SEX DIALECT IN TLEMCEN: AN ALGERIAN

URBAN COMMUNITY ·

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the correlation between the
social differentiation caused by sexual discriminations, and
the linguistic differences between men's and women's speech in Tlemcenian
Arabic and Tlemcenian French, with special emphasis on the former.

It includes a chapter concerned with a brief treatment
of the place of sex-dialect in modern linguistic theory, an
analysis of the possible realisations and explanations of sex-
dialect, and a review of some broad concepts such as bilingu-
alism, diglossia and code-switching, in the light of male-
female linguistic differentiation.

The three remaining chapters furnish proof and exemplifica-
tion of the linguistic manifestation of the social division
caused by sexual divisions. Within these chapters, the con-
cept of context of situation is emphasised as being a very
important parameter in language study.

The second chapter is concerned with phonological differen-
ces between males and females, and starts with the correlation
between formant frequency and social conditioning, and proceeds
to consider the use of vowels and consonants as well
as certain prosodic features in the speech of males and females.
Certain sociolinguistic parameters such as age, status, and so
forth, are shown here and elsewhere to have important impact
on language use.

The third chapter is a study of the grammatical manifesta-
tions of sex-dialect, the majority of which are mostly accoun-
ted for in terms of probability of occurrence.

Finally, the last chapter is concerned with lexical diffe-
rences in male and female speech in both address and reference.
At every point during this discussion, there is a strong remin-
der of the interrelationship between social behaviour, culture,
and language use.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Adj.:   Adjective

Adv.:   Adverb

Af.:   Affix

Art: Article

A.F.:   Algerian French

C.A.:   Classical Arabic

D.A.:   Dialectal Arabic

Fem.:   Feminine

F.F.:   Fundamental Frequency

F1 :   First Formant

F2 :   Second Formant

Inter.:   Interrogative

Interj.:   Interjection

Imp.:   Imperative

K. :   Kin

K.T.:   Kin-term

Lit.:   Literally

L.A.D.:   Language Acquisition Device

Masc.:   Masculine

N. :   Noun

Neg. :   Negative

N.K.T.:   Non-kin-term

N.T.:   Non-Tlemcenian

Part.:   Particle

Pers.:   Person

Poss.:   Possessive

Prep.:   Preposition

Pron.:   Pronoun

S   :   Sentence

Sec.:   Second

Sing.:   Singular

Suf.:   Suffix

S.F.:   Standard French

T.   :   Tlemcenian

T.A.:   Tlemcenian Arabic

T.F.:   Tlemcenian French

T.G.   Transformational Grammar

V.   :   Verb

TRANSCRIPTION USED [*]

/ /	:	phonemic transcription
[ ]	:	phonetic transcription
( )	:	optional or alternative reading

VOWELS

i	:	front close spread vowel
⍳	:	front centralised spread vowel
ᵻ	:	front central spread vowel
y	:	front close round vowel
e	:	front half close spread vowel
ø	:	front half close round vowel
ɛ	:	front half open neutral vowel
œ	:	front half open round vowel
ə	:	central vowel
a	:	front open vowel
ɑ	:	back open vowel
ɔ	:	back half open vowel
o	:	back half close vowel
u	:	back close vowel
ɵ	:	back central ised round vowel

CONSONANTS: Plosives

p	:	voiceless bilabial plosive
b	:	voiced bilabial plosive
t	:	voiceless dental non emphatic plosive
T	:	voiceless dental emphatic plosive
d	:	voiced dental nonemphatic plosive
D	:	voiced dental emphatic plosive
k	:	voiceless velar plosive
g	:	voiced velar plosive
q	:	voiceless uvular plosive
?	:	glottal stop

* The transcription used here is based on that of T. F. Mitchell's Colloquial Arabic (1962)

AFFRICATES

tˢ	:	voiceless denti-alveolar affricate
dz	:	voiced denti-alveolar affricate
tʃ	:	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
dʒ	:	voiced palato-alveolar affricate

FRICATIVES

θ	:	voiceless dental fricative
ð	:	voiced dental non emphatic fricative
Ḍ	:	voiced dental emphatic fricative
f	:	voiceless labio-dental fricative
v	:	voiced labio-dental fricative
s	:	voiceless alveolar non emphatic fricative
Ṣ	:	voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative
z	:	voiced alveolar non emphatic fricative
ʃ	:	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ʒ	:	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
x	:	voiceless velar fricative
R	:	voiced uvular fricative
ħ	:	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
9	:	voiced pharyngeal fricative
h	:	voiced glottal fricative

ROLLED / FLAPPED

r	:	alveolar roll or flap

LATERAL

l	:	alveolar lateral

NASALS

m	:	bilabial nasal
n	:	alveolar nasal

SEMI-VOWELS

w   :   labio-velar semi-vowel

j   :   palatal semi-vowel

ɣ   :   voiced bilabial semi-vowel

DIACRITICS

vowels

:   :   phonetic length

∼   :   nasalization (above the symbol)

-            :   centralisation (on the symbol), phonemic
                      length (above the symbol)

consonants

o   :   devoicing (under the symbol)

w   :   labialization (next to the symbol)

s, ʒ, ʃ: affrication (next to the symbol)

- :velarisation. (above the symbol)

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INTRODUCTION

In some societies linguistic phenomena are involved in covariation not only with parameters such as social stratification, geographical and social context, age and so forth, but also with the parameter of sex. "Sex differences in speech has been noted by writers in English since at least the sixteenth century and were recorded from Carib in Wilhem Breton's dictionary published in 1664." (Bolinger, D. 1975 p.235).

This research is precisely about men's and women's speech differences and more precisely about such differences in the Tlemcenian community. We shall analyse differences in both Tlemcenian Arabic (henceforth T.A) and Tlemcenian French (henceforth T.F.), but a special emphasis will be put on the former.

Before doing so, however, we shall study the place of 'sex-dialect' in modern linguistic theory (section 1.1.) and examine the different approaches to this area of study (section 1.2). We shall then analyse the linguistic manifestations of sex-dialect as well as the different 'explanations' given in the literature (section 1.3 to 1.5).

To understand the linguistic differences in male and female speech, it will also be seen (section 1.6) that we must make clear any kind of social differentiation - be it factual or imaginary - as well as those social attitudes which may have a direct impact on the linguistic output.

Very often what is meant by male's and female's speech is the use of the language spoken by the 9robejja (section 2.5) or by non-Tlemcenians (henceforth N.T.) i.e.

the possibility for Tlemcenian speakers to code-switch from one variety to another. Generally speaking, women refuse any external contact with N.T's for the reason that they regard Tlemcenian 'culture' and Tlemcen itself as being the perfect example of _the_ culture and _the_ city. This very subjective attitude is translated by such acts as, say, refusing to let their daughters - and very often also their sons - marry a N.T., except if the partner is rich or has a very 'high social position'.

Other dialects, particularly rural dialects, are therefore looked down upon as there is also a belief that there is a stratification of the following kind:

```
       elite                    peuple
         |_____|
                     |
                     |
         |_____|
         |                           |
       citadin                   campagnard
```
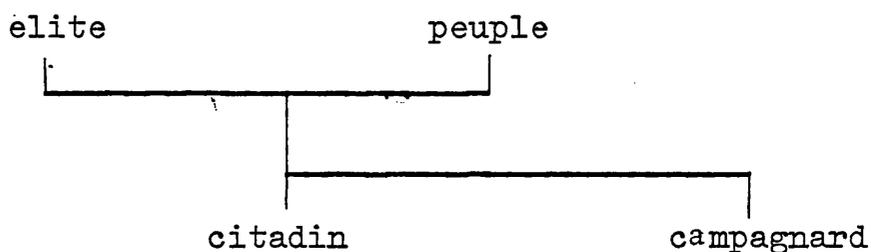
Of course, 'rappelons encore une fois que ces oppositions ne decrivent pas pour nous des relations réelles, mais expriment les représentations que les citadins ont de ces relations' (Grandguillaume, G. 1976 p.50). This attitude is, again, more entrenched in women beliefs and behaviour, who consequently refuse any linguistic contact not to say 'social' contact.

It will, therefore, be argued that if there is a socio-economic differentiation of any kind in a given society, this differentiation will have a consequent linguistic manifestation. Thus, by men and women speech, often will be meant the possibility or impossibility to perform certain

acts, therefore the possibility or impossibility to perform the linguistic behaviour associated with these acts. Again, if the attitude of society towards certain groups or individuals varies compared to or towards other groups, the linguistic aspects in reference to these groups will also vary. Thus, 'male' and 'female' speech, will also be taken to mean these aspects of language which would vary or have a high (low) probability of occurrence, depending on whom one is speaking to or referring to. By male and female speech, will not, therefore, be meant only what is typical but also what is more probable for one sex or the other in address and/or reference to one sex or the other.

The phonetic, grammatical and lexical chapters will be an attempt to prove and exemplify our hypothesis i.e. a socio-economic differentiation which has an important impact on the language of a given community and is the cause of the creation of 'sex-dialect'.

Before going to the core of the topic, it might be useful to say a few words, on the one hand about T.A., and about the data on which I base my research, on the other.

Tlemcen and its dialect

Tlemcen is a western Algerian town of about 200,000 inhabitants, situated at about 550 Kms from the capital Algiers and 100 Kms from the Morrocan border. The surrounding towns are Oran (145 Kms), Sidi Bel Abbes (97 Kms) and Maghnea (80 Kms).

T.A. is an urban dialect and differs from the 'rural' dialects in a number of respects:

a)   In 'urban' dialects the voiceless uvular plosive
        [q] is used instead of the 'rural' voiced velar
        plosive [g].

b)   The 'urban' dialects have less dipthongs than the
        'rural' dialects .

c)   In 'urban' dialects, the third person singular
        masculine suffix is a back close vowel [u]
        whereas in the 'rural' dialects it is an open
        vowel followed by a glottal fricative [ah].

d)   There are also numerous lexical differences
        due to there being more borrowings in urban
        areas.

e)   Finally there are less emphatics and 'velarisa-
                      occurrences
        tion' in urban dialects.

        Furthermore, T A. is unique in Algeria because of
its use of the glottal stop [ʔ] (Section 2.4) instead of
the voiceless uvular plosive [q] or the voiced velar plosive
/g/.   Precisely because of the use of the glottal stop and
other phonetic features such as the affricates [t^s] and
[dʒ] as well as the typical use of some lexical items such
as, say xai for xuja 'my brother', T.A. is stigmatised by
neighbouring towns and is often qualified as 'effeminate'.
This stigmatisation is, also, one of the factors which en-
hances male speakers into switching to other dialectal forms
given certain social conditions.

        In T.A. we can distinguish the following vowels:

        /a/ which can be realised either as a long
front open or a long back open vowel depending on the
phonetic environment and social parameters which will be
discussed in Sections 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.16.   Gener-
ally speaking, the back open vowel occurs in the contexts

of emphatics or velarised consonants as well as in the environment of the voiceless uvular plosive[q] and the alveolar roll /r̲/ and the front open vowel in non-emphatic contexts.

/ā/ stands in opposition to /ē/ which can be realised as a front half open vowel e.g. mrād 'sick (plural)' versus mrēd 'Merad (name of a person)'. It must be noted that /ē/ has a defective distribution as it only occurs with non-emphatic consonants.

We also have the long vowels /ī/ and /ū/ which stand in opposition to both /ā/ and /ē/

e.g.   Rīr   'except'

         Rār   'hole'

         Rer   'he envied'

and

         būs   '(you) kiss'

         bēs   'he kissed'

/ī/ can be realised [i:], [ɪ:], [ɨ:], [ə:], or [e:] depending also on phonetic and social parameters, (see sections 2.2, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, and 2.16).

/ū/ can be realised as either [u:], [ɑ:] or [o:] again depending on both social and phonetic environment. Generally [u:] and [ɑ:] occur in the environment of non-emphatic, whereas [o:] occurs in the environment of emphatic consonants.

Length is, however, phonological only for the opposition /ā/ versu /a/

e.g.   mrād   'sick (plural)' versus mrad 'he became sick' as there is no opposition between /ī/ and /i/, /ū/ and /u/ and /ē/ versus /e/.

/a/ can then be realised either as a front open vowel in the contexts of a non-emphatic consonant and as a back open vowel in the environment of an emphatic consonant, velarised consonant or the voiceless uvular plosive and the alveolar roll.   Its realisation can also be determined by the same social parameters as /ā/.   Furthermore /a/ can also be realised by a central vowel [ə] as a variant of both the front and back open vowels in CC V C syllabic structure or in regular verb paradigms.   Thus 'C'est elle qu'on trouve le plus souvent dans la conjugaison des verbes reguliers, et dans les substantifs de la forme C C V C'. (Marçais, W. 1902 p.39).

Although there is no opposition between /i/ and /e/, it has been necessary to use both variants in our transcription as they are important for our social analysis. For the purpose of T.A. transcription we shall, therefore, distinguish only the following: i/e, u, ā, a, ɛ. We shall use specific phonetic symbols only where it is of importance to make finer distinctions.

The Data

The data upon which I have relied was partly based on

a)   introspection; I am myself a male native speaker of T.A.

b)   correspondence conducted with members of my family, particularly my uncle, still living in Tlemcen

c)   on direct questions

d)   listening to imitations of males by females
         and females by males

e)   finally, listening to recorded conversations
         made by my sister, uncles, brothers-in-law
         and other relatives also living in Tlemcen.

My principal informants, however, have been my wife, aunt
and uncle throughout.

CHAPTER 1.

ANALYSIS OF SEX DIALECT

1.1.   THE PLACE OF SEX-DIALECT IN
                LINGUISTIC THEORY

'Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with
an ideal speaker listener, in a homogenous speech community,
who knows his language perfectly, and is unaffected by such
grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations,
distractions, shifts of attention and interests, and errors
(random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the
language in actual performance'. (Chomsky, 1965 p.3) For transformationalists,
therefore, the essence of the theory involves idealisation,
abstraction and a total removal from 'actual speech'. By
so doing, there is a total neglect of variation concerned
with socially patterned factors; the only permissible 'rules'
for this approach, include invariant rules which 'generate
correct' sentences, and, variability is seen as switching
from one set of rules to another. But the ability to move
from one set to the other is seen as being outside the ling-
uistic theory; in other words, 'Competence' is a purely
'Grammatical' concept: the ability to 'generate' and 're-
cognise' a sentence of the language is purely a 'Grammatical
ability'. Where there is variation between two 'dialects',
this is accounted for, consequently, in terms of different
rules.

One difficulty, however, arises when one does not
speak in terms of the 'binarity' of a given rule - plus (+)

or minus the validity of a given rule - i.e. whether one
rule exists in or belongs to the language; or not but in terms of
probability i.e. whether one rule is more probable in one
'language' or 'dialect' than the other.   For instance,
speaking about English, Lakoff (1974 p. 81) claims 'where
syntactic rules such as question formation are involved,
the differences between the dialects lies in the fact that
in one a sentence is usable in more social or psychological
situations than the other.   So we cannot define the two
dialects in terms of purely linguistic autonomous-syntactic
distinctions'.   Similarly in T.A. and T.F., we shall en-
counter several differential 'rules' in male and female
speech.

One obvious counter argument which is often put
forward, is to say that the rule is part of the 'Grammar'
in both dialects and the applicability or non-applicability
is a matter of performance.   One, however, is not speaking
in terms of 'actual use', actual production i.e. performance;
but rather of rules: rules which would allow certain 'var-
iables' to be 'generated' but not 'produced'.   One is, there-
fore, speaking of 'Competence'.   Thus a Tlemcenian native
speaker, for instance, 'knows' that the glottal stop is more
used by females than males or that the voiceless uvular
plosive is more used by males in the Tlemcenian society.

'Language' in Transformational Grammar (T.G.) is
seen as 'something' apart from any other human activity.
Thus there is a total neglect of the interrelationship of
language and anthropology.   It is, however, in many in-
stances difficult to understand one without the other.
Malinowsky (1935), long ago, pointed out this interrelation-

ship as well as the fact that language cannot be understood completely without 'plunging' into the lives of the natives, i.e. without a cultural and ethnographic knowledge one is bound to lack 'that intuitive understanding which enablesus... to handle the finer shades of meaning and ... take part in the quick interchange between several people' (p XI).   It is, indeed, difficult both to understand and analyse the linguistic differences in male and female speech in Tlemcen without reference to the ethnographic and cultural analysis. For instance it is difficult to understand what we call 'register specificity' (See Section 1.6) or the analysis of well/ill wishes, sayings (and so forth) without understanding their cultural implications.

It is also evident that for T.G., there is no place for 'context' in its theory, nor for rules of appropriateness which determine which linguistic form is to be used.   We see, however, that these parameters form an integral part of the 'meaning' of sex-dialect.   J.R. Firth in this respect shared with Malinowsky the view that speech is not entirely free from its situation, and that 'knowledge' is needed both to use and understand speech.   For instance Laboff (1972   ) speaking about the auxilliary 'Can' in sentences like:

i   I can understand French

ii   I understand French

states that 'in order to assign the correct distribution... it is essential to take extralinguistic factors into account'. (p. 926).   Baby talk is also an obvious example of speech which is structurally and paralinguistically adapted to the addressee.   Other examples include, in male and female

speech in Tlemcen, the use of blasphemies, the use either
of the voiced velar plosive, voiceless uvular plosive or
the glottal stop or even the different forms of code-switch-
ing.   Again, the 'rules' determining the selection are, of
course, part of the Tlemcenian native speaker's competence.

Indeed, as a child learns his language, he, at
the same time, learns what language can do, he learns the
rules of language use and what language can tell him about
his environment.   For Chomsky, however, a language acqui-
sition device (L.A.D.) is an 'innate mechanism' which is
peculiar to language and, therefore, language develops apart
from any other human acquisition.   Bruner (1975   ), on
the other hand, suggests that 'indeed, it would be absurd
to imagine that the Chomskyan language acquisition device
would operate without considerable pre-tuning achieved
during the period that precedes the use of articulate pho-
netic grammatical speech' (p. 23), and he goes on to suggest
that 'it is not extravagant to say that initial language
has a pragmatic base-structure'.   The implication, of course,
is that a 'pragmatic base-structure' might be a replacement for,
or in some sense, the foundation of the 'grammatical base-
structure'.   This, would, indeed, explain the differences
between, say, male and female speech since, 'linguistic dif-
ferences... rather than arising directly out of differences
in the learning of a relevant grammatical system, appear to
stem from differences in what is socially and psychologically
expected of women or men in terms of explicit behaviour both
linguistically and non linguistically' (Lakoff 1974 p. 80).

Lakoff's statement would, also, satisfactorily
account for both the concept of 'correctness' and 'appropriate_

ness'. Correctness is a matter of Grammar (i.e. Grammaticality), but what is appropriate and correct is not merely a property restricted to 'sentence', but of a larger relationship between 'sentence' and 'context'. Again, examples are found in all the literature dealing with socio-linguitics and in all 'Firthian' linguistics. For examples in male and female speech, the reader's attention is directed to the section on 'insults' and 'innuendoes' among many others.

'Grammaticality' for T.G. is 'acceptability' devoid of social or psychological factors. It could be sociologically relevant, but it is difficult to see it in the centre of linguistic description,particularly as it is difficult to assess in many instances. For instance, when analysing the use of 'some - any' in English, Lakoff (1974) '..found it impossible to declare many of them as purely 'in' or purely 'out' 'without reference to social and psychological factors thus '..social, psychological and linguistic situations intersect and interact with one another'(p. 75). Thus what would be regarded as 'out' or 'ungrammatical' by T G. can be regarded as 'normal' in 'normal conversation'. For instance the celebrated example of Morgan (1973)

I think with a fork (ibid. 106)

seems totally ungrammatical when the 'sentence' is taken as the unit of analysis, but not when the wider context is taken into account, as for instance a reply to the question:

How does Nixon eat his tapioca? (ibid. 105)

A linguistic theory, should, therefore, be 'interested' in acceptability in general not merely in grammatical acceptability; it should be able to describe all potential

utterances, and not merely parts of these utterances i.e.
Grammatical sentences.   In this respect, T.G. is 'prescrip-
tive' rather than totally 'descriptive'.   In the same way,
'creativity' loses its value if one limits the study to
the purely grammatical sentences since social acceptability
outranks grammatical acceptability.

A linguistic theory should, therefore, be con-
cerned with all possible utterances and all generated sen-
tences as a native speaker can generate (not produce), gram-
matical as well as ungrammatical sentences when and if cer-
tain socially prescribed conditions are set.   To limit a
linguistic theory to the study of grammatical acceptability
instead of acceptability in general, is to limit the scope
of this theory.

Finally, T.G. implies a semantic theory based on
'reference' and, consequently, also implies that reference
is the main and, perhaps, only function of language.   There
is, therefore, a neglect of the fact that language is part
of the whole process of interaction, and that meaning in-
volves more than purely this referential function since
'there is a systematic co-variance of linguistic structure
and social structure' (Bright 1966 - p. II).   For instance
the main function of insults, innuendoes, laments, inter-
jections can, in no account be termed 'referential' rather
it is expressive or emotive.   The meaning of a word (an
insult word for instance) is not conveyed on the surface or
by the so-called 'features' of the word.   For instance,
most metaphors, sayings, carry with them two senses: literal
and figurative and the duality of senses can, hardly, be
accounted for by a dictionary as conceived by T.G.   One has,

only, to study the 'spontaneous' innuendoes' (See Section 3.2.10.3)
to realise the whole 'fuzziness' of their approach.

It is therefore, only fair to state that, 'com-
petence' as described by Chomsky, remains a pure 'idealisation'
and cannot account for sex dialect; and that meaning in
such an approach does not reveal the true nature of language.
For a theory to account for variations such as sex dialect,
not only must it account for 'grammatical competence' - if
such an entity exists without reference to social values;
but also and primarily to 'communicative competence'. For
instance in the same context different linguistic rules
exist for different sexes, and males/females have knowledge
of both these rules and the rules of their application; and
one cannot exist without the other. Similarly in parti-
cular contexts, different sexes express - and they have this
ability to express - the same thing differently, and certain
variables are more probable or are ranked better than another
for one sex or the other. The native speaker has knowledge
of such probability 'rules' and the associated rules of
evaluation since his linguistic behaviour is, consequently,
adjusted or readjusted because of this 'knowledge'.

Meaning, moreover, has to be correlated with the
real world, with the social realities, since one not only
says what one 'linguistically knows' but one also says what
one is in relation to society. This point will be subse-
quently argued for and examplified in what we called the
'socio-economic explanation' of sex-dialect.

1.2.   The Approach to Sex Dialect

Linguistic differences due to the sex parameters, have long been noted in the literature and the approach to this area of study has ranged from the 'merely taxonomic' to the 'somewhat explanatory'. The analysis of 'sex-dialect' is, generally speaking intricate as it involves looking for 'overt' or conscious as well as 'covert' and often subconscious differences. By overt or conscious differences I mean those variants which any native speaker could produce with awareness or/trained phonetician could realize and/or describe offhand. Such differences do exist in numerous languages even if they are not universal. The classic example comes from the West Indies where it was reported that when Europeans made their first contact with the Carib-Indians who lived in the Lesser Antilles, they came to the opinion that men and women did actually speak different languages. In Algeria such differences are present in both Arabic and French.

Covert or subconscious differences, are those variants which are often so subtle that most people are unaware of them. Covert differences are, generally, numerically less important and are often more in the realms of social interactions. This point will be taken up again further on in our analysis. Examples of this category include the phenomenon that with R.P. speakers there is a greater tendency for women to have a glottal stop in consonant clusters than for men cf.   [sim?pli]   'simply'
And even more subconscious, the use of lower frequencies by males both before and after adolescence (see phonetic section pp 62-95.

Sex dialect studies have ranged from purely subjective descriptions to objective analyses. The first type of study can be found in, say, writers in the French language in 1665 and 1700 and more recently in authors like Oscar Wilde who said 'women are a decorative sex, they never (quoted by Key, M.R. 1975, p. 14) have anything to say, but they say it charmingly'. Some linguists also adopted such an approach; for instance (1922) Jesperson/spoke of 'Feminine weakness' and Sapir/included (1915) women's speech in his study of abnormal speech. Objective analyses either consisted of simply recording the data or correlating the data with social parameters.

Linguists from the first category can be traced as far back as 1665 with Raymond Breton's dictionnaire Caraibe-Français, while linguists from the second category appeared only in 1944 with Furfey who even among his contemporaries was unique in postulating a link between sex differentiation and wider considerations of social structure. He did so by relating differences in male versus female speech to social class distinction. Indeed, before him, Edward Sapir (1915) related sex discrimination to rank discrimination but the study was very superficial. It is not, however, until recently that linguists such as Labov began to make more comprehensive studies.

Sex differences can be divided into: phonological, grammatical and lexical (semantic and stylistic).

Overt phonological ones are, generally speaking, easy to determine: examples can be found in Vietnam where in Cham [r] becomes [ɣ] in initial clusters, and [b] and [d] are preglottalised in women's speech. In Gros Ventre, an

American Indian language, palatalised dental stops in men's
speech correspond to palatalised velar/cf. ^stops

$$F \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} k_j \\ d_j \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{sex} \\ -\alpha \text{sex} \end{bmatrix}$$

examples can also be found in Yakaghim a North East Asian
language, in Yana, an Indian language of California, Koasati,
a Muskogean language of Southern Louisiana, Bengali and
numerous other languages mentioned in the literature.

Covert phonological features are on the other hand,
more difficult to determine, and examples can mostly be found
in Brend (1971), Coleman (1971) and (1976), Ingeman (1968),
Labov (1963) and (1966), Nordstrom (1977), Sachs (1973),
Schwartz (1968), Trudgill (1972), and in a very recent un-
published M. Phil thesis on Egyptian Arabic, Afaf (1979).
As we shall see T.A. offers examples of both types of dif-
ferences whereas French mainly offers examples of the second
category.(See pp 62-95, 97-134).

Grammatical differences are, also widely reported
in various languages.   Examples can be found in say, Thai,
Arabic, Japanese, Carib among many other languages.   Many
such differences are linked with the Gender system and, there-
fore, do not constitute a sex dialect difference of the same
order as those found at the phonological and lexical levels
as will be seen subsequently.   On the other hand, the often
mentioned fact that the English intensifiers such as 'so, such,
quite, vastly', are more used by females, is more in line
with our study.   Other examples in English include the im-
perative and model constructions as 'indication of male and
female speech.

The lexical level of analysis is the least treated
in the literature.   Overt lexical differentiations have been

mentioned for, say kinship terms in many American Indian Languages, for polite forms in Thai, the field of colour in English but, Covert lexical differentiation has scarcely been investigated. Examples of this category can be found mostly in English and Danish. All studies have, however, neglected the possibilities of different lexical distributions and idiomatic distributions for identical speech acts. Both overt and covert lexical differences exist in T.A. and T.F., the former language being, however, more 'marked'.

1.3. The Rules of Sex Dialect

At the three levels of analysis: phonological, syntactic and lexical, we can distinguish several types of differences which may be expressed in a context-sensitive rule format

$$A/ \qquad F\ 1 \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} X \\ Y \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \overline{\begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{sex} \\ -\alpha\,\text{sex} \end{bmatrix}}$$

given the same situation and same context, one variant is used only by one sex, another variant is used by the opposite. At the phonological level, examples can be found in, say, Koasati where a woman's word final nasalisation corresponds to a man's voiceless fricative [s]. At the syntactic level, examples can be found in Thai and Japanese particles as well as Yana suffixes, and at the lexical level in, say, interjections in Gros Ventre and kinship terms in Carib and Chiquita.

$$B/ \qquad F\ 2 \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} X \\ Y \\ Z \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \overline{\begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{sex} \\ -\alpha\,\text{sex} \end{bmatrix}}$$

Given the same situation and same context only
one variant is used by one sex whereas the opposite sex has
a choice of different variants which cannot be used by the
former.

Such examples are very rare in the literature and
to my knowledge, no description at all levels has been pre-
sented for any one language. We shall, however, see that
T.A. has many such differences.

$$\text{C/} \qquad \text{F 3} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} X \\ Y \\ X \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \begin{bmatrix} \overline{\alpha \text{ sex}} \\ -\alpha \text{ sex} \end{bmatrix}$$

Given the same context and same situation, one
variant can be used by one sex, whereas the other has choice
between this variant and others.

Examples include, for instance, the use of rolled
alveolar and voiced uvular fricative in male Algerian French
and only the uvular fricative in female's. Of course,
numerous cases in T A. will be found at all levels of ana-
lysis.

$$\text{D/} \qquad \text{F 4} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \emptyset \\ X \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \begin{bmatrix} \overline{\alpha \text{ sex}} \\ -\alpha \text{ sex} \end{bmatrix}$$

Given the same situation and same context, one
variant can be used by one sex only.

Examples of this kind can be provided by, say
'natural limitations with regard to certain actions or events
e.g. I (male) am pregnant, but we shall also find such
discrepancies imposed by social limitations in T.A.

$$\text{E/} \qquad \text{F 5} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} X,Y,Z \\ Y,Z,X \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \begin{bmatrix} \overline{\alpha \text{ sex}} \\ -\alpha \text{ sex} \end{bmatrix}$$

Given the same situation and same context, the same variants have different distribution according to sex. For instance in Darkhat Mongolian, the back vowels [u] and [o] of male speech correspond to the central vowel [ʉ] and [ɵ] of female speech. Again [ʉ] and [ɵ] in male speech correspond to /y/ and /ø/ (front vowels) of female speech. The different distribution can also be caused by extra linguistic factors such as in the case of, say, kin terms in T.A.

$$F/ \quad F\,6 \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} X,Y \\ X \\ Y \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \propto sex \\ -\propto sex \end{bmatrix}$$

Given the same context and same situation, two variants can be used by both sexes; one variant being, however, more probably for one sex than the other.

For instance in her study, Baron,N.(1971) reports that women produce a greater proportion of explicit participative cases, which are underlying cases required by verbs like 'hear', 'think', 'love', and purposive cases which specify the function of an action, whereas men use more objective cases. Numerous examples of variants being more used by one sex than the other can also be found in T.A. and T.F. Although the study in terms of probability of occurrence has not been widely investigated in many languages, it is nevertheless my belief that this feature in universal.

At the lexical level, we can also have:
a) given the same situation and same context, a form means X when referring to one sex and Z when referring to the other.

e.g. he is a professional Vs she is a professional

he's got great legs   Vs   she's got great legs

we shall find differences of this type in both T.A. and T.F.

b)   given the same context and same situation, a

variant means X when used by one sex and Z when used by the

other.   For instance, in American English,

I (male) caught him with his pants down

Versus   I (female) caught her with her pants down

and   I (male) caught her with her pants down

Versus   I (female) caught him with his pants down.

Again, we shall find many such differences in T.A.

c)   Certain lexical items referring to one sex have

more or different collocational possibilities/with the same
compared

lexical item referring to the other sex

d)   Different conversational topics

This phenomenon which will be taken up later, was

also reported by many authors such as Harding, S (1975),

Klein, J (1965), Komarovsky, M (1962), Landis, C (1927) and

many others.   However, similar conversational topics can

also be approached differently and the linguistic choice

would then differ considerably and again, this point is

scarcely dealt with in the literature.

1.4.   <u>Participant</u>

Given these 'rules', we can correlate the actual

occurrence of a particular linguistic datum with conversa-

tional interaction of the person whose sex has decided which

form it was that was used.   In considering a linguistic

datum, our rules enable us to predict certain facts about

participants, engaged in the conversational interaction

from which the datum has been extracted.   Thus there are
the following:

a)   speaker

b)   addressee (spoken to)

c)   speaker-addressee

d)   referent (spoken about)

e)   speaker-addressee-referent

1.4.1.   Speaker

Male or female, male more than female, female more
than male.   Linguistic differentiation due to speaker-sex
is the most widespread type and reported in many languages.

1.4.2.   Addressee

Male ⌐
      } ⟶ Male   Male ⌐
Female ⌐   } ⟶ Female
                             Female ⌐

Phonological differentiations based solely on
addressee have not been reported for any language and exist
neither in T.A. nor T.F.   At the syntactic level, however,
examples include personal pronouns and use of gender when
correlated with sex.

1.4.3.   Speaker - Addressee

Here, we can have four possibilities:
male-male, male-female, female-female, female-male.
Bodine, A. (1975) claims that apparently no language struc-
turally differentiates all four dyades.   We shall, however,
see that in T.A. it is possible to differentiate all four

dyades as in, say, the use of insults.

1.4.4.   <u>Referent</u>

In the same article Bodine, A. again claims that 'there are no reports of pronounciation differences based on sex-spoken about'.   Such differences, however, do exist perhaps in all languages even if on a very limited scale as in, say, imitations of women's speech by males for insult or pejorative use.   At the syntactic and lexical levels, the differences are, however, more important;   examples include pronouns, affixes, gender concord with verbs and adjectives, kinship terms and so forth.

1.4.5.   <u>Speaker - Addressee - Referent</u>

Examples in this category, also include, kinship terms, insults, and many others which will be discussed during our analysis.

1.5.   <u>The Explanation of Sex Dialect</u>

In the preceding, an attempt has been made to distinguish the types of male-female linguistic differences. We cannot avoid considering the question of how these various differences are to be accounted for.   Several explanations have been offered.   These may be characterized by the following labels:

a)   'invasion theory'

b)   Taboo

c)   Linguistic change

d)   'Instinctive or biological explanation'

e)   'Gender display' and sexual display

1.5.1.   Invasion Theory

        Sex linguistic differences were said to be the consequence of 'the mixing' of two languages, thus the difference between male and female in Carib were explained in this way:

> 'The savage natives of Dominica say that the
> reason for this is that when the Caribs came to
> occupy the islands, these were inhabited by an
> Arawak tribe which they exterminated completely,
> with the exception of the women, whom they mar-
> ried in order to populate the country.   It is
> asserted that there is some similarity between
> the speech of the continental Arawaks and that
> of the Carib women'. (quoted in Trudgill,P.1974 p.86)

        Even if such an 'explanation' is true, it can only be occasionally the case and it cannot account for the differences in most languages.   Thus the more important use of Glottal stops [?] in female T.A. might be the result of the feud between Fez and Tlemcen in the XIV century.   Again the use of rolled [r] in Algerian French might have been due to a clash (between Spanish and French settlers (?)) or even between the dialect of the 'midi' of France and standard French   (See Lanly,A.1970 p.189) but, numerous other variants of case use, imperative use connotative differences, affrication and so forth; cannot be accounted for in these terms.

1.5.2.   Taboo

        Taboo as an explanation of 'sexual' linguistic

discrepancies was mostly advocated by Otto Jespersen. For instance when at war, there were some words which could only be used by adult Caribs-Indians. Again, in Zulu, a woman could not mention the name of her husband or brother nor phonetically similar lexical items. In T.A. we shall also find some linguistic taboos for one sex or the other and this phenomenon may have a powerful influence on the growth of sex differentiated variants, but like 'invasion theory', it can only be a partial explanation and may even be totally irrelevant for various languages. Furthermore, Taboo alone does not give a satisfactory explanation for the spread of the linguistic difference.

1.5.3. <u>Linguistic Change</u>

It is often reported that females keep old forms which are dropped in male speech. For instance in the 1930s when Koasati, an American Indian language was being investigated, it was found that older females kept some phonological shapes of particular verbs which seemed to be disappearing at the time of research. Thus if the female's form contained a nasal vowel, males' and younger females' forms had an oral vowel followed by a fricative.

e.g.   he is saying   ka:s   versus   kã:

         he is peeling it   mols   versus   mõl

In Chukchi, a language spoken in Siberia, the female forms may have an intervocalic consonant [n] or [t] which is not present in male forms.

e.g.   nitvaqaat   versus   nitvaqenat

It was therefore thought that women's speech is generally more conservative than male's. There are, however, some implications for the role of women in actively participating in linguistic change. This is supported by, for instance, Labov in his study of New York city and Chicago which shows that women do use more advanced forms in their casual speech and are also liable to indulge in hypercorrection. In Sociolinguistic Patterns Labov (1972 p 303) claims that:

> "it seems likely that the rate of advance and direction of a linguistic change owes a great deal to the special sensitivity of women to the whole process".

Trudgill (1972) on the other hand, suggests that in Norwich, male speakers are carriers of some new forms in casual speech. It is, therefore, clear that

> "the correct generalisation then is not that women lead in linguistic change, but rather that the sexual differentiation of speech often plays a major role in the mechanism of linguistic evolution".

It is, therefore, obvious that linguistic change is not in itself an explanation of linguistic differences due to sex, it can only be the consequence of some prior factor.

1.5.4. Instinctive or Biological Explanation

Jesperson in Language (1922) claims that women instinctively shrink from 'coarse and gross expressions' and have a preference for 'refined and (in certain spheres) veiled and indirect expressions' (p. 242). This 'argument' sounds as if there was, indeed, some natural drive (instinct) for women to behave in a pre-determined and specific linguis-

tic manner.   It is, however, clear that few differences are
rooted even in biological differences.   Even pitch, as will
be shown subsequently, is to a/degree a̅ learnt characteristic.
What Jesperson terms 'instinctively shrinks' will in fact
be proved to be 'socially conditioned to avoid'.   Further-
more even if such an explanation were true, it would not
account for phenomena such as, say devoicing of dentals in
T.A.

