generally speaking, profanity and harsh language distinguish male from female language.

Thorne et al. (1975:24) indicate that: "Swearing often functions to exclude women, and is used as a justification for such exclusion, "...we'd like to hire you, but there is too much foul language." A similar situation was found to occur in Marrakesh, with a different but related excuse for turning a woman down. As the example taken from the data illustrates, a woman was told: "We are all men here and it would not be appropriate for you to work with us." The women in the two examples, then, faced the same attitude but expressed in different ways. For their part, Adams and Ware (1979:496) consider swearing as one of "...the methods by which female and male sex roles are verbally distinguished." In their opinion, it is used to shock and antagonize others as well as to release anger. They also claim that it occurs more frequently in the speech of males than in that of females.

Since swearing is more or less universal, as Anderson and Trudgill (1990:53) believe, they give it a general characterization. They define it as "...a type of language use in which the expression

- a) refers to something that is taboo and/or stigmatized in the culture.
- b) should not be interpreted literally
- c) can be used to express strong emotions and attitudes."

They also argue that swearing is part of Bad Language which they think reflects people's view about others. The following examples drawn from our data seem to be

in line with this point of view. They can be considered as some of the clearest revelations of sexual prejudice. They give further evidence of how language behaviour reflects differing attitudes towards men and women in our society. They were found in our data to be used more by men than by women.

The first example is /wuld/ /lqeHba/ and /bint/ /lqeHba/. These expressions can be said of both men and women respectively. The former can be translated into "son of a bitch", and the latter into "daughter of a bitch". In this context, the term bitch usually means dirty and/or badly brought up. In both cases, it can be argued that it carries debased connotations about women. Also, it is worth noticing that there exist no similar expressions with a masculine counterpart, except the less hurtful and less degrading term "dog" used to address men. Adam and Ware (1979:496) discuss the same point, and indicate that: "...many of the forms used for swearing, such as "son of a bitch", vilify women." They also claimed that: "Personal observation of the rather strong reactions that can occur when a woman curses...testify to the fact that it is still a strongly tabooed behavior for women." A similar argument can be presented with respect to Marrakeshi women. When a female speaker swears, people would frown at her behaviour and say: /nari AlaHsuma/ "What a shame!".

The second example of swearing is /?a-leHmar/ and /?a-leHmara/. These terms are regarded by Marrakeshi speakers as two of the most abusive forms commonly used in the street. They can be translated into "the donkey" (male) or "the donkey" (female) respectively. They can occur within the same sex group or across the sexes. According to our data, there is no harm if a woman is given such a term. However, if a man receives it, either from a woman or from another man, he would be very upset because he would feel that he/she has insulted his manliness. A woman is discriminated against if she uses such address forms not only in the street but also at home. Between family members, it is usually the father who can use them if he wants

to scold his son or daughter, but it is shameful for the mother; she is socially expected to use more polite forms.

Related expressions are /IHmara/ /diyalt/ /mmek/ "your mother is a (female) donkey", which can be addressed to both sexes; /weld/ /IHmar/ "the son of a (male) donkey" if the addressee is male and /bent/ /IHmara/ "the daughter of a (female) donkey" if the addressee is female. These expressions can be said to carry similar negative attitudes towards women. This is partly explicable by the fact that they are all marked [+ donkey] and [+ female]. The word donkey has negative connotations among Marrakeshi speakers. It is associated with stupidity, mindlessness, passivity, powerlessness and inferiority.

The third example of swearing is the word /Imriwa/. It is the diminutive form of /Imra/ "the woman". It is one of the demeaning terms used by both men and women to address a male person. The man addressed as such is usually accused of being effeminate. In most cases, this does not imply that he lacks sexuality. Rather, it means that he is weak, powerless, does not keep his promises, that he is not courageous -terms that are normally stereotypes of the female sex.

#### 4.5.4.2 Street remarks

Kramer (1975:206) suggests that: "Since addressing appears in the literature to be a sign of aggression we can hypothesize that in actual speech women are addressed more than they address." Within the same context, Anderson and Trudgill (1990:12) state that: "Bad language can be aggressive. You can hurt people with it, and many people find it hard to defend themselves against verbal aggression." With reference to the Marrakeshi speech community, the word aggressive as it stands in the above statements can be used to describe street remark, a form of language which is exclusively used by men, and which is considered as an outrage if heard from a woman.

It is socially improper for a female person to use, to answer, or even to seem attracted by a street remark. She must shy at its use. If she ever does respond, she would be said to act like a man. Consequently, she would lay herself open to public censure, reflected in the looks of the passers-by. The implication here might be that she is discouraged not only from expressing her anger or whatever feeling she might have but also from defending herself. Gardner (1981:340) strongly supports this view: "Since the woman is only an observer and not a ratified speaker in the man's conversation, she is obliged to act as if she has not heard it in the first place; she is also obliged to act as she has not heard it because there is a female tradition that to ignore male coarseness is a gender-role requirement."

Indeed, gender-role stereotypes can be regarded as one of the most stimulating factors of a street remark, men have the right to speak women not, especially, on the street. This view is supported by Gardner (1981:333) who writes that: "There is evidence that women are open persons on the public streets, liable to receive street remarks at will, in much the same way that lower status group frequently are...It is part of their roles as children, as Blacks, as women, to be open to the public."

The following are some examples of street remarks noted down by some male and female colleagues who helped in the collection of data.

9) /man šufukš/ /?a zzin/ ?

10) /man šufukš/ /?a lRezal/ ?

Both of these examples can be translated into "can't we see you beauty?" It may be interesting to notice that the man who gives these street remarks always uses the plural pronoun "we" to refer to himself. Also, in these two examples, the words /lRezal/ and /zzin/, given to women, are always used in their masculine and not feminine form, a form which is intended to give the terms more power and value. According to the data, both examples can be addressed to either beautiful or ugly



women, a linguistic behaviour which can be said to indicate the meanness and discrimination with which women might be treated in a man's world. Also, it reinforces the fact that to men, women educated or illiterate, rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, are all alike and, therefore, deserve to be treated in the same way -no more than sex objects.

When a man is accompanied by another man or two, he would say to him/them pointing to the woman passing-by:

11) /šuf/ /Ala mminika/ !

"Look! what a doll !

The content of this street remark seems to tie up with the statement of Kramer et al. (1978) that terms of address such as baby and doll given to women usually carry connotations if not of youthfulness at least of immaturity. In line with this view point is Hornby's (1974:260) second definition of the term doll: "Pretty but empty-headed girl or woman." On the basis of many discussions with a number of women, it can be said that females usually feel that it is more offensive and hurtful for a woman when she is given a street remark by a man accompanied by other men. A situation which these women think clearly shows to what extent women are socially degraded. One of the women added "...especially when a man says to the others:

12) /šuf/ /šuf/ /Ala/ /mešiya/ !

look! look! what a walk !

many women, then, cannot feel their legs any more."

If a woman responds negatively to a street remark, the man might then use a more abusive language. If she remains silent, he would take it as an invitation. In both cases, therefore, the loser seems to be the woman. To avoid being in such a situation, a woman would ask her little son or brother to accompany her. In the eyes of society, this little boy is seen as a man even if he is still in his late childhood or

early adolescence. His position of authority as a man may protect the woman from receiving street remarks and more importantly keep her silent. However, some men take the presence of the little boy only as an incentive. They may start talking with him and would, therefore, say to the women:

13) /ʔa llaH/ /yiSlaH/

God bless the boy.

This and other similar examples can be said to show women's hopelessness and helplessness in the public world. A female informant said that men do know that street remarks embarrass, offend and hurt the majority of women, and still like to conserve such linguistic behaviour. It is just another way, she said, of making women suffer because of their sex, and of offering men the opportunity to show their social power and authority. Street remarks, she added, can be regarded as another aspect of male/female relationship which echoes deep-seated sex-role expectations.

#### 4.6 Lack of Forms of Address

In some cases, the fact of receiving no address form can reveal that the social relationship between the persons involved is no longer the same. With particular reference to polite formula, Ferguson (1976:140) argues that: "The importance of our...polite phrases becomes clear when they are omitted or not acknowledged." In this respect, our data indicates that in a dyad, the number of women who are deprived of an address form outnumber that of men. Some colleagues noticed that the avoidance of an address term is usually accompanied by nonverbal behaviour. The speaker, they claimed, would have his/her eyes down or would look away. In some instances, the speaker would make the tone of his/her voice louder if usually low or vice versa. Such behaviour would be used to show that the speaker is angry with the addressee. But once the problem between them is solved, he/she would gradually switch to the use of the original form of address.

In connection with this point, Ervin-Tripp (1972:236-237) maintains that: "When there is agreement about the natural address form to alters of specified statuses, then any deviation is a message." She also suggests that: "Shifting at certain points in socio-linguistic rules...is interpreted as changing the listener's perceived identity or his relation to the speaker." In her examination of address systems in America, she found that if the name of plain citizens or academic persons is unknown, people no-name the addressee. However, France , she went on, presents a different case especially with reference to routines. The rule dictates that when the last name is not known, there cannot be a "zero alternate", the speaker has to use a kind of form of address such as the English "Sir".

The present study reveals a similar pattern. If a speaker does not know the name of the addressee, he/she can use one of the following options depending on the sex, age and social class of the addressee. For example, if a woman is speaking to another woman about the latter's child, she would refer to her as /leAziba/ if female and as /leAziri/ if male. These terms are almost exclusively used by women. However, if the dyad is composed of opposite sexes, he/she would use /lebniya/ when speaking about a female child and /leliyyid/ when speaking about a male child, both of which can also be used in same-sex groups.

The social significance of the omission of an address form brings into discussion Ferguson's (1976:140-41) opinion about the use of polite formula. He argues that: "The importance of our trivial, muttered, more-or-less automatic polite phrases becomes clear when they are omitted or not acknowledged." In support of this view, Wolfson and Manes (1980:79) state that: "...the lack of an address form is often meaningful." Seen under this light, forms of address seem to function like conversational routines which, according to some researchers, if left out or neglected undoubtedly create tension in interpersonal relationships.