1.5.5.   'Gender Display' and Sexual Display

Gender is a grammatical category which has a
specific syntactic correlate in language i.e having the
function of agreement marker between words in certain syn-
tactic groupings.   In a parallel way sex differences in
language can be seen as 'Gender display':   Legman G. in
his Rationale of Dirty Jokes: An Analysis of Sexual Humor
(1968) argues that speech is a form of sexual display very
similar to a female or male ornament.   This theme is taken
up in 1970 by Birdwhistell, R. in 'Mascularity and Femininity
as display', In Kinesics and Context.   He states that because
Man, compared to other species is weakly sexually dimorphic,
he organises certain learnt characteristics so as to com-
pensate and enhance this dimorphism.   Trudgill (1974) also
hints at this point when he writes 'Using a female linguistic
variety is as much a case of identifying oneself as female,
and of behaving 'as a woman should' as is, say wearing a
skirt'. (p. 95).   Speech differences along the sex parameter
can, therefore, be seen as part of this enhancement, which
is, probably, true for most societies and will remain so

even if some feminist writers are set against this social
enactment of sexual dimorphism.   It is, however, not pos-
sible to see this factor and only this one as the sole cause
of 'sex dialect'.   Sex dialect can only be completely un-
derstood when and if the socio-economic and even psycholo-
gical - the latter can be the consequence of the former -
is fully analysed.

1.6.   The Socio-economic Factor

It seems that none of the above 'propositions'
are entirely satisfactory to account for sex differences in
language.   Furthermore on a deeper analysis, those so-
called 'explanations' can only be the consequence of the
societal norms and economic position of males and females
in a given society.   Thus invasion theory, taboo, lingui-
stic change, instinctive or biological explanation and
'gender display' are consequences which will lead to lin-
guistic differentiation and not the causes of such phenomena.
The social stimulus to relegate women to a dif-
ferential position (even if not admitted) if not purely
inferior, has made women conform to this disparity (even if
unconsciously) by isolating themselves from male groups and/
or reinforcing the female solidarity by accentuating their
speech specificity, thus creating a 'sexual display', taboos
for the opposite sex, and so forth.   'Gender display', hence,
is a name of the linguistic phenomenon but not the cause or
explanation of the phenomenon.   In the same way, taboo
is the label given to the phenomenon and so are the other
'processes'.   It is, thus more adequate to say that it is

the differential social position of males and females which
has created differential linguistic usage.   Stratification
and evolution are therefore the real causes of sex dialect.
I will endeavour to demonstrate these points in what follows.

It has been claimed that we cannot account for the
development of sex varieties in the same way as class dia-
lect.   I submit that, on the contrary, this type of dis-
crepancy has to be understood along, not necessarily iden-
tical but similar lines, namely that the concepts of 'dist-
ance' and 'difference' in 'thus geographical, ethnic groups
and social class varities are at least partly the result of
social distance, while sex varieties are the result of
social difference', (Trudgill, P. 1974. p. 95) are in fact
synonymous since for the purpose of analysis both concepts
are the result of social stratification i.e. arrangement
of society or groups into a hierarchy of positions in re-
lation to power, property and social evaluation.

The links between 'class' and 'sexual stratifica-
tion' are confirmed by the writers of the founders of scien-
tific socialism and their disciples.   For instance, in
Problems of women's liberation, Evelyn Reed sums up the
causes - which may or may not be true - of women's present
situation as follows:

> 'It was the result of the revolutionary
> social changes which destroyed the equalit-
> arian society... and replaced it with a
> patriarchal class society, which from its
> birth, was stamped with discriminations and in-
> equalities of many kinds, including the in-
> equalities of the sexes.   The growth of
> this inherently oppressive type of socio-
> economic organisation was responsible for
> the historic downfall of women'. (p. 65).

Oppression and degradation inflicted on women, cannot be
separated from the exploitation of the working classes.

Women's inferior status - whether socially admitted as such
or not - and the mirrored inferiority in language use, is
the product of the social system which has produced and
fostered innumerable other inequalities, inferiorities and
'degradations'.

The notion of class in all linguistic literature
is rarely defined. It is, however, clear that such a con-
cept develops on the basis of the different positions or roles
which individuals fulfil in the productive scheme in a given
society. Thus a person's class situation can be defined
as the location which he shares with those who are similarly
placed in the process of production; distribution, exchange
and evaluation; be it on the purely economic, socio-economic
or linguistic level. If, therefore, one proves that there
is a form of division of labour and that there are different
norms for social evaluation as regards sex one can be ex-
pected to find a male-female class stratification which will
necessarily be revealed in language, since language not only
is a means of communication of what are termed 'concepts',
but also is the mirror of given beliefs, attitudes and cul-
tural norms of a given society at a given time. In other
words "the lexicon of a language remains the single most
effective way of approaching and understanding the culture
of its speakers" (Watkins, C. 1969 p. 1498).

If we adopt a componential analysis of the lexicon
of a language such as in T.A., a word like ʃifur 'driver,
chauffeur' can only have the feature /+ male/ ; /+ female/
is impossible for the Tlemcenian community at the present
time. Similarly qābla 'mid-wife' can only be /+ female/ ;
qābal is either a nonsense if taken to be the masculine

counterpart of qābla, or is altogether another lexical item
derived from 'q-b-l' meaning 'accept' cf qābal, he accepts.
All the following words will be /+ male/ exclusively: pisie
(epicier French) 'food retailer', bulāʒe (French boulanger)
'baker', xaddār 'vegetable retailer', ḥawwāt 'fish retailer,
ʒattār 'spice retailer', ḥalleb 'milkman'; generally speaking
the role of a professional trader is hardly compatible with
the expected role of females in the Tlemcenian community at
large.

Another category of lexical items having a /+ male/
feature are words like : plõbie (French plombier) 'plumber',
elektrisiẽ (electrician), mekanisiẽ (French mecanicien)
'mechanic', ḥadded' 'blacksmith', naʒʒār 'carpenter',
bnātri 'painter' and so forth. At another social level we
have words like wāli' - French prefet i.e. county admini-
strator' 'chef de daira i.e. French Sous-Prefet', ministr
'minister', sekreter ʒeneral i.e. 'general secretary', presidã
'president', Kolonel 'colonel' and generally ofisie
'officer', except for a few at the lower levels in the
army and police. At the other end of the social scale words
like garso dkafe (French garçon de café) 'waiter', balejor
(French balayeur) 'street cleaner', and so on, also cannot
have /+ female/ feature, not because they are to be performed
by males with a concomitant lowering of status, but mainly be-
cause they are performed in public. If a particular kind of work
is continuously assigned to males, females rarely engage in it
and conversely. Thus jobs like : ʒeniur 'engineer', prokyror
(French procureur) or Rarraq (district attorney) are mostly
performed by males, females, however, can obtain such posi-
tions, but this would be regarded by society as an accom-
plishment, hence the difference of evaluation. Jobs like

<u>kosierz</u> 'warden', <u>xaddāma</u> 'servant' (notice that this word
is ambiguous between 'servant' and 'worker' when the suffix
is feminine, but means only 'worker' when the suffix is mas-
culine, numerous other examples will be given at a later
stage), <u>xajjāta</u> 'female dress maker' can only be performed
by females.   In fact women in the Tlemcenian community are
mostly limited to the jobs mentioned along with others such
as teachers at primary and secondary level (much less in
higher education and less so in scientific domains).   They
are also felt to be suitable for nursing and for secretarial
and clerical work.   Again they could suitably be employed
in textile/needle trade (mostly <u>zrābi</u> 'carpets' and female
dresses).   A woman can also 'work' at home on the sewing
and embroidery crafts.   The acquisition of such crafts begins
in childhood, hence the preparation of the young girl for
less valued future roles.   This not only conditions the
girl into adopting a certain behaviour vis à vis her place
and role in her community, but the subject simultaneously
conforms to it by extending and 'refining' her lexicon in
this domain and, more generally, in all those domains she
is expected to occupy, hence the precise discrimination pos-
sible in the field of colour, and in naming different materials
and dresses terms that only few men know.   It is also true
that other crafts are performed by males, in which case
they also develop certain specialised lexical items but
there are at least two differences from those of females'.

a)   On the social level, male crafts need not be
performed behind closed doors

b)   On the sociolinguistic level, the terminology of
a female's crafts are known to the great majority of other

females,whereas the terminology of male craft is known
mostly only to other craftsmen.

Women occupy, mostly, jobs which are felt to be
in line with their housework,and such occupation is only
an extension of their housework.   Thus, whatever job, what-
ever social position a woman may have, she has, first, to be
a daughter, a wife, a mother.   The new occupational roles
do not, therefore, displace the domestic role, they simply
add responsibility and work.   Furthermore, males and fe-
males may share common occupational position,but as men-
tioned above, they are also expected to belong to different
modes of production since, certain jobs and posts are still
closed to them by some unwritten customary laws.   We must
also bear in mind that "... most women, even those who have
gone to school do not enter the elite professions.   In many
of the developing countries they account for less than 1% of
all adult women" (Boserup 1970 , p. 126 cited by Hammond, D
and Jablow A, 1976, p. 96.).   Women in the Tlemcenian com-
munity are, generally, mostly confined to domestic life.
This relegation to the domestic sphere would automatically
seem to place them in a subordinate position as public life
which does confer power and authority is mainly the concern
of males.   We can trace these facts in language use by:
a)   finding extensive female use of lexical items for
acts relating to the domestic life;   those lexical items
are often missing in male speech.
b)   the use of certain lexical items or patterns
which reveals the inferior status relegated to women because
of their expected role.
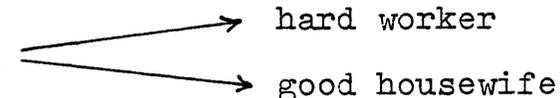
e.g.   dreǰ ➛ hard worker
                     ➛ good housewife

c)　　　　different distribution of the lexicon with regard
to sense and reference.

d)　　　　different grammatical usage carrying important
status impact.

e)　　　　Conformism of females ~~by~~ *paralleled* by the crystalization of
specificities.

f)　　　　differential 'topics'/ *of conversation* caused by the division of
labour.

　　　　The obvious social inferiority imposed upon the
female 'class' as well as the 'negative' male attitude to-
ward the opposite sex, can be found in the very word <u>woman</u>,
for, as will be shown subsequently, 'woman' means more than 'female
human being'.　Each society, each culture elaborates
an entire configuration of attitudes, values and expecta-
tions on the 'conceptual' meaning of a word.　We shall,
thus, find numerous lexical items bearing bad or negative
connotations when the referent is female, whereas neutral
or positive connotations when the referent is male.　In
English this is reflected by 'sister' and its derivative
'sissy' versus 'brother' and its American derivative 'buddy'.
Through the meaning of like words as well as their possible
collocations and colligations, one can arrive at a fairly
correct judgement not only of female expected and/or actual
role, but also and often her supposed behaviour and person-
ality.　For instance sentences like

1.　　　<u>eiwa ma ta9mal∫ 9liha hadik Ri mra</u>

　　　　'don't take any notice of her she is nothing
　　　　but a woman'.

2.　　　<u>eiwa rak 9āraf　annsa</u>

　　　　'Well, you know women' (associated with negative
　　　　connotations)

3.   <u>nsa d9āf</u>

          'women are weak'

and even

4.   <u>eiwa nta ḥmaq ta9mal 9la annsa?</u>

          'well, are you so crazy as to take women

          seriously?'

expressions which are often heard ⸱   ⸱⸱ and   ⸱⸱⸱ are

very descriptive of females' supposed character, person-

ality and even social status.   When 'r-ʒ-l' (man) is

collocated with the same lexemes, the meaning of sentences

(1) and (4) would either change completely, or be entirely

nonsensical.   Thus

1.   <u>eiwa ma ta 9malʃ 9lih hadak Ri raʒal</u>

          'don't take any notice of him, he is nothing

          but a man'

cannot be accepted as a meaningful sentence.

2.   would certainly be associated with positive

connotations

3.   would be very improbable

and

4.   would rather mean 'you are crazy to compete

with men'.

          There is also a <u>supposed</u> male superiority based

on the biological difference.   This inequality has been

accepted as relevant pattern of social superiority and in-

feriority since, it has been incorporated into the beliefs.

This male 'superiority' can be revealed by the good or pos-

itive connotations associated with masculine words and some

'man'/'male' collocations.   Whereas the following sentence:

          <u>arraʒal ma jat9ajjabʃ</u>

          'no fault can be found in a man'

is normal,

> lamra ma tat9ajjabʃ

> 'no fault can be found in a woman'

is impossible.

The limitation in social interactions upon women, is another trait of male dominance hence social discriminations. Thus female's activities and relationships that are basic and very often, unique, are within the context of the family; hence the extensive use of kin-terms and its specialisation. Not only is the family her main sphere of activities, but she is defined in terms of it. Thus to the question: 'who is he?' the answer whatever the participant can be 'his name is X' whatever the age and social status. For females, however, the answer depends on several parameters such as age, participants, sex, degree of relationship to both participant and referent. It is fair, nevertheless, to say that contrary to the case of males who, generally have a status of their own, females before and after marriage are defined in terms of others. When, for instance, a kin term is used to address or refer to a female, very often it is not used with the same sense as for males, whereas kin terms are often used to specify the male relationship, the corresponding kin terms used for a female is used as a marker of respect or distance. Thus before marriage, depending on who is speaking to whom, a girl can be:

> . bint (xti, xai, xeli, 9ammi, 9amti etc...)
> daughter of (sister, brother, uncle, aunt etc...)
> . xutt (X), 'the sister of X..'

and so forth.

After marriage, she is:

- <u>mrat X</u> 'the wife of X..'

- <u>9rusat X</u> 'the daughter-in-law of X..'

- <u>ħfidat X</u> 'sister-in-law of X..'

and so forth.

These linguistic patterns are a sign of social distinction since, it is obvious that "to be named and defined by someone else is to accept an imposed identity, to agree that the way others see us is the way we are" (Hammond, D. and Jablow, A., 1976, p.15).

Female proper names are not as freely used as those of males, and on the contrary a man can never be defined in relation to his wife when addressed.   Thus

<u>ja radẕal X</u> 'Oh husband of X'

is impossible.   It is therefore fair, to say that the use of kin terms, proper names (and titles of address) reveal something of the structure of the society and the differential status accorded to the participants as well as a pattern of inequality.

The limitation of the possible interactions, is also a cause of many other linguistic discrepancies; namely the use of different <u>registers</u>, as in, say, male specificity as regards the language of '<u>fatiħa</u>'.   In opposition to this type of register, we have a female register specificity as in, say, the language used for arranging marriage: the first type operates, however, at the level of 'legislation' whereas the second operates at the level of customs or traditions and, although the second might disappear, the first will remain constant.   It is, therefore, clear that register specificity is a sign of superiority or inequality if and when such specificity correlates with

some type of social protection (either written or unwritten law), which cannot be violated in time. Another direct consequence of different male/female social interactions having impact on the linguistic level can also be found in say address forms, greetings, praises and good wishes, insults and, specific female innuendoes. The latter being a mirror of female inhibitions and prohibitions imposed on women.

This linguistic discrepancy is ensured and maintained by a different conditioning of males and females at a very early stage of their lives. Thus, the training of girls emphasizes the acquisition of domestic skills, and other interests and activities are not encouraged even if they are not discouraged; but in all events, they will remain secondary. Small girls are not afforded the same possibilities to explore their environment and even to play freely as their brothers do. The reason given to girls is invariably 'ntina bant (ma xassak∫/ma...)' 'you are a girl you must not/don't...' or 'xak raʒal wa ntina bant' 'your brother is a man and you are a women' as if raʒal and bant (mra) carried with them an inherent 'natural' behavioural pattern. She must speak correctly, properly like her mother and if/when she ventures into a male linguistic feature, she is immediately corrected. More importantly, girls are also often psychologically constrained. They are taught to inhibit impulses and the free display of emotions such as anger. For instance, whereas a boy could be allowed to express his anger in some contexts by 'swearing' a girl would not do so even if the participants were girls of the same age group for the reason given above; she is a 'bant'. If she does so, she again, would be corrected and accused of being a

'baba ra<u>z</u>al''tom-boy'.

The verbal 'explanation' of the taboos inflicted upon the girls and of taboo, in general, reflects the adult's role of subserving the cultural needs, as well as, expectations. Words of this category or collocations are not only expressions of the culture of a given society but also an integral part of it; they are "so much part of the way we perceive ourselves that we tend not to think about how we came to accept them or about their power to mould others in the same matrix" (Miller, C. & Swift, K. 1977 p.58). In other words, language 'is a guide to social reality... (it) powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes' (Sapir, E. 1928), and the words we use daily reflect our cultural understandings and at the same time transmit them to the next generation through an agency that subserves the cultural need'.

The different linguistic training correlates with the formation of different sex-roles. Whereas males are trained to use language freely, to use the language of a future active citizen, girls, on the other hand, are given a different 'education'; trained to be mothers, wives, to concentrate on the 'family' and household problems and concentrate on registers and topics related to such domains. One can even hear little girls aged four say:

<u>'ana ma na?rā∫ , na?te wa rad<u>z</u>li j<u>z</u>ibli lxubz'</u>

'I don't want to go to school (study), I will

do the housework and my husband will provide

for me (bring me bread)'.

If a boy fails at school, he is told off, encouraged and perhaps given private tuition, but if/or when a girl fails,

that does not pose as great a problem to the family, and the
following commiseration is often given:

> 'ma؟liʃ ntina bant (tmanna tteh fḥa rrazal mliḥ)
> lawken ḥatta ma tsa?rāʃ tag؟ud faddār ta?te
> 'never mind, you are a girl (hope to find a
> good husband) even if you don't succeed you
> will stay at home (for your household).

The same sentence could never be directed to a male.

Girls are trained to be obedient future wives,
mostly dependent on the husband and a successful female is
ʃātra 'works well', bi draḥḥa 'good housewife', taḥʃam
'prude', whereas a successful male is one who nzah 'succeed-
ed (either in business or studies)' ma؟ruf 'well known'
bidra؟u 'hard worker' or 'has lots of connections'. If
any of the above qualifications is used of the opposite sex,
the meaning would altogether, be altered. For instance the
feminine counterpart of ma؟ruf is ma؟rufa which would, now,
rather mean 'loose girl' or even 'prostitute' whereas the
masculine counterpart of ʃātra i.e. ʃātar would rather
mean 'hard worker', 'has a gift', 'very helpful', depending
on context.

From an early age, females are trained for their
most important role: wife and mother. Motherhood which is,
therefore, the essence of a female existence, is a praised
"state" and sterility is a scourge dreaded by all women.
A sterile women, ؟āgra, would very often, be ridiculed directly
or indirectly by use of innuendoes, for 'failing' to fulfil
her natural role, a sterile man is, rather, pitied. ؟āgar
versus ؟āgra like many other lexical items, convey different
connotations, therefore, different attitudes of society
toward males and females as well as different evaluations.

With motherhood, comes child rearing which, again, is considered to be a role confined to females. She, therefore, uses certain lexical items, collocations, colligations and some form of baby-talk which men scarcely, if ever, use. Thus a sentence like mʃit naxsul laxru? 'I went to wash the nappies' is an impossible sentence in male speech,except as a quotation. The relation between parent and offspring depends on sex and this difference will, again, be revealed in language. Fathers are, generally speaking, authoritarian and more distant from the child than the mother and, with distance comes a lack of emotional communication, hence usage of different address forms by parents to their offspring and conversely (together with a greater usage of diminutive by females, as dimunitives are sign of endearment).

The sexual 'training' and expectancies are also different for males and females. Thus, females are expected to remain virgin until they marry. This is so much taken for granted, that the very word ǝazba meaning 'young girl' also means 'virgin'. Not only must girls not have any kind of sexual relation,but should not speak about or refer to sex. Hence, on the one hand, taboo on sexual referents or words having sexual connotations,and the use of metaphores, innuendoes, on the other. For instance the sentence 'fiha ddam' 'she has her period' is often substituted by 'riha musxa' 'she is dirty' which shows that:

a)   there is a linguistic constraint caused by social constraints.

b)   that menstruation and, generally, sex is regarded as 'dirty' and has to be avoided, at least verbally.

We have seen that the end result of such 'conditioning' is to prepare males and females for specific roles.

This would be reflected by use of different lexical items
or lexical items having different connotations.   It leads
to a restricted vocabulary or lexical elaboration for one
sex or the other.   There are, for instance, occupational
jargons which will be restricted to either sex.   Thus the
jargon of a mechanic being specific to males, can only be
used by a male and females will, rarely, be able to under-
stand the following sentence:

> ani meʃi   nbaddal le vis platine
>
> 'I am going to change the points'

It would be an impossible sentence for a Tlemcenian female,
because of the reason given above and because she must not
have contact with a stranger (mechanic) or dabble in a man's
field.

In fact even daily conversations are typically
either male or female.   Thus in Tlemcen, a women of a
certain age can talk about household members, personal lives
and people (gossip);   domestic problems, dresses, jewellery,
feasts and the like, whereas men mostly talk about their jobs,
politics, cars, sports, religion and the like.   This does
not mean that one sex or the other does not venture into
the 'other's field'.   But one does notice, for instance that
when a woman does venture into say, politics, it could never
be without reference to her personal life, problems and house-
hold.

Finally, another way of looking at the social at-
titudes towards males and females is through the proper names.
If a rose by any other name would not smell any sweeter, at
least, the word 'rose' carries with it a 'smell', connota-
tions that no other lexical item does carry.   We can see

the importance of this particular word - importance beyond
purely 'denotative meaning' - in 'voir la vie en rose',
'belle comme une rose', 'l'important c'est la rose'.

Similarly proper names in T.A. carry with them
more than a 'label', a means to identify an individual as
opposed to another, since one of the most useful functions
of a given name is to serve as a principle identifier of sex,
particularly in Arabic.   Furthermore, the meaning and dis-
tribution of proper names are revealing as to the attitudes
and evaluation of the sexes.   Thus a man can be <u>abdel</u>
'slave of' + some terms denoting one of the at^{t}ributes or
names of God,

e.g.   (ileh,   wehid)

cf   <u>abdelileh</u> 'slave of God'

           <u>abdel wehid</u> 'slave of the unique'

since religiously, it is considered an 'honour' to have such
a name conferred upon one.   A female, however, cannot be
honoured by these titles terms <u>abda</u> (+ name of God or attri-
butes).   Similarly a man can be <u>ban</u> + name cf <u>ban muhamad</u>
'son of Mohamed).   But there is no social advantages or
social pride in having a daughter, a girl (see greetings;
'birth') therefore <u>bant</u> 'daughter of' + name is impossible
and so is 'father of' bu + female name, although bu + male
name is possible and normal.

A man can be:

<u>muhamed</u>	'the one who praises (God)'
<u>9eli</u>	'the high one'
<u>mustapha</u>	'the pure'
<u>hamid</u>	'the praiser'
<u>lotfi</u>	'my repentence'

       morād   'the good-willing'

and the general tendency is to find male names referring

either to religion, to family relationships or to spiritual

or social virtues.

     A woman, on the other hand, is more probable to

be:

warda	'flower'
malika	'queen'
nora	'light'
badra	'the moon'
ɡaziza	'the dear'
dɛlila	'the sweet'
suɡed	'the lucky'
naʒɛt	'the protected'

and the general tendency is to find names referring to natural

or physical beauty, social virtues, flowers. However, we

do have names which can be given to both males and females.

cf   ʒamel/ʒamila   'beautiful'

           ɡatef/ɡatefa   'delicate'

and the majority of these names carry with them an expectation

to find the bearer (of these names) as 'good-looking, nice,

physically attractive and the like'.

     It is clear, from what has been said above, that

sex-dialect is caused by social differentiation and more

precisely by socio-economic discrepancies.

1.7.   **Bilingualism in Algeria: Men's and women's place**

     We have argued for socio-economic factors as the

primary cause of linguistic differences in a given society

in general and, between males and females more specifically.
The general observation is, therefore, that socio-economic dif-
ferences automatically correlate with linguistic differences
and vice versa . This can be, exemplified by, say, the con-
tact allowed to one sex or the other in relation to different
dialects or languages in a given society.

The linguistic aspects of bilingualism, i.e. inter-
ference or mutual influence of systems, structures, borrowing
and so forth, is only one of the many facets of a larger
reality involving not only two languages but also and primarily
two societies, two cultures in a specific politico-socio-
economic situation. Consequently the notion of bilingual-
ism presupposes certain linguistic, cultural, political,
economic and social specificities and cannot be thoroughly
understood, let alone analysed, without research into each
of the above components.

It seems that linguists have focused their analysis
on the descriptive and social side of the problem and have too
often neglected the politico-economic factors which give us
some insight into a descriptive as well as predicative ap-
proach. The Algerian linguistic situation involving the
birth of bilingualism could easily have been predicted from
the political attitude of France in relation to its 'colonies'.
And the death of this very bilingualism can as easily be pre-
dicted from the present policy of the Algerian government.

During the colonial period, the language imposed
on the ' Market place' as well as on administration and edu-
cation, was the language of the colonial power. The French
cultural diffusion and bilingualism which was (and to some
extent still is) a consequence of this, were parallelled by

the extension of the schooling system. But one does not learn a language without being to various degrees impregnated by the culture it conveys, particularly if the language imposed in education was the sole authorised tool of culture, the sole vehicle of scientific and technical thought. French learning for children of the traditional elite could not (and still cannot) be divorced from a deep rooted adherence to French culture. The use of French in school had thus a double function

a)   the assimilation of Algerians to the cultural society

b)   the instrument maintaining social differentiation between

- the colonisers and colonised
- the colonised themselves in so far as education was (is) restricted to a minority.

Dialectal Arabic and French represent two different cultures. Before 1962 dialectal Arabic (henceforth D.A.) was (and to a certain extent still is) the language which contained maximum affective (hence cultural) values which are transmitted during the primary socialising period. It was, however, 'devalued' since it had no socio-economic value in the daily life of the Algerians: D.A. was not needed to practice one's occupation nor was it needed for social promotion and advancement. Eventually, knowledge and use of French became an indication of cultural identification with French society. It was at least, a sign of departure from purely Algerian norms. In this situation where both languages and cultures were in close contact, two aspects have to be considered:

a)   a sociological process; viz: bilingualism

            and acculturation

b)   a correlate of that process: change in one

            or both systems viz: linguistic interference

            and cultural borrowing.

            To understand the effect of the acculturation

process, we have to distinguish the politico-cultural super-

structure from the socio-economic infrastructure; bearing

in mind their interdependence.   We find, then, four si-

tuations:

1.   deculturation: i.e. assimilation to the French

system in case of which French will be currently used at home

and parents will want their children to have a French edu-

cation.

2.   A material acculturation followed by a complete

rupture from the original milieu, in which case D.A. is used

but looked down on.

3.   In this category we find people who live in cities

and on whom a trace of colonisation and biculturation can

still be found by a use of D.A. mixed with French loan words

as well as extensive code-switching.

4.   In this category we find people with an Arab-Is-

lamic culture, who might know French but are reluctant to use

it.

            We, therefore, see that a use of a specific language

or language selection, correlates with the social attitude

and 'mentality'.   Thus '.. La majorité des instituteurs

Arabisant ont été formé dans des systèmes d'enseignement

traditionnels vehiculant des valeures traditionnalistes.'

For instance 'quand on observe les reticences à l'égard du

travail de la femme, formulées par les hommes, on constate
que les Arabisants tous confondus viennent en tête, suivis
des Francisants urbains, puis des Francisants ruraux' and
'Les instituteurs Arabisants Algerois rejoignent l'idéologie
nationaliste "spontanement" quand il s'agit de la récupéra-
tion des valeurs Arabo-Islamiques et difficilement quand il
s'agit de modernité, et les instituteurs Francisants la
recoupent "spontanement" quand il s'agit de modernité
(attitudes scientistes) mais difficilement quand il s'agit
de la recuperation des valeurs Arabo-Islamiques'.
(Bouzida, A. 1976 pp. 43, 134, 141.)

Before independence, the domination of French
language and culture was questioned by:

a)   The Ulama movement with its attempt to diffuse
Arabic.   This was a factor from 1925 onwards (see Section
on Diglossia).

b)   The movement of Algerian authors writing in French
who contested the consequences of colonisation and bilingual-
ism, and simultaneously encouraged the study and propagation
of Algerian Arabic oral literature.

In 1962 the sudden upheaval in the politico-econo-
mic structure had an important impact on the social and
cultural life and consequently on the linguistic situation.
The official language became, thereafter, Arabic.   French
was 'rejected' and with it the cultural implications.   This
rejection was, however, more symbolic than factual since it
was still widely taught at all levels of education and was
still used at the administrative level.   This rejection had,
however, an important consequence on the subsequent development
of French in Algeria.   In fact from 1962 onwards, we can

say that, as will subsequently be seen, Algerian French
became divorced from standard French.

Although French was - and still is - still widely
used, the solution envisaged was to consider that situation
as a transitory period which would, gradually, disappear in
favour of the 'national language': classical Arabic. This
gradual replacement of the functions of one language by
another can easily be seen by comparing the programmes of
schools and universities in, say, 1962, 1968 and 1979 (See
Section on Diglossia) as well as in television programmes
spanning the same dates.

The future situation (of which the tip of the
iceberg is showing) appears, then, to be more complex than
the past: from a bilingual (D.A versus French) situation,
we are moving towards a D.A/Modern Arabic/French situation.
And one can foresee eventually a situation consisting of
D.A/literary Arabic in which French would only be a foreign
language. That is to a change from pure bilingualism, to
bilingualism plus diglossia and eventually to diglossia.
This will, of course, remain true, if the political aims
continue to be upheld. A direct consequence of the colonial
period was the creation of bilingualism and the creation of
the (4) four different 'classes' mentioned above, members of
which not only have a different attitude toward the different
languages currently present (D.A., classical Arabic, French),
but also whose usage and ability (fluency) also varies
significantly. For instance in the case of French, we can
have relatively standard French, Algerian French, a French/
Arabic Pidgin or extensive code-switching. The future
situation on the other hand, will involve a different kind of

bilingualism and consequently a different ordering of social 'classes'.

Within the present heterogenous situation, we have to distinguish the place of males and females in Algerian bilingualism. Although only about 20% of the population is French/D.A bilingual, the majority of this group is comprised of male speakers simply because of the fact that girls are much less encouraged to have an education. And those who have had one, usually leave school at about the age of eighteen in order to marry or for some other social reason as will be described subsequently. However, the existence of male and female 'classes' poses an important question: have men and women the same kind of bilingualism? In other words is their French identical? Is their Arabic identical? Do they use French in the same domains and do they have the same rules of code-switching? Have they the same kinds of acculturation? Have they the same kind of interference?

Most of those questions will be answered in the analysis of the differences between male/female as regard Arabic, French and 'French Arabic pidgin'. For the moment the difference is taken for granted. A cause of this difference can be explained by the fact that the contact with French culture had a different impact on each sex. Furthermore, the fields of interest and social possibilities and entertainments are different as well, consequently language use in certain areas will be excluded from the register of one or the other sex. We can say that male and female bilingualism can be similar but certainly not identical.

1.8.   <u>Diglossia in Algeria</u>

*<u>Place of Males & Females</u>.

We have seen that the Algerian bilingual situation is of a more complex type than would appear on first analysis. Another phenomenon: Diglossia is perhaps even more complex since it is undergoing a continuous 'change'.

It is not possible in the Algerian case to divorce the concept of bilingualism from the (de) cultural implications. Algerian diglossia indeed, has some cultural implications as well, the principal of which is the move towards an Arab-Islamic context. In contrast to the notion of bilingualism with its declining function, the main and most important factor and consequence of diglossia remains political to the extent that we can objectively say that it has been 'established' and is crystalizing into different shapes by means of a sort of linguistic 'dictatorship' - directly or indirectly.

In June 1962 the 'Tripoli program', later adopted by 'le Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne', clearly declared Arabic to be the National Language. The question, which type of Arabic, Classical or Dialectal, it was to be, however, was not even asked: Classical Arabic was chosen by the party in power. This choice, of course, had some serious implications for, whereas one set of behaviour and attitudes were expressed in French, other sets of behaviour and attitudes were expressed in dialectical Arabic, but none in classical Arabic. The only living language was dialectal Arabic, classical Arabic remaining the language of literature and, or scientific exposé, and hence was/divorced from social use.

The gap between classical Arabic and dialectal

In this section, we shall study the consequences of the contact of two varieties of the 'same language', and the respective places of males and females in relation to both these varieties and their linguistic evolution.

In so doing, it will be necessary to present a brief historical treatment of the clash between and/or the evolution of Dialectal Arabic and Classical Arabic. It will be argued that this 'clash' had an effective start in 1962 with the adoption of the 'Tripoli program', and that such a 'clash' is reflected by the attitudes of society towards both languages.

To understand these linguistic changes and 'evolution', it is important to analyse the different educational policies considered since 1962 and the concept of Arabisation in Algerian language planning.

Arabic is, therefore, wide enough to say that for the 'Francophones' (those who until 1965 carried on all their studies and the majority of their activity in French during that period) Classical Arabic was almost a third language since there was no intelligibility (the first being dialectal Arabic, the second French) i.e. the majority of the 'nation' could not understand a classical Arabic speech.

This situation still prevails with the difference , however, that the percentage of the Francophones is decreasing year by year.   The attitude towards classical Arabic is also revealing.   During some interviews on television, people very often refused to 'aim at' classical Arabic and when asked to do so one answer came:

> '∈na natkalam bluRat nta9na, luRat lᴣazair'
>
> 'I will speak our language, the language of
>
> Algeria'.

The gap between classical Arabic and Dialectal Arabic is even wider when we realise that in 1966, only 17.1% were able to read and speak classical Arabic (to any extent).

Within the concept of Diglossia, we have now to determine the place of males and females.   This place is of course defined by factors such as education, social role and so forth.   As far as education is concerned, the place of one sex or the other is shown by the following figures. In 1966 23.8% (out of the 17.1% of the total population) males could speak and write classical Arabic but only 8.4% (out of the 17.1% of the total population females could speak and write classical Arabic.

The clearly defined role of females in Algeria (see Section 1.6) has an important consequence on the lin-

guistic behaviour since language is part of the micro-political structure which helps to maintain the macro-social and political structure. Thus, since women have very limited social possibilities, particularly in Tlemcen, they do not use as much classical Arabic; the only languages which may be used in social 'relations' are/the first instance French and in the second dialectal Arabic which depends of course on context, participants present, topic and age.

Generally speaking we can say that until 1962 Algeria was not diglossic but that only a few people used classical Arabic and that merely for political reasons. The phenomenon of diglossia appeared in 1965 along with the concept of Arabisation. In the mid of the problems described earlier (see bilingualism) the only solution was ARABISATION. This term is very ambiguous since it is sometimes in free variation with Algerianisation, with Islamisation, Arabo-Islamic acculturation and even 'Arabising' (adoption of classical Arabic).

The first sign of Arabisation appeared with a group of intellectuals lead by Sheikh Abdelhamid Ben Badis who in 1925 headed a ———————— religious reformation, rejuvenating Islam and the use of written Arabic in Algeria, adopting the motto 'l'Islam est ma religion, l'Algérie mon pays et l'Arabe ma langue' (Islam is my religion, Algeria my country and Arabic my language). In this form, Arabisation is of course a militant concept, which had started during the colonial period and still continues to have a big place in the actual political framework.

On June 19th, 1965 after the coup, the men in power adopted the concept of Arabisation with all its associations

and appointed A. Taleb Ibrahimi, a supporter of this notion,
as Minister of National Education. However, in 1966, French
was still predominant. The problem was then to arrive at a
harmonisation between French and classical Arabic and then
at a gradual substitution of the former by the latter. Bi-
lingualism was then a necessity and a progressive diglossia
an aim. It was decided:

a)   to reject a 'horizontal' progression of Arabic
which meant giving a complete Arabic education but Arabising
one form after another following the rhythm of the schooling
system. It was, however, difficult to provide the education-
al board with all the required teachers.

b)   to reject a 'vertical progression' i.e. to Arabicise
one subject after the other.

c)   to choose a 'progression ponctuelle' i.e. to
Arabicise all forms at all levels of education as well as
all subjects, but limiting this system to a small number of
schools (e.g. one primary school plus (+) one secondary school
by city).

In 1966 education was, thus, bilingual with French
predominance and total Arabicisation (as opposed to Arabisation)
existed only in the first forms of primary schools and second
forms of secondary schools.

In 1967 there was Arabisation of the 2nd form of
primary schools.

In 1971 French was taught only in 3rd and 4th form
of primary schools and was only a syllabus. In the 5th and
6th form it was the language used in teaching. However,
history, for instance, was Arabised.

As far as secondary schools are concerned, some

were entirely Arabicized but only one of these was for girls
(1967).   Meanwhile in the so-called 'Lycée Transitoire'
Arabic progressed either by syllabus or by form.   Thus in
1971,one third of 1st and 3nd forms were totally Arabicised.
In 1972 the 3rd and 6th forms and in 1973 4th forms and
'terminales' (upper sixth forms) were arabicized.

By the same token, the government organised some
'stages de recyclage' for Francophones.   In education, a
bill was introduced in January 1973 announcing that everyone
should possess a certain standard in Arabic.   For this
purpose some evening courses were organised.

It is, therefore, clear that Arabicizing i.e.
continuous development of diglossic situation must be seen
as a movement from above and as having more and more impact
on every day life.

To sum up we can say that in 1962 we had the
following:

Dialectal Arabic   +   (French)   +   Classical Arabic

used by males & females   used more by males in
in certain context   very limited context
                                       (more written than
                                       spoken).

In 1979, the situation is entirely different.

Dialectal Arabic + (French) + Third Language + Classical Arabic

used by males &   used by both   used by both
females   sexes with a   sexes with
                             majority of   male majority
                             males

A 'third language' appeared with simplification
of the exceptionally rich lexicon of classical Arabic in
order to ease communication.   It involved 'purification'
of dialectal Arabic' as well as the introduction of new

concepts required by modernisation which earlier had been the domain of French.   It is the language spoken by the men active in politics, the elite educated in an Arabic which they encourage the new generation to speak.

It appears, therefore, that the diglossic situation which prevails now, is completely different from the one which existed in 1962 or even in 1966, furthermore provided there is total education and that the ideas emitted in 1965 will still be maintained, it is quite possible to see in the next decades, an end of dialectal Arabic, as it is now used, for the following reasons:

Let H be classical Arabic and L dialectal Arabic. We have seen that there is a HL (troisième langue) which is more and more used in speeches, interviews and very formal conversations and is the language the new generation are encouraged to speak.   In other words, it is the linguistic target which will certainly be reached, everything being equal, then we will have the following transitions:

L + HL + HHL + H

∅ + HL + HHL + HHL

∅ + ∅ + HHL + HHHL + H and so on

It must be mentioned that although it is very probable that in the future males and females will be equally diglossic, this will not mean their speech will be identical not, at least, until their social roles and functions are identical.   For the time being, we can say that males and females in Algeria are not even similar, let alone identical, either in degree or quality.

1.9.   Code-Switching and Sex

No normal speech person in a normal speech community is limited in repertoire to a single variety of code.   In Tlemcen, and Algeria at large, 'code-switching' is important, for it involves the interrelation of different 'languages' aswell as different 'registers'.   Switching to different languages or dialects and shifting or switching to different registers or varieties is a relative matter, and the distinction between 'register' or 'variety' and language or dialect   is blurred;   but the social implications consequent upon or caused by different types of 'switching' or 'shifting' are much more profound.

Indeed, on many occasions, one finds it difficult to decide whether one is code-switching' from one language to another or merely using a 'new grammar' which is the assimilation of two originals.   In other words, from a socio-linguistic point of view, it is important to come to a conclusion as to whether those initially different language uses have to be regarded as a functionally structured 'intra-group' or 'inter-group' types of conversation, communication etc...It is very often the cultural implication of language use (see bilingualism) which makes one 'decide' whether the language used is considered to consist of one or two grammars.

'Switching' in Tlemcen involves the interrelation of classical Arabic, 'what we called 'troisième langue', dialectal Arabic and French and we have the following possibilities:

1.   (C.A.) Classical Arabic - 'troisième langue'

2.   'Troisième langue' - French

3.   Troisième langue - Dialectal Arabic

4.   Dialectal Arabic - French

'Code-switching' between C.A. and 'troisième langue' is rare and happens merely in mass media, some religious speeches and at certain levels of education in Arabic. 'Switching' between 'troisième langue and French, happens also at some levels of education and very much more rarely in political meetings and speeches, whereas 'switching' between 'troisième langue' and dialectal Arabic is performed in political speeches, religious speeches, interviews and some 'official' and very formal situations.

Now, we have seen that the percentage of the female population educated in Arabic is very small compared to that of the male. On that account, we can say that the percentage of females who are offered such possibilities as 'switching' is also numerically 'restrained'. Furthermore we also saw that, even among the 'female elite', rare are those who are offered the same social opportunities as males. Again on that account, females who are offered the 'switching' opportunities are even smaller. Moreover, we also saw that even if some social possibilities are offered to females, others like some religious ceremonies are completely closed to them; on this differential role, more 'switching' possibilities are still 'closed' to them. Code-switching in (1), (2) and (3) are therefore very rare in female speech at the present time.

French-Arabic code-switching is the most common type practised by the Tlemcenian society and Algeria in general. The same limitation we have discussed above apply for this type of code-switching but it is, in any case the

most widespread in both sexes.   Generally speaking, French
can be used for all types of communication for all domains
with the provision that it cannot, solely, be used in the mosque
or religious ceremonies;   and it can be used by the first
category of people described in the treatment of bilingualism
especially in the family domain.

Women, in certain situations, such as for instance
where a lexical item like 'sahbi' (See Section 3.2.1) 'my
friend, my boy-friend' is likely to be produced, 'automa-
tically' code-switch to French to prevent any misunderstanding
or embarrassment.   Generally speaking, society has different
expectations and evaluations as regard males and females and
this, again, is reflected in language use;   consequently
such differences in both social and linguistic behaviour have
a direct consequence on the conditions and 'social rules'
of code-switching'.   Thus only a male is supposed to blas-
pheme (See Section 3.2.3) - and D.A. is automatically used in
this context - and the rule French→ D. Arabic/blasphemies, is
only possible in male speech.   Similarly in the situation
where a male speaker is being insulted and 'four letter words'
are being used it is most certainly the case that dialectal
Arabic will be used and this again will only be by males,
since the use of Arabic four letter words is 'taboo' for
Tlemcenian females.   Hence the 'rule'.

French → D. Arabic/ insults (four letter words)

In this respect, we can conclude that males and
females can have a common denominator for code-switching,
but they are often offered different social 'rules' for such
a purpose.

CHAPTER 2.

PHONETIC ANALYSIS OF MALE AND

FEMALE SPEECH

In this chapter, we shall test the general hypo-
thesis that socio-economic difference systematically cor-
relates with linguistic differences and conversely.   We
shall begin with frequency analyses and proceed to auditory
judgements and finally analyse the male and female conson-
antal and vocalic systems and structures.

2.1.   *Social Determinants

It is /an interesting fact that differences between
men's and women's speech seem to be socially prescribed.
In a paper 'Anatomical and cultural determinants of male
and female speech', Jacqueline Sachs, Philip Lieberman and
Donna Erickson report that

> "when adult male and female voices are pho-
> netically differentiated, the most obvious
> factor is pitch or fundamental frequency
> of phonation.   The lower (emphasis mine)
> fundamental frequencies of the male are a
> consequence of a secondary dimorphism that
> occurs at puberty.   The larynx of the male
> is enlarged and the vocal cords longer and
> thicker...secondary sexual dimorphism causes
> males on the average to have larger supra-
> laryngeal vocal tracts than females, leading
> to a pattern of lower formant frequencies
> (emphasis mine).   However factors defining
> norms for male and female 'voice' include
> social as well as physiological determinations"
> (p. 74).

Anatomical studies have demonstrated that there
is little or no difference in the larynx of a pre-adoles-
cent girl or boy given the same weight and size, and no

* see note over

<u>Note</u>

I had the choice of analysing few linguistic variables, with a quantitative examination, or recording as many variables as possible, while relating these linguistic variables to social parameters. I choose the latter. However in this section and the following one, it has been necessary to adopt a quantitative approach although this detracts from the uniformity of the whole. Nevertheless, since the quantitative analyses of the experiments do support the general thesis advanced here, they have been incorporated. They could have been presented in an appendix, but I felt it preferable to include them in the core of the thesis.

Moreover, doubts may be expressed as to the premisses upon which the experiments were based. As with Sachs et al. (1973), I have assumed that prior to puberty, there are no anatomical/physiological differences in the vocal tracts of boys and girls, which may have a significant impact on the production of <u>lower formants</u>. If this assumption proves not to be the case, then serious doubts will be cast upon both my and other experiments of the same genre.

difference in length of the mandible in boys and girls before puberty. Therefore, one would expect to find, predominantly, the same fundamental frequency and same formants in both boys' and girls' speech. Experimental results, however, have shown that there are, in fact, differences in fundamental frequencies and formants. Such differences indicate that children learn culturally determined patterns appropriate for each sex. The following are some examples of the results of the experiment conducted by the authors mentioned above. Boys and girls of the same age were asked to pronounce (3) vowels, as predicted the formants in boys' pronunciation are lower.

		Boys	Girls
[a]	FI	944	982
	F2	1370	1593
[i]	FI	315	333
	F2	3215	3370
[u]	FI	315	426
	F2	982	1222

2.2 Tlemcenian 'values'

In a similar experiment which I conducted with Tlemcenian boys and girls, 40 subjects were selected on the basis of sex, age, height and weight. Twenty males and twenty females were then arranged in pairs consisting of one boy and one girl having the same physical characteristics, i.e. same age, same height, same weight and same chest measurement. But any of these parameters could vary from pair to pair.

The files of all Tlemcenian school-boys and

school-girls born between 1972 and 1961 were provided for
me by the (1) ,'centre médico-scholaire' of Tlemcen, and the
twenty couples were thus selected on the basis of these
physical parameters.

All subjects were asked either to read a sentence
from a book, sing or tell a story, then repeat after me the
close front vowel [i] uttered as near to the cardinal vowel
as possible, this was followed by back open vowel [ɑ] and
the close back vowel [u] both uttered as near to the cardinal
vowels as possible.

A sony TC-80L tape recorder was used, together
with a F 26 S microphone placed at a distance of between
5-10 centimetres from the subject. Before any recording
was taken, some time was spent with each subject so as to
make him or her used to both my person and the microphone,
and also to get rid of the hesitant voice and high pitch tone
associated with inferiority feelings or anxiety.

My aim was as follows:
a)   to make a spectrographic analysis of the vowels
and check the hypothesis proposed on the above cited article
b)   to correlate these findings with auditory judge-
ments made by 97 other subjects born between 1972 and 1961
c)   to make a purely subjective analysis on the abi-
lity to recognise the sex of the speaker from the utterances
alone.

2.2.1.   Spectrographic and Auditory Analysis

For the experiments dealing with the points (a)
and (b), only the vowel [i] and [ɑ] were subsequently re-

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1.   Thanks to Mr. 'l'inspecteur de l'academie'.

tained as the microphone was too near the subjects for the vowel [u].

When asked to repeat [i], the realisation voiced between [i], [ɪ] or [e]; and when asked to repeat [a], there was a tendency to produce a front vowel and more so in the case of girls. c.f. [a]

Out of the 19 pairs,

15 girls produced [i] correctly

1 girl produced [ɪ]

3 girls produced [e]

whereas

6 boys produced [i]

7 boys produced [ɪ]

6 boys produced [e]

whereas 78.94% of the girls were able to produce [i] correctly, only 31.57% of the boys were able to do so. But whereas 94.73% of the boys were able to produce [a] only 31.57% of the girls were able to do so. This phenomenon will be given an interpretation later on in our analysis. Thus out of the 19 couples

6 girls repeated [a] acceptably

13 girls repeated   a more open quality [a]

and   18 boys repeated [a] acceptably

1 boy repeated   a more open quality [a]

on the whole

6 pairs produced a vowel in the general area of [i]

1 "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   " [ɪ]

3 "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   " [e]

6 "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   " [a]

Only those members of the same pair who had pro-

duced similar vowel qualities were then selected for further analysis.

2.2.1.1. Vowel [i] Study

	F.F.		F1		F2		%	
1A	360		655		3400		61.85	
1B		360		650		3025		60.82%
2A	350		700		2950		85.56	
2B		350		650		3075			92.78
7A	300		950		3300		87.62	
7B		300		625		3150			87.62
8A	350		600		3350		73.19	
8B		350		600		3200			46.39
9A	350		1000		3100		62.88	
9B		350		675		3125			86.59
10A	360		750		2800		30.92	
10B		360		675		2800			79.38

In opposition to the results of Sachs, Lieber-
man and Donna Erickson, among the six (6) couples analysed,
only one couple had a fundamental frequency (F.F.) differ-
ence.   And the difference was too slight (10 hz) to have
any real significance.   The interesting factor, however,
was that it was a boy rather than of any girl who had a low
F.F.

As far as the first formant (Fl) is concerned,
the findings were more as postulated by the above writers:
All couples except one (I) had differences and the boys
had a lower formant.   We have thus 83.33% of all subjects
having FI differences and an average of 130 hz difference.
When analysing the couple which formed the exception, it
was found that the girl had been identified by 71 subjects
(out of 97) as a girl (i.e. 73.19%), and the boy was identi-
fied only by 26 subjects as 'male' (i.e. 46.39%).   The big
margin of error in the identification of boys must have been
caused by some factors if the error is not due to 'chance'.
Now if we compare the second formant (F2) of the boy with
all other boys' second formant, even those younger than him,
we notice that 8B F2 is the highest.   One might, therefore,
postulate that this boy's formant Fl/F2 or both, exceed
certain 'norms' which are expected, given his age and the
resonance properties of his body.   This postulate of 'norm'
will be verified with other informants throughout our dis-
cussion.

Out of the 6 couples 5 had F2 difference, one couple
an identical FI but only 3 boys had a low F2.   Nevertheless
it was an average of 112 Hz lower for the boys which again
seems to support the general theory that both FI and F2

are lower for males. It was now of interest to find an answer as to whether there was a social correlation with the fact that the 2 boys had a higher F2 and 1 couple had an equal one.

As far as the couple with equal F2 (10 A.B.) were concerned, the girl was identified by 30 subjects as 'female' and by 67 as 'boy' which makes 30.92% correct answers compared to 79.38% correct answers for the boy. Now if we compare her F2 with all other girls' we see that it is the lowest and probably that, again, certain 'norms' were violated.

For the couple (9A.B), the male has a higher F2 (25 hz) than the girl but was still 86.59% correctly identified and the girl was 62.88% correctly identified. The fact that the boy was more correctly identified than chance would allow, suggests that he was either within the 'norms' or that compared to 8 and 10, there is a big FI difference and that the proportion FIA/FIB, F2A/F2B is greater for 9 than for 8 and 10. These proportions would also explain why 8B is more often correctly identified than 10 A. In any case, both sexes were identified quite above the chance margin as properly 'male' or 'female'. For couple 2A.B., although the boy has a higher F2, he is still 92.78% correctly identified and the girl is also well identified (85.56%). This would seem to form a counter argument for our 'norm' hypothesis (i.e. the girl's F2 being low (2950 hz) and get, still, well identified); but the plausible explanation would seem to be that certain linguistic features contained in the sentences which the subject read, were relevant factors in sex identification.

To check, nevertheless, the norm hypothesis, let us consider 7 A.B. and 1 A.B.   7A has FI = 950 and F2 = 3 300 and 7B has FI = 625 hz and F2 = 3150 hz, therefore both formants are lower in male's vowel.   One would, therefore, expect a low margin of error.   Indeed, the girl was 87.62% correctly identified and the boy 87.62%.

IA and B were also correctly identified far beyond chance probability i.e. 61.85% and 60.82% respectively, the percentage for couple 1 is lower because FI is lower for the girl (655 compared to 950 hz) compared to 7A and higher for the boy compared to 7B.

We can make now the following conclusions:

a)   generally speaking, there is no or only slight difference in FF.

b)   there is a difference in FI and that, generally, this is lower in male speech.

c)   there is a difference in F2 and, generally, it is lower in male speech.

d)   for 5 out of 6 cases (i.e. 83.33%) if F2 is very low for the girl (compared to other's) then the girl will not be correctly identified.

e)   one of the subjects will not be correctly identified if and when one of their formants is equal.   The male will then, not be correctly identified if his other formant is higher than those of both the girl's and other boys'.   The female will not be correctly identified if and when her other formant is lower than both the boy's and other girls'.

f)   when both formants are lower for the boy, the probability of his being correctly identified is high.

g)   when both formants are higher for the girl, the

probability of her being correctly identified is high.

h)   when FI is very low for the boy and there is a
FI difference between the boy and girl, there is a high
probability of correct identification.

i)   the higher the proportional difference, the
higher the probability of identification.

2.2.1.2. Vowel /e/

	F.F.	F.l.	F.2.	%
3A	360	650	2900	14.44%
3B	350	650	3100	57.74%
4A	360	700	3155	74.26%
4B	360	600	3600	86.59%
5A	360	725	3125	72.16%
5B	300	625	2900	92.78%

Again we see that there is only a slight dif-
ference in F.F. and that there is an average low fundamental
for the boys, which here supports the foundings of the
authors mentioned above.   Now pair 3 (A.B) have equal FI,
but F2A is lower than that of other boys and still lower
compared to other girls.   From our conclusion (e), we
should infer a high margin of error for the girl;   indeed
she was 85.56% identified as a boy compared to only 42.26%
mistakes in the case of the boy.   For 4(A.B), from our

conclusion (h) we should expect a high probability of identification, and indeed the boy was 86.59% correctly identified and the girl 74.26%.

Couple 5 (A.B.) has differences in F.F., FI and F2. From our conclusions (f) and (g), the margin of error should be low. Indeed, the girl was 72.16% correctly identified and the boy 92.78%.

2.2.1.3. Vowel $[\iota]$

	F.F.	F 1	F 2	%
6A	350	650	3225	58.76%
6B	350	675	3000	90.72%

Again this pair has the same F.F. The second formant is lower for the girl but her second formant is higher. It is, however, difficult to know whether the boy's FI is higher than the norm or the girl's FI is lower than the norm since there are no subjects to compare them with. But if we realise that the boy was 90.72% correctly identified compared to only 58.76% correct answers for the girl, these figures would rather suggest that the girl's FI is lower than the 'norm'.

2.2.1.4. Vowel /a/

	F.F.		F I		F2		%
1A	350		1050		1385		53.60
1B		350		975		1385	69.07
2A	325		1000		1325		74.26
2B		325		850		1250	86.59
3A	350		950		1300		76.28
3B		350		995		1250	88.65
4A	350		1025		1350		60.82
4B		350		985		1225	60.82
5A	350		950		1225		58.76
5B		325		950		1125	90.72
6A	350		950		1250		39.92
6B		325		975		1250	79.38

Again there is only a slight difference in F.F but there is an average 32.5 hz FI difference, lower for the males and a 58 hz F2 difference still lower for the boys.

For couple I(A.B) we can infer from (h) that the probability of the male being correctly identified, will be high, indeed he was 69.07% correctly identified. Now from (e) we can explain why the girl is only 53.6% correctly identified.

For pair 2(A.B) we can infer from (g) and (h) that both subjects will be identified with a high degree of accuracy, and the boy is in fact 86.59% correctly identified and the girl 74.26%.

For pair 3 (A.B) FI for the girl is lower than the boy's but F2 is higher. Therefore because FI is lower the girl is less well identified (76.28%) than the boy (88.65%).

Pair 4 (A.B) show both FI and F2 differences and both formants are lower for the boy. Both subjects should not have a big margin of error: the boy was 60.82% correctly identified and so was the girl.

Pair 5(A.B) has the same FI, and F2 is higher for the girl. FI is only 950 (equal to 3A) and just like 3A, 5A is not very correctly identified, only 58.76% compared to 90.72% for the boy.

Again 6A, has a FI equal to 5A and 3A and like those subjects it would be predicted that there will be a high margin of error in identification, and in fact she was only 39.92%, correctly identified compared to 79.38% in the case of the boy.

2.2.2. <u>Auditory Evaluation</u>

The tape was listened to by:

4	schoolboys and	4	schoolgirls	born	in	1972
3	" "	3	"	"	"	1971
5	" "	4	"	"	"	1970
4	" "	4	"	"	"	1969
5	" "	3	"	"	"	1968
6	" "	3	"	"	"	1967
5	" "	5	"	"	"	1966
18	" "	19	"	"	"	1963
30	" "	12	"	"	"	1962
9	" "	9	"	"	"	1961

and before the tape was played, the purpose of the experi-
ment was explained to them i.e. whether they could identify
the sex of the speaker. I made it clear that the experiment
did not contribute to their class assessment so as to remove the
temptation to cheat or copy their neighbours. I handed
them some sheets of paper and asked them to write G (For
Garçon 'boy) or و (Arabic letter of ولد) whenever they
thought the speaker was male and F (For Fille) or ﺑ (For بنت)
whenever they thought the speaker was a girl, the results
were as follows:

Sex Identification Results

by Boys Born in 1972

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
41.20%	1972	62.50%
58.33%	1971	75%
58.33%	1970	50%
50%	1969	50%
83.33%	1968	50%
66.66%	1967	66.66%
50%	1966	66.66%
58.26%	Average identification	60.11%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls Born in 1972

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
91.66%	1972	62.50%
66.66%	1971	41.66%
91.66%	1970	33.33%
83.33%	1969	41.66%
75%	1968	0%
83.33%	1967	66.66%
75%	1966	41.66%
80.94%	Average identification	41.07%

Sex Identification Results

by Boys Born in 1971

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
100%	1972	50%
100%	1971	100%
66.66%	1970	66.66%
66.66%	1969	66.66%
100%	1968	50%
100%	1967	100%
66.66%	1966	66.66%
85.71%	Average identification	71.42%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls Born in 1971

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
88.88%	1972	83.33%
88.88%	1971	66.66%
88.88%	1970	33.33%
88.88%	1969	77.77%
100%	1968	50%
100%	1967	100%
88.88%	1966	88.88%
92.05%	Average identification	71.42%

Sex Identification Results

by Boys Born in 1970

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
60%	1972	90%
53.33%	1971	73.33%
80.%	1970	53.33%
73.33%	1969	66.66%
100%	1968	70%
80%	1967	60%
93.33%	1966	40%
77.14%	Average identification	64.76%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls born in 1970.

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
50%	1972	87.50%
50%	1971	66.66%
75%	1970	75%
75%	1969	50%
87.50%	1968	75%
91.66%	1967	83.33%
100%	1966	83.33%
75.59%	Average identification	74.40%

Sex Identification Results
by boys born in 1969

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
83.33%	1972	75%
91.66%	1971	91.66%
58.33%	1970	66.60%
83.33%	1969	75%
87.50%	1968	62.50%
75%	1967	100%
91.66%	1966	58.33%
81.54%	Average identification	75.59%

Sex Identification Results
by Girls born in 1969

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
50%	1972	100%
50%	1971 ·	100%
83.33%	1970	50%
66.66%	1969	83.33%
100%	1968	75%
83.33%	1967	33%
100%	1966	0%
76.18%	Average identification	63.04%

Sex identification results

by boys born in 1968

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
73.33%	1972	70%
86.66%	1971	80%
93.33%	1970	66.66%
66.66%	1969	73.33%
80%	1968	80%
66.66%	1967	73.33%
73.33%	1966	66.66%
77.13%	Average identification	72.85%

Sex Identification results
by Girls Born in 1968

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
100%	1972	66.66%
66.66%	1971	44.44%
100%	1970	44.44%
77.77%	1969	77.77%
100%	1968	33.33%
100%	1967	66.66%
100%	1966	66.66%
92.06%	Average identification	57.13%

Sex Identification Results

by Boys born in 1967

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
50%	1972	41.66%
88.88%	1971	77.77%
66.66%	1970	77.77%
77.77%	1969	72.72%
91.66%	1968	66.66%
88.88%	1967	18.18%
88.88%	1966	66.66%
78.96%	Average identification	60.03%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls born in 1967

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
88.88%	1972	66.66%
100%	1971	55.55%
88.88%	1970	44.44%
100%	1969	55.55%
100%	1968	66.66%
100%	1967	88.88%
88.88%	1966	55.55%
95.23%	Average identification	61.89%

Sex Identification Results
by Boys born in 1966

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
40%	1972	50%
60%	1971	80%
53%	1970	60%
73.33%	1969	66.66%
60%	1968	60%
66.66%	1967	73.33%
80%	1966	66.66%
61.80%	Average identification	65.23%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls born in 1966

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
80%	1972	80%
100%	1971	80%
100%	1970	53.33%
100%	1969	73.33%
80%	1968	40%
100%	1967	86.66%
80%	1966	60%
91.42%	Average identification	67.61%

Sex Identification Results

by boys born in 1963

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
51.85%	1972	58.33%
77.77%	1971	57.40%
94.44%	1970	85.18%
92.59%	1969	61.11%
100%	1968	72.22%
64.81%	1967	96.29%
96.29%	1966	57.40%
82.53%	Average identification	69.70%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls born in 1963

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
45.61	1972	52.63
84.21%	1971	59.64%
96.49%	1970	71.92%
66.66%	1969	61.40%
100%	1968	81.57%
70.17%	1967	70.17%
91.22%	1966	45.61%
79.19%	Average identification	63.27%

Sex Identification Results

by Boys born in 1962

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
54.44%	1972	56.66%
70%	1971	57.77%
92.22%	1970	80%
87.77%	1969	66.66%
93.33%	1968	88.33%
62.22%	1967	91.11%
85.55%	1966	58.88%
77.93%	Average identification	71.34%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls born in 1962

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
38.88%	1972	73.91%
86.11%	1971	52.77%
72.22%	1970	69.44%
61.11%	1969	61.11%
95.83%	1968	87.50%
86.11%	1967	58.33%
97.22%	1966	33.33%
76.78%	Average identification	62.34%

Sex Identification Results

by boys born in 1961

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
55.55%	1972	50%
66.66%	1971	55.55%
92.59%	1970	70.37%
85.18%	1969	55.55%
100%	1968	77.17%
59.25%	1967	74.07%
70.37%	1966	55.55%
75.65%	Average identification	62.60%

Sex Identification Results

by Girls born in 1961

MALES	BORN IN	FEMALES
48.14%	1972	55.55%
85.18%	1971	55.55%
81.48%	1970	77.77%
66.66%	1969	55.55%
100%	1968	77.77%
62.96%	1967	62.96%
77.77%	1966	22.22%
74.59%	Average identification	58.19%

If we, now add male average identification re-
sults for males born between 1972 and 1961, and we add all
male average identifications for females born in this period,
as well as all female average identification correspo ndants,
we may diagram the results in the following way:

Listeners	Average Identification of Males born between 1972 and 1961	Average Identification of Females born between 1972 and 1961	Mean Score
Boys Born between 1972-61	75.36%	67.36%	71.36%
Girls Born between 1972-61	83.59%	62.03%	72.81%

We, then, notice that

a)   boys and girls are identified accurately quite
beyond any margin of chance.   They are identified either
as boys (75.36% and 83.59%) or girls (67.36% and 62.03%).

b)   both males and females displayed a greater margin
of error in the case of girls than in the case of boys i.e.
more girls were thought to be boys than the opposite.   This
could, perhaps, mean that boys are more 'norm conscious' at
their early age than girls, at least linguistically speaking
or that girls tend to imitate boys.

c)   boys are better than girls at identifying females
and girls are better than boys at identifying boys.   This,
again, would suggest 'social norms' and reenforce our point
(b).

d)   both boys and girls have an ability which is
translated as the 'mean score' for identifying the sex of
the speaker.   We can conclude that:

1.   there is no denial that from a very early age,
there is an ability, social and linguistic, to recognise
the sex of the speaker from his "voice".

2.   If there is such an ability, there is also a sti-
mulus to create this ability and this is achieved by all
socialising agencies, the results of which is a male/female
'way of speaking'.

3.   If our conclusions are correct, then when the
girls were not correctly identified, their linguistic be-
haviour was thought to be too 'masculine'.

4.   If our conclusions are correct, then when the boys
were not correctly identified, their linguistic behaviour
was thought to be too 'feminine'.

        Finally, all these statements reaffirm the veracity
of the previous experiment as well as the hypothesis that
speech is social instrument and there is more to it than the
referential 'function'.

2.3.   Other Experiments

        Other experiments in Arabic have been conducted
along these lines.   For instance experiments have been based
on reading from a list of minimal pairs of words comprising
one or two syllables, and attempting to correlate by means
of acoustic parameters, pronunciation of emphatics with dif-
ferences of sex.   The results have shown, that as postulated,
men's formants were much lower and that the differences are

far greater than would be predicted by anatomical factors.

In her paper entitled 'Arabic Emphatics: the evidence for cultural determinants of phonetic sex-typing', Margaret Kahn, describes an experiment involving twenty one (21) informants who fell into four (4) categories.

1.   male native Arabic speakers

2.   female native Arabic speakers

3.   American male second year student of Arabic

4.   American female second year student of Arabic

It must be kept in mind that both American males and females were exposed only to male teachers. Each informant read a list of twenty (20) minimal pairs taken from McCarus and Rammuny (1964) illustrating the distinction between emphatic and non-emphatic syllables. The results once again showed that:

a.   the difference between male Arabic native speakers' formants and those of their female counterparts was far greater than would be assumed from anatomical differences.

b.   since the American male students of Arabic and their female counterparts were exposed only to male teachers, the formants did not differ very much. This difference could easily have been assumed from the anatomical difference.

Some of the results (formants of the first consonant in the words Dal and Sār) were as follows:

	Male			Female
		S		
FI	800			1100
F2	1200	Arabs		1600
	700			700
	1100	Americans		1300
		D		
FI	800			1000
F2	1300	Arabs		1800
	800			1000
	1300	Americans		1500

2.4.   On the use of [g] [q] and [?]

In T.A., we must distinguish between, on the one
hand, a phoneme /q/ the realisation of which is variously,
a voiceless uvular plosive [q] , a voiced velar plosive [g]
or a glottal stop [ʔ] and, on the other hand a phoneme /g/,
the realisation of which is restricted to a voiced velar
plosive.   This involves overlapping, between the two
phonemes.   For instance /raqba/ 'a neck', may occur in one
of three (3) pronunciations:

[raqba]
[ragba]
[raʔba]

but ragba 'a look' can only be pronounced with a voiced
velar stop.

The distinction between optional and obligatory
voiced velar plosives is very important for the Tlemcenian
speech community.   Women do not use the voiced velar plo-
sive as a possible realisation of /q/ but only as the real-
isation of the phoneme /g/.   Thus

⚹ [gse:r]   ⚹ [ge꞉lli]   ⚹ [gra]

'short'   'he told me'   'read'

but

[garāʒ]   'garage'

[raggab]   'look out'

[gami:la['pan'

[gɑrbi:]   'tent'

[gā:tto]   'cake'

It would be 'normal' to hear a woman utter a
sentence like

[raggab mal garāʒ]   (look from the garage)

but it would be socially quite unacceptable, even boorish
for her to say

[ge:.lli naggi aligaddɛ:mak]

(he told me to clean what is near you)

is very unlikely to be uttered by a woman.

It is a 'social rule' that women should use only
the glottal stop [?] realisation for the phoneme /q/ and it
would be/ᵃsocial heresy not to do so in normal speech. So
taking the speech community as a whole from the three (3)
possible realisations [q], [g] and [?], women in normal con-
versation, use only the last, very rarely the uvular plosive
and never the voiced velar. Men, on the other hand, do use
the voiceless uvular plosive and the voiced velar plosive.
Thus the sentence

[qe: lli naqqi aliqaddɛ:mak]

is perfectly normal in men's speech and so is the sentence

[ge:lli naggi aligaddɛmak']

while

[?e:lli na??i ali?addɛ:mak]

is very unlikely but possible.

In men's speech, the choice between [ʔ], [q] and [g] is not free, there are strict social rules for the selection of a given realisation, so that, we would perhaps speak of 'allophonic switching' among male Tlemcenian speakers. Generally, men use the glottal stop when the conversation is very relaxed and the addressee is a close relative or friend, its use shows one's Tlemcenian identity and is a sign of solidarity. Mostly, however, it is used when addressing very young children and also in imitation of women's speech.

The voiceless uvular plosive is used more often when the discussion centres around a serious problem, or when the conversation is of a formal type, when addressing an older member of the family or someone of 'high status'. It is also used, for instance, by a father addressing a son of over twenty or when addressing friends who are speakers of a different dialect.

The voiced velar plosive is used when addressing someone of 'lower status' and more precisely if this person does not belong to the Tlemcenian speech community. It is also used when one travels outside Tlemcen's boundaries, then a man uses either [q] or [g], but certainly not [ʔ] except for a few exceptions who do want to reveal their Tlemcenian 'identity'.

The use of glottal stop [ʔ] is felt to be too effeminate, and nowadays men try to avoid it as far as possible in normal conversation. The position is such that one may be witnessing a linguistic change in progress, leading towards the elimination of the glottal stop [ʔ] in the speech

of male adults.   Speakers of other dialects criticize
Tlemcenian men for their use of [?] so that pressure to
eliminate the sound is exerted from without the speech com-
munity.

Male children, however, use the glottal stop more
frequently than adults , because until the age of about
fifteen, they still speak largely the language of their
mothers .   As they grow up, they tend to stop using the
glottal stop because it is felt 'unmanly' to use it.

One effect of the quasi-elimination of [?] is that
by a sort of hypercorrection Some speakers use the voice-
less uvular plosive [q] in some words where the 'under-
lying' representation would require [?]
e.g.

       [fʌ:qɛd]   for [fʌ:?ɛd]   (proper name)

       [qo:mo]   for [?o:mo]   (name of detergent]

It would be interesting to quantify the uses of the
different realisations [?], [q] and [g].   It is nevertheless
certain that male adults tend to perceive their own speech
in terms of a normative [q] rather than the sound actually
produced.

A further reason for this linguistic change can
also, perhaps, be seen in the fact that education is now
pursued in Arabic as well as in French, with Arabic even
predominant in secondary schools.   This is in contrast
with the situation up to 1964 when French was predominant..
Nowadays, Tlemcenians and Algerians in general use Arabic
not only at home but also in business offices, administra-
tion at all levels of education and so forth.   Language use
in the last cases is neither colloquial Arabic nor classical

Arabic, it is what is referred to rather as 'la troisième langue'. In such 'mixed' speech a voiceless uvular plosive occurs not only in Tlemcen but even in parts of Algeria where the normal reflex of Tlemcenian [q] is a voiced velar plosive [g].

Women rarely use a voiceless uvular plosive [q] even in very formal conversation. Exceptions, however, appear when they quote from the Koran. It follows then that the glottal stop[?] is almost uniformly used in their speech. Relevant factors include the following:

a)   women are more conservative in every way and their speech is in general more resistant to linguistic change.

b)   the use of the glottal stop is prestigious. It is a mark of being Tlemcenian. It is true that for whatever reason, Tlemcenians and more specifically the women among them, think that they enjoy a higher status than people from neighbouring towns. Therefore Tlemcenian women make general use of the glottal stop [?] in every situation, even when they are out of Tlemcen, so as to mark their origins. If a girl was heard to say, for instance:

[arwah ngullek]

'come here, I'll tell you something'

it would invite rebuke from her parents and elders, but not so for her male contemporary. There is, thus, strong social pressure on females to suppress any change in their speech.

2.5.   The "9robejja"

In Tlemcen, we have to distinguish between two categories of speakers: those who have always lived in Tlemcen, and those who are known as "9robejja" which is re-

lated etymologically to the word "arabs" and might be trans-
lated as 'peasants'.

We have seen that women attach great prestige to
the use of the glottal stop. We must,however, distinguish
between two types of women in Tlemcen: those born there
and "ʕrobejja". Again, in the latter category, we must
distinguish two sub-groups:

a - those who came very young

b - those who were twenty or over in 1962.

Group (a) have adopted normal Tlemcenian speech, some of which
has been described above, but women under (b) while using
the glottal stop conserve the vowel quality and vowel dis-
tribution of their earlier dialect. Some examples will be
provided presently.

Some of the "ʕrobejja" came from Maghnia region,
situated near the Morroccan border, where speech is notice-
ably Morroccan and more specially resembles the dialect of
Oujda. Others have come from the region of Oran. I shall
illustrate the speech of the "ʕrobejja" with Orani examples,
since it is the dialect I am the most familiar with. In
so doing, I shall compare some word pronunciations, with the
respect to the distribution and quality of vowels in T.A.
and Orani Arabic.

Oran		Tlemcen
[gɔllah]	'tell him'	ʔallɒ:
[gabDah]	'catch him'	ʔabdʌ:
[gasmah]	'break it'	ʔasmɒ:
[mnɒggɛ]	'peeled'	mnaʔʔe:
[fo:g]	'on'	fʌ:ʔ

Thus instead of the normal Tlemcenian pronunciation, the
"ʕrobejja" women would say:

[ʔɔllah]	'tell him'
[ʔabdɑh]	'catch him'
[ʔasmah]	'break it'
[mnaʔʔe]	'peeled'
[foːʔ]	'on'

Not only do they conserve Orani vowel qualities but also the third pers. sing. masc. pronominal suffix ‗ah and thus they sound very 'rustic' to a Tlemcenian ear. The normal Tlemcenian ending is u [ʌ], but -ah can also be used by males given some social contents.

Oran	Tlemcen
[gɔllah]	[ʔallʌː]
[gabdɑh]	[ʔəbdʌː]

Another distinguishing feature of the "ʕrobejja" is their use of the emphatics /T/, /S/, /D/ and even /Ḏ/ in formal conversation as well as in very informal and normal conversations. Finally, in contrast with male Tlemcenians the speech of both male and female "ʕrobejja" is character- ized by a more frequent use of the glottal stop than male Tlemcenians and by an abuse of the above mentioned 'hyper- corrections'.