#### 4.7 Conclusion

The main focus of this chapter was on the influence of the sex variable on the use of address forms in everyday conversational interactions. The data on which the discussion was based indicates that, generally speaking, the term of address usually given to a woman is predominantly determined by her sex. But emphasizing the importance of sex does not rule out the fact that in some situations, variables like age and/or social class can be the determining agents.

The differences observed in the kind of terms either used by or addressed to both sexes were shown to play an important role in the construction, maintenance and perpetuation of men's dominance and women's marginality in Marrakesh. They seemed to support the speech stereotypes revealed in Chapter Two and mainly in (Item 12) that women, in general, hold on to the more conservative and respectable use of language more than men. The use of the more respectable form is, in our study, usually given by women to men more than by men to women.

In contrast with the generally held assumption that it is the person of higher status who has the right to initiate an intimate address form (e.g. Brown and Ford 1961 and Brown 1965), the present data reveals that in most cases, it is women as well as men of inferior social position who make the first step toward a more intimate address form. In trying to make such a step, they must always observe the appropriate occasion, namely when and where to proceed. It was shown that, out of respect, an older lower status person, for example, may give TLN to a younger higher status person and receive either TLN or TFN, both of which are, in this context, socially appreciated. In his study of Egyptian Arabic terms of address, Parkinson (1982) argues that although they appear to be rule governed, their prediction is impossible. However, such an extreme situation is unlikely to occur with respect to address system in Marrakesh. Usually, the speaker can guess, if not the exact term or expression the addressee is going to use, at least their equivalents. The context in which they are used is what mostly helps the speaker predict their nature.

As regards male/female asymmetry of address forms, one would expect that with social progress and the spread of education, the community under study has undergone, such nonreciprocal usage would diminish, if not disappear. However, this does not seem to be the case. The major patterns of social relationships, superior, intimate and inferior, still seem to persist, govern and influence people's sociolinguistic behaviour, a point to which the next chapter gives further support.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### MALE/FEMALE CONVERSATIONAL INTERACTIONS IN SAME AND MIXED-SEX GROUPS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores men's and women's speech in same and mixed-sex interactions. The aim is first to establish what linguistic features are typical of single-sex groups, second to point out whether these same features are held constant in mixed-sex groups, and to see to what extent power relationships between men and women are reflected in and maintained through their conversational style.

#### 5.2 Previous Studies

With respect to the features reported to typify "women's language", a number of studies presented contradictory findings. Key (1972) and Lakoff (1973,1975), for example, state that women's speech style in general is characterized by the use of certain linguistic categories such as intensifiers, qualifiers, hesitations, tag-questions, hedges, and empty adjectives. In their opinion, these patterns make women's language sound weak and ineffectual.

However, other studies do not confirm all these assumptions. Concerning the use of tag-questions, for example, Dubois and Crouch (1977) present empirical evidence that in their study men were found to use more tag-questions than women. Bauman (1976) found that men used as many tag questions as women did. O'Barr and Atkins (1980) analysed the speech of court witnesses. Their study revealed that the linguistic features described by Lakoff as distinguishing women's language appeared in the speech of men and women alike. They argued that the determining factors in the use of these features was social status and not gender, and that they were used by low status speakers especially women because of the

subordinate social position women occupy in American society. A similar argument was presented by Crosby and Nyquist (1977) when they maintained that the supposedly feminine characteristics Lakoff put forward were correlated with the speech of children and of men in inferior positions.

Another related argument comes from Cameron (1985:56) who states that:

- "1. Women do not use more tag-questions than men
2. Even if they did, it would not necessarily mean that they were seeking approval, since tag-questions have a range of uses.
3. In any case, women's use of tag-questions will always be explained differently from men's, since it is cultural sex stereotypes which determine the explanation of linguistic phenomena, rather than the nature of the phenomena themselves."

It seems worth noting here that most of the studies on language and sex base their arguments concerning features of women's speech style on discussions of mixed-sex interactions. Research has rarely focussed on same-sex groups. Thorne and Henley (1975:30) raised such a point and described it as a "virtually untouched" area. Challenge to this claim has been taken by some researchers. Kalcik (1975), for example, concentrated on all-female groups. Aries (1976) examined mixed and single-sex groups. Jones (1980) dealt with gossip as a feature of women's talk. Maltz and Borker (1982), like Aries, also discussed same-sex and cross-sex linguistic markers. They suggest that men and women have different rules for conversation. These rules come into conflict in a mixed-sex interaction, a point which will be further discussed in relation with the present sample.

Cameron and Coates (1988:94) are also of the opinion that more research is needed on communication patterns of all-women groups. They argue that: "...we know little about the characteristics of all-female discourse. Worse, we accept generalization about the way women talk which derive from women's behaviour in mixed groups, groups where the differential use of linguistic features such as

interruptions, directives or questions is part of the social process which maintains gender divisions." This view seems to have a direct link with Coates's (1986:40) earlier claim that: "If we want to explore the ways in which women's and men's language differs, then it is obviously crucial that we have some idea of how women as a group differ from men as a group."

In the light of the above and other related arguments, we will try in the following discussion to investigate Marrakeshi men's and women's speech style in same and mixed-sex conversations.

### 5.3 Methodology

#### 5.3.1 Participants

The number of participants in this chapter was 63: 21 men in all-male groups, 23 women in all-female groups, and 19 men and women in mixed-sex groups. The participants were of different ages and occupational status. This point will be discussed further when dealing with each group separately. In order to ensure the spontaneity of the conversations, the tape recorder was running without the knowledge of almost all the participants who were informed only afterwards that the recordings had been made, and allowed to listen to their conversations. They were then asked for their permission to use examples from their talk for research purposes. Most of them agreed on the basis that the tapes should be erased afterwards, a promise I subsequently fulfilled.

#### 5.3.2 Procedure

The procedure employed for the collection of the data forming the basis of this chapter was tape recording. Nine conversations of varying length were recorded in different contextual settings. As is the case with the participants, detailed information about the conversations will be given in the discussion of each group.



The information gathered was then described and discussed. To examine the differences between the three groups, F test will be used.

#### 5.4 Results and Discussion

Table 5.1 below shows the relative frequencies of the speech features to be discussed in this chapter and allows comparison between conversations in single and mixed-sex groups. SSP-X was used to obtain the results.

Table 5.1  
Summary of Speech Features' Occurrences  
in Same and Mixed-Sex Groups

Variable	Male (N=21)		Female (N=23)		Mixed (N=19)		F	P
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Imperatives	.71	.71	.13	.34	.57	.69	5.74	.005
Requests	.19	.40	.39	.78	.52	.51	1.60	.209
Apologies	.14	.35	.17	.38	.47	.51	3.47	.029
Deference	.00	.00	.04	.20	.10	.31	1.21	.30
Diminutives	.00	.00	.43	.59	.63	.89	5.76	.005
Uncertainty	.28	.46	.39	.58	.52	.51	1.05	.35
Question-asking	.38	.40	.43	.66	.57	.60	.53	.58
Overlaps	.38	.66	.13	.34	.73	.65	5.97	.004
Interruptions	.61	.57	.21	.51	.84	.89	4.66	.013

Data analysis of same and mixed-sex conversations revealed that the difference in the frequency of usage of certain features was statistically significant while that of others was not. This result is demonstrated by the following discussion of each group.

#### 5.4.1 Women's Language in Same-Sex Groups

The claim that women usually employ a speech style typical of all women groups is discussed in a number of studies. In line with Cameron and Coates's (1988) view that in order to give a full and accurate picture of the way women talk, research has to rely first and foremost on evidence from all-female discourse, an attempt will be made to discuss Marrakeshi women's speech features in single-sex groups. We will examine whether they actually use the so-called "female features", and whether their use is always equated with "powerlessness".

The arguments presented below are based on data drawn from three different conversational settings -a women's public bath, a kitchen, and a home of an embroidery teacher- each of which form part of women's private world.

The notion of private world in this study seems to differ from that referred to by Jones (1980) which includes, in addition to the home, settings such as shops, supermarkets, and hairdressers. In our opinion, the last three places cannot be regarded as genuinely private; there is always the possibility that at least one or two men may be around. Their presence, even if they do not participate in the conversation, may affect women's way of speaking.

The choice of the interactional settings for the purpose of the present study, then, primarily comes from the fact that they are among the most common places where natural speech between Marrakeshi women usually occurs. It is the female's private world, including the public baths, where only women can gather and talk freely.

The first conversation took place in a rest room of a women's public bath. It included eight women aged between 25 and 40. Three of these women were married working women, three were housewives, and the other two were single working women. The recording was carried out by a staff member of the bath, who knew where to hide the tape recorder so as not to raise suspicions. The recorded

conversation lasted for about 40 minutes. The second conversation took place in my friend's kitchen. Five women aged between 20 and 45 participated in this interaction. one of them was a student, three were housewives, and the other woman was a working woman. My friend's son managed to hide the tape recorder on one of the top shelves on which things rarely used were kept. The length of the recorded conversation was about 50 minutes. The third conversation was recorded in the home of an embroidery teacher. It involved ten women aged between 20 and 50, four of them were housewives, three single drop-outs, two married working women, and the teacher herself. The tape recorder was operated by the teacher's husband. The recorded conversation lasted for about 2 hours.

The linguistic features to be discussed in relation to women's speech are: politeness, uncertainty, question-asking, cooperativeness, overlaps and interruptions. Focus on these features stems from the fact that they, with the exception of overlaps and interruptions, are commonly reported in the literature as characterizing female's style of speech. O'Barr and Atkins (1980) refute this terminology and suggested that "women's language" should be called "powerless language" since, as their study reveals, it is typical of low status people, both men and women.

#### 5.4.1.1 Politeness

One of the most well-known generalizations about women's way of speaking is the use of politeness. Brend (1975) found that "polite, cheerful" patterns of intonation were used only by women. Lakoff (1973) argues that women's language is generally more polite than that of men. Henley (1975) also maintains that politeness is usually correlated with females, whom she described as being more sensitive to social cues than men. In their overview of language, gender and society, Thorne and Henley (1975:17) argue that: "One stereotype with empirical support is that women's speech is more polite than that of men." Brown and Levinson (1978)

developed a model of politeness which, they think, delineates the universal assumptions underlying polite usage in all languages. This model is based on the notion that respecting people is taking their feelings into consideration. This consideration is related to the concept of "face" which involves two aspects of people's feelings: 1) desire not to be imposed upon which they call *negative face*, 2) desire to be liked and admired which they name *positive face*. In a subsequent study, Brown (1980:114) reaffirms that: "...what politeness essentially consists in is a special way of treating people, saying and doing things in such a way as to take into account the other's feelings."