In many cases, precisely what will be meant by male speech is the possibility of those linguistic features characterising the ʕrobejja or non-Tlemcenian (see intro- duction).

2.6.   The Emphatics

Emphasis, characterised articulatorily by lateral expansion of the tongue along its length and by a 'flatten- ning' of the tongue in the mouth with a concomitant reduc- tion in the pharyngeal volume of air, is associated princi-

pally with denti-alveolar articulation, variously plosives
and fricatives voiced and voiceless.   In the systematic
reading transcription, emphatics will be indicated by the
use of capital letters.

e.g.   'Tbib,   [Tbɨ: b]   (doctor)

         'Sif ,   [Sɨ:f']   (summer)

         'Dall' ,   [Dɑll]   (shadow)

         'ꝺaĐim   [ꝺaĐɨ:m]   (almighty)

Non-emphatic correlatives, associated with lateral contrac-
tion and by its forward raising of the tongue in the mouth,
are indicated by corresponding lower-case letters.

     'Emphasis', is really a prosodic feature whose
domain is at least one syllable and frequently much more.
But to the extent that it is possible to divide speech into
minimal units (referred to as 'phonemes') we can say that in
T.A. the following emphatics can be distinguished:

         T   as in   Tbib

         S   as in   Sif

         D   as in   Dall

         Đ   as in   ꝺaĐim

In men's speech, emphasis is more or less frequent
depending on the 'style of speech', but in certain cases,
which will be discussed presently,

         T can be replaced by non emphatic [t]

         S   "   "   [s]

         D   "   "   [d]

         Đ   "   "   [ɣ]

         Thus the following are in free variation

         ꝺTini and ꝺtini   (give me)

         maTrah and matrah   (mattress)

STah   and   stah   (roof)

Srat   and   srat   (be swallowed)

Drab   and   drab   (he hit)

Dā ro and   dā ro   (his house)

T, S, D and Ɖ are very frequently used in very
formal religious ceremonies and speeches, and more in what
is locally called 'la troisième langue' (the language spoken
by the elite educated in Arabic) than in normal dialectal
T.A; and again much more when C.A is aimed at than in what
is referred to as 'troisième langue'. Therefore, T, S and
D can be in free variation with t, s and d respectively,
especially in informal conversation. Ɖ can be in free
variation with both [ð] and [d̪] in the same situations as the
other emphatics; however in normal conversation [Ɖ] is not
frequently used; in fact [Ɖ] and [ð] are the most infre-
quent consonants in Arabic generally.

In women's speech T, S and D are very much rarer,
occuring for instance in quotations from the Koran.   Ɖ
on the other hand, never occurs in female speech and neither
does [ð].   Generally speaking, therefore, women in Tlemcen
do not use the emphatics and in this, they contrast with
their menfolk.   Emphasis, moreover, is not exclusively a
matter of consonantal articulation, backness of /vowels in the
environment is also in contra-distinction to the less backed
vowels accompanying non-emphatic consonants.

Male speech	Female speech
Tabla	tabla
[Tɑbla]	[tæbla]
~ [tæbla]	

ʕTini   'give me'   ʕtini

[ʕTɨne]   [ʕtene]

~ [ʕtene]

maTrah   'mattress'   matrah

[maTrah]   /matrah/

~ [matrah]

STah   'roof'   stah

[STah]   [Stah]

~ [stah]

We have seen that women hardly use the emphatics
T, S, D and Ḍ.   Such emphatics are, however, needed 'nor-
mally' to distinguish minimal pairs such as

       Sif 'summer' versus sif 'sword'

       Tin 'mud'   versus tin 'fig'

Women and men in the cases where non-emphatics are being used
to distinguish minimal pairs by other means, such as for
instance, difference of the vowel instead of the consonant.

	Male speech		Female speech
1.	Sif	'summer'	sef
	[Sɨf]		
	~ [Se:f]		[Se:f]
	sif	'sword'	sif
	[si:f]	'	[si:f]
	~ [si:f]		
2.	Tin	'mud'	ten
	[Tɨ:n]		[te:n]
	~ [te:n]		
	tin	'fig'	tin
	[tin]		[ti:n]
	~ [ti:n]		

2.7.   Lexical Emphatics and Grammatical Velarisation

We need further to distinguish, here, the two
concepts of 'lexi͏cal-emphatics' and 'grammatical velarisation'.
By lexical emphatics I mean - as seen on the section 'on
emphatics'   those ' minimal units' (referred to as phone-
mes) which can distinguish different meanings
e.g.   sif 'sword' versus Sif 'summer'.
By grammatical velarisation, on the other hand, I mean
velarisation of a lexical item comprising 'segments' which
are 'normally' considered to be non-emphatics, and the result
of which is a slight alteration of 'meaning'.   For instance
smina 'fat' is composed only of 'clear segments', but if one
velarised these segments c.f. SMĪNɑ, then one would either
mean 'very fat', 'too fat' or show one's negative attitude
towards either the person described or the concept of fat-
ness or both.   The effect of such process is, therefore,
not only an alteration of the 'meaning' of the lexical item
but also the 'accentuation of the negative' connotation in-
volved with fatness.

When velarised a lexical item can be ambiguous,
as in the above example between 'too' and 'very'.   Simi-
larly if one said

        hadak meʃi Ri mRandaf, MRɑÑDaf

        'he is not only stupid and ignorant but

        (MRɑÑDɑf) but extremely...'

one can equally understand MRɑÑDaf as meaning very stupid
and greatly ignorant, 'too stupid and too ignorant', 'foolish',
careless.   Disambiguation can only be possible given the
situation, the linguistic context and probably by the hearer's

estimate of the speaker's attitude towards the subject.

Grammatical velarisation in T.A. is a process only used by young male adults and adolescents when speaking to someone of about the same age or younger and in a relaxed situation. It is scarcely used in a formal situation and never by old males. It is also never used by females whatever the age and situation. Grammatical velarisation can also be used frequently when insulting or blaspheming as an intensifying device.

Male speech	Female speech
Grammatical velarisation mostly in young adults and adolescents	no grammatical velarisation usage

2.8. Velarisation in Algerian French

Standard French neither has 'lexical emphatics' nor 'grammatical velarisation'. In Tlemcenian French and generally speaking in Algerian French at large, grammatical velarisation does exist but to a lesser extent than in Algerian Arabic. It can be used for the same semantic reasons as in Arabic, but it also serves another function: it shows one's Algerian identity.

e.g.
moT̄amo	(mot-à-mot)	'word for word'
D̄rwa	(droit)	'law'
ranT̄re	(rentrée)	'opening'
T̄ã	(temps)	'weather'

When grammatical velarisation is used to show one's Algerian identity, it can also be used in formal situation and also by speakers of all ages. But, again, on no account can it be used by females.

	Male speech	Female speech
	- velarisation	- no velarisation

2.9.   **The Devoicing of the dental plosive**

d ------------→   t

It is convenient to consider that the singular masculine form is the morphological base from which certain other grammatical derivatives can be obtained, then in women's speech, there is a rule d----→ t which occurs in the following cases.

1. CCV(v)d----------CCV(v)t

ħfed	ħf·et	'grand child'
mred	mret	'ill'

and

ħfeda	ħfeta	'grand daughter'
ħfajad	ħfajat	'grand daughters'
mreda	mreta	'ill (fem.)'
mrād	mrāt	'ill (plural)'
mrad	mrat	'he was ill'

bjad	bjat	'white'
ʔbad	ʔbat	'he caught'

and

bojad	bojat	'white (plural)'
beda	beta	'white (fem.)'
ʔabdin	ʔabtin	'catching (plural)'

2. CVVCVd---------- CVVCVt

hāmad	hāmat	'sour'

and

ħamda	ħamta	'sour (fem.)'
ħamden	ħamten	'sour (plur.)'

3. CdVc ----------- CtVC

ɛdam	ɛtam	'bone'
zdam	ztam	'he trod'

and

ɛadma	ɛatma	'a bone'
zadmin	zatmin	'troading (plur.)'

4. CVdVC ---------- CVtVC

ɛadim	ɛatim	'almighty'

5. dVCVC ---------- tVCVC

deja?	teja?	'tight'

Choosing the masculine singular as the 'base' form would account for the fact that <u>beda</u> meaning 'white' can have the rule d⟶ t cf <u>beta</u> but not <u>beda</u> meaning 'one egg' (although the most common lexical item meaning 'egg' used in Tlemcen is 'wlaӡded).

This rule can also appear to operate in the speech of Tlemcenian male children but not in adult speech except, perhaps, when talking to very young children in a relaxed situation or in imitating female speech.

<u>Male speech</u>	<u>Female speech</u>
– rare usage	very frequent dental devoicing rule usage

2.10.   The Voiced Bilabial plosive [b]

When the voiced bilabial plosive [b] is in the
environment of a voiceless consonant

e.g.   rabta   'bunch'

            ʃabtat   'she clung to'

or a devoiced dental

e.g.   ʔbad (t)   'hold'

            Rdab (tab)

it can either be completely voiceless

e.g.   [rapta], [ʃaptat], [ʔpat], [Rtap]

or considerably devoiced

e.g.   [rab̥ta], [ʃab̥tat], [ʔb̥at], [Rdab̥]

In female speech devoicing is much more frequent than re-
tention of voicing, and voiceless consonants are more probable
than devoicing.

In male speech, on the other hand, it is either
voiced or slightly voiced and very rarely voiceless except
when certain typically Tlemcenian features cf glottal stop,
are present in the environment.   Moreover the probability
of occurrence of a voiced bilabial is higher when the situa-
tion is formal or when the addressee is someone of higher
status or a N.T.

Male speech		Female speech	
voiced	+	⊤	voiced
devoiced	↑	↓	devoiced
voiceless	⌐	+	

2.11   <u>The voiced glottal fricative</u>

When the voiced glottal fricative [h] is word initial of <u>huwwa</u> 'him', <u>hijja</u> 'her', it is often either devoiced or only slightly voiced in the speech of women, whereas it is always voiced in male speech.

When [h] is in final position (cf ſqeh 'priest') it can either be devoiced or elided providing it is not the third person singular possessive or object suffix cf ꝯteh 'give him'

e.g.   [ſqe] but not ✗ [ꝯte] 'give him'

When [h] is in final position, the deletion rule occurs much more frequently in female speech particularly in formal situation.

A 'voiced' glottal fricative can also be produced with an ingressive air mechanism, in which case it is used as an interjection which can never occur in male speech.

<u>Male speech</u>		<u>female speech</u>	
– voiced	or	– slightly voiced – devoiced	}Initial }position

– less frequent
  elision
	or	– elided
		  frequently
		– devoiced
			}
			}final
			}position

– no ingressive air
  mechanism
		– ingressive air
		  mechanism	

2.12   <u>The Voiceless velar plosive</u>

When the voiceless uvular plosive [q] is in 'free variation' with the voiced velar plosive [g], it is also, very often, in 'free variation' with the voiceless velar

plosive [k] if the following consonant is voiceless

    1.   q ------→ g and

    2.   q ------→ k / - voiceless consonant

e.g.   qtaʕ --→ gtaʕ -→ ktaʕ   'he crossed'

an alternative explanation would be to say that the voiced velar plosive [g] is often devoiced when the following consonant is voiceless

    g ------→ k / - voiceless consonant

      gtal   ktal   'he killed'

whatever formulation we choose, such rules do not occur in female speech. They only occur in male speech in the contexts where normally the voiced velar plosive [g] is more likely to occur, with the additional specification that it is applied more freely in the speech of the younger generation as they are more in contact with N.Ts and are linguistically more permissive.

    There is also a rule [t] --→ [k] which only applies in the following lexical items:

    1.   tlamsen ------→ klamsen   'Tlemcen

    2.   tlata   klata   'three'

    3.   tlatin   klatin   'thirty'

1. is only possible in the speech of young children but 2. and 3. are also very common in female speech. But the rule is not applicable in all female speech, it is more a matter of individual speech. Young male adolescents, however, can use 2. and 3. in some rare instances but adults never do (1)

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1.   Except for one individual I recently noticed Mr. M. MERABET of Les Castors, Oran.

Male speech	Female speech
- q → g & q → k	no such rule
or g → k	more occurénce of [t]
	→ [k]

2.13   Affrication (assimilation)

Where men use the voiceless inter-dental fricative [θ] (see 'fricatives'), women make use variously of a voiceless dental plosive [t] or a voiceless dental affricate [t^s]

Male speech		Female speech
θura	'revolution'	tora
[θo:ra]		[to:ra]
~[to:ra]		~[t^{s}o:ra]
θalӡ	'snow'	talӡ
[θalӡ]		[talӡ]
~[talӡ]		~[t^{s}alӡ]
θuql	'heaviness'	tuql
[θɑql]		[tɑʔl]
~[tɑql]		~[t^{s}ɑʔl]

In the context where /θ/ is substituted by [t] in male speech, [t] can also be realised as [t^s] but the probability of its occurrence is of course less since men have a choice between three variants [θ, t, t^s] whereas females have choice between only two [t, t^s].

Similarly to a male voiceless dental stop [t] corresponds the same variation in female pronunciation between affricated and unaffricated release.

Male speech		Female speech
[zitu:n]	'olive'	[zitu:n]
		∿[zitˢuːn]
[tamra]	'date'	[tamra]
		∿[tˢamra]
[bi:t]	'room'	[bi:t]
		∿[bi:tˢ]

The voiceless dental plosive and the corresponding affricate /tˢ/ are in free variation in women's speech; however in normal speech, there is a predominance of affricates. Furthermore, the more she intends to emphasise her Tlemcenian identity and the more she will use the affricates.

We have also, seen earlier that in women's speech [t] is in free variation with [T]. We should, however, notice that [t] varying with [T] does not permit the further variant [tˢ] except in the case of loan words. Hence a woman can say [tˢabla] 'table' in contrast with the oral [Tabla] but she cannot say for instance

[tˢ a:r] for [Ta:r] 'he flew'

[tˢ ejjara] for [Tejjara] 'plane'

[tˢwe:la] for [Twe:la] 'tall (fem. sing.).

the normal pronunciation for her is [ta:r], [tejjara] and [twe:la].

We have also seen, that in women's speech [d] can be realised as [t] in certain linguistic environments. But we should also notice that [t] varying with [d] does not permit the further variant [tˢ]. Thus

[ħamat] but not ✖ [ħamatˢ] 'sour'

[beta] but not [betˢa] 'white'

In contrast with women, men rarely affricate the

voiceless stops except when, for instance, talking to young
children, in very relaxed/and in situations when wanting to
situations
show their Tlemcenian identity or solidarity, but it is never
used in 'la troisième langue' or C.A.   The affricate is
also, possibly but not predictably, used when the glottal
stop [ʔ] (see Section 2.4.) is replacing the voiceless
uvular plosive or voiced velar plosive, but it cannot be
used if the voiced velar plosive is used.

Male speech	Female speech
$[t]^+$ ⟵--------$^-[t^S]$	$[t]^-$ ---------⟶$^+[t^S]$
Probability of occurrence	Probability of occurrence

In Tlemcenian French, affrication is also pos-
sible in female speech.   This phenomenon is rather unex-
pected as, generally speaking, female French is nearer to the
standard 'norms'.   Nevertheless, affrication is most pro-
bably used for the reason that it is considered 'feminine'
and I doubt very much that the explanation is simply inter-
ference.

There is, however, a difference in terms of both
quality and quantity of affrication between T.A. and T.F.
The latter having less affrication both quantitatively and
qualitatively.   Furthermore, in contrast to T.A., the
voiced dental plosive [d] can also be affricated as [dᶻ].
Thus where in S.F, there is a voiced dental plosive [d], it
is realised in T.F. as [d] or [dᶻ].   [dᶻ] can occur in an
environment where a close vowel [i] or [u] follows

e.g.   [il dᶻi:]   (il dit)   'he says'

          [il e dᶻu]   (il est doux] 'it is sweet'

Where in standard French, there is a voiceless
dental plosive [t], Tlemcenian females can either realise it

as [tˢ], [tˢ] or [t].   [tˢ] is very rare and occurs only in the lexical term <u>tu</u> 'you' (second pers. sing.) and can also be used by males in every relaxed situation.   [tˢ], on the other hand, is generally speaking, much more probable in a vocalic environment cf. Vtˢv, Vtˢ tˢV.

Affrication is more used in informal, casual and relaxed situations and can be a sign of intimacy, whereas [t] can be used in formal situation or as a sign of distance.

Male speech	Female speech
More affrication in Arabic than French	Affrication in Arabic and French

2.14.   The Fricatives

2.14.1   The inter-dental fricatives

As mentioned above, women rarely, if ever, use the emphatic voiced inter-dental fricative [T].   But it is, in fact, very rare indeed that women use inter-dental fricatives at all.   The voiceless inter-dental fricative /θ/ is replaced by the voiceless dental plosive [t] or the assimilated affricate interchangeably.   Both the emphatic and non emphatic forms of inter-dental fricatives are replaced by the voiced plosive [d].

In these respects, the speech of men and women are noticeably in contrast one with the other, particularly when the 'troisième langue' is being used or in certain formal situations

Male speech		Female speech
θawra	'revolution'	tawra
tawra		tora
tora		

ʢaÐɨm   'almighty'   ʢadem

ʢadem

2.14.2   The palato-alveolar

In the pronunciation of such words as

ʒib   'bring'

ʒrāda   'grasshopper'

ʒrā   'he run'

men mostly use the voiced palato alveolar fricative [ʒ]
whereas females use either the fricative or the correspon-
ding voiced affricate [dʒ] with the latter variant being
considered more a Tlemcenian feature and, consequently, more
used.   This is the general rule, but [dʒ] can be used by
males when such typically Tlemcenian features as the glottal
stop[ʔ] are being used.

Male speech		Female speech
[ʒiːb]		[dʒiːb]
[ʒræda]	'grasshopper'	[dʒræda]
[ʒraː]	'he run'	[dʒraː]
[ħɛːʒ]	'title given to someone who went to Mecca'	[ħɛːdʒ]

/dʒ/--------→⁺ [ʒ]   /dʒ/⁺←-------⁻ [ʒ]
Probability of   Probability of
occurrence   occurrence

Although [ʒ] and [dʒ] are in 'free variation'
in both sexes, their quantitative distribution varies accor-
ding to sex.   In female speech [dʒ] is much more frequent
than [ʒ], and will almost certainly be used when the affric-
ate [tˢ] occurs in place of [t] over a given phase of the
utterance.   Conversely, [t] and [ʒ] normally occur con-

comitantly.

Men, on the other hand, rarely use [dʒ] except when addressing small children, imitating women's speech or as an overt signal of Tlemcenian identity or when other typically female features are being used. If for instance [tˢ] is being used [dʒ] can be used but [tˢ] and [dʒ] are not obligatorily concomitant in that sense. But if [dᶻ] is being used then most probably [tˢ] will be used. Male children will use affrication when young, but as they grow up, they first drop the voiced affricate then the voiceless affricate.

Like the glottal stop, dentals and palato-alveolar affrication are distinctive features of the language of Tlemcen and are, therefore, accorded prestige values by Tlemcenian women. When they travel outside Tlemcen, not only are they particularly careful to use [tˢ] and [dʒ] but they, often, tend to use a protracted speech form thus conforming to a general tendency towards the use of protracted (rallentando) rhythm in certain contexts (See Section 2.20.1).

2.14.3   [ʃ] versus [h]

In male speech there is an optional rule [ʃ] →
[h] which can only operate in the following interrogatives:

	1.		→ 2.		
	kifeʃ			kifeh	'how'
	feʃ			feh	'where'
	ɡleʃ			ɡleh	'why'
	beʃ			beh	'what with'

and which is   non existent in female speech.

The occurrence of this rule is not really optional since it is determined by parameters such as status, age, and mood. Generally speaking this rule has a very high probability of occurrence in the speech of N.Ts, resident in Tlemcen and from neighbouring towns or villages or in the speech of what are referred to as '9robejja'. If, however, the addressee is a Tlemcenian of same or higher status, then this rule is not applied and only [ʃ] occurs. But if the addressee is a Tlemcenian of lower status both 1. and 2. are possible and the predominance of one or the other is determined by other factors such as age, mood and topic. The older the addressee, the less probability there would be that [h] would be used. Conversely the ruder one wants to be, the more likely [h] is to be used. For instance in the context of argument the sentence

      kifeh ʃa gult?   'what did you say?'

is much more probable if one wants to be rude, than

      kifeʃ ʔessam ʔult

particularly if the addressee is of the same age or younger.

If, on the other hand, the addressee is a N.T. of lower status, then ʃ --> h is much more probable particularly if one wants to 'expose' his 'lower' status.

Male speech	Female speech
ʃ --> h	Ø
determined by social parameters	

2.15   <u>On the use of the alveolar roll</u>

In standard French, the voiced uvular fricative [R] is produced by raising the back of the tongue towards.

the end of the soft palate;   the air coming from the lungs through the stricture causes friction.   The voiced uvular roll - a variant of the uvular fricative - is realised when the air passing through the stricture is strong enough to put the uvula into vibration.

Both realisations, together with a devoiced uvular fricative which occurs, for instance, after a voiceless consonant cf. ekRi 'écrit', 'written', or in final clusters after a voiced consonant cf SẑbR 'sombre' 'dark', are members of the same phoneme /R/.

There is also, a dialectal variation - for instance, in the Midi of France - which can either be an alveolar flap or a roll.   The alveolar flap is realised by raising the top of the tongue making a slight contact with the alveolar ridge, the air coming through pushes the tongue down.   The roll, on the other hand, is realised by raising the tip of the tongue to vibrate several times against the alveolar ridge.

Having briefly described the different realisations of the phoneme /R/, we must bear in mind that the voiced uvular fricative and the alveolar roll are not in 'free variation' in any one dialectal use.   For instance in the dialect of Paris, there is no flap or roll as a realisation of /R/ unless one is imitating a 'Marseillais'.

In Algerian Arabic, the voiced uvular fricative [R] and the alveolar roll [r] are two distinct phonemes as shown by the following minimal pairs:

ras	'head'	bra	'he got well'
Ras	'wandered'	bRa	'he wanted'

One would, therefore, expect that in Algerian French either [r] or [R] would be selected as the realisation

of the phoneme /R/ and possibly that [R] would be preferred
as it is the standard 'sound'. This is, however, not the
case since whereas in standard French [r] and [R] are re-
gional variations, in Algerian French they stand in 'free
variation' and both can be used though, the choice of either
[r] or [R] will be determined by social parameters, one of
which is the sex-parameter.

There is also, in Algerian French, the occurrence
of a voiceless velar fricative [x], where in standard French
a devoiced uvular fricative occurs.

e.g.   pR̥ie   versus   pxie

[x], however, can also be determined by social factors
whereas in standard French we have either [R] or [R̥] deter-
mined solely by the linguistic environment.

In Algerian French we have [R] and [r] distributed
on a basis of social parameters and [x], [R̥] determined by
both social and linguistic parameters.

Status and topic are important determiners in the
selection of either variable. In an informal casual con-
versation, the alveolar roll is very probable and it is very
improbable in a serious formal conversation. The more ser-
ious the topic and the more probable the standard form. The
more status the addressee has then the more probable the uvular
fricative. The more intimate the situation the more the
alveolar roll is used. If again the addressee is French it
is also possible that the more standard form will be used.

However if the speaker is female, the alveolar roll
is never used, except in imitation of male speech. Finally
the alveolar roll [r] is always used by males, whatever the
topic, status and situation if the speaker wants to 'emphasize'

his Algerian identity, and the voiced uvular fricative is
much more probable in speakers of Group 1 as I described in
the section on 'bilingualism'.   We therefore have the
following picture:

Algerian French	Standard French
[R] [ʀ̥] [x] [r]	[R] [ʀ̥]

Male speech	Female speech
[R] [ʀ̥] [x] [r]	[R] [ʀ̥]
[R] [ʀ̥], [x], [r] determined socially and linguistically	[R] and [ʀ] determined linguistically

/r/ /x/ /ʀ̥/ /ʀ/
A.F ±⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯→ S.F

2.16.   The T.A. vowel distribution

In Section 2.2.1, we noticed a tendency for females
to produce a more 'front vowel quality'.   This phenomenon
is partly explained by the phonetic environment and more
precisely by the fact that men use more velarisation and
consequently more back or centralised vowels (See Section
2.6).

Such a process has been noticed in other Arabic
dialects.   Thus Mitchell, T.F. (1962 p.24) notes that 'The
difference ɑː a (usually in association with the consonantal
distinction emphatic:non-emphatic) tends to relate to dif-
ference between the speech of men and women respectively.
garraah 'surgeon', for example is typically a woman's form
to which garraɑħ would usually correspond in men's speech.'

It is also the case that there is a general tendency
for women to use more close vowel quality than their menfolk.
This would explain the fact that more girls in Section 2.2.1.

were able to produce correctly the front close vowel [i]
where boys produced either [ɪ] or [e].

Generally speaking we notice the following processes:

a)   fronting by females where males use a back vowel

b)   use of more open or central vowels by males
       where females produce close vowels[1]

2.17   Monophthongs and diphthongs

One of the most characteristic properties of male
speech, in comparison to that of the female is the possibil-
ity of using diphthongs where women use monophthongs.

In men's speech, although diphthongs and monophthongs
are 'in free variation', there are certain rules determining
the choice of one or the other.   Thus a man would be con-

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1.   I am very grateful to Mr. K. Breksi, ex-Dean of
         the "faculté des lettres et sciences humaines",
         Oran University, for bringing my attention to this
         point.

sidered 'ridiculous' if he ever used diphthongs when addressing his children, his wife, close members of the family in general or friends in casual conversation. In those circumstances, it is more probable that monophthongs will be used. The use of diphthongs is more appropriate to very formal conversations, religious speeches and more generally in what we referred to as 'troisième langue'.

Male speech		Female speech
[θawra]	'revolution'	[to:ra] [tɒ:ra]
[θo:ra]		[tˢo:ra] [tˢɒ:ra]
[tawra] [aw] ←→ [o] [ɒ]		
[to:ra] [tɒ:ra]		
[tˢo:ra] [tˢɒ:ra]		
[beit]	'room'	[bi:t]
[bi:t]		[bi:tˢ]
[bi:tˢ] [ei] ←→ [i]		

2.18. Algerian French Vowels

In this section, I propose to compare the standard French vowels with the Tlemcenian French correlates and see whether the distribution or usage is different in male and female speech.

If in standard French a given vowel may have or actually has a specific point on the vowel chart, in T.F. and more generally in Algerian French, it covers a wider area i.e. it can be articulated further back, more central or more open.

Whereas standard French vowels can be represented as in the following diagram: (MacCarthy, P. 1975 p.54)
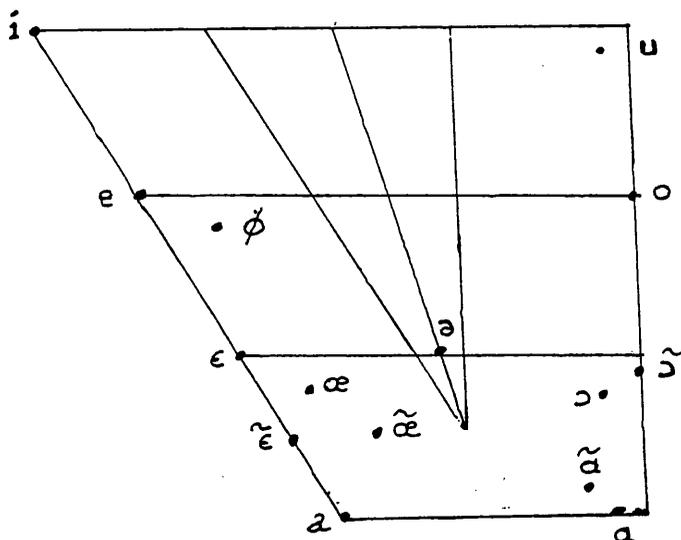
Their Algerian French correlates will be better represented as in the following diagram:
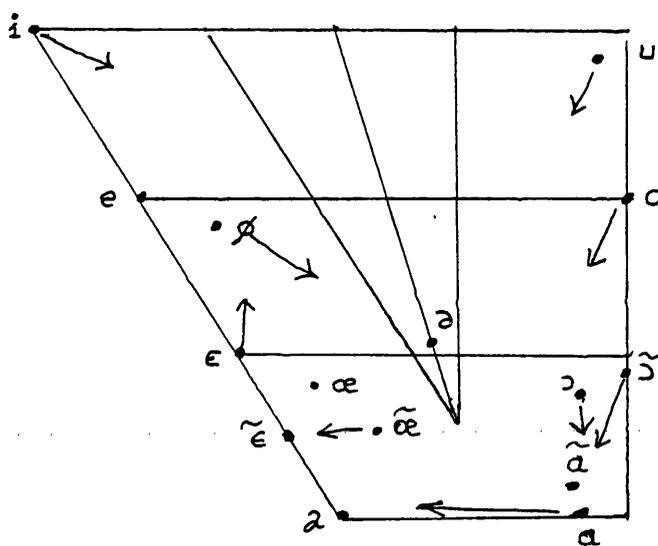
Generally speaking, we notice in Algerian French a tendency to have more central or lower vowels and also less rounding and protrusion of the lips.

2.18.1.   <u>The front close vowel</u>

        In standard French, the front close vowel [i] is
                             and
articulated with the tongue as close /as front as possible

with the lips spread and the jaws nearly together.   The only
variation allowed, is a variation of length which is deter-
mined by phonetic context such as, say, lengthening when
[i] occurs before a voiced fricative or plosive.

e.g.   [mi:z] 'mise' 'put'   [Ri:d] (ride) 'wrinkle'

In Algerian French, however, another variation is
allowed.   This is a variation of quality, since the phoneme
/i/ can either be realised as [i] or as a less close and
more central [ɩ].

Standard French		Algerian French
[mil]	·Mille	mil
	'thousand'	mɩl
[il]	Ils '	il
	'they'	ɩl
[pɔsibl]	Possible	pɔsibl
		pɔsɩbl

2.18.2.   The half close and half open front vowels

In standard French the half close vowel [e] is
articulated with the lips spread whereas the half open vowel
[ɛ] is articulated with the lips neutral.   In Algerian
French, they are also articulated in much the same way ex-
cept that there is less spreading of the lips for the vowel
[e].   There is, however, a very important difference as to
their distributions.

In standard French, the phonemes /ɛ/ realised as
[ɛ] and /e/ realised [e] are two different phonemes.

e.g.   [fɛ] fait 'did'   [fe] fee 'fairy'

            [lɛ] lait 'milk'   [le] les 'the'

In Algerian French, on the other hand, this opposition can be neutralised in final position and /ɛ/ is realised as [e]

e.g.   [le](plural) 'the' (plural) or 'milk'

2.18.3   Front open and back open vowels

Algerian French front open and back open vowels are articulated in almost similar manner as in standard French.   But their distribution in the system is entirely different.

In Algerian French, the back vowel [ɑ] occurs in cases either where there is a labio-velar semi-vowel or when there is a velarized consonant and the front vowel [a] occurs in almost any other context.

Standard French		Algerian French
salad	'salad'	salad
salad		SaLaD
Rwɑ	'king'	Rwɑ
roi		
pɑ:t	'starches'	pat.
pâte		

2.18.4   The back half open [ɔ] and the back half close [o].

Whereas the half open [ɔ] is articulated in about the same manner in Algerian French and standard French, the articulation of the back half close vowel [o] differs considerably: In standard French, it is much more close and the lips are more closely rounded and protruded.   Further-

more as for the vowels [a] and [ɑ], their distribution is
different.   Where in standard French, there is normally
[o], in Algerian French there is [ɔ] if following the vowel
there is a voiced alveolar fricative [z]

        o ------→ ɔ /z

e.g. ʃo:z---→ ʃɔ:z   <u>chose</u>   'thing'

or if the written word is spelt either with 'au'

cf. <u>jaune</u>   [ʒɔ:n]   'yellow'   <u>chauve</u> /ʃɔ :v/ 'bold'

or with 'ô'

cf. <u>drôle</u>   [dRɔ:l]   'funny'

2.18.5.   Vowels [Ø] and [œ]

In standard French /Ø/ is a front half close vowel
articulated with the lips strongly protruded and rounded.
The only variation which can occur is a variation of length
conditioned by whether it occurs in an open syllable or a
closed syllable.   In Algerian French, on the other hand,
there is a difference in both quality and distribution.

    In Algerian French, /Ø/ is more open and there is
only a slight lip rounding and almost no protrusion of the
lips.   Furthermore in many cases, there is a substitution
of the vowel [Ø] by [œ]

Standard French		Algerian French (possible occurrences)
kRØ :z	'hollow'	kRœ :z
emØ :t	'riot'	emœ :t

It is also possible to have, in Algerian French
the central vowel [ə] in free variation with [œ]

2.18.6. The nasalised vowels

The quality and distribution of the Algerian French
vowels [ɑ] [ɔ] and [o] inevitably affect the quality of
their nasalised counterparts.

In standard French [ã] and [ɔ̃] are two different
sounds which can distinguish between two lexical items

e.g.   bã   bɔ̃

'banc'   (seat)   'bon'   (nice)

In Algerian French, however, [ã] is articulated
with more frontness and [ɔ̃] with more openness and less lip
rounding.   In fact, in casual speech these two vowels can
often be indistinguishable.

e.g.   on [ã] 'we'   garçons   [gɑRsã]   'boy'

2.18.7.   The voiced labial-palatal semi vowel [y]

Contrary to standard French, in Algerian French
there is less rounding and protrusion of the lips when ar-
ticulating the semi vowel [y].   Furthermore, the tongue is,
very often, in a further back position which does in casual
speech give the impression of being a [w] quality.

Standard French			Algerian French
			(possible occurrences)
Lui	lyi	'him'	lwi
nuit	nyi	'night'	nwi

2.18. 8.   <u>The sexual distribution of T.F.   . vowels</u>

We have seen, very briefly, the difference in both
quality and distribution of the vowels between standard
French and Algerian French.   Now, we must remember that
generally speaking French serves different purposes for
males and females in the Algerian community, and that women
are well-known to speak the more 'correct' or standard forms.
Furthermore there is less interference or code-switching in
female speech and, consequently, there cannot be processes
like velarisation in 'their French' which could possibly
influence the vowel quality.

Between the two realisation of the phoneme /i/
cf [i] and [ɨ], [ɨ] is more frequent and probable in female
speech whatever the situation;   whereas [i] is selected in
male speech only in some rare situations such as, for in-
stance when trying to sound 'very French'.   Again [i] is
much more usually selected by people belonging to the first
category described in the section on 'Bilingualism in Algeria'(pp44-50)

Similarly, [e] is selected by more males than fe-
males and undergoes the same distribution in terms of social
factors as [i].   We can also notice a hypercorrection in
a tendency to use [ɛ] in a context where [e] should have
been used.   This hypercorrection is mostly done by males
belonging mostly to Groups two and three described in the section on
'bilingualism'(p.p. 44-50)

Similarly [ɑ] when used in place of [a], parti-
cularly when velarisation occurs, is much more frequent in
male speech and so is [ɔ] (when 'normally' [o] should have
occurred).   [œ], also, together with [ã] is much more

common in male speech.   In fact [ø] and [ɔ̃] are almost never used by males, except those of category one discussed in 'bilingualism', lest they would be thought of as 'ridiculous'.

Finally [y] is scarcely used in normal, casual conversation and undergoes the same social distribution as the standard French vowels.

<u>Male speech</u>

ɪ ⟵---------------i

Probability of occurrence
in casual speech

e ⟵--------------ɛ

(Hypercorrection)

a and ɑ

(but not same distribution
 as Standard French)

ø ⟶ œ
ø ⟶ ɔ

ɔ̃ -----------⟶ ã

y and w

<u>Female speech</u>

ɪ--------------------⟶ i

e -------------------⟶ ɛ

a and ɑ

more standard distribution

ø
ɔ̃   More
œ   standard distribution

ɔ̃   More
ã   standard distribution

y

2.19   Taboo and substitution

As we have seen, Jesperson suggested that language differentiation between male and female may in part result from the phenomenon 'taboo'.

We have also shown that taboo cannot be an 'explanation' but merely the label given to a process of which the cause is social attitudes (see pp 24-25).

In Tlemcen, social attitudes toward physical

organs associated with sex, have created a taboo as regard
such elements.   In Algerian Arabic, in general, a whole
sequence of sound may be deformed almost beyond recognition
by women in certain contexts, although conserved intact by
males in similar contexts.

Women, generally,speaking avoid using any word
having a sexual connotation, let alone a word referring
directly or indirectly to sex.   Hence, any sequence of
sounds which may resemble directly or indirectly a noun or
verb referring to sex, is substituted by another sequence or
else not used at all.   The word qlawi 'testicles', for ex-
ample, is naturally taboo.   Another word baqlawa, however,
which is the name of a cake, has reached a certain degree of
taboo because of its partial phonetic similarity to qlawi
(ba - qlawa).   Women in this case have 'invented' another
word baħlawa and thus replaced the voiceless uvular plo-
sive [q] by the voiceless pharyngeal fricative [ħ].

Another example involves the substitution of [z],
the voiced alveolar fricative by the palato alveolar [ʃ]
in the word bazzula 'women's breast' cf. baʃʃula.   This
substitution takes place, however, only when the female is
a young adult speaking in the presence of an elder to whom
respect is due.   The word baʃʃula is also used to refer to
the sexual organs of a baby.

In some cases, however, there is no substitutable
word for the 'offending' form in which case the word itself
is not mentioned, or a great embarrassment is felt after its
use.   It is in such contexts that an automatic code-switch
to French is performed if the person concerned can speak
this language or else a metaphor is used to avoid embarrass-

ment.

In other cases it is the French lexical item which
causes embarrassment and a code-switch to Arabic is performed.
For instance the French teknik 'technique' is phonetically
similar to Arabic nik 'to fuck'.   Hence it is scarcely used
in the presence of an old person particularly if he/she does
not speak French.

2.20.   Length and intonation

In Tlemcen one can easily recognise the speech of
women through the use of certain intonation contours and
through certain protracted forms.   This linguistic phenomen-
on is qualified and labelled by the pejorative terms 'tbǝkik'
'silly way of talking' when not used for lexico-grammatical
or phonological reasons.

2.20.1.   Protraction versus contraction

In Arabic, women often lengthen vowels and con-
sonants in certain environments whereas men's speech ex-
hibits contracted forms by comparison.   For example, vowels
in the following forms: ʃuf ' look', nod 'stand up',
kul 'eat'
can be protracted cf. ʃu:f, no:d, ku:l,
for both lexico-grammatical relevance and phonological rea-
sons.   The lexico-grammatical relevance will be discussed
in the following section.

Protraction can be used to indicate focus.   Thus
in the sentence: hɛd alħāla ma:: ttol 'this situation

will not prevail', the focus is on the negative <u>ma</u>.

Consonants can also be protracted for the same reasons. Thus in the sentence: aʃʃɛʕb huwwa ddiʕmal attora 'it is the people who did the revolution' the lexical item <u>ʃɛʕb</u> bears the main stress and is the focus.

Protraction when used for phonological reasons i.e. to indicate focus can occur in male speech, but not when used as a stylistic marker in which case it is a female specificity.

Male speech	Female speech
Protraction	
used to indicate focus	used to indicate focus
	used as a stylistic marker

Similarly, protraction can be used in Tlemcenian French for lexico-grammatical reasons, phonological reason and as a stylistic marker, but it is much less 'productive' in T.F. than T.A. When protraction is used as a stylistic marker

e.g. ô ma chère [o ma ʃɛ:R] 'O, my dear'

it is much more used by the category of people described in 'bilingualism'/as belonging to classes one and two, rather
than being a feature generally used by females. When used as a stylistic marker, the speaker - in this case a female speaker - sounds 'pedantic' or 'sophisticated'.

2.20.2. <u>Intonation</u>

Women make use of the following rising-falling

pattern
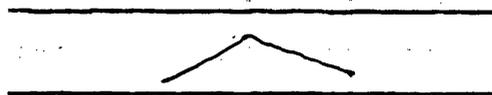
This rising falling pattern may be distributed over dis-
syllabic structures within whole sentences, the rise as-
sociated with the word to which special prominence is given.
Such sentences are characterised by a more or less lengthy
stretch pronounced on a monotone preceding the rise.   The
third part of this characteristically female intonational
pattern comprises the fall from the apex of the rise and the
final monotone on which subsequent syllables are uttered.
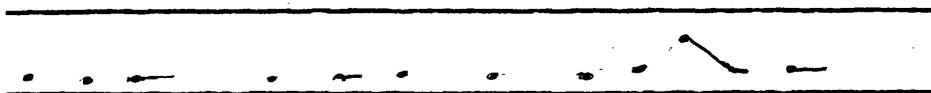
wa arradʒal ddi tabtab fal beb huwwa ddi...
'and the man who knocked at the door, he was the
one who..'
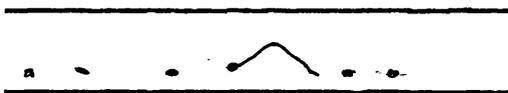
wāsam ꝯmalt jà bniti
'and what did you do O my little daughter'
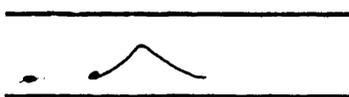
wa ꝯleʃ
'and why?'

Notice that vowels are also protracted in asso-
ciation with the tonal pattern.   Men, on the other hand,
scarcely ever use this intonation pattern except when talking
to children.

2.21. Conclusion

It is part of men's and women's competence to re-
cognise and use the different features I have described:
Covert and Overt features.   If according to the Transforma-
tionalists, it is only the phonological component which
assigns a phonetic realisation to the 'underlying and
abstract' representations, rules must be included which spe-
cify that men's speech is one thing and women's another.

I believe that T.G. pays no attention to certain
central aspects of language; by neglecting - as seen (in
1 . 1) - for instance the fact that language is used in con-
text, that it can be determined by others and that it is part
of our social and cognitive development.   It is part of
one's competence to 'know' that we must speak as a man or
as a woman and our speech can be determined by such a know-
ledge.   This will be more evident from the grammatical and
particularly lexical differences to which attention is drawn
subsequently.

CHAPTER 3.

3.0

GRAMMATICAL DIFFERENCES IN MALE AND FEMALE SPEECH.

In this chapter we shall analyse the grammatical differences in male and female speech. As we shall see these differences will be of two kinds

a)   Some fall in the realm of tendency towards avoidance, in which case we shall speak of the degree of probability of occurrence

b)   others fall in the realm of absolute specificity, in which case they will or will not be used by one sex or the other.

3.1.   Some tonal features

In the previous chapter, we saw that women make a widespread use of protracted forms for phonological and stylistic reasons, and that protraction was much more 'productive' in Arabic than French; but that it had, in some cases, another social meaning in French i.e. to denote the place of certain speakers in the social structure.

The use of protracted forms, as mentioned in the previous chapter, has a lexico-grammatical relevance in both T.A. and T.F.

In T.A. vowel lengthening in adjectives e.g. [kbi:r] 'big', [sRe:r] 'small', [twe:l] 'tall', is an intensifying device translatable in English as 'very' i.e. very big, very small, and very tall.

Men, as we have seen, do not use protraction as a

stylistic marker as it is considered effeminate. Therefore, sihce protraction use has different 'meanings' and particularly because it can be a female stylistic marker, men do not use it for intensification,except when talking to children or in very informal and relaxed situations. Therefore they use lexical means to convey the meaning of intensification and, in particular, they employ the well known dialectal form <u>bizzef</u> 'very' instead of vowel lengthening. This does not mean that the particle <u>bizzef</u> is not used by females,but only that in certain contexts male <u>kbir bizzef</u> corresponds to female <u>kbir</u> plus incremental vowel length.

When bizzef is used to mean 'very', it is characterised by the following intonation pattern


```
,b i 'z z ɛ f
```
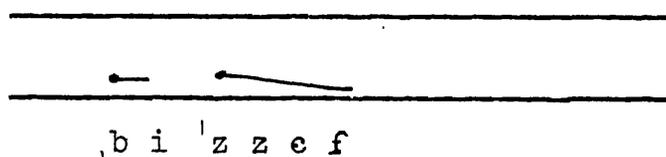
We have thus kbira bizzɛf 'very big'. When, however, the same particle is used with the following intonation pattern


```
,b i 'z z ɛ f
```
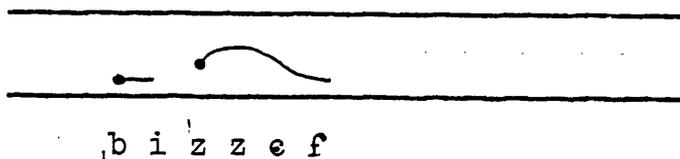
i.e. with second syllable characterised by the use of the upper pitch range of the normal voice register, then the meaning is "doubly intensive" corresponding to an English use of, say, 'tremendously'

```
,kbira ,bizzef      'tremendously big'
```

Similarly, when the same form is used with the following intonation

ˌb i ˈz z e f
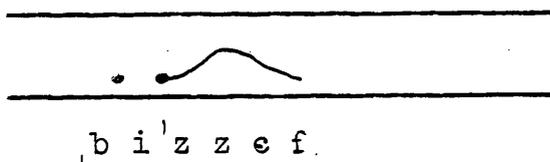
i.e. with a protracted rise fall on the ultimate syllable,
meaning again changes to 'too' i.e. kbira bizzef   'too big'

We have already seen in the previous section that
the rise fall tone is widely used by females.   It is, gen-
erally, used to 'emphasise' the topic one is talking about.
For instance if used with an adjective e.g. kbira, it means
that the quality of the 'thing' described is being emphasised:
[k b i : r a] 'big indeed', 'it is certainly big'.   Men, on
the other hand, usually have recourse to other means which
can also be used by females c.f lawah kbira   'no it is big'.

When the tone is used with a proper name e.g.
mohammad, it means that the person designated is the focus
of the discussion, or at least the focus of the sentence.
Thus [m o ħ a : m m a d] would mean something near to 'it
is indeed mohammad who...'

Again, men may have recourse to some other gramma-
tical means to convey this meaning and, again the same devi-
ces can also be used by females c.f mohammad huwwa lli.   'It
is indeed Mohammad who...'.

Similarly in T.F. protraction has a lexico-gramma-
tical relevance.   Again, it is much less productive in French
than Arabic, and men would not use it except when talking to
children or in very informal and relaxed situations.
examples: [ʒave tɛ:Rmine]   I had 'finished a long time ago'
                              (j'avais termine)

         [tˢy e tRe:: bjɛ̃]   'you are really well' (tu es très
                              bien)

3.2.   Sex and Gender

3.2.1.   Grammatical gender and beyond

The recognition of gender as a grammatical category
is not a new concept; in fact, in the fifth century, the
sophists discovered two principle:

a)   The formal character of gender as a marker of
agreement between words in certain syntactic groupings

e.g.   lwald dxul   'the boy came in'

            lbant duxlat   'the girl came in'

            lwald 9āqal   'the boy is nice'

            lbant 9āqla   'the girl is nice'   etc.

b)   that there was only a partial correspondence
between linguistic gender and natural sex.

e.g.   la phrase est finie   'the sentence is finished
            (agreement between article and noun)
            but
            la sentinelle est en colere   'the sentry is angry'
            In T.A., in no circumstances can we associate
Gender with sex.   Though it happens that there are instances
where gender correlates with sex, for instance:

a)				
	wald	'boy'	bant	'girl'
	raʒal	'man'	mra	'woman'
	dkar	'masculine'	unta	'feminine'
b)	ux	'brother'	uxt	'sister']
	ban	'son'	bant	'daughter'
c)	xel	'uncle' (maternal)	xela	'aunt' (maternal)

Addition of a feminine gender affix (with or without a change of vocalization) is a derivational process in the language, the purpose of which is

a)   to form abstract nouns

'brother' : ux $\xrightarrow{\text{uwa}}$ uxuwa 'brotherhood'

'good'   hasen $\xrightarrow{\text{et}}$ hasenet 'good
                                          (antinomy of
                                          evil)'

b)   to form collectives

ux $\longrightarrow$ ixwet 'brothers'

c)   to form singulatives

wsax $\longrightarrow$ wasxa

'dirt'   'a piece of dirt'

tazrib $\longrightarrow$ tazriba

'experience'   'one experience'

d)   to form diminutives

qadum $\longrightarrow$ qaduma

'hatch'   'little hatch'

barmil $\longrightarrow$ barmila

'barrel'   'little barrel'

e)   to form impersonal 'forms'

qulthalu   qult+ <u>ha</u> + lu 'I told + her + to him'
        'I told it to him'

<u>hedi</u> mliha 'this (fem.) is nice'
        'that's nice'

<u>sabqatli</u>   sabqat + li   'she slipped + to me'
        'It slipped ' (that's a slip of the tongue)

sabbat   'she rained' (it rained).

We shall see now that gender determines some semantic values which are quite beyond sex, values which are determined socially and more specifically by whether the

gender is masculine or feminine and whether used by or refer-
ring to a male or a female.

When we consider the word ʢezab 'bachelor' and
the feminine counterpart ʢazba 'spinster', we find that
there is more involved than the feminine versus masculine
suffixal difference. ʢazba not only means 'not married'
but also virgin or more precisely 'not deflowered, even by
accident'. ʢɛzab on the other hand, means simply 'bachelor'
even if the bachelor under reference is leading a very active
sexual life. A spinster who is not a virgin is referred
to as hazzāla; this word can, however, mean three different
things:

a) not virgin + not married

b) divorced

c) widow

When the lexeme 'bnt' is collocated with 'hzl' ie <u>bant
hazzāla</u> then the meaning can only be 'not married + not
virgin'. If, on the other hand 'hzl' is collocated/'mr'
with
i.e. <u>mra hazzāla</u> the meaning can either be divorcee' or
'widow'.

Because of the ambiguity of the word <u>hazzāla</u>,
and more precisely because it can mean 'not virgin', this
lexical item has reached a certain degree of taboo in the
speech of females, in situations where the participants are
males of either high status or of a certain age, and when the
context is of a formal type. Therefore, when the word <u>haz-
zāla</u> means 'not virgin + not married' women can use <u>bant wa
mra</u> 'girl and woman' or <u>xawja</u> 'empty' which do not occur
in the speech of males. Males on the other hand, depending
on social parameters can use either <u>hazzāla</u>, <u>maxruga</u> or such

euphemisms as ma taswe∫ 'she is not worth it'. maxruga is mostly
used in very informal situations when the participants are very young;
this lexical item rarely occurs in the speech of females
of the same age group. ma taswe∫ on the other hand can
also be used by females, and occurs mostly in formal situat-
ions or when the speaker wants to be very polite.

 Where reference is to a divorcee then mtalqa is
preferred. Finally where reference is to a 'widow' there is
a preference towards either raẓalha mijjat' her husband is
dead' mhaẓla or thaẓẓlat. The masculine counterpart of
haẓẓāla, hazzāl 'divorcee or widower', however, has no un-
desirable connotations, and both sexes can use it freely.

 Similarly fiha (lit. 'in her') a qualifier for a
'loose girl or women', is used exclusively by males for such
a reference. Furthermore it is not the antonym of ma
fih∫ in spite of the appearances. ∫ih, on the other hand,
does not mean loose man but homosexual and again is used
exclusively by males. A synonym of fih is min hum (lit.
from them) which again is male specific. When the collo-
cation min hum is used to refer to a woman, it can only mean
prostitute and never 'lesbian'. In fact I am not aware of
any lexical item having this meaning in T.A.

 Again whereas ∫rik means 'associate', ∫rika can
be ambiguous between 'associate' and concubine, but is mostly
understood as concubine. To refer specifically to a female
associate one must use an expansion or use the masculine
counterpart of daxla m9ch ∫rik (lit. she entered with him
associate).

 Similarly to the change of meaning in 9ezab versus
9azba, we can find whole sentences which have different

meanings according to whether the reference is 'masculine' or 'feminine'. For instance <u>ma jaswe∫</u> 'he is not worth anything' means different things depending on context. It can, however, be glossed as 'he is bad, he is naughty, he is evil etc..'. But when the reference is feminine cf. <u>ma taswe∫</u> it can also mean 'non-virgin' or even 'prostitute'.

Again <u>beni 9lih</u> means 'he is supporting him (financially)' without any reference to sex; but <u>beni 9liha</u> 'he is supporting her' can be understood as 'he is her lover'. Whereas <u>rah mussax</u> can only mean 'he is dirty', <u>riha musxa</u> is ambiguous between 'she is dirty' and 'she has her period'. When <u>riha musxa</u> is used to mean 'she has her period', it is only used by females and so is its synonym <u>fiha ha?ɛ∫∫har</u> 'she has her monthly duty'. Finally while <u>qājam bidaru</u> means 'he is (financially) taking care of his house', <u>qaima bidarha</u> means 'she is taking care of her house (it is spotless)'. The meaning of these sentences illustrate clearly the social attitudes towards males and females as well as their expected roles.

Some lexical items change meaning according to whether they are used by males or females, and whether those lexical items are in the 'masculine' or 'feminine' form. For instance, if a man utters the sentence <u>kunt m9a sahbi</u>, this would mean 'I was with my friend'. The same sentence when used by a female would mean 'I was with my boyfriend'. Precisely because this word cf <u>sahbi</u> means something different when used by females and because in the Algerian society women are not allowed to have male friends, let alone boyfriends, this word is rarely used by females in the masculine

gender.   In certain less traditional families <u>sahbi</u> is
still taboo but <u>sadiq</u> or the French loan 'ami' are possible.
In the last case, it is also possible that a woman will simply
say <u>na9arfu</u> 'I know him' if observed to be talking to a
male and asked about his identity.

One would expect that in male usage, the feminine
corresponding form <u>sahabti</u> would be ambiguous between 'fe-
male friend' and 'girlfriend'.   This is, however, not the
case.   To refer explicitly to one's girlfriend one would
rather say <u>sahbti lli naxruz m9aha</u>   '..whom I go out with'
or a similar expansion, or again the French borrowing
'madam' in <u>madama te9i</u>   'my woman'.

There are sentences which are totally anomalous or
completely nonsensical when the subject or object is mas-
culine, though quite normal when this subject or object is
feminine.   In other words certain sentences must be 'sym-
metric' (Leech, G. 1974 p 113) in male speech and "assym-
metric' in female speech.   To illustrate this concept, we
shall consider the morphemes

The + door + open + past + John

we can thus have a perfectly normal sentence

1. John opened the door

but the sentence

2. The door opened John

is to a certain extent anomalous;   there is an assymmetric
relation between sentence 1 and sentence 2.

Similarly in T.A. there are certain verbs which
can accept one gender (and in this case gender coincides with
sex) in subject or object position.   We can thus have

Subject (masculine) + Verb + Object (feminine)

but not

   Subject (feminine) + Verb + Object (masculine)

This, again, derives from the passive role of women in the

Algerian society. Thus in the following, the only possible

form can be:

ena (male) + xtubt + ha

ena xtubtha 'I asked her to marry me'

ena xtubtu 'I asked him to marry me' would be anomalous.

Similarly huwwa xtubha 'he asked her to marry him' is a

normal sentence but hijja xutbatu 'she asked him to marry

her' is anomalous.

   All verbs dealing with the relation husband/wife

such as engagement, marriage etc. can only accept a male

referent. Hence a man can say

   ena xtubtha 'I proposed to her'

a woman can only say

   huwwa xtubni 'he proposed to me'

Male speech	Verb	Female speech
ena xtubtha	xataba	huwwa xtubni
'I proposed to her'	'to propose'	'he proposed to me'
zwaʒtha	zawaʒa	zwaʒni
'I married her	'to marry'	'He married me'
*zawʒatni		
'She married me'		
dfc9t fiha	dafa9a fi	dfc9 fijja
'I gave some of the bride price'	'to give some of the bride price'	'He gave some of the bride price'
*daf9at fijja		*dfc9t fih
*she gave..'		'I (fem.) gave..'
kammalt 9liha	kammala 9ala	*Kammal 9lijja
'I settle the marriage'	'to settle'	'he settled the marriage

*kammlat 9lijja   *kammalt 9lih

*'she settled the marriage'   *'I (fem.) settled the marriage'

9qadt 9liha   9aqada 9ala   9qad 9lijja

'I registered the marriage'   'to register the marriage'   'he registered the marriage'

*9aqdat 9lijja   *9qadt 9lih

*'she registered the marriage'   *'I(fem.) registered....'

ħattet ljad 9liha   ħatta aljad 9ala   ħatt ljad 9lijja

'I promised to marry her'   'to promise the marriage'   'he promised to marry me'

*ħattat ljad 9lijja   *ħattet ljad 9lih

*'she promised to marry me   *'I (fem.) promised..'

ħallalt 9liha   ħallala   ħallal 9lijja

'I married her religiously'   'to perform an act according to religion'   'he married me religiously'

* ħallalt 9lijja   ħallalt 9lih

* 'she married me religiously'   'I (fem.) married him...'

dxult 9liha   daxala 9la   dxul 9lijja

'I consummated the marriage'   'to consummate the marriage'   'he consummated the marriage'

* duxlat 9lijja   dxult 9lih

'she consummated the marriage'   'I (fem.) consummated....'

* tallaqtha   tallaqa   tallaqni

* 'I divorced her'   'to divorce'   'he divorced me'

talqatni   tallaqtu

'she divorced me'   'I (fem.) divorced him'

Certain verbs like barraza 'to present the bride' must have a female referent subject as well as a female

referent complement.

e.g.   annsa + barzu + lha

        <u>annsa barzulha</u>   'The women presented the bride'

both

        *<u>rẓel barzulha</u>   'the men presented the bride'

and   *<u>annsa barzulah/-u</u>   'the women presented the groom'

are impossible unless uttered in joke.

    Other verbs can only accept a female in complement
position with the subject being either a male or a female.
Thus the verb <u>9atā</u> 'to give' means 'to give as a wife' when
used in the collocation <u>weldiha 9tawha</u> 'her parents gave her
(as a wife)'. The form <u>9tawah</u> 'they gave him as a husband'
is socially anomalous.

    Finally there are some verbs which can only accept
a male referent in complement position, the subject being
either a male or female referent. Thus when the verb <u>dawwara</u>
is used in the form <u>jdawrulu</u> it means 'they are looking for
a <u>wife</u> for <u>him</u>'; <u>jdawrulha</u> 'they are looking for a <u>husband</u>
for <u>her</u>' is quite anomalous and so is <u>jaxxatbulha</u> 'they are
asking someone to marry her' although <u>jaxxatbulu</u> is quite
normal.

    We conclude that in T.A. there are pairs of words
that at first glance seem to differ only in their sex re-
ference. On close inspection, however, it is clear that
sex reference is not the only factor distinguishing these
words. Not only there might be a 'denotative' and/or 'con-
notative' difference, but the collocational and colligational
possibilities of one member of the pair might also differ
from those of the other pair.

3.2.2. Special Use of Gender

It is possible to use the feminine Gender where the normal form should be masculine.

e.g. ẓaiḥa 'lazy, good for nothing' instead of its masculine correspondent ẓajaḥ

in expressive, pejorative language as well as a form of insult to a male (see Section 4.2.2).

Similarly masculine 'forms' can be used for females referents to serve the same communicative or connotative purposes. For instance, the sentence hadak/hadik 9awd 'this (masc./fem.) is a horse' instead of hadik 9awda this (fem.) is a mare' is used to describe a 'rude' or somewhat 'masculine' woman.

3.3. Second-person singular independent pronouns

The second person singular independent pronoun varies with the sex of the person addressed as well as with the status of the addressee. If the addressee is a male, then the form is either nta or the second person plural ntuma. If, on the other hand the addressee is a female, then the form is either nti or ntijja, the two being in so-called 'free variation'. There are, yet, two other forms ntina and ntin which are in free variation with both nta/ntuma and with nti/ntijja. When addressing a male, ntina/ntin are noticeably more favoured by women and children than by males who do not use ntina in formal conversation when the male participants are of a higher status. They might do so in casual conversation but not if talking to a N.T. Again

men might use ntin/ntina when talking to women and/or children, and they certainly would if at the same time they are making use of certain of the phonetic features described earlier (for instance [t^s] [dჳ] and [ʔ]. Therefore when addressing a male, men have the following possibilities; ntin/ntina, nta and ntuma.

ntin/ntina are used in casual conversation when the participants are Tlemcenians of the same or lower status or as a sign of Tlemcenian identity. If, on the other hand, the addressee is a N.T. of the same or lower status nta is more likely to be used. Incidentaly nta can be used to address a Tlemcenian when the conversation is of a formal type. When the addressee is of a higher status or one wants to be polite he would rather use ntuma whether the addressee is a Tlemcenian or N.T. e.g. ntuma labes? 'how are you?'

The choice between nti and ntijja in men's speech is not that ' free'. nti can be used to maintain distance between speaker and addressee, if for example the latter is unknown or a N.T. It can also occur in contexts where certain typically N.T. features are being used. Again ntijja is more probable if the addressee is a N.T. whereas ntin/ntina when the addressee is Tlemcenian, but ntuma could absolutely not be used to address a female.

Women, on the other hand, can use nta/ntin/ntina when addressing a male, but nta is the most unlikely of all whatever the participant. They cannot, also, use ntuma to address a higher status male or even female for that matter. When addressing a female, they have the choice between ntin/ntina/ntijja and nti. nti is almost never used except when, for instance, they imitate a N.T. and

ntijja is less common than ntin and ntina.   In fact the
most common forms in women's speech are thus ntina or ntin
whatever the sex, age, status or origin.

        We can, thus subdivide the various forms of the
sec.pers. sing.ind. pronoun according to sex of the addressee
and its status or origin and sex of the speaker.

Male speaker/male addressee

nta: can be used in all contexts

ntina: rare when addressing a N.T

ntin: used more in casual conversations

ntuma: used to address a person of higher status or for
            politeness

Male speaker/female addressee

nti: more acceptable when addressing a N.T

ntijja: "   "   "   "   "   "

ntina: more used to address a female rather than a male

ntin: "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "   "

Female speaker/male addressee

ntin: very common

ntina: "   "

nta: rarer

Female speaker/female addressee

ntin   very common

ntina: "   "

ntijja: rare

nti: very rare

3.4.   The third person singular pronominal suffix

        The above suffix appears variously either as a

back close rounded vowel or an open vowel + ɦ

e.g.   bitu or bitaɦ   'his room'

            kesu or kesaɦ   'his glass'

            rafdu or rafdaɦ   'he picked it up'

            ʃefu or ʃefaɦ   'he saw him (it)'

the latter form is more used by speakers from Oran, Maghnia
and the ˋ9robejja´, but it is, nevertheless, used by some
Tlemcenians because of the influence of the languages in
contact. If women use the suffix - aɦ, then their speech
would be regarded as 'rustic' if not 'vulgar' and thus so-
cially unacceptable.   They might, however, use it in cont-
exts where they are imitating a man or woman from, say, Oran.

        The two suffix forms, onthe other hand, 'freely'
vary in men's speech, although choice is again conditioned
by certain social rules.   -u is generally used when talk-
ing to a Tlemcenian or to a N.T. of same or higher status ⸴
and as a sign of Tlemcenian identity. -aɦ is utilised when
talking to 9robejja or a N.T. of a lower status.   It is
certainly used when, for instance, one is having a fight
e.g. mel dinaɦ ? 'what is the matter with his religion?'
i.e. 'what is the bloody matter with him?'   In the latter
case a woman would never imitate men's speech, at least not
a self-respecting one.

Male speech	Female speech
-u: used in normal speech	-u: in all situations
-aɦ: used in anger or a fight	-aɦ: rare occurrence
when addressing a person	
of a lower status,	
particularly a N.T.	

3.5. <u>Second person singular verb forms</u>

As in the case of pronouns, the forms of the verb
in the second and third person singular vary according to
whether the action referred to is performed by a male or
female.   In the case of the second person singular, the
morphological difference consists in the presence versus
absence of a final close vowel - <u>i</u>.   Other differences
noticeable in the transcription relate   to facts of phono-
logy and lie beyond the scope of this research.

<u>Second pers. sing.</u> <u>masc.</u>	<u>Non Past</u>	<u>Second pers. sing.</u> <u>fem.</u>
<u>nta taf9al</u>	'you do'	<u>tafa9li</u>
" <u>taxruʒ</u>	'you go out'	<u>taxurʒi</u>
" <u>tasrat</u>	'you swallow'	<u>tasarti</u>
	Past	
<u>f9alt</u>		<u>f9alti</u>
<u>xruʒt</u>		<u>xruʒti</u>
<u>sratt</u>		<u>Sratti</u>
	<u>Imp.</u>	
<u>f9al</u>		<u>fa9li</u>
<u>xruʒ</u>		<u>xurʒi</u>
<u>Srat</u>		<u>Sarti</u>

We have seen that women prefer the use of <u>ntina/ntin</u> to
<u>nta</u> or <u>nti/ntijja.</u>   When the form <u>ntina</u> (or <u>ntin</u>) is used,
unexpectedly it is accompanied by the masculine verb form,
i.e. <u>taxruʒ</u> etc.   Women, therefore, tend to use the second
person singular masculine form even when talking to another
woman, wherever she comes from.   It is also common for men
to use the second person singular masculine when addressing
a Tlemcenian woman, they would less commonly use it when

talking to a N.T.

Male speech	Female speech

male addressee: sec. pers. sing. masc.)

female addressee:(sec. pers. sing.   normal

         (masc.) rare

       (sec. pers. sing. fem.

There are also verbs of another conjugational type which can have variously two second person singular forms e.g.

2nd pers. sing. masc.		2nd pers. sing. fem.
taqra	'you read'	taqri
		taqrai
tans	'you forget'	tansi
		tansai
tastann	'you wait'	tastanni
		tastannai
tabra	'you get on well'	tabri
		tabrai

Women would never (except in imitation) use the first variant of the pair i.e. taqri, tansi, tastanni, tabri. Those forms are considered 'rustic' in women's speech for, again, they belong to the neighbouring dialects. taqrai, tansai, tastannai and tabrai are much more acceptable and are in 'free variation' with the 2nd person sing. masculine form in the paradigms in question. To recapitulate, when the verbs are of the first type, e.g. taf9al etc. the masculine form is preferred, but in the second type e.g. taqra, the masculine form is in free variation with only one kind of feminine form, the one ending with the diphthong [ai].

Male speech	Female speech
<u>taf9al</u>	<u>taf9al</u>
<u>tafa9li</u>	

Male speech		Female speech
<u>taqra</u>		<u>taqra</u>
<u>taqri</u>	rare	(<u>taqra</u>
<u>taqrai</u>		(<u>taqrai</u>

Corresponding usage is observable in second pers. sing. forms of the past tense, where e.g. <u>f9alt</u> 'you did' (elsewhere with male reference) freely varies in women's speech with <u>f9alti</u> 'you did' (unmistakably with female reference cf.

<u>ntina/ntijja ddi f9alt/f9alti</u>

'it is you (fem.) who did it.

<u>ntina ddi qrit/qriti</u>?

is it you (fem.) who read?

3.6.   <u>The verbs</u>

3.6.1.   <u>The verb to 'come'</u>

In Tlemcen the verb '<u>ʒ-?</u>' ' to come' can be used in two forms in the present continuous tense.

a)
maʒi	I (masc.) am coming
maʒja	I (fem.) am coming
maʒi	you (masc.) are coming
maʒja	you (fem.) are coming
maʒi	he is coming
maʒja	she is coming
maʒjan	we, you, they are coming

b)   ʒaj   I (masc.) am coming

        ʒajja   I (fem.) am coming

        ʒaj   you (masc.) are coming

        ʒajja   you (fem) are coming

        ʒaj   he is coming

        ʒajja   she is coming

        ʒajjan   we, you, they are coming

Males can use both forms but in different contexts since b) is more common to neighbouring dialects.   a), therefore, would be used when talking with Tlemcenians and in formal situations whereas b) would be used when speaking to a person of a lower status particularly a N.T. Women, on the other hand, have a definite preference for a) in all contexts, except when imitating a N.T.

This phenomenon of the choice between two verb lexemes cf. maʃi/rājaħ 'to go' is a peculiarity of male speech since, as mentioned, by men's speech is often meant the possibility to use other dialectal variants.

3.6.2.   The full verb 'to be'

In Tlemcenian Arabic the full verb 'to be', in the present tense is as follows:

        rani/ɛni   'I am'

        rak/rek/rik   'you (masc) are'

        raki/rek/rik/riki   'you (fem.) are'

        ra/rah   'he is'

        (ra/raha/rahi/riha   'she is'
        (
        (rihi/ri

        rahna   'we are'

rakum/rikum	'you are'
rahum/rum	'they are'

3.6.2.1. The second person singular

In men's speech the probability of occurrence of
riki is nil (except when imitating women's speech)and it is
rare in the case of rek/rik. If, therefore, one heard the
following sentence 'eiwa kiriki?' 'well, how are you?',
one would automatically know that both speaker and addressee
were females, or that the speaker was imitating a female.

When rik occurs in male's speech, it is mostly used
to address a female Tlemcenian in a relaxed situation, in
female's speech, on the other hand, it is used to address
males and females in all contexts, be they Tlemcenians or
N.T. rek can be used in the same contexts as rik but its
probability of occurrence is higher than that of rik in
male speech; in women's speech, however, rik is more probable
than rek.

rak is very improbable in women's speech and is
usually preferred to rik/rek by males. raki, on the other
hand is mostly used by males.

probability of male usage

$$\longrightarrow$$

riki   rik   rek   rak(i)

$$\longleftarrow$$
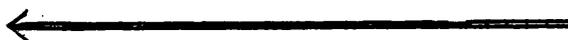
probability of female usage

3.6.2.2. Third person singular

Whereas rah and ra are in free variation in male

speech, <u>rah</u> has a lower probability of occurrence in female
speech for, as shown in the section _2.11   the voiced
glottal fricative [ɦ] is more characteristic of male   speech,
when it is in final position(see p 111) _ _

    <u>rihi</u> can be used in all contexts by females and
very scarcely - if ever - used by males; in formal situations
and in the presence of N.Ts it would not be used.   <u>ri</u> is
in free variation with <u>rihi</u> in female speech, but again has
a limited occurrence in male speech, though more probable
than <u>rihi</u>. Males would rather use either <u>riha</u>, <u>ra</u>, <u>rahi</u>, or
<u>raha</u>. Depending on whether the conversation is casual or
formal, on whether there is desire to reveal Tlemcenian
identity, and other factors. For instance if one were
speaking with a good Tlemcenian or a N.T. friend, one might
use <u>riha</u> or <u>ra</u>; but if one were talking with a non-Tlemcenian
in a formal situation, <u>raha</u> is more likely to be used.
<u>riha</u>, <u>ra</u>, <u>rahi</u> and <u>raha</u> can also be used by females but the
possibility of occurrence is greater in the case of <u>riha</u>
than in that of <u>ra</u>, and greater in the case of <u>ra</u> than of
<u>rahi</u> and greater in the case of <u>rahi</u> than of <u>raha</u>. Here
again we see that possibilities of occurrence follow different
directions depending on whether one is dealing with male or
female language. In female speech, again, <u>rihi</u> is more
likely than <u>ri</u>/<u>riha</u>/<u>ra</u> etc.

3.6.2.3. <u>Second person plural</u>

    <u>rikum</u> has a higher probability of occurrence than
<u>rakum</u> in female speech. In male _ speech, however, <u>rakum</u>
would rather be used to a N.T. or in formal situations whereas

rikum would be used when speaking to a Tlemcenian or in casual conversations.

3.6.3.4. Third person plural

rahum is in free variation with rum in female speech, rum having a greater possibility of occurrence. In male speech, rahum is more probable in formal speech than rum; the latter will, for instance, hardly be used when speaking to a N.T.

This may be summarized:

Male speech   Female speech

possibility of occurrence
- rani/ɛni   ɛni/rani

- riki/ used to address only   - rak
         female
  rik   rek) used to address
                                                both males and
  rek   rik) females
+ rak

  ra/rah   - rah
                                         + ra

- ri   - raha
  riha   rahi
  ra   ra
  rahi   riha
+ raha   ri
                                         + rihi

  raḥna   raḥna

$\downarrow$ $\begin{array}{l} -\ \text{rikum} \\ +\ \text{rakum} \end{array}$ $\downarrow$ $\begin{array}{l} -\ \text{rakum} \\ +\ \text{rikum} \end{array}$

$\downarrow$ $\begin{array}{l} -\ \text{rum} \\ +\ \text{rahum} \end{array}$ $\downarrow$ $\begin{array}{l} -\ \text{rahum} \\ +\ \text{rum} \end{array}$

3.7.   On the use of the imperative

As we have seen, Tlemcenian women, have a sub-
ordinate role in the patriarchal society; which entails
her shunning theme of direct statements, when addressing a
group of males.   Related to this, is women's relative avoid-
ance of imperative constructions when addressing a member
of the same group.

For instance when the husband is sitting with friends,
say during lunch and the wife wants to call him into the
kitchen, she never would say 'Xɛdʒi lahna' 'X come here'.
Instead she would, simply, call his name and she would be
understood; whereas it would be quite possible for him to
use the imperative in the same context.   Another example
would be for a wife to say rah jxas al ḥam 'the meat is
missing' or ma bqaʃ al ḥam 'there is no meat left' instead
of ʒibal ḥam 'bring meat'.

Women, however, can use the imperative when
addressing younger males (adolescents).

Imperative

Male speech   Female speech

more possible   less frequent when
                                     addressing males.