In the light of this definition, we will try to discuss politeness phenomena as it shows up in all-female groups in Marrakesh. In Marrakeshi women's speech, politeness is mostly reflected in the use of linguistic patterns such as requests, apologies, deference and diminutives.

#### A) Requests

Lakoff (1973:56) argues that: "...a request may be a polite command, in that it does not overtly require obedience, but rather suggests something be done as a favour to the speaker." Miller and Swift (1977:110) seem to support this claim when they define a request as "...a polite command that does not force obedience."

The total number of requests found in all-female recorded conversations was nine requests. Six of these were expected to be granted during the course of conversational interactions. The rest, however, was intended to be granted outside these communication settings. Two types of requests were identified: straight forward requests and indirect requests. These are illustrated by the following example.

14) ?allah yarHem waldik yila kunti Zayya Zibi liya mAak maZella

Please buy me a magazine on your way back.

This is an example of straightforward requests which tend to limit the listener's choice. Depending on the social relationship that holds between the speaker and the addressee, this type of requests may either create a feeling of embarrassment for the listener, especially if she is not prepared to grant the request or make her refuse to comply because the speaker was not polite enough. This notion of politeness seems to be more pronounced in the indirect request as in:

15) ?allah yixallik ?a faTima tqada lina lxiT

Please! Fatima, we have run out of thread.

In this example, the speaker appears to be more polite. Instead of asking the addressee to buy the thread the speaker simply states that there was no more thread. In using such a feature, she is almost sure that her request would not be ignored or refused.

It is worth noticing that almost all the requests used by women begin with a phrase composed of the name of God plus another word. Such a phrase tends to reveal politeness of the speaker as well as her respect for the addressee. It can be argued that these phrases can be considered as functionally equivalent to what Keenan (1989) calls verbal niceties and which, he claims, can be used to soften an order.

## B) Apologies

Ervin-Tripp (1964) argues that apologies, like thanks and greetings, are routines. Key (1975:37) states that although men occasionally say "I am sorry" or "Excuse me", "the language of apology belongs predominantly to the female. Women are always being sorry or asking pardon for something." There is no doubt, she says, that this female linguistic feature is related to women's submissive gestures.

Apologies were also found in all-Marrakeshi women's conversations. They are generally regarded as part and parcel of polite language. Their use reveals

the speaker as being modest as well as considerate. In the taped conversation, four apologies were found. For example:

- 16) semHi liya yaxeti Ziti nhar lHad ?umalqitini  
Excuse me my sister, you came on Sunday but you did not find me.

Two points are worth noticing in this example. First, the speaker calls the addressee "my sister" whereas she is just a friend. Second, she apologises even if she is not to blame because no appointment was previously made. It can be argued, therefore, that the use of both the address form "my sister" and the expression "excuse me" shows how sorry the speaker is, which in turn marks her deep politeness towards the listener.

### C) Deference

Lakoff (1975) points out that women are stereotypically said often to employ deference. Its use marks female speakers as indecisive. She argues that, for example, when asked "Would you like something to drink?", a woman using a deferent style of speech would answer, "Whatever you are having", or "Don't you go to any trouble". Tannen (1984:12) seems to agree with Lakoff's claim when she states that deference characterizes a style that seems hesitant and that: "The use of this principle in interaction may give the impression that the speaker does not know what s/he wants, because s/he is giving the option of decision to the other."

Deference is another very common aspect of politeness also characterizing Marrakeshi women's speech. The context in which it usually appears is that connected with eating and not drinking. For example, when a female guest goes to spend one or more days with some relatives, she might be asked what she should like to have for lunch or dinner. The one and only example which appeared in our data in this respect is as follows.

17) Speaker: ?aš ndiru lši Rda ?a lla mina  
What are we going to cook for lunch lalla Mina?

Addressee: rabbi la-tšqiw ruSkum lli kayin nqdiw bih  
By God! Do not go to any trouble.  
We will eat whatever you are having.

There is one point to be made clear about the use of deference as defined by Lakoff and Tannin and as interpreted by Marrakeshi speakers. The addressee in this community, as the above example shows, does not say what she wants because she is indecisive or does not know what she wants, as Lakoff and Tannin assume with regard to their sample, but because she is not sure, as anybody else in the same situation might be, whether the speaker could afford the thing she would ask for or not. Hence, to show that she is polite and in order not to embarrass the speaker, the addressee generally lets the speaker make the choice.

#### D) Diminutives

Another polite feature almost exclusively associated with women's speech in Marrakesh is the use of diminutives. This linguistic pattern is usually reflected in the use of forms such as the following taken from the data: /leliyid/ "the boy" instead of /lweld/; /lekwiis/ "the glass" instead of /lkas/; and /lehmitter/ "the red colour" instead of /lehmar/.

The use of these diminutive forms tends to reduce the form of the statement being made and make the female speaker sound polite and, at the same time, weak. The function of diminutives, as revealed in the present study, seems to differ from that described by Brown (1980). In her study of language used by men and women in a Mayan community in Mexico, Brown found that the diminutive /ʔala/ which means "a little" is a recognizable style feature among women. They use it to emphasize their shared interests, feelings and emotional bonds. Brown also found this linguistic pattern used only among women whereas in the present study men, in certain situations, were also found to employ it, as it will be shown later.

#### 5.4.1.2 Uncertainty

Many researchers such as Key (1972) and Lakoff (1973,1975) associate the use of uncertainty with women's way of speaking. This pattern was also quite apparent in Marrakeshi women-to-women interactions. Nine examples of uncertainty were found in the recorded conversations. Uncertainty was shown through the use of two main devices. First, the use of certain expressions such as:

- a. Ala Hasab ma Aerrefeni ?allah  
To the best of my knowledge
- b. ?allah Alem  
Perhaps
- c. f-naDari  
In my opinion

Although these expressions, as it can be noticed, are composed of different words, their meaning, which is "I think", is basically the same. Hirshman, (1974) quoted in Berryman and Eman (1980), defines this linguistic qualifier as a polite way of stating an opinion.

An example in which one of the expressions appeared was taken from a conversation where a woman was sharing her personal secrets with other women. She was considering the idea of asking for a divorce. From her talk, it seemed that it was the only thing she was hoping for. When she asked her friends what they thought, the first one to answer said:

- 18) f-naDari wayyak  
In my opinion do not rush.

By using the expression "In my opinion", the addressee proved to be polite. Of interest too, was the fact that she showed she took the speaker's face needs into account partly because she stated her disagreement in a certain way to show the speaker she was trying to advise rather than hurt her.



The second way through which uncertainty was shown was intonation style. Lakoff (1973:55) describes this problem as "...a particular sentence intonation pattern...which has the form of a declarative answer to a question, and is used as such, but has the rising inflection typical of a yes-no question." The effect, she claims, is as if the speaker were seeking information, a fact which marks her speech as unassertive. In contrast with Lakoff's statement, it can be argued that, with reference to Marrakeshi speakers, this is not always the case. The use of such patterns may sometimes be explained by the fact that the addressee does not want to impose her opinion on the speaker. In other words, the use of this intonational style is partly determined by the relationship between the participants. An addressee may use it to a speaker of equal status, but may not employ it when talking to another speaker of lower status. This argument can be illustrated by the following examples:

19) Speaker (the customer): yimta nZi lzif Tbla?  
When will the napkin be ready?

20) Addressee (the embroidery teacher): ZuZ Simanat?  
In two weeks?

The second example involves the same embroidery teacher and a student.

21) Speaker (the student): yimta nSifTu lfaTima HwaiZha?  
When are we doing to send Fatima her clothes?

22) Addressee (the embroidery teacher): Rdda f-Aešra?  
Tomorrow at 10 o'clock.

The third example involves the same embroidery teacher and her friend.

23) Speaker (a friend): ntlqaw f-setta t-1Ašiya?  
Shall we meet at six o'clock?

24) Addressee (the embroidery teacher): lxemsa unaS?  
Five thirty?

These examples, therefore, tend to support the fact that female's use of patterns of uncertainty in Marrakesh cannot be explained by one but rather different

factors depending on the context of use and the relationship that obtains between speaker and addressee.

#### 5.4.1.3 Question-asking

Question-asking is another speech feature which was found by some researchers to be associated with women's language more than with men's language. Lakoff (1973,1975) and Fishman (1980) referred to the greater tendency of women to ask questions as indicative of their insecurity and hesitancy. Coates (1986:106) reports that: "Research findings so far suggest that women use interrogative forms more than men and that this may reflect women's relative weakness in interactive situations." Most of the research in this area drew its conclusions from cross-sex conversations, a point which will be discussed later in this chapter. In this section, however, focus will be on the use of questions in all-women conversational interactions. It is worth mentioning that not much attention will be paid to the use of tag-questions simply because such linguistic devices does not exist in Marrakeshi dialect.

Examination of the recorded conversations revealed that the function of question-asking among Marrakeshi women speakers can be detected from the context of the questions. The following examples demonstrate this point.

25) Hakima bšHal šriti Tomobiltek?

Hakima, how much did you pay for your car?

This example shows that by asking this question, the speaker wants to know the price of her friend's car.

26) kayin šī maytGal?

Do you have something to say?

This example can be considered as one of the ways through which women can keep conversation going. This supports Coates' (1986:152) claim that women's use of questions is "...part of a general strategy for conversational maintenance...so using questions is a way of ensuring that a conversation continues."

27) ?aš had sekat ?a latifa?

Latifa, why are you silent?

A speaker may use this type of questions to initiate a silent woman into conversation.

The above examples show that questions may be used by Marrakeshi women either to seek information, to ensure the continuity of a conversation or to encourage other women to speak. This implies that there is the possibility that questions may serve other purposes when employed in other contexts. Further it can be argued that in the analysis of the ten questions recorded in the conversations, no tentativeness or lack of assertion on the part of women was felt. Although this finding contrasts with the results of previous studies which indicate that women's use of questions always reflects their nonassertiveness, it does not rule out the possibility that in some situations they may so indicate, a point which will be taken up when discussing cross-sex conversational interactions.