3.8.   Adjectives

The form of adjectives also vary with the gender of the head noun or subject noun (in predication use). Thus with the presence or absence of final open vowel we have the singular forms:

Masculine	Feminine
kbir	kbira
sRer	sRera
mantfax	mantafxa

The corresponding plural forms are:

kbār	) referring to			kbarāt
sRār	) animate of	referring	sRarāt
mantafxin	) inanimate	to human	mantafxāt

The masculine plural forms differ from those of the singular variously by vocalic mutation (e.g. kbir/kbār) or by the addition of a suffix -in (e.g. mantfax/mantafxin). Feminine plural forms are marked by the suffix āt. With plural feminine nouns referring to animates, the plural masculine forms of the adjectives are in 'free variation' in women's speech, although the plural masculine is more often used than the plural feminine.

Masculine forms

Men's speech	Women's speech
kbār	kbār
sRār	sRār etc

Feminine forms

kbarāt	kbarāt
less probable	kbār
sRarāt	sRarāt
less probable	sRār

3.9.   <u>The relative pronoun</u>

In women's speech, the relative pronoun '<u>lli</u>' and
'<u>ddi</u>' 'who, which, that' are in free variation but <u>ddi</u> is
predominant.   Hence a woman can say:

1.   a.   arradʒal ddi dxul

        b.   "   lli   "

        'The man who came in'.

2.   a.   lamra ddi duxlat

        b.   "   lli   "

        'The woman who came in'.

3.   a.   alkes ddi fu? alxazna

        b.   "   lli   "   "

        'The glass which is on top of the cupboard'.

4.   a.   la?tut ddi ʃarbu laħlib

        b.   "   lli   "   "

        'The cats that drank the milk'

5.   a.   annsa ddi ?ablu

        b.   "   lli   "

        'The women who agreed'.

In men's speech, on the other hand, <u>ddi</u> cannot occur
in formal conversations and this is especially the case with
N.T. participants if they are complete strangers.   It can,
however, occur in a very relaxed situation when the inter-
locutors are Tlemcenians or when speaking to children.   The
normal usage in male speech is <u>lli</u>.   <u>ddi</u> is also used by
children and even young adolescents of both sexes, since, of
course, children of whatever sex speak the language of their
mothers.

probability of occurrence

Male speech		Female speech	
+ lli		ddi	+
− ddi	very rare particularly in formal situation and with N.T.	lli	−

3.10.   Prepositions

3.10.1.   mura/mur/wra   'behind'

mura/mur and wra - the latter being a typically '9robejja' form, can all occur in men's speech; wra, however, does not in female speech as it is seen as a feature of 9robejja speech and/or lhadra ta9 lawharna 'the speech of Oraneese' i.e. 'rude'.

mur and mura when used by males, occur mostly, in contexts where the addressee in a member of the Tlemcenian community or is someone of a high status. wra, on the other hand, is more likely to be used when speaking to a N.T. particularly if of a lower status such as, say, an employee in a shop or a maid.

e.g.   ʒib hadik aʃkara wra lqabsa

'bring that bag behind the box'.

3.10.2.   9awad, muda9, blasat (from French 'place')
'instead of' 'in place of'.

e.g.   muda9   )

blasat) lli jatmaʃʃa bda jaʒri

9awad   )

'instead of walking, he started to run'.

blasat is not used by the older female generation

and 9awad is preferred to muda9. The younger females can use blasat but its probability of occurrence is limited compared both to that in the case of male speech and to the occurrence of muda9 and 9awad.

In male speech blasat is commonly used in all contexts and its probability of occurrence is at least equal to both muda9 or 9awad

Male speech	Female speech
older generation:	
blasat/muda9/9awad	muda9/9awad
younger generation:	
blasat/muda9/9awad	blasat: rarer
	9awad/muda9: more common.

3.11. Interrogatives

3.11.1. 9lah/9laʃ 'why'

9lah and 9laʃ are both used by males with a preference for 9lah when speaking either to a N.T. or someone of a lower status. Women, on the other hand, never use 9lah for two reasons.

a. It is thought of as a sign of being _ uneducated, rude, masculine or a characteristic of 9robejja 'peasants' (and their belief is that peasants are ignorant).

b. The particle ends with a voiced glottal fricative (see Section 2.14.3.)

Male speech	Female speech

Male speech

- equal or higher status addressee

(Tlemcenian): 9laʃ

- lower status addressee

(Tlemcenian): 9laʃ , 9lah, but

more probable.

- equal or higher status N.T.

addressee: 9laʃ

- lower status N.T. addressee:

9lah

Female speech

9laʃ

(9lah could be used when

imitating any of the

persons ennumerated above)

3.11.2. fɛjan 'where' wajan 'where'

The interrogatives fɛjan, wajan, lajan can be

respectively realised as:

a -   [fɛjən], [fɛin], [fin] and [fa]

e.g. [fɛjan]   9omar)

[fɛin]   9omar) 'where is Omar?'

[fin]   9omar)

but * [fa]   9omar

[fa] can only be used with a pronoun.

e.g. [farra:h] 'where is he'.

b -   [wajan], [wain], [win] and [wa].

They have the same distribution as [fɛjən], and [wa], can

also be used only with a pronoun, cf. [warra:h] 'where is he?'

3.11.3. [lɛjən], [lɛin] and [lin]

The probability of occurrence of one or the other

particles depends on both sex and other factors concerning

the participants.   lɛjan is rarely, if ever, used by males,
who prefer either wajan or fɛjan.   fɛjan is used by males
when addressing both T and N.T.   But when speaking to the
latter or to someone of a lower status, wajan is much more
probable than fɛjan.   fɛjan is in free variation with
lɛjan in female speech but wajan is less probable than the
former.

Male speech				Female speech
		particles		
-rarely used	lɛjan		- +	
- used to				
+/N.T/	fɛjan)			rarely used
- used to N.T	wajan)			
of lower				
status				

3.12.   Demonstratives

In Tlemcenian Arabic, the proximal demonstratives
are da, hed 'this, these' and can be used in the colligation.

da + Art + N   / hed + Art + N

e.g.   darradʒal/hedarradʒel   'this man'
            darrdʒel/hedardʒel   'these men'
            dalmra/hɛdalmra   'this woman'
            dannsa/hɛdanasa   'these women'

As well as dɛk /hɛdɛk 'that' masc. sing), dik/hɛdik
'this' (fem. sing.) and duk/hɛduk (those' plural) which can
also be used in the same colligations (hɛdɛk, dik, duk + Art
+ N).

e.g.　　　(hɛ)dek arradʒal　　　'that man'

　　　　　(hɛ)dik almra　　　　　'that woman'

　　　　　(hɛ)duk arrdʒel　　　　'those men'

　　　　　(hɛ)duk annsa　　　　　'those women'

We have then:

　　　da　　　　　　　　　　　　)

　　　hɛd　　　　　　　　　　　) + Art + Noun

　　　(hɛ) dek or dik or duk)

We can also formulate a general rule:

　　　hɛ——→ ∅　for both male and female speakers

e.g.

　　　hɛdarradʒal　　darradʒal

　　　hɛdik　　　　　dik

but this rule is not obligatory in male speech and its fre-
quency is higher in women speech.　In other words da, dik,
dek and duk are less used by males with da being the most
improbable.　They may, however, occur in casual relaxed
conversations, when talking to children but less so when
the participants are N.Ts.

3.13.　　The possessive

3.13.1.　　-d-/di

　　　In women's speech a particle d-/di is in free var-
iation with djel, nte9 and another tc9 'of, belong to'　is
used to mark the close association of two nouns.　Men, on
the other hand, rarely use d-/di particularly in formal con-
versations, be it with T or N.T. and generally they do not
use it when addressing a N.T.

Men's speech	Women's speech
rare	d-/di
nte9 (also mtc9)	nte9
te9	te9
djel	djel

e.g.

assetara <u>mte9</u> la pols	assetara <u>di</u> la polis
<u>nte9</u>	<u>nte9</u>
te9	te9
djel	

'the despotism of the police'.

traffah bidrāham <u>nte9</u> arraʃʃwa   (male speech)

     <u>djel</u>

traffah biddrāham <u>d</u>arraʃʃwa   (female speech)

'he got rich with dirty money'.

   The form of the particle used by women appears to be [<u>di</u>] in the environment of a following consonant and [<u>d</u>-] before a vowel or geminated consonant.

3.13.2. <u>Double possessive</u>

   Another characteristic of women's speech is the frequent use of the double possessive.

   cf N + possessive suffix + possessive particle + N

e.g. <u>mrat</u>+ <u>u</u> + <u>djel/nte9/te9/di</u> + 9omar

   mratu djel/di 9omar

   'Omar's wife'

instead of simply:

   N + N e.g. <u>mrat 9omar</u>

or N + particle + N e.g. <u>mra djel 9omar</u>.

The possessive suffix can be any of the paradigms:

-i 'my', -k 'yours', -u 'his', -ha 'hers', -na 'ours,

-kum 'yours, -hum 'theirs'.

examples:

ḥaiki djeli	'my veil'
ḥaikak djelak	'your veil'
ḥajakha djel(ha)X	'her' or 'X's' veil'

This construction is, also, frequently used by children. It is much less used by males except when they want to emphasise the idea of possession e.g. ḥaqqi te9i 'it is certainly my right', and often when the first word collocated is a kin-term, e.g. mratu te9 9omar in which case a sense of respect, either to the person mentioned or toward the interlocutor, is to be conveyed.

3. 13.3. Possessive and kin terms

Certain kin terms such as cb 'father' and ax 'brother' have two different possessive forms for the first person singular c.f. buja/b^{w}a 'my father' and xuja/xai 'my brother'. Both forms can be used by males, whereas only b^{w}a/xai can be used by females for the reason that those forms which are not used, were introduced by contact with/neighbouring dialects (see introduction). In fact those two lexical items together with um 'mother' can have two morphological forms one of which is not used by females as it is more used by the 9robejja or more typical of neighbouring dialects. (For discussion of their usage, the reader is referred to the section dealing with kin-terms).

Male speech	Female speech
xai/xuja	xai
xak/xuk	xak
xah(a)/xuh(a)	xah(a)
xana/xuna	xana
xakum/xukum	xakum
xahum/xuhum	xakum
<u>root + a/u/+suffix</u>	<u>root + a + suffix</u>

buja/b^Wa	b^Wa
<u>root + a/u/+suffix</u>	<u>b+a+suffix</u>
<u>b + a/u/+suffix</u>	

m^Wa	m^Wa
<u>m +a +suffix</u>	<u>m +a + suffix</u>

3.13.4   <u>Special use of the third person pronominal suffix</u>

The third person pronominal suffix <u>-u</u> e.g.
ħbibu 'his dear', Rẓel djelu 'his beauty' is often used in
free variation with <u>-i</u> 'my' e.g. ħbibi, Rẓel djeli 'my dear',
'my beauty'.

The construction N + -u or Adj. + -u or N + posses-
sive particle +<u>-u</u> or Adj. + possessive particle +<u>-u</u> is very
commonly used by males to address members of peer groups
as a sign of intimacy and/or friendship.   c.f. <u>eiwa ħbibu</u>
<u>sa va</u> 'well dear how are you?'   It can also be used by
males to address females, except in the case of a wife, and
it cannot be used by females to address males or females.

Male speech	Female speech
	special use of -u for -i	
used to address	used only for babies
male members of	
peer groups and	
babies	

3.14.   Redundant plural marking

Redundant plural marking is very frequent in Tlemcenian Arabic and particularly so in women speech. examples:

	Singular	Plural	Redundant plural
'meat'	alħam	alħuma	alħumɛt
'butter'	zabda	zbud	zbudɛt
'sun'	ʃams	ʃmus	ʃmusɛt

This form is used either to give positive emphasis:

e.g.   whadu alħumɛt ddi ħattonna

'what a variety of meat we were offered!'

or to convey negative emphasis

e.g.   la bniti, ma naxruʒʃ hɛdu ʃmusɛt rahum barra

'No dear, I will not go out, 'these suns' are out' i.e. the sun is too hot.

It should be mentioned that this form is mostly used for foodstuff, furniture and physical or moral descriptions.   It is for this reason as well as because it is a means of emphasis - since women are noted for their specificity in the description of people, food and other facts - that it is more common in female speech.

Male speech	Female speech
rare usage	very common usage

3.15. Negation

3.15.1. meʃi

The negative particle meʃi 'no, not' can precede a lexical item or a clause.

It is used to negate an adjective (e.g. mefi mliħ 'this is not nice'), a noun or pronoun (e.g. meʃ i X (huwwa) 'this is not X (him)'), adverbs (e.g. meʃihna 'not here', meʃi darwak 'not now', meʃi hakda 'not like that'). But when meʃi is used to negate a verb (e.g. meʃi jaqra 'he does not study'), the speaker will automatically juxtapose another verb, since meʃi + verb presupposes a clarification of the statement i.e. meʃi + V^1 + V^2 (e.g. meʃi jaqra , jaxdam 'he does not study, (rather) he works'). Finally meʃi can be used to negate a whole verbal clause (e.g. meʃi rah hna 'he is not here').

When meʃi is used to negate a noun, pronoun, adjective or adverb, it is used equally by males and females. When, on the other hand, it is used to negate verbal clauses, its probability of occurrence is higher in female speech. Men can make use of such a construction, particularly when addressing Tlemcenians, when using specific Tlemcenian features, but can also and mostly use a particle ma placed initially, with [-ʃ] suffixed to the negated verb. (e.g. ma rahʃ hna 'he is not here').

Males can use ma construction in all contexts and

whatever their emotional state or attitude, females use it
less frequently; it occurs mainly in limited contexts such as,
for instance, when they want to stress or emphasise a point
or when they want to be rude, impolite or are angry or in
imitation of men speech.

Male speech	Female speech
meʃi: less often colligated with verbal clauses, it is in'free variation' with ma + v + ʃ	meʃi: colligated with N, V, adj. adv., pro. and verbal clauses. It is more probable than ma + v + ʃ.

3.15.2   ʃai

ʃai is used as a suffix in the construction ma + v +ʃai
and   can mean either 'nothing, absolutely not or not at
all' depending on context.

e.g.   ma qra ʃai 'he read nothing, he absolutely did not read
        anything, he did not read at all'

welu is in 'free variation' with ʃai.   When, however, ʃai
is used, the addressee (or someone else, apart from the
speaker) must have mentioned the verb which is negated, be-
forehand; whereas this is not necessarily the case when
welu is used.

In Tlemcen, women make an abundant use of ʃai what-
ever the context and whatever the status of the participants.
Males, on the other hand, use welu in contexts where ʃai
could be possible.   Furthermore, in men speech, only, welu
can be substituted by bunt 'a goal, a point' (e.g. ma qra
bunt 'he did not read a point (anything)').   bunt, however,

only occurs in casual conversations where the participants
are very intimate and probably adolescents or young adults.
Another lexical item which is in 'free variation' with <u>bunt</u>
and <u>welu</u> is ɡalwa 'testicles' and as the meaning suggests,
this is even more restricted as to both its occurrence and
its users.   It is, however, never used by females.

Male speech	Female speech
<u>welu</u> in 'free variation with ʃai. The latter being less frequent	ʃai more use in female speech.
use of <u>bunt</u>	Ø
use of <u>ɡalwa</u>	Ø

3.16. The exclamatory particle ma

A characteristic of female speech, which is not found
in male speech, is the use of the construction: Exclamatory
particle <u>ma + verb</u>.

The set of verbs which can be colligated with <u>ma</u> is
limited and their precise meanings can only be understood in
a given context.

Male speech	Female speech
Ø	ma + verb e.g.
	(<u>matrani</u> can be glossed as 'dear me, poor me'
	(<u>ma xasni</u> 'poor me, unlucky me...'
Ø	(<u>ma rani</u> 'I wish I was there, I wish I
	(could be that person...'
	(<u>ma ḥassit</u> ' doubt it, it does not
	surprise me...'

The verbs colligated with <u>ma</u> can be divided into
two categories

a)   verbs which can be conjugated in one person only,

           i.e. they are invariant for person

           e.g. <u>trani</u> (2nd pers. sing) <u>ḥassit</u>(1st pers. sing.)

b)   verbs which can be conjugated in all persons

           e.g. <u>ma xasni</u> (xassak, xassu etc..)

Finally, those colligations may either have the vocative
particle <u>ja</u> (e.g. ja ma trani) or may occur just by
themselves (e.g. ma xasni)

3.17.   <u>The vocative syntagm</u>

When <u>ja</u> 'O' is colligated with certain nouns
such as $m^{W}a$ cf $jam^{W}a$ 'oh mother', <u>ja</u> can be both vocative
and non-vocative i.e. there is a non-vocative use of the
vocative <u>ja</u>. When <u>ja</u> is non-vocative, the colligation is
possible in both male and female speech, but the lexical
items which can be collocated with <u>ja</u> will depend not only
on context but, also, age and sex.

Generally speaking, the kin terms $m^{W}a$, $x^{W}ti$ are not
collocated by adult males particularly in formal conversations,
whereas females can use them whatever the context and what-
ever their age. Males, on the other hand, often collocate
<u>ja</u> with <u>xi</u> 'brother' to express deception or anger and with
lexical items referring to sex (e.g. <u>ja zabbi</u> 'O' my sex').
The latter occurs, however, mainly in the speech of adoles-
cents or young adults to express anger, deception or surprise
and in no context can it occur in female speech. Generally
speaking when <u>ja</u> is non-vocative, it is used as a means to

convey surprise.

Male speech	Female speech
- less frequent	- more frequent
- no use of $ja\ m^wa/x^wti$ for adults	- use of $ja\ m^wa/x^wti$
- possible use of $ja\ xi$	- no use of $ja\ xi$
- possible use of ja collocated with lexical items referring to sex in informal contexts	- no use of ja in collocation with lexical items referring to sex.

3.18.   Colligational restrictions

One important difference between male and female speech is relative to the probability and possibility of occurrence of certain colligations.   We have seen that, for instance, non-vocative use of vocative particle + Noun is generally more used by females and so is Neg. particle meʃi + verbal clause cf. meʃi rah hna 'he is not here', whereas particle ma + Verb cf ma trani is solely used by females.   One colligation which is solely used by males is particle bla + Noun + possessive suffix cf bla rabbak 'without your God' glossable as 'buzz off, stop it, what's the matter with you?'etc.

These colligations occur typically in contexts where the speaker conveys a feeling of anger, frustration or disappointment.   Furthermore, they occur mainly in the speech of adolescents or young adults in informal situations.

It must be specified that these colligations are entities of their own, different from say, bla + N which could be part of a sentence cf xassak taxruʒ bla bāltuk 'you must go out without your coat' or an answer to a previous

question cf.

| xruʒ bbāltuja? | 'did he go out with my coat?' |
| la, bla bāltuk | 'No, without your coat.' |

Male speech	Female speech
some collications are less used	more used
some colligations are more used	less used
some colligations are not used	normally used
e.g. <u>ma trani</u>	
some colligations are used by certain age groups in certain contexts	not used

3.19   <u>Diminutives</u>

The diminutive form of words is used almost ex-
clusively by women and children: women's speech is quite full
of such forms.   Men rarely use it in normal conversation
except when talking to children and in particular to babies.
It can also occur in male speech in situations where the
speech act is an insult or reprimand

e.g.   nta mrewa meʃi raʒal

'you are a little woman, not a man'

compared to <u>nta mra</u> 'you are a woman'

aʒi lahna ja lafrejjax

'come here 'little bastard''.

compared to <u>ja lfarx</u> 'a bastard'

The diminutive form is used to refer to smallness.

e.g.   <u>ljum 9ʒant ħalxwebza</u> 'today, I baked a small loaf

of bread'.

This sentence is unlikely to be heard from a man for two

reasons:

a)   the verb 9aẓana 'to bake' is never used by a man in the first pers. sing. form, because men are not supposed to do the housework, let alone bake (and even in the very improbable case where a Tlemcenian man did such a thing, he would never announce it publicly).

b)   even a male baker is very unlikely to utter this sentence because of the presence of the diminutive form xwebza 'little loaf'.

Other examples are xwezna 'little cupboard', twebla 'little table' etc.

     The diminutive form is also used to express affection e.g.

9andi zuẓ dalbnijet   'I have two little daughters (i.e. two dear little daughters)

bant 9weqla   'a nice girl' (i.e. an extremely nice girl)

     The diminutive can also be used when one wants to criticise something or someone, but does not want to be too rude e.g.

eiwa allah jxallik ?assam hedik assnisla 'May God protect you, what is this (ugly) little bracelet?

     Among close members of the family, when joking or talking to a child, women do sometimes use words that are elsewhere taboo, but only in the diminutive form. Although in a given situation tota 'baby's sex organ' is taboo, tweta is perfectly possible in that same situation.

     Finally, women often use the diminutive form when they give commands or orders, (in cases where they can give commands and orders) so as to turn the sentence into a

request rather than an order e.g.

ruḥ allah jxellik dʒibli ḥalkwejjas ma 'Go, may God keep
you alive, and fetch me a glass of water.'

ruḥ ʃuf xwejjak 'Go and see your little brother'

Male speech	Female speech
less frequent use of	very frequent
diminutives when referring	
to smallness, for the con-	
veying of affection etc.,	
but very frequent for insult	
or pejorative content.	

3.20   Conclusion

In this chapter, we have analysed some of the
grammatical differences of sex dialect in T.A.   It has been
implicit throughout the study, that the speaker's presupposi-
tions when making a choice between variants and, in general,
when making an utterance, are of special importance for a
complete understanding of the 'meaning', either of the var-
iable itself or of the sentence.   These presuppositions
are based on social beliefs, attitudes and role evaluation
of individuals in a given society.   This will, again, be
more apparent in the chapter on lexis to which attention is
drawn subsequently.

CHAPTER 4.

LEXICAL DIFFERENCES IN MALE AND FEMALE SPEECH

In modern linguistic research, we can observe a considerable shift in emphasis from phonology and morphology to syntax and semantics and from these to an increased interest in the study of language in social context and in speech as an indicator of certain social and psychological factors. In other words, there has been an increased interest in the match between language and social relations. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss some of these matches in Tlemcen.

We have seen in Section 2.6. that there is a Tlemcenian female 'class' a definition of which is based on the socio-economic position and evaluation of these members in the community. Such stratification, as mentioned, has a wide repercussion on the linguistic behaviour. We have, also, seen that females are more resistant to social change in the Tlemcenian community. This traditionalism is, for instance, reflected in the evolution of dresses in males and females. Thus, whereas men have had done with the traditional dresses with the exception of very old members of the community and in some cases in religious situations, females in Tlemcen still wear traditional dresses for most occasions, except if they occupy a 'social position'.

What is of interest at the linguistic level, is the fact that rarely can a man give the right 'label' for a particular dress. These include almansuz, azza9im, mdamma, riḥijjet, maẓbud, allāme for which I cannot give the English

equivalents.   The material out of which dresses are made,
can also never be distinguished by males, except if they are
in the textile trade.   These include lhajāti, malf, marzāja,
nwār, almansuz, azza9im, 9abdarra?uf, krabsarten, mramma
for which again I also cannot give English equivalents.

In this *chapter, I shall be dealing with lexical
aspects of differentiation of this type as well as others
such as the use of different lexical items in certain fields
of discourse, changes of meaning which depend on whether a
particular item refers to a male or female, and the 'richness'
of female speech.   Also I will try to set out some of the
more salient differences between male and female speech over
a representative range of situational contexts and speech
functions as: 'we most of us say what is expected from us
in given circumstances.   This not only involves a host,
for example, in the expression of typical greetings but his
guest also in appropriate responses.   Such exchanges tend
to be even more ritualistic and closely bound together in
Arabic than in European languages'.   (Mitchel, T.F., 1962
p. 219).

4.1.0.   Greetings

An early and quite elaborate model of language
study was suggested in the 1930s by Firth in his notion of
context of situation, derived from Malinowski.   Both rejected
a simple diadic relationship between a lexical item and its
'referent' concentrating instead on a 'multidimensional set
of relationship between the word in its sentence and the
context of its occurrence' (Robins, R. 1971 p. 35).   For

* for constectus see over

Conspectus

We shall begin this chapter with the analysis of speech functions such as 'greetings','swearing an oath' and insults, and study all their linguistic peculiarities. We shall consequently, need to analyse these speech functions into more discrete 'components', but the ordering of either of these functions or their components, have not been made on grounds of any kind of priority. They have been presented , instead, on the basis of their degree of mutual and familiar associations.

From speech functions, we shall move on to the study of groups of lexical items. Examples of these groups include, kinship terms and cafe terminology. Again when necessary, these groups will be further divided into sub-groups; for instance, kinship terms will be divided into Arabic and French kin-terms and again, into male offspring versus female-offspring forms. But there is, again, no 'apriori' priority order of one group or sub_group over the other. The order of choice has been mostly determined by the same factor as above.

Malinowski, the context of situation was a '...bit of the social process which can be considered apart and in which a speech event is central and makes all the difference' (Firth, J.R., 1964 p.182). Firth included the personal history of the participants and the entire cultural setting in which they interacted. For him, context of situation was a 'schematic construct to apply to language events... a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories but rather of the same abstract nature'. (ibid).

Firth considered a conversation as a 'roughly prescribed ritual' partly determined by social regularities. One aspect of language differentiation between males and females can, thus be related to the question of what men and women are expected to say in a given situation. I shall consider here 'arrivals' and 'departures', and shall examine the typical verbal reactions of males and females in such situations.

4.1.1.   General greetings

Let us hypothesise a woman knocking on the door of her female friend or a member of the family. If the hostess (instead of the host) opens the door, then the following 'exchange' is very probable, since nearly all sentences are 'ready made' and are transmitted from generation to genera-tion.[1]

---

1.   '...elle devida ensuite le chapelet des 'comment vas-tu, comment va un tel, comment va une telle, comment va' la reponse prête parvenait simultanement (emphasis mine) (Dib, M., 1969 p. 83-84.)

1.	Visitor:	sbaḥ alxir	'good morning'
2.		or bsalxir	'good afternoon'
3.	Hostess:	9aslāma, kirik	'Hello, how are you'
4.	Visitor:	bxir jxallik	'well, may God grant you well being'
5.	"	jsa?se 9lik alxir	'may all good be yours'
6.	"	wantin kirik	'and how are you'
7.	Hostess:	4 or	
8.	"	bxir, + 5	'well + 5'
9.	"	or la bes jsalmak	'all good, may God reward you'
10.		+ 6	
11.	Visitor:	4 or 8 or 9	
12.		+ kiri X (flen)	'and how is X (so and so'
13.	Hostess:	4 or 8 or 9 and 12	
14.	Visitor:	" " " "	
15.	Hostess:	" " " "	

Such greetings will typically go on for quite a while, until they have mentioned almost everybody they know. If, the hostess or visitor asks after someone who is ill, then the following answers are very likely to occur: <u>rah ḥelat 9duk /la9da wal9adwen</u> 'he is in the condition you would like your enemy/enemies to be'. If, on the other hand, either of them asks about someone whose life has been a success, then the following answers are very probable: <u>ri/rah marrik</u> 'I hope you will be like him/her' or <u>ri/ra marra wlidɛtak/bnijjɛtak</u> 'I hope your sons/daughters will be like him/her.'

In male speech 3,4, 5, 6, 8 and the set 4 or 8
or 9 or 12 never occur. Men can say 1 and 2 and also
assalcm 'peace' or essalcmu 9alikum wa raḥmatullah ta99cla wa
barakatuhu''the peace and mercy of God be on you for ever'.
The latter is never used by females and the first two ex-
pressions are never used to greet a female; both can be
used - but very rarely - when greeting a group at least one
of which is a male. Males, on the other hand, can use all
three expressions to greet both males and females, the last
expression being more used in very formal situations.

When the hostess asks kirik a male most probably
answers with lḥamdu lilleh, saḥḥit 'thanks be to God, thank
you'. A male can ask either a male or female kirak but
would not use kirik 'how are you'; kirik, on the other
hand, can be used by a female to address both males and
females. Furthermore, kirak is very much less probable in
female speech than kirik.

Now, if the visitor is a female and the host opens
the door, the same sort of thing can be said as between a
male visitor and his hostess: the male can use 1 or 2 or
assalcm then kirak, the female will say 4 or 5 or 8 or 9
then ask about his mother, father or very close relative to
which the answer is la bes, lḥamdu lilleh or the French 'ça
va' 'alright'. If, on the other hand both are males, then
the following exchange is very probable.

1.   Visitor: bonjour   'good morning'
2.   or salut   'hello'
3.   or ?ahlen   'hello'
4.   or assalem (collocation)
5.   Host: 1 or 2 or 3 +

6.	:	wa sahlen	'everything easy'
7.	or	4	
8.	+	kirak	'how are you'
9.	or	comment va	' " " " '
10.	Visitor:	ça va +	'alright, thanks be
		lḥamdu lilleh	to God'
11.	+	wanta kirak/	'and you, are you
		ça va	alright/how are you'
12.	Host:	9	

1 and 2 are rarely used by the older generation
and are mostly used by young speakers addressing someone
considered to be of the same status with the second term im-
plying a degree of familiarity.

Such greetings can, of course, be used anywhere
but females need a face to face (or telephone) conversation to
be able to use these greetings.   While males can exchange
greetings from a long distance, say, from two different
sides of the street, females are not socially allowed to do
so.

On the whole, women have a more extensive set of
greetings with which to open the dialogue.   Different terms
are naturally appropriate to different situations but some
colligations such as kirik/kirak are always used whatever
the context.   The general terms are bsal xir or sbaḥ alxir
which can be used by both sexes or various salem collocations
which are, mostly, used by males.   These general terms are
often either replaced or followed by other greeting. forms
in specific situations.

4.1.2.   Specific greetings

The more particular social situations described below have been selected to show either these 'replacements' or 'collocations' because they illustrate particularly well the differences between male and female greeting language. They are marriages/engagements, deaths, births, circumcisions and meal-times.

4.1.2.1.   Marriage or engagement

It will be seen in the section on 'marriage and linguistic behaviour' that the opening sentences which serve as greeting do vary depending on whether the addressee is known or unknown and whether the aim of the visit is to be secret or not.

When celebrating a marriage, as a guest enters the house instead of only the usual sbaħ alxir or bsalxir, he can either replace or follow it with mabruk 9likum congratulations to you' or mabruk ma 9maltu 'congratulations on what you have done' or allah jsaxxar 'may God bless it'.

A woman has the choice between these and other forms of greeting such as mabruk feʃ rakum adduru 'congratulations on what you are doing'
mabruk wa 19u?ba lħal9ezab 'congratulations, I am looking forward to the birth of a boy'
barbeħ ma 9malt lawlidak/labnitak 'may God make a success of what you have done for your little son/daughter

4.1.2.2. Births

In the same way, if a family is celebrating a birth, then the first utterance made by the visitor can be <u>mabruk</u> <u>9likum</u> 'congratulations to you' if a man, but a woman goes, before anything to '<u>ħammad</u>' 'thank God'. Thus the first sentence likely to be uttered is <u>lħamdu lilleh 9la slek</u> 'thanks be to God for the survival' which can never be said by a man. They also cannot say <u>marra 9andak</u> 'may you have it (a child) as well' which is uttered as an answer to a <u>allah jadʒa9lu twel la9mar</u> 'may God give him a long life' <u>trabbi balm9iʃa</u> ' may you bring him up to see him live'

<u>trabbi balm9iʃa</u> ' may you bring him up to see him live'

4.1.2.3. Mealtimes

In situations where someone is eating, the only possible form which is in 'free variation' with the more general expressions is 1. <u>allah jqan9ak</u> 'may God satisfy you' which is uttered by adult males and females, but rarely by children, since this expression is 'formal'. In answer to this, the reply must be <u>allah jsabrak</u> 'may God make you patient'. If, on the other hand, the person saying 1.- is a female who is known to be fasting, then the females must reply <u>ħa??ak faldʒanna in ʃā?a allah</u> 'may your portion be in paradise'; to which the answer is <u>walidina wa walidik faldʒanna in ʃā?a allah</u> 'may my parents and yours be in paradise'.

4.1.2.4. Circumcisions

Here men simply use the general forms or <u>mabruk</u>
<u>9likum</u> whereas women can also say <u>wa lu?ba lal9urs</u> 'may
the next occasion be the wedding'.

4.1.2.5. Deaths

When men visit a person afflicted by the death of
one of his relatives, then they must either say <u>9addamu llah</u>
<u>?aẓrakum</u> 'may God 'amplify' your good deed or <u>barka fraskum</u>
'may God reward you'. Females, on the other hand, rarely-
if ever- use the first expression. They use the second and/
or

<u>ma taRRabnuʃ fraskum</u> 'do not fret too much'
<u>mʃa hɛdɛk aʃʃɛb, wa ʃħel 9lih</u> 'has that beauty gone, and
how many after him'.

4.1.3. Departures

If the visitor and host(ess) are at the door saying
good-bye, then if both are females and if there is not any-
thing preventing the exchange of farewells (e.g. an unpleas-
ant happening such as the death of a relative), then the
following exchange is very probable:

1. Visitor: eiwa ħasul tab?a 9la xir   'well, then may you
                                                          remain in well
                                                           being'

2. Hostess: 9leʃ rik meʃja 9leʃ ma   'why are you going,
                          tag9udʃ   why don't you stay?'

3.	Visitor:	eiwa rik 9arfa	'well, you know'
4.		sallam 9la (flen)	'my regards to (so and so)
5.	Hostess:	allah jsalmak (wa ja? battana fik) 4	'may God bless you and let you alive for us'
6.	Visitor:	5 etc.	

At any time during the 'give my regards to...' stage, a discussion on a new topic evoked by the person to whom the regards are to be given, may well begin so that the 'good-byes' will start again from the beginning.   Finally when they really intend to part, one hears almost invariably:

7.	Visitor:	eiwa baslama tab?a xir/jxallik bxir	'well, goodbye, God keeps you well'
8.	Hostess:	jsalmak, m9arad xir	'bless you, it was a lovely visit'
9.	Visitor:	tabqa 9la xir	'God keeps you well'
10.	Hostess:	jal?ak al xir	'may you find Good'
11.	Visitor:	baslāma	'good bye'

If the visitor is a male, then he does not say jxallik bxir and the host cannot say 5( ).   Furthermore if the visitor is male, there is a short farewell exchange with the hostess e.g.

12.	Visitor:	9	
13.	Hostess:	11 + 4	
14.	Visitor:	jsalmak, tabqa 9la xir	'bless you, God keeps you well'
15.	Hostess:	8 or 10	

If, again, the interlocutors are both males, then, again, everything is much simpler and shorter e.g.

16.   Visitor: tabqa 9la xir   'God keeps you well'

17.   Host: baslāma   'goodbye'

and probably, also the French a la pRoʃen (à la prochaine)

'to the next time' i.e. see you.

4.2.   Some speech functions

The concept of insult, blaspheme, curse and swear-
ing can only be understood if there is a prior knowledge of
social norms and attitudes toward such concepts as honour,
religion, family and so forth.   My aim in this section is
to give a detailed account of insults, blasphemes, curses
and swearing insofar as they are differently used by males
and females.   In doing so, I will have to shed some light
upon this analysis by giving an anthropologically oriented
explanation as to how and why there came to be a different-
ial use.

4.2.1.   half 'swearing an oath'

There are several means by which an oath can be
made.

a)   swearing by God, His prophets, the Qoran, Mecca

b)   by using a member of the family as a 'token'
         (i.e. the element on which the oath is made)

c)   by using a relationship as a 'token'

d)   by using oneself as a 'token'

e)   by honour

f)   by the use of vulgarity or obscenity.

4.2.1.1. <u>Swearing by God, His prophets, the Qoran, Mecca</u>

e.g.

1.	ħaq rabbi	'by my God'
2.	ħaq arrab (alkarim)	'by God (the merciful)'
3.	wallah (al9adim)	'by God (the powerful)'
4.	ħaq annabi	'by the prophet'
5.	ħaq arrasul	'by the prophet'
6.	ħaq addi nardʒa waʃfa9tu	'by He whom I am waiting for and His disciples'
7.	ħaq 9ahad annbi	'by the covenant of the prophet'
8.	ħaq almashaf (alkarim)	'by the Qoran (the merciful)
9.	ħaq ʃabbek annbi	'by the holy place of the prophet'
10.	ħaq din al?islem	'by the islamic religion'
11.	in ʃe?a allah	'If God wills' (God willing)'

Children of both sexes mostly use 1, 3, 8 and rarely 4 but, male children can also use 2. The use of <u>half</u> belongs mostly to the speech of' elders and depends on sex and age. An old man, for instance, would scarcely use any of the above list except 3 and 11. A young adult or adolescent, on the other hand, would never use 6, 7, and 9 and rarely 11. Old females do not use 2 or 10 or, rarely, 5. Furthermore 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 are much more probably than the rest. Younger females, on the other hand, do not use 2 or 10 and rarely 11, the other forms having the same probability of occurrence. Women of all ages can also swear by local 'saints' to the contrary of their menfolk e.g. <u>ħa? lalla satti</u> 'by lalla Satti'

	MALE SPEECH	FEMALE SPEECH
Old people	in ʃeʔa allah wallah	Use of all swearing collocations listed above, except 2, or 10 or rarely 5. Also use of 'local saints'.
Young adults	Use of all swearing collocations listed above, except 6, 7, 9 and rarely 11. No use of local saints.	Use of same swearing collocations as old females except of 11 which is rarer in this case
Children	Use of swearing collocations 1, 3, 8, 2 and rarely 4.	Use of same swearing collocations as male children except 2 which does not occur in this case.

4.2.1.2. <u>Using a member of the family as a 'token'.</u>

e.g.

<u>bras amma, abba</u>   'by my mother, father'

<u>bras wledi</u>   'by my offspring'

<u>allah jaRsabni mawledi</u> 'may God deprive me of my off-

          spring'

This way of swearing an oath is never used by old people of either sex, particularly so if they are very religious. <u>bras amma</u> is much more frequent than <u>bras abba</u> and occurs mostly in the speech of male children and young adolescents, particularly if they have a frequent contact with N.T. <u>bras wledi</u> (or <u>waldi</u> 'my son', <u>banti</u> 'my daughter') rarely occurs in male's speech but it is possible; women,

on the other hand make use of it quite often together with
allah jaRsabni mawledi which is never used by males.

	Male speech	Female speech
Old people	∅	∅
Young adults	bras wledi (rare)	bras wledi
		allah jaRsabni mawledi
Children	bras amma	bras amma (rare)
	bras abba (rare)	

4.2.1.3   Using a 'relationship' as a 'token'

e.g.   ħrāmi   'may I be a sinner'

ħrām mrati   'may the relationship with my wife
be a sin'

ħrām wledi   'may the relationship with my off-
spring be a sin

blaħrām   'by a sinful relationship'

These lexical items and collocations are strictly
non-existent in female speech. If any woman dared to break
this socio-linguistic rule, she would be immediately repri-
manded and would very probably be ostracized by her group.

Occurrences of these lexical items in men speech,
depend on age, mood and the degree of formality. Old men
never use them, whatever the situation as they are supposed
not to have any sinful behaviour. Children also never use them
or else they would be severely reprimanded. The only pos-

sibility, therefore, is their use by young male adults and sometimes adolescents. They are used in situations where the argument reaches an extremely tense state, the participants are very angry and the formality is low.

	Male speech	Female speech
Old people	Ø	Ø
Young adults (& adolescents rarely	blaħrām ħrāmi ħrām wlcdi ħrām mrati	Ø
Children	Ø	Ø

There is, on the other hand, the 'mother relationship' which can be used only by a female speaking to or about her off-spring. In no circumstances can a man use such collocations. e.g.

    ħa? hedal kar∫ ddi tmaraRt fiha
    'by this womb in which you moved'
    ħa? hedal bazzula ddi rda9t manħa
    'by this breast which fed you'.

4.2.1.4. Use of oneself or one's property as a 'token'.

For this way of swearing an oath, two kinds of collocations can be distinguished

a)   collocations involving 'polyvalent' verb selection
b)   collocations involving specific verb selection.

4.2.1.4.1.   Collocations involving 'polyvalent' verb
              selection

       These are collocations which can be used in dif-
ferent situations, with different topics and in different
linguistic environments.   They are, however, best under-
stood in a negative definition with the second type of collo-
cations.   Examples of this kind, however, include jaxli
dāri 'may my house be ruined' which can occur in allah jaxli
dāri ma xammamt hed aʃʃi 'may God ruin my house if I thought
about that' or allah jaxli dāri ma ktabt hed aʃʃi 'may God
ruin my house if I wrote that'.

4.2.1.4.2.   Collocations involving specific verb selection

       These are collocations which require the selection
of, or are determined by the previous occurrence in the dis-
course of a particular verb
e.g.   allah ja9tene la9ma ma ʃaft
          'may God give me blindness if I saw
The noun la9ma determines the verb ʃaft and conversely, the
verb ʃaft can determine the occurrence of the noun la9ma.
Other examples include
          allah ja9tene attraʃ ma sme9t
          'may God give me deafness if I heard'
          allah ja9tene ta?sās al jad ma rfadt
          'may God (give me a) cut (to) my hands if I took
          Apart from allah ja9tene la9ma 'may God give me
blindness' which can, incidentally, be used with other verbs
by men, this way of making an oath is not used by males.

It is, therefore, only possible in the speech of females, whatever their age and status.

In support of their statement, women can also use a verb describing an activity, event or state in the immediate environment. For instance, if someone is <u>smoking</u>, she would say

     ħa? hedik annār ddi nnaħra? biha

     '(I swear) by that fire/flame which would burn me'

If someone is eating, then she could say

     nakul heda barrahʒ

     'may I eat this with poison'

or

     j9abbili bih rabbi 9umri..

     'may God take my life with this if..'

If someone is using a knife, she could say

     ħa? hedεk al xudmi ddi j?atta9ni

     '(I swear) by that knife which could tear me to

     pieces'

This is never used by males except, perhaps, when imitating a woman.

<u>Male speech</u>	<u>Female speech</u>
very limited choice	occurrence of all types
(allah ja9tene (la9ma)	of collocations

4.2.1.5. <u>By honour</u>

There are several ways in which honour can be invoked in an oath.

4.2.1.5.1.   <u>Use of family relationship</u>

This way of making an oath is solely used by adult
females in situations exhibiting either challenge or a
fierce argument e.g.

ena me∫i bant sidi bansmansur ila ma..

'I am not the daughter of Sidi Benmansur if I don't!.'
The sentence <u>ena me∫i wald sidi banmansur ila ma</u> 'I am not
the <u>son</u> of..' is not socially acceptable as an oath.

4.2.1.5.2.   <u>Use of the 'moustache'</u>

In the case where a man has a moustache, he can
swear by it (e.g. <u>haq hed a∬ lāRam</u> 'by this moustache').
It is, therefore, quite obvious that this sentence is im-
possible in women speech.   However, a woman can challenge a
man's veracity by using the sentence:

Ri hassan hɛduk a∬ lāRam

'you might as well shave that moustache'.

4.2.1.5.3.   <u>Use of ∫arāf 'honour'</u>

e.g. <u>b∫arāfi</u> 'by my honour
This can only be used by adult males in a formal context.

<u>Male speech</u>   <u>Female speech</u>

use of 'moustache'   use of family relationship
use of <u>∫arāf</u>

4.2.1.6.   The use of vulgarity

Finally there is an 'obscene' way of making an oath, which is solely used by adolescents and young adult males in informal situations exhibiting either challenge or a fierce argument.   This involves collocating *nik 'fuck' with either um 'mother' or zabb 'prick' cf. nik ma, nik zabbi

4.2.1.7.   Special use of oaths

The above oaths - except using the self as a 'token'-can be used to urge someone either to do or not to do something i.e. to implore, beseech or request.

e.g.   ḥaq rabbi ila takul

'by God (that you) eat' i.e. please eat.

When fik is collocated with rab cf. fik rabbi 'by God' or with ʒeh annbi cf fik ʒeh annbi 'by the pact of the prophet',

~~these collocations can only be used in contexts where a upper~~
with ʒeh annbi cf fik ʒeh annbi 'by the pact of the prophet',
is very strongly urging someone to do something e.g. fik rabbi ila takul 'by God eat' in which case the addressee will hardly refuse to do it.   This last collocations are never used by males.

4.2.2.   m9ejar 'Insults'

Two kinds of insults can be distinguished

---

*   'Four letter words' have been used here and else-
         where in the English translation as best conveying
         the force of the original.   No offence is intended.

a)   Indirect insults which comprise

        1.   kfer 'blasphemies

        2.   m9eni 'innuendoes'

b)   Direct insults which can be related to several

'domains' e.g. virility, honour, physical appearances etc.

The choice of a particular kind of insult depends on several

parameters among which sex, age, reason of insult, purpose to

be achieved, mood and the participants involved are the most

important.

4.2.2.1. Indirect insults

        The kfer forms of insult are mainly used by males

as a sign of ˙ disrespect of an individual's belief (see

Section 4.2.3).

        When, on the other hand, m9eni are used as a form

of insult, they are used solely by females for different

social reasons (see Section 4.2.10).

4.2.2.2. Direct insults

        Males and females may use certain insults in com-

mon with each other, but there is a neat preference of cer-

tain 'domains' by one sex or the other.   For instance,

whereas women would generally prefer to direct their insults

towards the addressee's character, physical appearances or

disabilities, family origin, motherhood or disability to be

a 'perfect' mother, financial or social status and so forth,

men on the other hand, would prefer to direct their insults

towards the addressee's virility, moral values, honour and

so forth.

It is, however, possible that a given 'domain' would be common to both sex but, again it is almost always the case that within this particular domain, some lexical items would be more (or only) used by one sex, and would refer to males or females. Let us examine certain 'domains' and some lexical items they comprise.

4.2.2.2.1 <u>Domain of character</u>

<u>Male speech</u>   <u>Female speech</u>

<u>Male addressee</u>   <u>Male addressee</u>

<u>ja aʒʒajah</u>   ja <u>lmar9uʃ</u> 'O restless'

'O unsuccessful'   <u>ja sammi</u> 'O poisonous'

<u>ja lkaddeb</u>   <u>ja aʒʒajah</u> ' unsuccessful

'O liar'   <u>ja lkaddeb</u> 'O liar'

                                        <u>ja lamkabbar</u> 'O proud, vain'

They are mostly used to

children

<u>Female addressee</u>   <u>Female addressee</u>

<u>aʒʒaiha</u>   <u>ja + ʒaiha</u> 'unsuccessful'

'O unsuccessful'   <u>xfifa</u> 'restless and clumsy

<u>lamranka</u>   <u>lbuja assafra</u> 'hypocrite'

'good for nothing   <u>masfuga</u> 'restless'

The latter is rarely used   <u>marʒufa</u> 'clumsy, restless'

                                        <u>lmaʃtuha</u> 'restless

---

  *   Some of those lexical items can never be used to address
      a man (e.g. ja laxfif 'O restless); but can be used to
      describe him (reference), in which case the lexical item
      is not used as an insult any more. This is true for
      all 'domains'.

Female addressee (cont).

sammija 'poisonous'

la99aba 'actress, hypocrite'

laf9a lgarteta 'treacherous
snake'

All these can be used under
any circumstances.

4.2.2.2.2. <u>Physical appearances or disabilities</u>

<u>Male speech</u>

<u>Male addressee</u>

<u>dejar ki</u> + a four letter word
'he looks like + "   "   "
(this is used only in males'
speech when both speaker and
addressee are adolescents or
young adults.)
e.g. <u>dejar ki zabbi</u> 'he looks
like my prick'

<u>Female addressee</u>

The above collocations can
be used for a female under
the following conditions:

- both speaker and addressee
  adults or young adoles-
  cents who probably are not
  related.

- The female must be felt to be
  either 'promiscuous' or of a

<u>Female speech</u>

<u>Male addressee</u>

ja + <u>lamba??at</u> 'lousy'
  <u>lamdawwad</u> 'dirty'
  <u>slugi</u> 'skinny'
  <u>lam9awwad</u> 'skinny'
  <u>lam9awwaʒ al fum</u> 'dis-
  torted mouth'
  <u>xenaz al fum</u> 'dirty
  mouth

<u>Female addressee</u>

ja + <u>lamsanna</u> 'stinky'
  <u>karda</u> 'curly'
  <u>masfārat al waʒʒ</u>' yellow
  face'
  <u>lxādam al masnāna</u> 'stinky
  black'
  <u>9ainin azlumadʒ</u> 'eye of
  beast
  <u>9ainin muka falRār</u> 'eyes

lower status.

of an owl in a hole'

<u>nif al bakura</u> 'you have a nose like a fig'

<u>bu snādar</u> 'you have protruding teeth'

<u>mama ?sewra</u> 'dwarf'

<u>9ainin balala</u> 'eye of balala (nonsense word)'

<u>mkarw9a</u> 'distorted',

<u>kalba nabbaha</u> 'barking dog'

<u>qarda mamsuxa</u> 'metamorphosed ape'

<u>xanfusa kahla</u> 'black bug'

<u>karʃ al bagra</u> 'bowels of a cow'

<u>garbat al xanz</u> 'container of stench'

<u>fum aʃʃ weri</u> 'your mouth looks like a saddle'

<u>Ri tawla 9la laxla</u> 'tallness for nothing'

4.2.2.2.3 <u>Family origin</u>

This form of insult is used solely by females. There are two means of using this kind of insult: A female can praise her family implying that the addressee is of an unknown social background

e.g.   ena bejan bant man wa ʃkun...

        'I know who my parents are!...'

ena bant flen al fulani

'I am the daughter of so and so...'

sjedak wa sjed babek

'yours and your family's superior'

to either sentence she can add

ʃuf ntin bant man waʃ kun

'find out your origin', find out whom you are the

daughter of'

or   ʃuf ntin ?aslak mnajan

'find out your origin'

and a female can also directly insult the addressee's

origin

e.g.   ja ddi ma 9andak ?asl

'O you who do not have any origin'

ja lamwaddra

'O you the lost one'

ja bant atturki, assaḥrāwi...

'O daughter of a Turk, Saharian...'

Men on the other hand, insult the addressee by

insulting some members of the family as opposed to the

family origin e.g. $\underline{m^W uk}$ 'your mother', $\underline{x^W tak}$ 'your sister'.

$\underline{m^W uk}$ can be used to either a male or a female, but $\underline{x^W tak}$

only to a male. In any case, both speaker and addressee

must be relatively young.

There is also the possibility for men to combine

either $\underline{m^W uk}$ $\underline{x^W tak}$, or $\underline{weldik}$ 'your parents' with some other

'domains' e.g.

$m^W uk$ }
          }   + character, moral values.
$x^W tak$)

$m^W uk/x^W tak$ al qaḥba '..........the prostitute.'

These collocations are considered very rude, consequently, very insulting and in most cases physical fights follow such verbal behaviour.

4.2.2.2.4. <u>Motherhood, disabilities to be a good mother,</u>
<u>disabilities to maintain one's home properly.</u>

This way of insulting is, again, used only by females and exclusively towards a female addressee

e.g.   ja 19egra

'you sterile (woman)'

wledak Relbinak

'you are dominated by your offspring'

wledak deiman m^{W}usxin

'your sons are always dirty'

wledak deiman 9arjenin

'your sons are always naked'

dārak mbaqta

'your house is lousy'

dārak ki lgurbi

'your house is like a tent'

ja lamsarjka

'O disorderly (woman)'

ja lamrabla

'O disorderly (woman)'

ma ta9raf ħatta attajjab

'you can't even cook'

ħal kaʃfa wħal ħela

'O scandal and pitiful state'

ħal ħela wħassela

'O scandal and pitiful state'

dārak Ri ki dār laħma?

'your house is like a lunatic's'

None of those sentences would ever be used by a male as
a form of insult.

4.2.2.2.5. Financial or social position

e.g.   ja l9arjena   'O you naked i.e. pauper'

          ja lam?at9a   'O you ragged'

          ja lħafjena   'O you bare footed'

          ʃab9a ʒdida   'new satisfaction i.e. newly rich'

This form of insult is also used exclusively by females.

4.2.2.2.6. Virility

          ja lħewi   'impotent!'

          ja l9attaj   'homosexual!'

          ja lamrewa   'little woman!'

          ja lmadbu9   'henpecked husband!'

          ruħ qawwad   'go to provide (women)'

          ruħ tnajjak   'go and get fucked'

This form of insult is only used by males and supposes adol-
escents or young adults as both speaker or addressee.
There is also the possibility for young males to make use
of the feminine gender or of a feminine referent as an in-
sult to a male of about the same age or younger.   Thus
mrewa 'little woman', qaħba 'prostitute', ʒaiħa 'lazy, good
for nothing (fem.)' are very rude insults when directed to
a male.   The other possibility is for speaker B to repeat
a sentence said by speaker A and when doing so, to/ imitate

women's speech i.e. repeat characteristic female features
and intonations (often gestures also).   The result would
be the ultimate insult for speaker A.

4.2.2.2.7. <u>Moral values</u>

<u>Male speech</u>	<u>Female speech</u>
<u>Male addressee</u>	<u>Male addressee</u>
∫meta 'dishonest'	∫meta (very rare)
xbaiti 'drunkard'	xbaiti
zufri 'vandal'	zufri
<u>Female addressee</u>	<u>Female addressee</u>
Use of four letter words	murʒel 'lit. men prone i.e.
	prostitute'
	matlu?a 'loose girl'
	ja ddi ntina tatma∫∫ a wa annes
	jsab9uk mallura 'you walk and
	people make a vulgar sign
	behind you (to you!)'

4.2.2.2.8 <u>Honour</u>

<u>Male speech</u>	<u>Female speech</u>
<u>Male addressee</u>	<u>Male addressee</u>
Use of four letter words	ma 9andak annif
ma 9andak∫ annif	ma 9andak∫ a∫∫ lāRam
'you don't have a nose'	
ma 9andak∫ a∫∫ lāRam	
'you don't have a moustache'	

Female addressee	Female addressee
ma ɣandakʃ annif	ma ɣandakʃ annif
use of four letter words	use of 'family origin'

4.2.2.3. A concluding remark on 'insults'

Generally speaking when insulting, women enjoy making rhymes, that is a reason for the extensive use of m9eni 'sayings, innuendoes' in such a context e.g. nhih nhih walla 9ma xallih 'correct, correct him and if he is still astray, leave him'. Furthermore in some instances a return insult is rated better if it rhymes with the last word of the previous speaker.

There is also the possibility for men to use velarisation to enhance the bad connotations of a word and this process is very often used for insults.

Finally, there is a social pressure as to the selection of the domain of insults by different male age groups. For instance an old man can mostly insult 'honour' or 'moral values'; but not all the terms are possible. For honour ma 9andankʃ annif is more probable and for moral values meʃi raẓal is possible but not qawwed or qaħba. A young adult can choose either virility, moral values or honour, depending on context and participants. If an old person is present or is the addressee, then honour is more likely to be chosen. If, on the other hand, the addressee is a male of the same age or younger then 'virility' is more likely to be used.

4.2.3.   kfer 'blasphemies'

Contrary to, say French where blasphemies are 'attacks' or offences against religious beliefs cf. 'nom de Dieu'; Algerian blasphemes, and in the case in point, blasphemies used in Tlemcen are not only offences against religious concepts but, as importantly, are either direct or indirect insults to the addressee or 'personalities' (Mitchell, T.F. 1975, p. 171). Blasphemies, therefore, are not only verbal violation of divine attributes and/or defiance of God and His Saints but also a sign of rudeness and/or disrespect towards the person being addressed or personalities e.g. passers-by, old person, religious person.

4.2.3.1. Types of 'blasphemies'

There are different types of blasphemies

4.2.3.1.1. Collocations with rabb 'God'

We can either have

Art. + rabb e.g. <u>arrabb</u>

or   rabb + poss. suf (except <u>-na</u> 'our') e.g. rabbak

'your God'

or $(rabb)^n$ + poss. suf. + (adj.) e.g. <u>rabb rabbak alḥalluf</u> 'God's God the pig'

or   V. + $(rabb)^n$ + poss. suf. + (adj.) e.g. <u>nik rabb..</u> <u>n..ak</u> (alḥalluf) 'Fuck your God's... God the pig'.

4.2.3.1.2.   Collocations with din 'religion'

We can either have

$(din)^n$ + poss. suf. (except -na) e.g. din...n...ak

'your religion's....religion'

or $(din)^n$ + $(N.)^n$ e.g. din din weldik 'the religion of

the religion of your parent'

4.2.3.1.3.   Collocations with 9azren 'Israel'

We can either have

$(9azren)^n$ + poss. suf (except -na) + adj. e.g.

9azren...9azrenak

'your Israel's.. Israel the pig'

or $(9azren)^n$ + N. + poss. suf. + (adj.) e.g.

9azren 9azren weldik al ḥalluf 'your parent's

Israel's Israel, the pig'.

4.2.3.1.4.   Collocations with (allah) jan9al 'May God curse'

allah jan9al can be collocated with any of the ex-
pressions seen above e.g. allah jan9al rabb rabbak alḥalluf
'may God curse you God's God the pig'.   Furthermore din
can be collocated with both rabb and 9azren, we can there-
fore have allah jan9al din din arrāsa dial rabb rabb 9azren
weldin...x^Wtak 'may God curse the religion's religion of
the race of the God's God of Israel of the parents of.....
your sister'.

4.2.3.2. The meaning of 'blasphemies'

Those blasphemies can be used as direct or indirect insults. They are used as indirect insults to 'personalities'. They are used as direct insults to persons or addressees.

Blasphemies can be divided into those which 'make sense' and those which are entirely 'nonsensical'. For instance:

$$
\text{allah jan9al din/rabb/ 9azren}
\begin{cases}
(\text{z9ef} & \text{'anger'} \\
(\text{zab\b{b}} & \text{'prick'} \\
(\text{lmard} & \text{'illness'}
\end{cases}
$$

'may God curse the religion/
God/Israel of'

are in Arabic entirely nonsensical, however because 9azren/ din/rabb are collocated either with a lexical item with bad connotations or with a taboo word or simply because of their co-occurrence with jan9al din/9azren/rabb they are considered as being as blasphemous as the other expressions. But they are felt as being less offensive. Among those which can make sense e.g. allah jan9al din ammuk 'may God curse the religion of your mother', are collocations in which a kin term appears. These are felt to be much more offensive; the least rude being those which can be used as interjections e.g. ja arrab 'O God', dini 'O my religion'.

4.2.3.3. The use of 'blasphemies'

Women in the Tlemcenian society, are supposed to be the educational agency which transmits the social, cultural and religious values to their offspring and are, there-

fore supposed to set a moral example. For this reason blasphemies are scarcely if ever used by 'self-respecting' females be they young or old lest they be socially ostracized. There are, however, instances such as very relaxed situations where young females would use the interjection 9azren + poss. suf (except -i 'my') or din in similar environments; with 9azren being much more acceptable than din. Those are the only possibilities and presuppose the addressees to be very familiar persons and personalities of about the same age, or perhaps a young child as the addressee. Older females, are denied any such usage, else they be reprimanded and their company would no longer be desired.

The usage of blasphemy by males depends on several parameters such as cultural or family background, age, status and mood. Thus Bilinguals or 'Francophones' tolerate much more blasphemy than 'Arabophones' and in this case tolerance could be said to be proportional to usage. Furthermore it is obvious that such occurrences are much more probable in families where religion is relegated to the background of daily activities. However in certain 'important' families, religion is constantly being preached at home, hence, their speech tolerates less of such occurrences.

People at both ends of the age scale are not allowed to blaspheme i.e. children and old people. Children are excluded because they are taught to respect adults and old people are excluded because they are supposed to be the models of respect and religious behaviour. It is, however, possible to hear a child blaspheme if he belongs to a 'poor' family or if the family lives in a poor neighbourhood, but mainly with his peer-group.

The more social status a person has, the less he
is supposed to blaspheme, but the less the status *the* partici-
pant has the more he is free to blaspheme.

Finally, male children use blasphemies with their
peer group mainly to 'show off', whereas adults use them to
express anger. The more angry the person, the more elab-
orate the blasphemy. For instance, when provoked one could
react merely by an interjection e.g. rabbak 'your God'.
Then if there were more tension allah jan9al din rabb rabbak
'may God curse the religion of your God's God' might be used.
But if the situation approaches physical conflict one might
use allah jan9al din rabb rabb arrāsa diel rabb arrāsa diel
9azren weldin... alhalluf 'May God curse the God's God of
the race's race of the God's race of Israel of the parents
... the pig'.

	Male speech	Female speech
Old people	No occurrences	No occurrences
Adults	Occurrences depend on status, mood, cultural, religious and family background but very much used.	Only few inter-jections.
Children	Some occurrences	No occurrences

We must also mention the fact that 'velarisation'
can be used with certain lexical items used for kfer. This
'process' again intensifies the 'meaning of the blasphemy and

is, again, male specific.

4.2.4.   d9a and aʃʃukr 'well-wishing and praising'

When wishing people well or praising them, women use comparisons and metaphors, many of which are never used by their menfolk.   As a result of metaphoric usage, women's speech is locally qualified as <u>mzawwaq</u> 'full of images, poetic'.

The following are examples of well-wishes which are solely used by females and more specifically by adults.

allah jxaddar se9dak   'may your future be verdant!'

allah jsaggad se9dak   'may your future be prosperous!'

allah jnawwar jemak   'may your days flourish!'

These sentences are often expanded: c.f.

allah jxaddar se9dak kifma xaddar rbe9 flard

'....as He made the grass green on earth!'

They also use certain 'ready made' expressions such as:

allah ja9tek/jdʒiblak se9d mulatna 9iʃa mdawja 9la annsa

'May God give you the luck of our Mistress Aisha, most enlightened of women!'

allah jdʒiblak ḥalbarnus wefi defi

'May God give you a well-fitting and warm coat!' (i.e. a good husband).

allah jadʒ9al se9dak ki annur dejman dawi

'May God make your future as a light, always bright!'

allah jadʒ9al se9dak ki fnār madwi 9lik wa 9la ldʒār

'may God make your future as a light-house, illuminating you and your neighbour!'

allah jadʒ9al se9dak jkun xir mannak

'May your future (i.e your husband) be better than you!'

(said to a bride)

allay jadʒe9lak ki rummana mkul dʒiha maljena

'May God make you like a pomegranate, full of grains and

juice!'

allah jnadʒik maddi 9awwal 9lina ma 9awwalna 9lih

'May God protect you from those who wish us evil, we wish

them none!'

Males on the other hand, do not use any of the

above well-wishes. Furthermore, other well-wishes such as:

allah jkawwan mannak 'may God make you fruitful' can be used

by adults - but mostly old adults. However the expansion

... ma tkawnat makka wa lmadina 'as fruitful as Mecca and

Medina' is very improbable in male speech.

Generally speaking, males use very short well-

wishes of a type which can also occur in female speech.

These include:

allah jxallik	'May God protect you'
allah jaḥḥafdak	'May God protect you'
allah jrabḥak	'May you succeed
allah jnaʒḥak	'May you succeed'
allah jassatrak	'May God protect you'
allah jradd bik	'May God make you wiser'
allah jsaxxar fik	'May you succeed'.

In some contexts, however, long and complicated

well-wishes occur in male speech and only in male speech.

Such well wishes are mostly used in formal situations c.f.

religious ceremonies, in which case they are used by an old

person or a person holding religious office.

e.g.

allah umma jaʒ9alna min ?ummati lqor?en

'May God make use of the nation of the Qoran

wa min ?ummati sajjiduna muħammadin

And the nation of 'our prophet Mohammed'

salla allahu 9alaihi wa sallama

May praises be upon him!'

allah juwafiqna ila alxair

'May God lead us to Goodness!'

allah ju?allif almħabba bainakum

'May God 'fertilise' the love between you!'

allah ju??aħħid kalimet almuslimin

'May God unite the words of Muslims!'

As far as praises are concerned some linguistic
forms are never used by males.   These include:

ter fasma j9ajjat X

'the birds in the sky call (the name)X'

X ki ʃandʒe? al bei

'X is as (beautiful as) Shandjak the Bey!

Ri nʃam fjaddi wa naʃbe9

'I only smell in my hands and am satiated' 'i.e. I am a
connoisseur of excellence).

radʒal sid ħanneh

'a man 'master' of his grand-mother' i.e. a very good man).

sa9det ddi daxxal dik lamra ldāru

'how lucky the one who brings that woman into his/her house'
(i.e. has her for wife, daughter in law).

ana ddi nazdam 9la zbiba wa ndu? ħlawatha

'I am the one who walks on the raisin and tastes its sweet-
ness'. (i.e. I do not need my tongue to taste it, only my

feet, because I was born in opulence - or because I am a
connoisseur of excellence...).

asbā9 manha tbā9

'Only one of her fingers is a whole decoration' (i.e she
is very beautiful).

ma tatla? man fumha Risman wa la9sal

'From her mouth come butter and honey' (i.e. she speaks well).

assar ddi rabbi 9liha

'All the charm of God is upon her' 'she is gorgeous'.

radӡal ki sbe9

'A man like a lion' (i.e. as good looking as a lion).

      There is finally a possibility for women to use
reduplication in praises (See Section 4.15)

wlid wlid allah jsaxxar fih wa fi lkarʃ feʃ txabbat

'A good child, may God praise him and the womb he moved into!'
(said only for a male).

kulʃi j9ajjat baḣjāt rāsu

'Everyone praises him (i.e. he is a very good man).

ila tlabt 9la ḣlib attjur jdӡibhulak

'If you ask for the milk of birds, he will bring it to you
(i.e. he is a very good and helpful man).

la9?al wa ts?al

'A very calm and quiet person (said only of a female).

radӡal wla9lih laklem ḣalhadra 9andu balmizen

'A man worthy of words, he weighs his words' (i.e. he is a
good man and knows what he talks about).

4.2.5.   <u>d9ewi aʃʃar 'ill-wishes and curses'</u>

      Ill-wishes can be separated into two categories:

Those which can be used as exclamations or interjections
and 'ill-wishes proper'.

4.2.5.1. 'Ill-wishes' used as exclamations or interjections

Those which are used as exclamations or inter-
jections are female specific and include examples such as:

j9errik   '(may God) ruin you!'

kijtak wa xla dārak '(may God) burn you and ruin your house!

jdẓibhālak 'may you come across some obstacles!'

buh 9lik 'I will say 'buh' (will lament) for you!'

ahha 9lik 'I will say 'ahha' (will lament) for you!'

ter 9ainak 'may your eyes fly off!'

jxabbik 'may you be buried!'

ndab 9lik wa sarri 'may I scratch my face for you and weep
(your death)!'

This category of ill-wishes is used in cases of slight dis-
approval, disappointment or surprise.   Furthermore, the
meaning of these constructions should not be equated with
the sum of the 'meaning' of each word.   They could, in fact,
be near to the English 'blast!, Oh! Oh no!, what on earth!'
depending on the context.   These are, therefore, a non-ill-
wish use of ill-wishes.

4.2.5.2. Ill-wishes proper

These can be divided into several 'domains'

4.2.5.2.1. Wishes involving illness

The pattern is almost invariably:

(allah) ja9tek/jdʒiblak + name of illness (+ consequence of
illness)

'May God give you'   +   "   "   "   "   "   "

e.g. allah jdʒiblak + ħannu?ta + tejjaħlak ljad wardʒal

'May God give you + a paralysis + which will paralyse hand
and leg'.

The illness can range from dars 'tooth ache' to some others
of which the definitions are mostly obscure and never men-
tioned by men.   These include ta9un, alħumma attaltijja,
?allat assaħħa r?e?a, annaħra.

        The most common ill-wishes involving sickness are
allah ja9tek/jdʒiblak +

tifis 'typhoid'

ħannu?ta 'paralysis'

ħalħabba falsen 'a spot on your tongue'

ħalli9a 'a pain'

ħaldʒan 'a devil i.e. may you be possessed!'

or allah jsaffar wadʒhak 'may God make your face pale!'

or allah jxallik fħarrukna 'may God leave you (helpless)
in a corner!'

4.2.5.2.2. Wishes involving death

        Here the pattern can either be rik bħa + Noun 'May
you be with + N' or allah ja9tek/jdʒiblak + Noun, the noun
can be:

loto 'a car (i.e. may you have a car accident!)

ksida ' an accident' (i.e. may you have an accident!)

bumba 'a bomb' (i.e. may you be blasted!)

taħna 'a crash' (i.e. may you crash!)

rsasa 'a bullet' (i.e. may you be hit by a bullet!)

grenād   'a grenade' (i.e. may you be hit by a grenade!)

zanzla   'an earthquake' (i.e. may you be killed by an

       earthquake!)

or (allah) + jV + N.-ak (and jV + N.-ak) e.g.

allah jballe9 sadrak wa jḥal ?abrak   'May God close your

chest and open your tomb!'

jqassar 9umrak wa jtawwal ?abrak 'May God shorten your life

and lengthen your tomb!'

jbe99ad xabrak wa j?arrab ?abrak   'May God never make your

news reach us, and may He make your tomb quite near to us!'

      It should be noticed that Predicate 1 and Predi-
cate 2 (e.g. jqassar Vs jtawwal) are always antonyms.

      Another possibility can be allah + V. + third pers.
sing. fem. (fem. (ha) + suffixal poss. pron. (+ prep. + N)
e.g.

allah jla??ehalak fattre? 'May you find your death in the

street'

allah jdʒibhalak bin lbeb wa laḥdʒeb 'May you find it (your

death) between the door and the curtains!'

Finally, there is the very common usage of rik 9end dʒaddi

'May you join my grand-father (in death)!'

4.2.5.2.3. Wishes involving unhappiness

      Any of the patterns described above can be used.
e.g.

jsawwad se9dak   'May God darken your happiness!'

ja9tek ḥalḥbuba ' May you find unhappiness!'

rik bḥalmuseba 'May you have a bad luck!'

jakkaʃfak wa jbahdlak wa jxannaz riḥtak 'May you be always

shameful, ragged and smelly!'

We can also have

rik + sec. pers. sing. pronominal af. (t) + V. (+ and + t + V.)

e.g.

rik tandab wa thandab 'May you scratch your face and mourn!'

4.2.5.2.4. Wishes involving ruin

In this case the most common patterns are <u>allah</u> +
V. + N. (and V.) and <u>rik bha</u> + N.'
e.g.
<u>allah j9arrik wa jsarrik</u>'(May God) ruin you and make you cry!'
<u>jaxlik wa jadrik</u> '(May God) ruin you and reject you!'
<u>jkaffas mimunak wa jtejjah 9arbunak</u> '(May God) ruin your
luck and destroy your value!'
<u>rik bhalxalja</u> 'May you find ruin!'

4.2.5.3. The use of 'ill-wishes'

Like ill-wishes which can be used as exclamations/
interjections, the ill-wishes 'proper' described above are
female specific, and cannot occur in male speech except for
imitations of females speech. Furthermore women can expand
the ill wishes by making a combination of different 'pat-
terns' of ill wishes. e.g. <u>rik bhalli9a wha ʃi9a ja wlidi</u>
<u>wa jdʒibhalak bin lbeb wa lahdʒeb</u> 'May you find an obstacle
and unhappiness O my little child and, may you find your
death between the door and the curtains!'

There is also another way of expressing ill wishes
which is female specific. This involves repeating the last

verb used by the previous speaker

e.g.

A.	ħraq al xubz	'he burnt the bread'
B.	allah jaħra?lu la9dam	'may God burn his bones!'
A.	ma taħnuʃ mliħ	'he did not bake it well'
B.	allah jdʒiblu ħattaħna	'may he be crushed!'

(taħana can mean 'to bake', 'crush' or 'mince')

These may be accompanied by a poetic device i.e. the use of some word having phonetic assonance with the last word used by the previous speaker.

e.g.

A.	m^wa	'mother!'
B.	allah ja9tek Rumma	'may you be stifled!'
A.	la	'No!'
B.	allah ja9tek alwa	'may you be distorted!'
A.	?esam	'what?'
B.	allah ja9tek assam	'may you have poison i.e. be poisoned!'

Men, on the other hand, mostly use the following ill-wishes which can also occur in females speech.

allah janne9lak	'may God damn you!'
" jammasxak	' may God metamorphose you!'
" jakkaʃfak	" " " make you shameful!'
" jaxzik	" " " reject you!'
" jbahdlak	" " " make your life miserable!'

Generally speaking we, therefore, notice differences of several types

a) women's repertoire is wider,

b) women's collocations are longer,

c)   wider stylistic variety for females,

d)   female's ill wishes are more cruel/rude than those
     of males.

4.2.6.   <u>talb 'beseeching/imploring'</u>

T.A. contains a repertoire of beseeching or imploring

formulae used by males and/or females in addressing known/

unknown interlocutors of younger or older age.

Both <u>(allah) jarħam weldik</u> 'may God have mercy on

your parents!' and <u>allah jxallik</u> 'may God save/protect you!'.

are used by both males and females, but in terms of pro-

bability they are more likely to be used by males, as females

have a wider choice of other formulae, which will be dis-

cussed below.

<u>allah jarħam weldik</u> is often reduced to <u>ħamweldik</u> and

is used when addressing an unrelated interlocutor or an old

person (known or unknown).   It can, however, also be used

when addressing a young interlocutor in instances where the

speaker wants to show his frustration or anger, c.f. <u>ħamweldik</u>

<u>gle9 9lina hed al pisto</u> 'could you, please, stop this nepo-

tism!'

<u>allah jxallik</u> has a somewhat more 'affectionate' conno-

tation, and is more used when addressing younger interlocu-

tors or children as well as known interlocutors of any age.

<u>ħamweldik</u> and <u>allah jxallik</u> have the 'shape' of a good

wish but the literal meaning 'disappears' when the speech

act changes to beseeching, imploring and requesting.   Other

good wishes, however, conserve their 'meaning' even with the

speech-act changes. These include j̱ḥammar wad̲z̲ḥak glossable as 'may you be in good health!', j̱saz̲z̲ik 'may you be clever!/successful!' and many others which can be used to implore, beseech or request.

The use of good wishes for the beseeching, imploring or requesting speech act is a widely used female characteristic for women of any age. It can, however, be used by old people addressing young adults or children as well as by children and adults addressing very old people cf allah ja9tek ḥalḥudz̲a 'may you go for a pilgrimage!'

z̲abtlak z̲eh annbi glossable as 'in the name of the prophet!' and z̲abtlak ʃabbek annbi 'by the covenant of the prophet' are two collocations which are never used by males, but are used by females of all stations of life addressing an adult interlocutor. It is very rare that the thing or action asked for is refused when these two collocations are used. There is also a special use of oaths for beseeching, imploring or making strong requests, which is characteristic of female speech.