#### 5.4.1.4 Cooperativeness

In the literature on language and sex, the notion of cooperativeness is usually correlated with women's language. This pattern of interaction can also be used generally to describe Marrakeshi women's speech style. The linguistic features described above tend to support this argument. For example the different aspects of politeness which show respect for the face needs of each other and the use of questions sometimes used to encourage the participation of others show that Marrakeshi women in all-female groups tend to build on each others contributions to develop and maintain a cooperative talk.

This finding tends to parallel the results reached by some researchers. For example, Kalcik (1975) argues that conversation among women grows out of the cooperative interaction of its participants. Aries (1976) states that women develop ways to express supportive affection and interpersonal concern. Similarly, Jones (1980) stresses the fact that women pursue a style of solidarity and support. Further evidence comes from Goodwin's (1980) study on the street play of black children in Philadelphia. She maintains that the linguistic forms used by girls mark their speech as cooperative, a feature she considers to be a result of the non-hierarchical nature of their group.

But the fact that cooperativeness is the general pattern that governs Marrakeshi women's conversational interaction does not rule out the possibility that these women may in some cases overlap or interrupt each other.

#### 5.4.1.5 Overlaps and interruptions

Three examples of overlaps and five of interruptions were found in all-female conversations. Zimmerman and West (1975:115) define overlaps as instances of the addressee overlapping the last word of the speaker; and interruptions as "...violations of the turn-taking system rules. Next speaker begins to speak while current speaker is still speaking, at a unit-type that could not be defined as the last word". In the recorded conversations, interruptions between women seemed to be the result of namely the age and social class factors. The following extracts demonstrate respectively this point. The first example was taken from a conversation between a mother and her daughter and the second example from a conversation between a woman and her domestic servant.

28) Mother: fin kunti had lwaqt kullu?  
Where have you been all this time?

Daughter: malqituš fin Gulti liya ?u (#)  
I did not find it where you told me it was and (#)

29) Domestic servant: ?a lalla fin derti (#)  
Madam, where did you put (#)

The woman: matat šufiš ?ana mšRula? rZai min beAd  
Don't you see I am busy? Come back later.

These examples, therefore, tend to show that although Marrakeshi women tend generally to talk in a cooperative way, in some cases they may interrupt each other especially when factors such as age and social class are at play. The possibility that women in all-female groups can in some situations use interruptions has, as far as the literature surveyed for the purpose of this study is concerned, never been discussed by previous studies. This is an area which awaits further research, the results of which may well help reassess our interpretation of at least some aspects of so-called "women's language".

The discussion of women's speech in all-female groups suggests that Marrakeshi women do use the linguistic features stereotypically associated with women's language. It also suggests that these features are not always equated with powerlessness. This finding can be accounted for partly by the fact that in certain situations and with certain participants some women were found to be assertive, to overlap and to interrupt.

#### 5.4.2 Men's Language in Same-Sex Groups

In this section, we shall look at Marrakeshi men's speech in same-sex conversations. The purpose is first to establish what formal features are typical of all-male speech, and second to see whether the evidence supports the claim that all-male speech is different from all-female speech.

The discussion is based on data taken from two different conversational settings: a men's hairdresser's shop and a home. These settings were chosen mainly because, at the time during which the field work was carried out, they were the only options available to tape all-male conversations. The first conversation,

therefore, took place in a men's hairdresser's shop. It included five participants: a jeweler, a solicitor, a teacher, the shop-keeper and his assistant. The first three participants were married men and the last two were single. Their ages ranged approximately between 20 and 60 years. The tape recorder was placed by the shop-keeper's son out of the participants'sight. This man did not take part in the conversation. He left the shop only to come back 30 minutes later to collect the tape recorder. The length of the recorded conversation was about 35 minutes. The second conversation involved a group of sixteen men who give a small party once a month at each other's house. They were two doctors, three shop-keepers, one solicitor, one football coach, four university teachers, one chemist, and four government employees. All the participants were married except one doctor who was divorced and one government employee who was single. They were approximately between 28 and 45 years of age. One of my colleagues belongs to that group. When it was his turn to give the party, he agreed to take charge of the recorder.

#### 5.4.2.1 Imperatives

As shown in Table 5.1, men in all-male speech were found to use imperatives more than women do in all-female groups. Ten imperatives were found in men's conversations compared with three in women's conversations. A related argument comes from Goodwin (1980). In her study of a play group of girls and boys, she noticed that, unlike girls, boys used explicit commands. A behaviour she explained as a result of the hierarchical organization of the group. Boys, she argued, used commands to demonstrate control. This point was also mentioned by Aries (1976) in her study of mixed and single-sex groups. Aries found that all-male groups were marked by hierarchy with some members holding dominant positions and others submissive positions.

The following examples show imperative usage in all-male conversational interactions in Marrakesh. Example 1 and 2 were taken from the

conversation that took place in a hairdresser's shop. Example 3, 4 and 5 were taken from the conversation that took place at a friend's home during a party.

30) Zib waHed lfuTa nqiya  
Bring a clean towel.

31) tqada sampwan sir beZri Zib ZuZ qraAi  
We have run out of shampoo. Go quickly and get two bottles.

32) HaT Sbbatk f-ZZiha lexra.  
Put your shoes on the other side.

33) Zib waHed Tffayia  
Bring an ashtray.

34) Saub lina waHed lkas ntaA ?atay  
Make us a cup of tea.

In accordance with Aries and Goodwin's view, it can be argued from these examples that men's use of imperatives may be attributed to the notion of hierarchy which characterizes male-to-male interactions. An additional point to be made here is that a participant may not comply with a command as is shown by the following example used in answer to the last example above, and also expressing a command:

35) Sawbu nit nta  
Make it yourself.

The use of such an answer may be partly explained by the influence of age and/or social class factors. In example 5 and 6 the speaker and addressee seemed to be of equal social status. By contrast, in example 1 and 2 there was a clear social distance between the shop-keeper and his assistant, a difference which would not allow the assistant to ignore his superior's command. The use of imperative forms in all-male groups, therefore, can be exchanged between people of differing status. In

all-female groups, however, this communicative strategy seems to occur mostly between women of unequal social status.

The tendency of men to use more commands than women does not mean that men are always impolite to each other. Evidence from the recorded conversations showed that in some cases, men also could be polite. Politeness in all-male groups was revealed through the use of features such as requests and apologies.

#### 5.4.2.2 Requests

In all-female groups, two types of requests were identified: straightforward requests and indirect requests. The second type of requests seemed to be more apparent in women's groups than in men's groups which was clearly marked by the use of straightforward requests. Examples of this speech pattern in all-male groups are as follows.

36) ?allah yixellik duwwez liya drari mAak IDar  
Please take my children home.

37) ?allah yarHam waldik Zibha liya Rdda  
Please, bring it to me tomorrow.

As it can be noticed, the speaker in both examples starts his request by the use of expressions such as /?allah yixellik/; "long life to you" in the first example, and /?allah yarHam waldik/; "May God have mercy upon your parents" in the second example; both of which mean "please". The function of such expressions is twofold: to show respect to the addressee and at the same time to ensure that he will comply with the request.

Men's use of a straightforward speech style seems to be socially appreciated by both sexes in Marrakesh. It connotes truthfulness despite the fact that it sometimes hurts. This direct use of language is preferred to women's often extensive use of politeness which some people refer to as an aspect of deceit because,



sometimes, it hides the speakers' true feelings. In connection with this argument, Keenan's (1989) study of men's and women's speech in Malagasy yields contradictory findings. He argues that in his speech community expressing one's feelings and opinions in a straightforward manner is not socially admired. Its use results in affront, and it is usually associated with women and not men. Women are, therefore, considered as norm-breakers, as Keenan puts it.

#### 5.4.2.3 Apologies

Another way in which men can express politeness is by using apologies. Three examples of apology were found in men-to-men conversations.

These are:

38) smeH liya waxxa besselt Alik ?alemAallem walakin xSni nem<sup>˥</sup>si  
Hetta lyum bkri  
I am sorry boss for any inconvenience but I have  
to go early today as well.

39) smeH liya ?alemAallem theras liya  
I am sorry boss I have broken it.

40) smeH liya tAaTelet Alik kan zHam t-Tomobilat  
I am sorry for being late. I was held up by the traffic.

These examples tend to demonstrate two main points. First, they show that not only women but also men in same-sex groups can use apologies. Second, they indicate that, unlike women, men seem to apologize usually for something they have actually done.

#### 5.4.2.4 Uncertainty

Uncertainty in all-female groups was shown through the use of two main devices (see 5.4.1.2). In all-male groups, however, only one usage was found: that is the use of the expressions: /?allah Alem/ "God knows" and /f-naDari/ "in my opinion". Six examples of uncertainty were found in men's groups compared with

nine examples in women's groups. The following examples were taken from men-to-men conversations.

41) ?allah Alem Aešra  
I think ten.

42) f-naDari xSSak ddiru  
I think that you have to do it.

Both of these expressions can be translated into "I think". Also, they both seem to serve the same functions as in all-female groups. The expression /?allah Alem/ is normally used by a speaker when he/she is not quite sure about the validity of his/her statement, as the first example shows. The expression /f-nadari/ is commonly used by a speaker when he/she wants to express an opinion against his/her addressee, and at the same time does not want to hurt him/her. In a way, this expression seems to soften a possible affront.

It can be noticed that the third type of expressions of uncertainty, which is /Ala Hasab ma-Aerrafni ?allah/ "To the best of my knowledge" used in all-female groups, was not found in all-male groups. In part, this may be due to the fact that the use of such an expression makes the speaker sound weak, even if its meaning and function are similar to those of the expression /?allah Alem/. The second point to be noticed is that the participants in men's recorded conversations did not use the second linguistic pattern through which uncertainty was shown to occur in all-female groups. This pattern was that of question-intonation in statement contexts. It can be argued that the lack of its usage may also be attributable to the fact that it makes the speaker sound weak. This finding, however, is not surprising because men are expected to be powerful in every possible way.

#### 5.4.2.5 Question-asking

The function of question-asking in all-female groups seems to differ from that in all-male groups. In the former, it was found to: elicit information, keep

the conversation going, and make others participate in the conversation, whereas in the latter group it seems that it only serves one purpose; that of asking for information. Nine questions were found in men-to-men recorded conversations, two of which are:

43) fin Radi yikun liZtimaA?

Where is the meeting going to be held?

44) fin Radi lqa waHeda bHal hadi?

Where can I find one like this?

#### 5.4.2.6 Overlaps and interruptions

In the present study, men's talk seemed to be organized in a competitive way. Some participants tended to hold the floor more than others. This finding lends support to Coates's (1986:154) argument that: "...men seem to construe conversation as a competition." While Marrakeshi women in single-sex interactions tended to support and build on each other's contributions, Marrakeshi men in single-sex interactions tended to stress their own point and ignore what the other participant said before. One consequence of such behaviour is discontinuity of talk, which might be reinforced by verbal aggressiveness. Competitiveness in all-male conversations can be shown through the use of interruptions and overlaps.

The difference between women's and men's group in the frequency of interruptions and overlaps is quite clear, as Table 5.1 above indicates. Thirteen interruptions and four overlaps were found in men's interactions compared to five interruptions and three overlaps in women's groups. Some examples of these linguistic patterns in men-to-men conversations are as follows.

45) Speaker: mšiti ʔuxellitini tentsena saAtein hna  
You went, and left me here waiting for two hours.

(=)

Addressee: nta dima tat fekkar Rir f-raSk wana libqit tantAadeb  
?uZbtha bas nxadmu biha

You are always concerned about yourself and not others. I went through a lot of trouble to get this for us to work with.

This example shows that overlaps may appear in a situation where the speaker and addressee are angry with each other to the point that no one of them wants to listen to the other, concentrating, instead, on stressing their own point. This function of overlaps seems to be different from the one demonstrated by the example below taken from a conversation between a football coach and his friend.

46) Speaker: mabruk! mabruk! ?ana freHt lik wallah lAaDim  
Congratulations! I swear by God that I am happy for you.

(=)

Addressee: šukran, šukran, ?ana Aaref.  
Thank you! thank you! I know.

The overlap in this example seems to be used to signal joy and happiness. The addressee, who is the coach of a football team, is happy because his team has joined the first division. The speaker congratulates him and shares his happiness because he is a supporter of the team. Overlaps, therefore, seem to serve different purposes in different contexts. Similarly, it appears from data analysis that interruptions employed in different situations may have different meanings. This can be illustrated by the following examples.

47) Speaker: kunt qrib nsalihum f-lwaqt (#)  
I was about to finish them when (#)

Addressee: yila kunt-tanhDer mAak kun-tskut  
Stop talking when I talk to you.

This example was taken from a conversation between the hairdresser and his assistant. It shows that, being in a dominant position, the hairdresser is more

likely to interrupt his assistant than vice versa. The interruption used in the example below, however, seems to have a different function.

48) Speaker: Gult lik Hasan maši Htaltemma f-kurat lqadam  
AlaHaqaš (#)  
I told you Hassan is not a good football player  
because (#)

Addressee: sket! sket! ma-tatAaref walu nta lkura  
Shut up! shut up! you know nothing about football.

It can be argued that in this example, the addressee interrupted the speaker because of his heightened involvement with the topic of conversation, which was sport. The third example of interruptions reveals yet another function which this communicative strategy can serve.

49) Speaker: kulšī Radi yitSaub ?uRadi (#)  
Everything is going to be alright, and you will (#)

Addressee: Tferq mAaya ?allah yarHem waldik  
Please, leave me alone.

The speaker in this example was trying to calm the addressee down, but the latter was so angry that he interrupted the speaker. As it can be noticed, both interruptions and overlaps can be used to signal anger. The choice of either one or the other may be due to how excited the participants are about the topic of conversation and/or the social relationship that obtain between them in a given situation.

In contrast with some studies (e.g. Zimmerman and West 1975) who argue that interruptions and overlaps are usually used to demonstrate power and dominance, the present finding suggests that these two speech features can be used to illustrate different patterns of social behaviour. This finding is supported by Meltzer et al. (1971:392) who argue that: "...it would be a mistake...to infer that each interruption event is a miniature battle for ascendancy." Further support comes from Ferguson (1977) who maintains that there are different types of interruptions, that

each type is affected by a different variable and that only some interruptions seem to be closely related to dominance.

To conclude this section, it can be said that the discussion of male's speech in single-sex groups showed that sometimes men and women do employ a similar linguistic style, but some aspects of this style are interpreted differently when used by men or women. It was also shown that interruptions and overlaps were found to be a prominent and common feature of men's conversational style. They were found to serve different purposes when employed in different contexts, a finding which contradicts other studies (e.g. Zimmerman and West, 1975) associating interruptions and overlaps with power and dominance only. Furthermore, it was argued that high frequency in commands usage and less usage of polite forms in all-male groups may be explained by the fact that men, unlike women, are less sensitive to the face needs of others. In addition to that, neither deference nor diminutive patterns were found in men-to-men conversations. This finding, however, does not imply that men never use these linguistic features, rather, it suggests that in some other situations and/or with other participants men may use these patterns.

So far, therefore, the focus of this chapter has been on speech features in same-sex interactions. In the next section, we turn our attention to men's and women's conversational style in mixed-sex conversations.

#### 5.4.3 Conversational Interactions in Mixed-Sex Groups

In this section, we will try to examine men's and women's interactional style in mixed-sex conversations. The aim is first to see how the frequency and function of certain linguistic features vary according to the context of use, and second to determine if the use of such features always leads to male dominance of talk.

The samples analysed for this purpose were taken from four naturally occurring interactions. The first conversation was recorded in a home. It involved a married couple. The husband, aged 35, was an engineer and the wife, aged 32, was a teacher. The recording was done by the husband's brother, and it lasted about 25 minutes. The second conversation took place in a company. Five members of staff participated in the interaction. two men and three women. Their ages ranged approximately between 25 and 40. The tape recorder was operated by the manager who did not take part in the conversation. This interaction lasted about 17 minutes. The third conversation took place in a clothes shop. It involved the shop-keeper who was a man and three women customers. They were approximately between 27 and 50 years of age. The shop assistant managed to do the recording. The length of the conversation was about 20 minutes. The fourth conversation was recorded in a home. Eight participants were involved in this interaction: a married couple and their relatives. Their ages ranged from 18 to 54 years. The event was the preparation for a wedding ceremony. Being a member of the family, I managed to record about 30 minutes of the conversational interaction.

In all the conversations forming the basis of this section, as is the case with the previous ones, the tape recorder was running without the knowledge of almost all the participants. When they were told of the recording and the purpose of the study, they consented to using extracts from their talk for research purposes.

#### 5.4.3.1 Imperatives

In same-sex interactions, imperatives were found to be used more frequently in male's groups than in female's groups. This difference in frequency of use was also apparent in mixed-sex conversations with men using nine imperatives when addressing women, and women using two when talking to men. As Table 5.1 indicates, the difference between the three groups concerning imperative usage is

significant. Examples of this linguistic pattern as used in cross-sex interactions are as follows.

50) Female to male:

Zib drari min lemadraSa man qderš lyuma  
Collect the children from school, I cannot do it today.

51) Male to female:

Aemri lina ši-kas ntaA-?atay  
Make us a cup of tea.

52) Male to female:

xelli dak šši wazi lehna waHd ddaqıqa  
Leave that and come here one minute.

It may be worth mentioning that a woman may employ an imperative when talking to a man but must avoid using it in the presence of an audience. This is partly because the fact that a man who gives orders to a woman is socially acceptable. By contrast, if a woman uses imperatives when addressing a man she would be harshly rebuked. The participants in the conversation would also question the man's manliness and wonder how can he allow a woman to give him commands. It may be argued, therefore, that the rare use of imperatives by women in cross-sex interactions is directly linked with their prescribed social behaviour. It also seems that the hierarchical organization of the male-to-male interaction is supposed to be maintained also in mixed-sex conversations. However, this asymmetrical behaviour appears to be less pronounced in the use of requests.

#### 5.4.3.2 Requests

The difference between male-female usage of requests in same and mixed-sex groups was not significant. However, a striking difference did emerge in mixed conversations. In these interactions ten requests were found, out of which seven were used by male speakers. As was the case in all-male groups, the type of requests men used in mixed conversations was direct requests. This finding lends support to Haas's (1978) result. Haas analysed the speech of 4 - 8 and 12 years old



children in same and mixed-sex pairs. In mixed-sex groups, he found that boys used more direct requests. Examples of this linguistic feature in the present study are:

53) Male to female:

?allah yarHam waldik yila matSawbi had lbit qbel ma-yiZiw  
nnas  
Please tidy up this room before the guests arrive.

54) Female to male:

?allah yixellik tqada dGiG  
Please we have run out of flour.

As it can be noticed, the woman in the second example made an indirect request to the addressee. If the speaker were a man, he would have used a straightforward request and said, for example: "Go and buy some flour, please." All women's requests found in this study were indirect requests as opposed to men's more frequent straightforward requests. Women's infrequent use of requests in cross-sex groups may be partly attributable to the social norms dictating that for a woman to be socially admired she must talk less if not keep silent in mixed-sex interactions, a behaviour pattern women seeking social approval tend to follow. It can also be argued that women's indirect use of requests is functionally equivalent to their use of apologies, especially when used without any genuine reason.

#### 5.4.3.3 Apologies

As Table 5.1 shows, the distribution of apologies was significantly different between the three groups. Eight apologies were found in mixed-sex interactions, of which seven were used by female speakers and one by a male speaker. In single-sex groups we noticed women tended to apologize for something they were not responsible for. Men, by contrast, were found to make apologies only when they felt they did wrong. This deferential function seems also apparent in mixed-sex conversations. This point may be illustrated by the following examples.

55) Female to male:

smeHi lyia ?u-bzzaf makanš f-xbari ?umma kent Zit nAazzik  
I am very sorry, I did not know, otherwise I would have come  
to offer my condolences.

56) Male to female:

smeHi liya xeSert lik laparay tsHabilya RadinAaf liha  
I am sorry, I damaged your camera. I thought I would know  
how to use it.

As mentioned above and demonstrated by example 34, women's apologies often seem to serve the same function as their use of indirect requests in that both patterns reflect women's greater sensitivity to people's feelings. Women's concern for others is also reflected in their use of deference in mixed-sex interactions.

#### 5.4.3.4 Deference

Data analysis reveals that deference is a speech pattern which is used more by women than men. Although the difference between same and mixed-sex groups as regards the use of deference is not significant, its exclusive use by female speakers in women-to-women conversations as well as in mixed-sex interactions is suggestive. In part, it reinforces the stereotype that women tend to be more polite than men. The following example was taken from a cross-sex conversation.

57) Male: ?aš ndiru lsi Rda? dZaZ ?ulla lHam?

What would you like for lunch? Lamb or chicken?

58) Female: lli-kayin nqdiw bih ?u-rabbi la-tešri ši-HaZa xera

Whatever you are having, and please do not buy  
anything else.

This example shows that the female participant is concerned about the speaker, and does not want him to go to any trouble. Furthermore, it should be noted that the fact that men were not found to use deference in this study does not mean, as argued above, that they never use it. The implication is that in some other contexts,

they may employ deference. This is one of the areas which awaits further research before any conclusive argument can be made about sex differences in language use.

#### 5.4.3.5 Diminutives

The use of diminutive forms in Marrakeshi community is considered to be part of the language use differentiated by the sex of the speaker. In female's group ten diminutives were found whereas in male's group this feature was absent. In mixed-sex interactions; however, a male speaker was found to employ diminutives in his conversation with women. As Table 5.1 shows, the differential distribution of this linguistic pattern between the three groups was significant. Examples of diminutive forms used by the male speaker were found only in the conversation which took place in a ladies clothes shop. Some of these examples are;

59) Male speaker: xudi had lwiyyin rah yizi mAak Hsen  
Take this (diminutive form of the word  
colour), it will suit you better.

60) Male speaker: f-naDari xudi had twinGat rah yiZiuk mAa l-kswa  
In my opinion, take these (diminutive form of the word  
earrings). They will match (diminutive form of the word  
dress).

Men's use of diminutives in such contexts may be partly explained by the fact that they think that women would feel more comfortable dealing with men who use a female style of speech. Usually, such men are said to do better in business than others who stick to their male speech forms. Brown and Frazer (1979:55) present a related argument in their discussion of sex related activities. They argue that: "It may well be that certain features of women's speech considered to be markers of sex are in fact markers of sex-role stereotypes activities, and the occasional male involved in a female-type activity would probably show features of such women's speech." It may also be argued that the fact that diminutive forms were found in mixed-sex interactions, even if they were used only by one person, gives, further supporting

evidence to our earlier argument that it is a mistake to correlate certain speech features with one particular speaker and/or one particular context.

#### 5.4.3.6 Uncertainty

Table 5.1 indicates that there are no significant differences between single-sex and mixed-sex groups concerning the use of uncertainty. Ten expressions of uncertainty were found in mixed-sex conversations, of which six were employed by women and four by men. Similarly, Hirsham (1974), quoted in Berryman and Eman (1980), found no significant differences between male and female use of uncertainty. They argued that, with reference to their sample, its occurrence was twice as frequent in men's speech as in women's speech.

In the present study, it was found that in women-to-women conversations, uncertainty could be expressed in two ways: either by using certain uncertainty expressions or by using question-intonation in statement contexts. By contrast, men in both single and mixed-sex talk employed relatively less uncertainty expressions than women. Moreover, their use of this linguistic feature was shown only through the use of the expressions /ʔallah Alem/ "God knows" and /f-naDari/ "In my opinion", but not through the use of intonation style. This finding seems to support that of Lakoff (1973) that rising intonation in her study was found to occur only among women. However, one must not rule out the possibility that in some other contexts men may be found to use this speech characteristic so far associated with women's conversational style. The following are examples of uncertainty taken from mixed-sex conversations.

61) Male to female:

f-naDari lxaTta? diyalek makan<sup>v</sup> Alek tbAihum  
I think it was your fault, you should not have followed them.

62) Female to male:

Ala Hasab ma-Aarrani ʔallah maRadiš<sup>v</sup> ddiru  
As far as I know, she would not do it.

- 63) Male to female:  
f-naDari dak l-qarar lli taxedti makanš zin  
I think the decision you made was not right.

In part, these examples support the finding yielded by the examination of single-sex conversations that not only women but also men can use patterns of uncertainty. They also indicate that the function of this communicative strategy may vary according to the context of use. In some cases its usage may be determined by the participant's lack of knowledge about the topic of discussion as in the second example whereas in others its usage may be influenced by the speaker's consideration for others as in the first and third examples.

#### 5.4.3.7 Question-asking

Another result data analysis of mixed-sex interactions revealed is that in some situations men may use questions to serve functions other than seeking information. This point can be illustrated by the following examples.

- 64) Male to female:  
malki sakta ?a llamina?  
Lalla Amina, why are you silent?

In this example, a male speaker tried to make a female speaker participate in the conversations. This feature is usually reported in the literature on male/female language to be associated only with all-female's interactions. In this study, however, it was found in women's groups as well as in mixed-sex groups. The second example below shows an additional function which questions may serve.

- 65) Male speaker: ?aš had rwina dayra?  
Why are making all this mess?

- 66) Female addressee: lAid bqat lih Rir Semana ?uxSni nxammal Dar  
I have to clean the house because the feast is in a week's time.

The question used in this example may be considered as a veiled accusation, as Taylor (1990) puts it, requiring an apology.

From these and the previous examples of question-asking, it can be argued that this linguistic pattern may serve different functions when used in different contexts. It was also found in this study that the difference between same-sex and mixed-sex groups in the frequency of question-asking was not statistically significant. These two findings do not seem to corroborate some researchers' claim concerning sex differences in question usage. In her study of couples in conversations, Fishman (1980) found that women used three times as many questions as men. Her finding supported that of Lakoff (1973,1975). Fishman's explanation of this linguistic feature, however, differs from that offered by Lakoff. Questions, Fishman argues, are part of the conversational process. They demand an answer from the addressee. In interactive terms, therefore, questions are stronger than statements since they give the speaker the power to elicit a response. By contrast, Lakoff sees questions as a signal of insecurity and tentativeness. In this context, Coates's (1986:106) comment based on her review of the literature on question-asking suggests that women's tendency to use more questions than men may be due to the fact that women "...feel less inhibited about asking for information, since this does not conflict with the sex-role prescribed by society." These differing explanations seem to support our argument presented above that questions must not be said to serve only one single function. Similar to question-asking, overlaps and interruptions have also given rise to much controversy.

#### 5.43.8 Overlaps and interruptions

In all the conversations analysed for mixed-sex groups interactions, there were eight overlaps of which two were caused by female speakers, and sixteen interruptions of which three were cases of the female interrupting the male speaker. Other studies provided supporting evidence that men in general use more overlaps and interruptions than women in cross-sex interactions. Zimmerman and West (1975)

analysed thirty-one conversations and found significant differences between same-sex and mixed-sex conversations. They also found that in male/female interactions men's use of overlaps and interruptions often resulted in women's silence. Kramer et al.'s (1978) study indicated that men interrupted women more than vice versa. Similarly, Esposito (1979) found sex differences in frequency of interruption between boys and girls aged between 3.4 and 4.8 with boys interrupting girls more than girls interrupting boys. In complete contrast with these studies, Beattie (1983) found no significant differences between men and women in either frequency or type of interruption.

In this study, most of the interruptions used in cross-sex interactions point to the reasons why women are generally interrupted. Some examples are:

- 67) Female speaker: ...?uqerrert ndiru Gult yimken teqDer (#)  
...and I decided to do it because I thought you would (#)
- 68) Male speaker: Rir tat Aerbtí Druka  
You are talking nonsense.

Apparently, the woman in this example was interrupted because, to the male addressee, her speech was foolish. The word /Aarbt/ in the Marrakeshi dialect is normally associated with the linguistic behaviour of insane people. It seems to have the same connotations in this context. It means that the woman's talk, like that of the insane, is trivial and without reason. In this respect, Jenkins et al. (1981) also argue that triviality is a trait usually equated with women's speech. Another reason for which women can be interrupted is revealed by the following example.

- 69) Female speaker: kif Gult lik lbareh teqDer (#)  
As I told you yesterday, can you (#)
- 70) Male speaker: baraka ?unti tatGuli lklam ?utAawdih  
Stop it, you always repeat yourself.

As the male speaker in this example said, the woman was interrupted because she was repeating herself. But the fact of repeating herself may be due to the fact that the male speaker was not giving much attention to what she was saying. This argument is in line with Ardener's (1978:21) view that: "...repetition results from an awareness that the utterances are having little effect, and the hope of the message being reinforced."

Last but not least is the next example pointing out an additional feature of women's speech, which may lead to their being interrupted in mixed-sex interactions.

71) Female speaker: *šetti amjina Aendha mašakil mAa raZelha dakšši*  
*?llah Alem baš (#)*  
You know Amina has got problems with her husband. May be that is why she (#)

72) Male speaker: *hahiya tani bat tebda tehDar f-nnas waš mat-qeDriš*  
*ddexli lsuq raSek?*  
Again, she started gossiping. Can't you mind your own business?

The male addressee in this example is accusing the female speaker of gossiping. He was so annoyed at the woman's gossip that in the first sentence he used the pronoun "she", and not "you", in addressing her. In this study, gossip is used to refer to a feature of women's talk. It means that women, in general, tend to talk about other people, their lives and experiences instead of talking about themselves. It is worth mentioning that the difference between the meaning of the term gossip in Jones's (1980) and Coates's (1988) studies and in the present study is that in the former it is used to describe women's talk in general while in the latter, it refers only to a single characteristic of Marrakeshi women's speech which can be used by women in both single and mixed-sex gatherings. Also in this study, the term gossip seems to have a pejorative connotation which can be said to reflect the general attitude of Marrakeshi people towards women's language.



Jones (1980:194), however, tried to positively re-define the term as a "...way of talking between women in their roles as women, intimate in style, personal and domestic in topic and setting," emphasizing the fact that it is directly related to women's roles as mothers and wives. By contrast, Coates (1988) argues that this is not always the case. She states that the conversations she recorded in all-female groups revealed discussions of wide range of topics such as television programmes and child abuse. The examples found in women's groups in this study tend to confirm Coates' argument. Marrakeshi women were found to discuss topics like funerals, magazines and cars. A finding which contradicts the popular stereotype hinted at in the above example, that women are more likely to talk about others than about themselves.

The above discussion tends to suggest that in mixed-sex interactions, men use overlaps and interruptions mostly to infringe upon women's right to speak. The fact that women in these interactions used fewer overlaps and interruptions is probably linked with the fact that they are more sensitive to sex-role expectations according to which women are expected to yield the floor to men and never violate their turn. In this respect, Coates (1988:94) argues that the differential use of linguistic features such as interruptions "...is part of the social process which maintains gender divisions." A related argument is that presented by Cameron et al. (1988) who indicate that it is surely not a coincidence that the conversational style associated with men is aggressive and competitive while that associated with women is supportive and cooperative.

To account for male-female linguistic differences in mixed-sex conversations, different explanations were presented by a number of studies. For example, Zimmerman and West (1975:125) explained their result that men used more overlaps and interruptions than women by male dominance: "...just as male dominance is exhibited in society, it is also exhibited through control of at least a part the micro-institution." In line with this argument, West's (1984) study revealed that

female doctors, unlike male doctors, were consistently interrupted by male patients. Woods (1988) supports this finding. Her study shows that it is gender rather than status which determines interruption usage in mixed-sex interactions. Another interpretation was presented by Leet-Pellegrini (1980) who found that both sex of speaker and expertise variables led to male conversational control in cross-sex groups. She also argued that men dominated conversations because they used a style of interaction based on power whereas women used that based on solidarity and support.

On the other hand, Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1982) interpreted their result concerning male/female conversational interactions in terms of subcultural rather than power differences. Maltz and Borker argue that men and women come from different sociolinguistic subcultures, and that they have learnt different rules of interactions and act accordingly.

Beattie (1983), however, tends to support Ferguson's (1977) argument that interruptions are not a unitary phenomenon and, therefore, cannot be explained by one single factor. In view of the evidence presented in same and cross-sex interactions analysed in this chapter, the results of this study concerning this linguistic pattern corroborate the above argument. They suggest that overlaps and interruptions, like any other linguistic feature, must not be interpreted as serving one particular purpose. The variability of their functions, resulting in part from the complexity of the social context in which they occur, reflect their controversial explanations. Furthermore, it can be argued that the dominance approach and the deference approach might be regarded as interrelated approaches partly because they both emphasize the notion of male/female socialization into appropriate sex-role behaviour.

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to investigate men's and women's speech style in single and mixed-sex conversations. Comparison between the three groups showed

that in the Marrakeshi community, there were differences as well as similarities in male/female language use. Similarities were reflected in the use of most aspects of "women's language" by both men and women. The differences were shown especially in the different functions certain features of this language serve in men's and women's conversational interactions. The results suggest that sex-role expectations are usually reflected in the constraints imposed by the conversational style. Women's greater use of politeness formulas and cooperative strategies, and men's greater tendency to use a more direct, assertive and competitive style are but central aspects of the stereotyped male/female roles in the Marrakeshi community.

Comparison between the three groups also indicated that in cross-sex interactions, women's right to speak was often infringed upon by male speakers. It was found that men tended to dominate mixed-sex gatherings mainly through the use of overlaps and interruptions. By contrast, women were found to be more cooperative and supportive.

It was also found that, in general, both men and women held negative attitudes towards women's language in Marrakesh. However, data analysis revealed that Marrakeshi women's speech was not totally "powerless" and that men's language was not totally "powerful". Rather each speech feature can acquire a particular characteristic as a result of the variables present in the actual situation, such as sex, age, social class, occupational status, topic, setting, and participants. This point can be supported by Spradley and Mann's (1987:61) argument that: "Utterances...take place in social contexts, and these exert a subtle effect on how people talk." Further support can be drawn from data analysis which revealed that certain linguistic patterns, for instance, interruptions, overlaps and question-asking, can serve different functions when used in different contexts. It may be argued, therefore, that the negative attitude towards women's language seems to be based on a cultural stereotype rather than an actual fact.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

The present study was designed to investigate whether or not there are linguistic differences between Marrakeshi men and women, and if so, in what ways and to what extent male/female language is believed by men and women to differ. It was also an attempt to show the role of language in perpetuating and maintaining power relationships between men and women.

Results show that men and women are not always equally able to say what they want, when, where and how they want. It was found that, for both sexes, the male almost always represented the positive while the female represented the negative. Anything that marks a speaker out as female was seen as a sign of inferiority and subordination. It was found that the status of Marrakeshi women was to some extent similar to that of women in the rest of the world. It is still defined in and judged in relation to that of men. Women are relegated to marginal and insignificant social positions. In this context, Key (1972:13) states that: "It soon became apparent to me that this distinction in language is a certain universal just as the sex role is universal, and that linguistic sex distinctions undoubtedly occur in every language of the world." For her part, Cameron (1985:156) argues that: "We must treat the restrictions on women's language as part of a more general restricted feminine role." Referring to the same point, Friedl (1987:159) maintains that: "As Western history and the anthropological record have told us, equality between the sexes is rare; in most known societies females are subordinate. Male dominance is so widespread that it is virtually a human universal." In her interviews with Arab women, Shaaban (1988:163-164) reports the opinion of a female informant that although Western women have achieved freedom in some areas, they are still deprived of many basic rights and "...are still subjected to blackmail, chauvinist authority and oppression...Internationally women are thought of in terms of fashion

shows; they are marketed and priced according to their looks, figures and appearances. Men don't have to be fashionable, look after their skins or figures, yet it is their values which dominate and direct women's lives."

Hence, it can be argued that while it is true that women all over the world have, to a certain degree, liberated themselves from the constraints of society, it seems that the condition of most women has not been significantly improved. Such women are still subjected to subordination. Even when they are granted personal status in the male-dominated world, inequality is still lurking in almost every social order. The rights women have acquired so far did not seem to help much to diminish the weight of the heavy burdens imposed upon them by generally established norms.

It was found that research on Arab women tends to explain how and to what extent economic development has affected their social role. Some scholars tried to put-forward some suggestions to improve the current position of Arab women and to integrate them, more deeply, into the process of development in order to achieve a more just and appropriate social status. For example, Hijab (1988) argues, that without change, it will be hard for Arab society to advance and prosper at any level, be it economic, political or social. Rassam (1984) presents a rather more gloomy picture of the future, affirming that the present state of affairs in the Arab world seems to indicate that there is no escape for women. They will continue to suffer under the same oppressing experiences and be hostages in the conflict between the security of tradition and the aspirations for full human dignity.

To correct women's present situation, El Saadawi (1980) suggests that solidarity between women can lead to change and exert influence on future development from which both men and women can benefit. Similarly, Hijab (1988) states that the United Nations Document (1985) presented at Nairobi, emphasizes the fact that success will largely depend on women's helping each other to challenge and change their conditions of life. But, of course, as Rassam (1984) puts it, people must

not forget that the will of knowledge exhibited by Arab women researchers is itself a significant step in breaking through the barriers of silence, invisibility and ignorance that have historically kept Arab women in their "proper place". In this respect, Hijab (1988:119) argues that with the increasing need for national manpower, the Arab states should start to open the gates for women who have the same ability as men to participate in the wage labor force. In Oman, she reports, the 1985 Yearbook clearly points out the issue that: "Ignorant women cannot bring up free men, and women who are neglected cannot take care of others. Unless she is trained and qualified for her task, a woman will be a liability to the progress of others."

On the one hand, and in line with previous studies, the results of the present study indicate that there are differences in the linguistic behaviour of males and females as well as in references made to men and women. They also provide further evidence that sex-role stereotypes influence and shape male/female language use. It was shown that in most cases, social expectations appeared to have a bearing on speech patterns of both men and women. Men were found to adopt a forceful and assertive way of talking, and interrupt more frequently than women. By contrast, female speakers were found to use a more tentative, questioning and cooperative style. It was also found that women's use of supporting linguistic features contributes to the maintenance and perpetuation of male dominance in mixed-sex conversational interactions.

On the other hand, the present study, unlike other studies such as that of Lakoff (1973,1975), Trudgill (1975) and Kramer (1974,1978), stresses the fact that women's language examined for the purpose of this study rejects the stereotypical view that women's language is inferior to that of men. It was found that Marrakeshi women's language was not always inferior, weak nor polite, nor was men's language always strong and powerful. It was found that their language was context sensitive rather than attributable to one single factor, and that sex-related linguistic differences were mostly a matter of frequency of occurrence. The results revealed that the features

traditionally associated with women's speech, for example, politeness and uncertainty, were also found in the language of men. This finding implies that the use of such features does not correlate with the sex variable per se. This finding which counters that of some studies, which claimed that the sex of the speaker was the determining factor influencing male/female differences in language use, and supports that of Smith (1979:136) who argues that: "...sex alone is probably not the best determinant of any isolated feature, either marker or stereotype. By discovering the social divisions and contexts that do primarily determine the distribution of a speech marker, we would arrive at a better understanding of the source of sex stereotypes, and how to change them."

The investigation of Marrakeshi men's and women's language, therefore, revealed women sometimes behaving, viewed and treated as weak and inferior, sometimes as equal and sometimes as superior to Marrakeshi men, a result which supports our argument that speaking practices are to be explained by the context in which they occur. The main results of the present study may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Male/female language in Marrakesh is perceived differently by both men and women.
- 2) Linguistic differences between men and women cannot be attributed to one single variable.
- 3) Women's language is not always powerless nor is men's language always powerful.
- 4) Language cannot be separated from the context of use.

The literature reviewed above together with the findings of the present study support the view that the solution to women's apparently everlasting subordination does not lie in education, economic independence or in non-sexist language because so far these have proved insufficient to better women's image and

position in society. The solution the present study suggests lies , first and foremost, in changing the society's stereotyped attitudes towards women. Women's so-called inadequacies and deficiencies are nothing but a reflection of the inadequacies and deficiencies of the society of which they are part and parcel. On the basis of the information and experience gained from the present study, we may argue that, unless we recognize the fact that women are a powerful force and that there is no superior or inferior roles and no superior or inferior forms of language as such, sexual prejudice will remain the basic form of social structure. This argument is based, in part, on the fact that before a speaker addresses a listener, he/she has a particular attitude towards him/her. In other words, the way people use language is shaped by their preconceived ideas of and attitudes towards each other.

Having outlined the main results of this study, it should be noted that the above conclusion is not an end in itself. The small scale-nature of this research is but a gateway leading to further research and more systematic inquiries which could pave the way to a more comprehensive view and a greater understanding of sex differences in language use.

There is, therefore, a need for comparative studies, including samples from different Arab countries on the one hand and samples from Western societies on the other hand. In such studies:

- a) more attention should be given to the positive aspects of women's language,
- b) the similarities between men's and women's language be reassessed.

Further research should also include studies of:

- d) male/female nonverbal behaviour which seems to play a significant role in the maintenance of the power structure (including laughter in women's response in mixed-sex interactions),



- e) the fact that the "public" and "private" worlds and duties are deeply interwoven,
- f) male/female pleasantries and restroom graffiti,
- g) male/female written language,
- h) children's sociolinguistic behaviour in play groups.

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APPENDIX 1

The Questionnaire Measuring Attitudes Towards  
Men's and Women's Language in Marrakesh

The University of Bath  
School of Modern Languages  
and International Studies  
September, 1989

Dear informants

The attached are some questions designed to help me in my research. The study seeks to explore male/female language in Marrakesh, and how the power relationship between men and women is maintained and perpetuated through the use of language. In so doing, the study will draw on recent developments in sociolinguistics, ethnography and women studies.

Your help in answering the questions will contribute to the success of the study.

Thank you for your cooperation.

SABAH HADER

Research Student



Section 2. Attitudes towards male/female language in Marrakesh.

1) There have been many linguistic changes in Marrakeshi women's language especially since the 1950s.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state why and in what ways.....  
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2) Mass media, such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television, have linguistically affected women's language in Marrakesh.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state in what ways.....  
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3) Education has a linguistic effect on Marrakeshi women's language.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state in what ways.....  
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4) Marrakeshi women's language is different from that of men.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state in what ways.....  
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5) The linguistic differences between Marrakeshi men and women arise in childhood.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state how.....  
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6) The linguistic differences between men and women are learned.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state in what ways.....  
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7) The linguistic differences between men and women are indices of men's dominance and women's subordination.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 4) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 3) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state in what ways.....  
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8) Marrakeshi women switch to male's language when they enter male-dominated activities.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state why and in what ways.....  
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9) Marrakeshi women have difficulty in public speaking.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state why and in what ways.....  
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10) Marrakeshi women's language is looked down upon as a result of their social position.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state in what ways.....  
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11) Marrakeshi men's language is the norm.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state why and in what ways.....  
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12) Marrakeshi women's language is more conservative than Marrakeshi men's language.

- |                         |     |                            |     |
|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----|
| 6) Strongly agree       | ___ | 3) Disagree to some extent | ___ |
| 5) Agree                | ___ | 2) Disagree                | ___ |
| 4) Agree to some extent | ___ | 1) Strongly disagree       | ___ |

Please state why and in what ways.....  
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13) Please state what information or suggestions you have concerning men's and women's language.

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Thank you for completing the questionnaire.

جامعة باث  
قسم اللغات الحديثة والدراسات الدولية  
أيلول، ١٩٨٩

أخي الكريم، أختي الكريمة

إن الهدف من الأستلة المرفقة هو مساعدتي في البحث الذي أنوي القيام به للحصول على شهادة الدكتوراه تخصص علم اللغة الاجتماعي. وموضوع البحث هو دراسة لغة المرأة والرجل في مدينة مراكش و كشف النقاب عن الدور الذي تلعبه اللغة في تدعيم وإستمرارية الفروق الاجتماعية بينهما. وترتكز هذه الدراسة في بنائها على أحدث التطورات التي عرفها علم اللغة الاجتماعي والأثنوغرافية والدراسات المتعلقة بلغة المرأة والرجل وذلك حتى يتسنى لنا دراسة مظاهر اللهجة المراكشية بين الإناث، وبين الذكور، وبين كلا الجنسين.

إن مساعدتكم المتمثلة في تفضلكم بالإجابة على الأستلة المرفقة يعتبر عاملاً أساسياً في إنجاح هذه الدراسة.

ولكم جزيل الشكر على تعاونكم.

الطالبة الباحثة: صباح الحاضر



الرجاء الاجابة على الاسئلة التالية وذلك بوضع علامة (x) في المربع الخالي والذي يتناسب ورايكم .

القسم الاول: معلومات عامة

(١) الجنس: \_\_\_\_\_ انثى \_\_\_\_\_ ذكر \_\_\_\_\_

(٢) هل تتمتع/تتمتعين بلقب/اللقاب مثل:

الدكتور (ة) \_\_\_\_\_ Madame/Monsieur \_\_\_\_\_

(٣) تاريخ الميلاد: .....

(٤) الحالة الاجتماعية: \_\_\_\_\_  
عزب/عزباء \_\_\_\_\_  
متزوج (ة) \_\_\_\_\_  
مطلق (ة) \_\_\_\_\_  
ارمل (ة) \_\_\_\_\_

(٥) الوظيفة: .....

(٦) المستوى الدراسي: .....

(٧) اللغة/اللغات المستعملة في عملية التعليم: .....

(٨) معدل دخل الاسرة الشهري: .....

القسم الثاني: شعور المراكشيين اتجاه لغة المرأة والرجل في  
مدينة مراكش.

(١) لقد طرأت على لغة المرأة المراكشية تغييرات لغوية إبتداء من الخمسينات.

- (٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما
- (٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما  اوافق
- (٥) اوافق  لا اوافق
- (٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما
- (١) لا اوافق تماما  اوافق

الرجاء ذكر لماذا ومن أية ناحية.....  
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(٢) إن لوسائل الاعلام من صحافة وتلفاز وإذاعة تأثيرا لغويا على لغة المرأة المراكشية.

- (٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما
- (٥) اوافق  لا اوافق
- (٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما
- (٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما  اوافق
- (١) لا اوافق تماما  اوافق

الرجاء ذكر من أية ناحية.....  
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(٣) إن للتعليم تأثيرا على لغة المرأة المراكشية.

- (٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما
- (٥) اوافق  لا اوافق
- (٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما
- (٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما  اوافق
- (١) لا اوافق تماما  اوافق

الرجاء ذكر من أية ناحية.....  
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٤) إن لغة المرأة المراكشية تختلف عن لغة الرجل المراكشي.

- ٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما
- ٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما  اوافق
- ٥) اوافق  لا اوافق
- ٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما
- ١) لا اوافق تماما  اوافق

الرجاء ذكر من آية ناحية  
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٥) تظهر الاختلافات اللغوية بين الذكور والاناث بشكل ملموس في مرحلة الطفولة.

- ٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما
- ٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما  اوافق
- ٥) اوافق  لا اوافق
- ٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما
- ١) لا اوافق تماما  اوافق

الرجاء ذكر أوجه الاختلاف  
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٦) إن الاختلافات اللغوية بين الرجل المراكشي والمرأة المراكشية موروثة.

- ٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما
- ٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما  اوافق
- ٥) اوافق  لا اوافق
- ٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما
- ١) لا اوافق تماما  اوافق

الرجاء ذكر من آية ناحية  
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(٧) إن الاختلافات اللغوية بين المرأة المراكشية والرجل المراكشي تعتبر مؤشرا يدل على خضوع المرأة وسيطرة الرجل من الناحية الاجتماعية .

- (٦) اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٥) اوافق \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق \_\_\_\_\_  
(٤) اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٢) لا اوافق \_\_\_\_\_  
(١) لا اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_

الرجاء ذكر من آية ناحية.....  
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(٨) إن المرأة المراكشية تتخلل عن أسلوبها في الكلام وتميل إلى استخدام أسلوب الرجل في المحادثة ،عندما تلتحق بالأنشطة التي يترأسها الرجل .

- (٦) اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٥) اوافق \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق \_\_\_\_\_  
(٤) اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٢) لا اوافق \_\_\_\_\_  
(١) لا اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_

الرجاء ذكر السبب/الأسباب ومن آية ناحية.....  
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(٩) إن المرأة المراكشية تجد صعوبة عندما تريد الكلام في مكان عام .

- (٦) اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٣) لا اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٥) اوافق \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق \_\_\_\_\_  
(٤) اوافق إلى حد ما \_\_\_\_\_ لا اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_  
(٢) لا اوافق \_\_\_\_\_  
(١) لا اوافق تماما \_\_\_\_\_

الرجاء ذكر السبب/الأسباب ومن آية ناحية.....  
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١٠. إن الناس ينظرون إلى لغة المرأة المراكشية على أنها أقل قيمة من لغة الرجل المراكشي وذلك نتيجة للمكانة الدنيا التي تحتلها هذه المرأة في المجتمع.

- ٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما  (٣)
- ٥) اوافق  لا اوافق  (٢)
- ٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما  (١)

الرجاء ذكر من آية ناحية.....  
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١١. إن لغة الرجل المراكشي تعتبر المثل الأعلى الذي يجب أن تحتذي به المرأة المراكشية في كلامها.

- ٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما  (٣)
- ٥) اوافق  لا اوافق  (٢)
- ٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما  (١)

الرجاء ذكر السبب/الأسباب ومن آية ناحية.....  
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١٢. إن لغة المرأة المراكشية أكثر إلتصاقا بالهوية المراكشية من لغة الرجل المراكشي.

- ٦) اوافق تماما  لا اوافق إلى حد ما  (٣)
- ٥) اوافق  لا اوافق  (٢)
- ٤) اوافق إلى حد ما  لا اوافق تماما  (١)

الرجاء ذكر السبب/الأسباب ومن آية ناحية.....  
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(١٤) إذا كانت لديكم أية معلومات أو إقتراحات حول موضوع لغة

المرأة والرجل فالرجاء الادلاء بها.

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شكرا لكم علين إتمامكم الاستبيان.