	Male speech	Female speech
Use of good wishes	restricted use	wide use
Special use of oaths	restricted use in terms of both probability and choice	wide use
ḥam weldik allah jxallik	higher probability of occurrence	smaller probability of occurrence

4.2.7.   klɛm azzʒɛf, Some lexical items relating to
          the emotion of 'anger'.

In situations where a Tlemcenian speaker wants to
convey the emotion of anger i.e. 'he/she made me angry!',
I am angry!', several lexical items or collocations are pos-
sible. The choice, however, of any or all, depends on the
degree of anger one is allowed to reveal verbally, and in
this depends on such parameters as status, participants and
sex.

        We have noted earlier that, females are not allowed
to refer to sexual organs particularly in the presence of
males, whatever the age of both persons. It is, consequen-
tly, even less probable for females to use certain lexical
items which are qualified as 'obscene'; hence collocations
such as jqawwad ʒlijja glossable as 'he gets on my nerves'
(from qawwed 'a pimp) - or collocations of the same verb
with a noun referring to a sexual organ - are never used
by Tlemcenian women, whatever the age. The constructions
are noticeably more frequent in the speech of adolescents
or young adults and rarely occur, if ever, in the speech of
old people. They are again more frequently used when adol-
escents address members of their peer group, or when showing
a total lack of respect. Generally speaking, the older the
addressee or the more status he has, the less probable these
constructions.

        jrabbab and jkaffar (from rabb 'God' and kfer
'blasphemies') 'he makes me angry/crazy' are both used by
males but not by old people, particularly jrabbab. jkaffar
can be used by young females but not jrabbab. jkaffar can

be used in almost all situations whatever the age and the status of the persons, but <u>jrabbab</u> follows the same restrictions as the above constructions.

There are some words or collocations which are female specific, these include <u>talla9tli ?albi</u> 'you elevated my heart', <u>kalfattli ?albi</u> 'you turned my heart', <u>tarta?tli ?albi</u> 'you burst my heart', <u>rmit 9lijja addar</u> 'you threw pains upon me', <u>rmit 9lijja azzammam</u> 'you stifled me', <u>xallitni nxallal wa n?addaf</u> 'you left me straining and dying', <u>tejjaht 9lijja la?rena</u> 'you paralysed me', <u>f?a9tni</u> 'you burst me', <u>tarta?tni</u> 'you burst me'.

Finally there are certain lexical items which are shared by both sexes c.f. <u>jza99af</u>, <u>jnarvi</u>...'he makes me angry'.

	Male speech	Female speech
jkaffar	more used	rare use, particularly by the old generation.
jrabbab	more used by the younger generation	not used
'obscene' collocations	used in some situations	not used
talla9tli/kalfattli/ tarta?tli/ + ?albi rmit 9lijja addar/ azzammam tejjaht 9lijja la?rena f?a9tni/tarta?tni	not used	used

4.2.8.   aʃʃka, Expressions of sorrow

When expressing sorrow, women can make use of comparable sayings which, again, are not used by males (See Section 4.2.10)

e.g.   ʃkit lasma lazra? ddi jʃawwat wa jaħra?

'I complained to the blue sky that 'toasts' and burns' i.e. I am treated like a scapegoat, I am terribly sad/ depressed, I wish people who harmed me will suffer!...)

mnin ħtadʒitak ja wadʒhi, xabʃuk la?tut

'when I needed you, O, my face, cats scratched you!' (i.e. I am terribly unlucky, I am a good for nothing, I am depressed...).

They also use metaphors which are female specific. These include examples like:

laħjut wa ?fulha fi wadʒhi

'walls and their locks on my face' (i.e. I find difficulties everywhere, everyone is against me..)

rani ħālat la9da wal9adwen

'I am what I wish my enemies to be!'

rani nabki m9a adduda wal?armuda

'I am crying with the worm and the tile' (i.e. I am always crying and my eyes are always wet just like a worm or a tile in winter.)

rani nabki m9a la?dur

'I am crying with the pans' (i.e. my eyes are always full of tears just like a pan which seems to be always full of water)

rani Ri rabbi wa lwe9d

'I am only with God and my fate'

(i.e. I have no assistance, I am refused any help, I am
in a deep crisis).

There are also statements such as

<u>rani ma xasni</u> 'I am what is left of me'

(i.e. I need a lot of things, I am not satisfied..)

<u>rani ma trani</u> 'I am what I wish you not to see'

<u>ena se9di Rilli + S.</u> (e.g. ena se9di Rilli jahdar' my (bad)
luck is for people to speak (ill) about me!')

which are, again never used by males except, perhaps, in
imitation of females speech.   Men on the other hand, mostly
use certain forms which are very rare in female speech, par-
ticularly in old female speech.   These include <u>rani mdiguti</u>
(from French être degouté) 'I am disgusted' (which in Al-
gerian French and Algerian Arabic can mean 'I am sad!','I am
depressed!'), <u>rani sa va pa</u> (from French 'ça ne va pas')
'I am not alright', and other expressions which can be also
used by females, but are rarer in terms of probability.
These include <u>raha tajratli</u> 'I have the blues, I have some
problems', <u>rani ndammar flijjem</u> 'I am just dragging along'
and <u>raħna ndamru</u> 'we are just dragging along'.

4.2.9.   <u>atta?assuf, The conveying of 'pity'</u>

In contexts where someone is pitied, there are
several lexical items which convey this feeling and are sex
specific.   For instance <u>aʃʃera9</u> 'poor man!', woman, thing!'
cf. <u>ma jastahalʃ aʃʃera9</u> 'he does not deserve it, poor man!'
and <u>al9ejjen</u> 'the tired (i.e. poor thing!) cf. <u>ma xassu</u>
<u>al9ejj en</u> glossable as 'how could he, poor thing!', I wish
he could, poor thing!', are female specific and are never

used by males unless he is imitating a woman.

aʃʃera9 is invariable and is used in this form for both male and female referents (animates).

e.g.   hedɛk arraẓal aʃʃera9 'that poor man!'

(i.e. pitiful man).

hedik lamra aʃʃera9 'that poor woman!'

(i.e. pitiful woman)

al9ejjen on the other hand, can have a feminine suffix cf. al9ejjena.

There are also other lexical items which can be used in such a context and again, they are female specific. These include al maxli(-ja) 'poor man/woman!', al9arjen(-a) 'poor man/woman!'

Men on the other hand, mostly use maskin 'poor' which is also used by females; however in terms of its probability of occurrence it is less used by females, as women have a greater choice of other lexical items.

	Male speech	Female speech
maskin	common usage	possible, but less probable
aʃʃera9/al9ejjen/al9arjen/ almaxli	Ø	common usage

4.2.10.   m9eni 'sayings and innuendoes'

There is no female conversation, whatever the degree of formality, where m9eni are not used. In fact, women speech is noted for the amount of m9eni they can use -

the more, the better is the guiding principle.   A woman
who does not understand, or does not use <u>m9eni</u> is called
<u>bagga</u> 'stupid and naive'.

In certain situations, the speech is never direct
or to the point instead, <u>m9eni</u> are used and the hearer must
infer the meaning solely from the context.   It follows
that such sayings have no rigidly fixed or even nearly
fixed meanings;   the meaning is always derived from the
entire context of situation.

Men, on the other hand, rarely use <u>m9eni</u> parti-
cularly for insinuation or innuendo,because they are ex-
pected to be if not blunt, at least direct.   If a man uses
innuendoes, then often the addressee would say <u>barka ma</u>
<u>tme9ni ki lamra</u> 'stop speaking and hinting like a woman'

<u>m9eni</u> are of three types: sayings, recurrent
collocations/colligations and spontaneous innuendoes.

4.2.10.1. <u>Sayings or 'proverbs'</u>

All sayings must have at least one of the follow-
ing characteristics:

-<u>Assonance</u>
e.g. ida ken <u>laḥba?</u> man jaddi <u>sba?</u> wida ken <u>attafeḥ</u> man jaddi
<u>feḥ</u> which depending on context can mean either
'you are worthless compared to me!'
unlike you, I know what life is all about!
   "   "   " "   the real value of life!
   "   "   " "   I come from a rich family!
   "   "   " "   " have a good taste!...'

- <u>Two lexical items used as antonyms</u>

e.g. <u>tla9t</u> lasma sabtha <u>b9ida</u> <u>hbatt</u> lal?ard sabtha <u>?reba</u>

'If I <u>go up</u>, in the sky, I find it <u>too far</u>, if I

<u>go down</u> on earth, it will be <u>too near</u>!'

which is said in contexts where someone is having diffi-

culties to find a solution to a problem, when someone wants

to mediate between two persons and is blamed for one reason

or another, etc.

- <u>Two lexical items used which occupy the extremes of a</u>

<u>semantic field.</u>

e.g. ddi darrgak <u>bxet</u> darrgu <u>bhet</u>

'who protects/hides you with (a length of) a

thread, hide him with (a length of) a wall.'

you must return good/bad deeds, you must not

report a conversation etc.

- <u>Selection of co-occurrent items which violates social</u>

<u>expectations</u>

e.g. <u>zaʒʒār</u> wa jat9aʃa <u>bla9dām</u>

'he is a <u>butcher</u> and he <u>eats bones</u>'

i.e. which implies mischieveousness, meanness,

without a soul etc.

ma jxuss lla9ma Ri <u>lakhul</u>

'nothing does the <u>blind need</u> but <u>eye shadow/mascara</u>'

i.e. which implies showing off, pretentiousness etc.

- <u>Two lexical items or phrases with disparate connotations</u>

e.g. <u>sma</u> b9id 9la nbeh <u>lakleb</u>

'the <u>sky</u> is far from a <u>dog barking</u>'

i.e. leave me alone, you should not compare your-

self with me, your words do not reach me etc.

kul <u>warda</u> tawlad a∫∫uk

'every <u>flower</u> has <u>thorns</u>'

i.e. everyone has his idiosyncracies, we are

not perfect, one must not go by appearances etc.'

- <u>Pairs of lexical items which either share a meaning or</u>

<u>can be collocated.</u>

e.g. ma <u>jhuklak</u> illa <u>dafrak</u> wa ma <u>jabkilak</u> illa <u>ʃafrak</u>

'only <u>your eyes</u> will <u>cry for you</u> and only <u>your</u>

<u>nails</u> will <u>scratch you</u>!'

i.e. better do everything yourself, do not count

on anyone, people can be very selfish etc.

Some of these sayings can occur in insult, lament

reproach, complaint, teasing speech acts. Others will,

however, have a higher probability of occurrence in one or

the other speech act.

4.2.10.2. <u>Recurrent collocations</u>

There are certain collocations such as

<u>lxir wa laxmir</u> 'wealth and opulence'

<u>lsen wa dreʒ</u> 'good manners (speech) and a good worker'

<u>zin wa laʔʔal</u> 'beauty and intelligence (calm)'

which can be used in the frame Subject + Prep.(ʒand 'to')

+ Poss.suf + ...X... cf. ena ʒandi lxir wa laxmir 'I have

(to me) wealth and opulence', followed by Neg. (meʃi) + prep.

(ki) + pron. /N. cf. meʃi ki ntin 'not like you i.e. unlike

you' or followed by a sentence cf. <u>wa annes hasba</u> 'and people

think..'

These collocations followed by comparative sen-

tences are used when avoiding to be blunt as well as for

indirect insults.

4.2.10.3. Spontaneous innuendoes

These are innuendoes which are created on the
spur of the moment, and constitute a 'tit for tat' reply.
For instance, recently a woman was reproached as not having
enough furniture in spite of a high income.   The reply was
ena be9da illa ma 9maltʃ, rani ntallā9 fattʃiʃa
'well, if I did not, it is because I am rolling[1]·tʃiʃa'
which was intended to mean 'If I did not, that is because I
am spending all my money on my children, not like you who
are sterile'.   The sterile woman replied:
illa ena ma raniʃ ntallā9 fattʃiʃa rani ntallā9[2]· fbarkukas
'If I am not rolling tʃiʃa, I am rolling barkukas
which was intended to mean 'If I do not have children, I
have all the family on my back!

In the context of insult, where innuendoes of this
type are being used, the less clear they are, the better.
Furthermore, if speaker A uses a lexical item relating to
domain X, speaker B is rated best if, he can find another
lexical item relating to the same domain X, but the meaning
or connotations of which are either stronger, bigger or
better.   In the above example tʃiʃa and barkukas are both
starch balls but the second item is bigger and therefore its
connotations are rated best.

---

1.   tʃiʃa is a dish made of small round starch balls
     derived from wheat grains

2.   barkusas is a dish made of small round starch balls
     (but bigger than tʃiʃa) derived from semolina.

4.3.   Marriage and linguistic behaviour

The procedure of an arranged marriage is, as we
shall see, fixed by social rules, each determining specific
linguistic behavioural patterns. It is interesting to study
these linguistic behavioural patterns for several reasons.

a)   At any time during the discussion of the marriage,
         one can know the stage of development of the arrange-
         ment by listening to the last sentence(s).

b)   That it is a property of either male or female
         speech.

c)   One can study a part of the social order by deter-
         mining whose linguistic behaviour is whose. For
         instance, the use of certain forms or register can
         show social superiority or inferiority.

4.3.1.   The language of marriage arrangement

The Tlemcenians being very traditionalist, marriage of
'convenience' is still the main type of 'partner selection'.
This selection is performed by women, men having, however,
a possibility of giving advice. When a suitable candidate
is found, such are located on such occasions as a visit to
a hammem 'Turkish bath', a ceremony of marriage, engagement
or some such festivity - then the mother together with some
very close relatives visit the girl's parents. Here we have
two possibilities:

a.   the parents are known to those requesting the
         marriage

b.   the parents are not known to those requesting

the marriage.

In the first case the meeting starts with social greetings (see below). The discussion will then be brought to the point of 'asking the girl's hand'. In such a context the opening sentences invariably are:

ʒina 9la lbant te9kum

'we came for your daughter'

or ʒina 9la. bantkum X

(if the name is known and the discussion is relaxed)

or ʒina nahadru 9la lbant ta9kum/or 9la X

'we came to speak about your daughter/or about X.'

Then the following sentences are optional but very common:

illa ta9tewhanna...

'if you want to give her to us'

ewa ħna rana na9arfukum wantuma riku ta9arfuna

'well, we know you and you know us'

or ewa ħna ma nsebu xir mankum wantuma rik ta9arfuna

'well, we would not find better than you and you know us'.

In the second case we have two possibilities. If those requesting marriage do want the purpose of the visit to be known from the beginning, the first sentence which would be uttered is:

diaf rabbi

'we are guests of God'

to which the answer is:

mraħba bikum addaxlu/atfaddlu/zidu

'welcome (to you) come in'

Once seated, the discussion will first be general for a mutual 'discovery'.

e.g.   kirakum, kira assaḥḥa

   'how are you?' 'how is your health?'

   kirakum fhadi assxāna

   'how do you feel in this weather?' etc...etc...

Then the boy's parents will come to the point of the visit by mentioning how they came to know of the girl, for instance:

   X na9tatanna labnita/lbant ta9kum

   'X told us about your daughter'

The last point will be the asking proper of the girl's hand:

e.g.   ʒina 9la bantkum

or   ʒina naxabbukum fiha

   'we came to ask you about your daughter'.

In this case we see that we have three steps, each limiting both parties to a specific repertoire.

Step one: sentences of greetings

Step two: general discussion for 'mutual discovery'.

Step three: the request proper.

If the purpose of the visit is to remain hidden provisionally, any pretext will be given, for instance:

   sme9na balli bantkum txajjat

   'we heard that your daughter makes dresses'.

After observation of the parents and if they are found to be of the same or 'good' social class, and if the girl is good-looking then the purpose of the visit will be unveiled:

e.g.   ewa ḥna ʒina 9la bantkum

   'well, we came for your daughter'.

or any other sentence seen previously.   Here again we have
the three steps:

First: introductory excuse

Second: observation through language use

Third: motive and request proper.

      Whether the parents are known or unknown, if the
postulant bride seems appropriate, the next 'move' in the
discussion, is for the boy's mother to describe the quali-
ties of her son and his social position/relations.   For
instance:

        ewa ta9arfu ena waldi ma jakmi ma jaʃrab

        'well you know my son neither smokes nor drinks'.

        huwwa jaxdam fdār aʃʃrā9 wjaxlas X faʃʃhar

        'he works in the Tribunal and earns X per month'.

        9andu lme9rifet bazzef etc...

        'he knows a lot of people' etc...

      A further 'move' is to say what her son expects
from his would-be wife, and possibly where he would live.

e.g.   ena waldi jħab mra te9 addār

        'my son wants a housewife'

        ma taxdam ma taxruʒ bla xabru

        'neither would she work nor go out without his

        permission'

        w9andu dāru baħdu

        'and he will have his own house'

      The girl's mother can then ask any question about
either the family or the boy himself and at this point she
has a 'position of withdrawal' by saying:

        xasna nahadru m9a arʒel, bāha, waxwāha,

        'we must speak with the men, her father, brothers'

walliw manna ˙ jamet wa nraddulkum laxbār

'come back in a few days, we shall give you the

answer'

The discussion ends with:

ʃawru raskum 'think it over' followed by saluta-

tions or in the case of disagreement, by 'rahi ma9tija'

'she is promised' plus salutations.

The general pattern is therefore as following:

STEP ONE	Greetings or introductory excuse
STEP TWO	General discussion for 'mutual discovery' or observation through language use
STEP THREE	Asking proper
STEP FOUR	Description of qualities/social position, relations of son
STEP FIVE	Expectancy of the husband
STEP SIX	Questioning
STEP SEVEN	Position of withdrawal
STEP EIGHT	Conclusion and salutations

The period between the first and second visit, is

used to seek advice from husband, brothers, and close rela-

tives as well as to have information concerning the moral

values of the would-be husband. The sentence s̩a?sewanna
9la X 'try to get information concerning X' is spread among
the family.

On the second visit if both 'postulants' seem to be
appropriate for the marriage, the pattern is as follows:

Step one: greetings

Step two: general discussion

Step three: both mothers ennumerate qualities of son/
                daughter

Step four: the discussion centres around the bride price.

At this point the boy's mother might say:

ewa ?esam riku talbin fi bantkum/lbant

'well, what do you ask for your daughter?'

or   ?esam huma aʃʃurut

'what are the conditions?'

or a very similar question to which three answers are pos-
sible:

banti kima bnet annes addi rahum

ja9amlu annes 9amluhulha

or

jatalbu   "   "

'my daughter is just like everybody else's daughter,

whatever the others are (offering, you must pay for
                                                    her
                            (asking

This sentence is uttered when the girl's mother wants the
boy's mother to propose a bride price. The latter can
either return the question:

e.g.   ewa lla xasskum tahadru

'well no, you must speak'

or propose the bride price indirectly:

e.g.   annes darwa? rahum ja9amlu XYZ

'well, people, now, are offering XYZ'

The girl's mother, at any stage, might interrupt to disagree with any item mentioned:

e.g.   alla krafāʃ bu laḥja fet waʔtsu 9amlulha ḥazza

xfifa ki...

'No, the pendant (krafāʃ bu laḥja) is old fash-

ioned, why not offer something as nice as...'

Then the haggling goes on until final agreement (or disa-

greement).

The second possibility is that the girl's mother

enumerates all the items which should constitute the bride

price.

e.g.   raḥna talbin...

'we ask for...'

or   xasna...

'we want...'

As an answer the boy's mother has two (2) alternatives:

a.   ddi(tlabtuh raḥna ʔablinu

(ḥabbituh

'whatever you(ask for, we accept'

(want

b.   ewa sahlu 9lina + reason

'well, try to facilitate things for us' + reason

e.g.   ewa sahlu 9lina waldi ma jandʒam 9la kul   ḥɛdaʃi

waldi illa saḥab aʃʃahrijja riku 9arfin ljum kulʃi

Rali xassu jʔem dāru...

'Well, try to facilitate things for us, my son can-

not afford all that. My son has only his wages and

you know that nowadays everything is expensive; he

must furnish his house...'

The girl's mother again has a choice between either:

> ewa [kima ?alats lamra] kulwahad j9abbi 9la hsabu
>
> 'well, [as the woman said i.e. as they say] every-
>
> one takes what he can afford'.

if she insists on the value of the bride price.

or

> ewa banijja ?esam tnazmu tsa9amlu?
>
> 'well what can you afford?'

if she wants to make some concessions; in which case the haggling goes on until final agreement.

The third possibility is for the girl's mother not to propose the bride price.

e.g.

> hna natalbu Ri rda wattib wa min zihat assart
>
> ddi ndzamtu 9lih ?a9amluh
>
> 'we ask only agreement and happiness, as far as
>
> the conditions are concerned, you offer what you
>
> can afford'.

This happens very rarely compared to the two other possibi-lities.   The boy's mother has then the choice between either:

a.

> ewalla xaskum tahadru
>
> 'well no, you must speak'

in which case the girl's mother could still refuse to suggest the value of the bride price!

or b.

> ewa banijja ?esam riku 9amlin lbantkum bes na9arfu
>
> ?essam jxasha
>
> 'well, it is agreed, but what have you prepared
>
> for your daughter and we shall know what she needs

or c.

> hna newjin nzibulha XYZ wa ntumen 9likum bassartla
>
> etc.
>
> 'we thought of offering her XYZ and you would have
>
> to give her seven Indian cut bangles etc...'

Here either there is agreement or if the girl's mother cannot

afford all the items set forth by the boy's mother, then
the former can say for instance:

> ewa ɛna na9mal lbanti ddi nʒamt 9leh
>
> 'I will buy my daughter what I can afford'
>
> wantuma 9amlu lwaldkum ddi ḥabbitu
>
> 'and you buy your son what you want'.

Here the boy's mother can still haggle

e.g.

> ɛwa riku 9arfin ḥna nḥabbu 9rusatna kima 9rusat
>
> annes
>
> 'well, you know we would like our daughter-in-law
> to be like other daughters-in-law (i.e. as presen-
> table as others).

The haggling then goes on, until final agreement or disagree-
ment.

For all cases disagreement can be shown verbally by
both parents. Therefore if one hears at the end of this
stage, sentences like:

> kulwaḥad j9abbi 9la ḥsɛbu
>
> 'everyone takes what he can afford'.

one can be sure that there is disagreement.
Sentences like:

> duk nradulkum laxbār
>
> 'we shall give you the answer'

or

> ewa natʃāwru/ nʃāwru wa nʃufu
>
> 'we shall shall seek advice/we shall seek advice and
> see...'

or

> duk nxammu wa nʃufu
>
> 'we shall think it over and see'

can either be a sign of disagreement/refusal or partial disa-
greement.

Finally, in case of agreement all participants
wish the couple happiness and mutual understanding.

e.g.   allah ja9mal attewil binathum

        'may God preserve mutual understanding'

        allah jsa99ad binathum

        'may God make things easy between them'.

This is eventually followed by some high-pitched ululations
(zRarit).

As we have seen, arranging a marriage, is a role
limited solely to women. The linguistic behaviour which
is necessitated in those contexts, will not be possible in a
man's life, save for wishing a couple happiness (or in imi-
tation of women's speech). If, therefore, one heard a man
say:

        banti kima bnet annes ddi rahum ja9amluh annes

        ?a9amlulha

        'my daughter is just like anybody else's daughter,

        whatever the others are asking, you must offer'.

one can be sure that it is only reported speech and that he
is, to the best of his abilities, trying to imitate a woman.
Furthermore the 'move' he is speaking about refers to the one
dealing with the early stage of the bride price discussion.

4.3.2.   <u>The language of the fatiħa</u>[1].

For the marriage to be socially accepted, it has
to be sealed both religiously and juridically. The reli-

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1. The <u>fatiħa</u> is the first verse of the Qoran

gious seal - the _fatiḥa_ - is, however, in terms of social importance, the prerequisite for any kind of relation. The _fatiḥa_ is held in the mosque, in the presence of males solely.   This activity and its systematic accompanying language belong only to male societal behaviour;   women are totally ignorant of what exactly 'happens' in such a situation and of what is 'said'.   In fact, some of my female kin were eager to listen to the recording I made during the _fatiḥa_ of a member of my family.   Furthermore, the language used in such a context, can never be used with the same meaning by females since, as said above, women never live this situation;   as T.F. Mitchell (1975) puts it 'subaah il xayr in buying and selling and subaah il xayr elsewhere differ for the linguist rather as a line of a given length differs for the mathematician according to whether he is considering it as a side of a rectangle or the radius of a circle' (p.170).

The personalities in this situation are fathers/tutors of the bride and groom as well as the _mufti_[1];   the persons can be either invited friends or other family members.   The object is the forging of a spiritual link involving both the bride and groom and the in-law families; the locale is the mosque.   In the _fatiḥa_ category seven stages can be recognised.

Stage one

Once the marriage has been agreed on and the bride price fixed, fathers/tutors of bride and groom settle for a date when they must meet at the mosque.   The time is gener-

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1.   The _mufti_ is an Islamic priest

ally <u>duhur</u> that is to say around twelve a.m.

When the <u>mufti</u> has taken his place in the <u>miħrāb</u> 'the pulpit' and both persons and personalities have settled themselves around him; the opening sentence uttered by the <u>mufti</u> is invariably <u>bismilleh arraħmān arraħim</u> 'by the name of God, the Almighty', after which verses 1 - 4 of <u>Sura</u> IV <u>annisa</u> 'women' are read or recited by all participants. The opening sentence as well as verses 1 - 4 are seen here as a non-technical language of the <u>fatiħa</u>.

<u>Stage two</u>

At this stage, the <u>mufti</u> says <u>alħamdu lilleh</u> + possible extension + <u>wa aʃhadu anna la illeh illa allah wa aʃhadu anna muħamada 9abduhu wa rasuluhu</u>

'Thanks be to God... and I attest that there is no God but God and that Muhamad is His servant and prophet'. He then selects some verses of the Qoran to remind everyone of their duties towards both God and society.

<u>Stage three</u>

At this stage, the <u>mufti</u> utters the technical <u>amma ba9d faʔinna nunedi alma9lumin bilʔamr alʔen</u> 'and now we call the interested' to summon parents/tutors of the bride/ groom who stand up from their places and go to sit down near the <u>mufti</u>, in front of the other persons. When seated, the <u>mufti</u> addresses the groom's father invariably as follows:

> X^wtub lʔeb ta9 ibant beʃ ja9tek/jmadlak bantu
>
> lwaldak
>
> 'ask the bride's father to give his daughter for
>
> your son'.

The boy's father proceeds on with either:

> <u>ja sidi X a9tene bantak lwaldi 9la fardilleh wa</u>
>
> <u>sunnatih</u>

'O Sir X, give me your daughter for my son accor-

ding to God's law and the tradition set forth by

Him'

or with:

z̦it naxxutbak 9la sunnat illah wa kutubih bantak

lwaldi

'I came to ask your daughter for my son according

to the tradition set by God and His books'.

This can be repeated three times, but the girl's

father can answer at the wording of the question.   There

are here two possibilities:

a.   the girl's father can say aqbal manni 'accept from

me', to which is answered eni qābal - ' I have accepted',

the girl's father then says either:

eni 9atihālak 'I have given her to you'

or   eni 9titak   'I have given you'

or   eni medhālak   lwaldak 'I have given her to your son'

b.   the girl's father can directly say:

eni 9titak

eni 9atihālak

eni 9atihālak lwaldak

eni mwāfaq   'I have agreed'

Then both stand up and take their place with the other persons.

The mufti summons another pair until the list is exhausted.

Stage four

At this stage the mufti reads the list of all the

now religiously married couples as follows:

al9aqd al?awwal:azzawz̦ Name and Surname

waldX, azzawz̦a Name and surname bant Y, al 9aqd atteni:...

'first act: the groom name and surname, son of X

the bride name and surname daughter of Y

second act...'

Stage five:

The next stage is introduced by alḥamdu lilleh

wa ssalāt wa ssalem 9ala rasul illeh wa ?ehlih

'thanks be to God and may peace be with the prophet and

his relatives'.

Then the verse concerning the bride price is read by the mufti

and a commentary follows together with an optional anecdote

concerning the bride price (see accompanying cassette).

Stage six:

The mufti then wishes both the bride/groom and the

participants well; to which everyone joins in emin 'Amen'

(see Section 3.2.4.)

Stage seven

The fatiḥa is closed with the reading of the first

verse of the Qoran 'fatiha', by all who are attending the

ceremony.

Conclusion

Everyone stands up as they are going out. They

kiss or salute as well as wish one another well again.

4.3.3.   The barrāḥ 'announcer'

During the marriage festivities, the most important

entertainment is the music orchestra. The 'announcer', a

role which can be played only by a male (barrāḥ), develops

a register which belongs only to the male community in

Tlemcen. When the music is playing, any member of the au-

dience can offer a certain sum to the orchestra. The offer-

ing, just like the music itself, is part of the entertain-
ment.   One can give it directly to the orchestra or through
the barrāḥ, asking him that a message be given publicly.

The barrāḥ always starts with:

1.   gelak (hedi) baraka man 9end X...

          (he said) (this) offering from X... + message.

or 2.   gelak (hedi) 50 D.A. man 9end X ...

          (he said) (this) 50 Dinars from X...+ message.

          The message can start with either:

          fi xātar X 'for the pleasure of X'

or   dad Y 'against Y'

There is also a possibility to combine both

e.g.   fi xātar X   dad Y

examples:

          hedi baraka man 9and X fi xātar

          'this is an offering from X for the pleasure of

          mulej assultan waḥbɛbu kbār

          Sir the King (groom) and his relatives old

          wasRār wannes lli ǯew

          and young and people who came

          jaffarḥu bih wafi xātar...

          to cheer him and to the pleasure of...

          wa gelak ja xuja dad...

          and he said, Oh, brother against...

after the message is finished, the formula is ended by

          allaḥ jaxlaf

          'may God return it to you'

          Once this is said, women – who are hidden behind
a curtain or, in a neighbouring terrace or somewhere where
they cannot be seen, since they cannot be present with men-

start a ululation called zRarit, which can be used only by
females.   Men are not socially allowed to use zRarit except
if very young males want to use it as a joke in an extremely
relaxed situation, and in the presence of very intimate
friends or relatives.   zRarit can either be used to welcome
somebody or something, to announce or express happiness or
joy or to support someone or something.

In the case in point, it is used to support and
acclaim the name of the person who gave the message.   It is
fitting to mention that the intensity and duration of the
zRarit is proportional to the sum of money or to the fame/
importance of the 'donator'.   Very often when the <u>barrāh</u>
has sympathy for the 'donator' and/or he wants to relax the
atmosphere, he says:

> walli ma tzaRratʃ allah ja9teha ʃrika
>
> 'and the woman who does not ululate, may God
> give her a concubine'

or
> walli tzaRrat allah jaħfadha
>
> 'and the woman who ululates, may God protect her'

Once the message is over, any member of the aud-
ience may signal to the <u>barrāh</u> for another message.   It is,
however, important that the member praised (fi xatar) or
attacked (dad) responds.   The one praised responds by
giving either an inferior, corresponding or superior sum of
money and the response can generally stop after this offering.
As to the one attacked, he can respond in two ways:

a.   give a corresponding sum of money and ask the
         <u>barrāh</u> to say the formula <u>dad</u>

b.   give a superior sum of money asking the <u>barrāh</u> to
         say <u>dad</u> followed by:

> wijqul balli Rir aRram
>
> 'and he says try to give more'

or   Rir a9mal kima sidak

> 'try to do like your master'

If there is no response he can again give some money with
the formula:

> Rir a9mal kima sidak/Rir aRram
>
> 'try to do like your master/try to give more
>
> walla jʒibuh barra
>
> or they will throw him out'.

Once this is uttered, there is immediate response and the
'attacks' can go on until large sums are spent.

4.4.   <u>The seba9 'Seventh day after birth'</u>

Usually, if one can afford it, <u>seba9</u> is marked by
the sacrifice of a sheep to name the new born child. What
is interesting from a sociolinguistic point of view, is
the language used on such an occasion and its specificity as
to the user's sex.

The sacrifice of the sheep is performed only by a
male and the linguistic 'formulae' which accompany the slaugh-
tering are only used by menfolk. Thus if the name of the
new born child is to be, say, Najat, the following verbal
behaviour is part of the total action.

<u>bismilleh arrahmān arrahim</u>   'In the name of God the merciful'

<u>allahu akbār</u>   'God is the perfection'

<u>samminaha neʒet</u>   'We call her Najat'

<u>bint bdera 9ziza</u>   'Daughter of Badra Aziza'

<u>wa ?abuha muhammad</u>   'and her father is Muhamad'

Generally, as pointed out in our first chapter,

all vocabulary domains needed for religious celebrations
having social impact are male-specific. Thus, although,
it may be a woman who chooses the name of the child, it is
a man, who in front of society (and God) names 'it' formally.
Examples, again, of such a 'domain' include language used
for the fatiħa and male specificity as regard the language
used to call for the daily prayers: al ?adden.

4.5.   Invitation

Generally, invitations, for important ceremonies
such as engagements, marriages, births etc. are performed
orally either by relatives or friends of the persons cele-
brating.   In such a case one or two women go to a specified
house, and after the greeting 'ceremony' the person who is
issuing the invitation almost invariably says:

> rahum msalmin 9lik dãr X
>
> 'you have the regards of X's
>
> ?elulak (fik rabbi) ʒib la9rewset wa
>
> 'you are told (please) bring your in-laws (if any) and
>
> labnet weʒi tafrãħ ba X nhãr X
>
> your daughter and come to celebrate with X on X (day)
>
> ewa 9andak tansa
>
> don't forget'

This function is only performed by females and when a male
invites another male, this linguistic behaviour can, on no
account, be used.

Often after issuing the invitation the invited
person says:

> ewa ?eʒi ne9mallak ʃwija riħa

'welcome, I will put some perfume on you'

to which the answer is invariably:

  ewa jzijjan riħtak

  'may God embellish your smell'.

4.6.   <u>Kinship terms and sex in T.A</u>

   Every speech community has its idiosyncratic orga-
nisation of kinship terms reflecting very often its specific
social organisation and cultural values. Kinship terms are
culture bound and as such, they are in a constant flux, since
in any given society both the institutions and the attitudes
toward them, are in a constant state of change. The lin-
guistic and social values - hence kinship term usage - will
prove, therefore, to be affected.

4.6.1.   <u>The role of inflexion in the study of T.A. kin-terms</u>

   Algerian Arabic is mostly an inflected language in
spite of its long contact with French during the colonial
period. Its verbal and nominal elements will then be charac-
terised by the process of agglutination and inflexion. In-
flexion is very important in the study of kin-terms since,
in many cases whether a word denotes kin or otherwise, de-
pends on whether it is used in a definite/indefinite form
and/or with a poss. suf. (or part.). Consider the following:

    mra   'woman'

   lamra 'the woman' (my wife)'

    mrati 'my wife'

  Whether a word is used in the masc/fem. form, or

with a masc. suf. (or part.), will in many cases determine
its interpretation as a kin-term (henceforth K.T.) or non-
kin-terms (henceforth N.K.T) as well as determine its meaning.
Consider the following:

     ʃix   'teacher' (masc.)

     ʃixa   'teacher' (fem.)

     ʃixu   'his teacher' (masc.)

     ʃixha   'her teacher' (masc.) or 'her father-in-law'

     ʃixtu   'his teacher' (fem)

     ʃixtha   'her teacher (fem.) or 'her mother-in-law'

We see, therefore, that formally marked gender can
define the place of a given K.T. in both the system and
structure of T.A.   The definition remains, however, incom-
plete until not only the linguistic context is analysed, but
also and primarily the situation in which it is used is
wholly fathomed.   Extralinguistic parameters will, therefore
prove to be necessary for a proper understanding of the
'meaning' of K.T.

In this section, we shall study the interaction of
sociological significance together with the linguistic dis-
crepancy in K.T. usage caused by sex differentiation.
Throughout the entire analysis, we shall, however, bear in
mind that sex alone can determine the choice and meaning of
K.T. in several but not all cases.   We shall, therefore,
need to invoke other parameters such as status, age, edu-
cational background, subject matter, degree of social relation
and even mood or temper.

For the purpose of analysis we shall distinguish
a N.K. usage of K.T. and a K. usage of K.T.

4.6.2. Non-Kin usage of Kinship terms

Generally, we cannot attach any meaning to members
of this category, as all the meaning will derive from its
use. Such lexical items can be used for affinals as well
as complete strangers.

4.6.2.1. 'Father'

beba 'father' can be used as either referent or
address or simply as interjection. When used as an inter-
jection, it is generally preceded by the vocative particle
ja/ʔa c.f. ja/ʔa beba 'what a surprise! It is mostly
used with the following intonational pattern
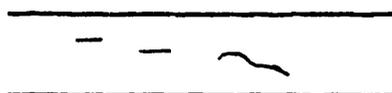
ʔa b e b a

an alternative word for beba is bʷa which, in males speech,
is less probable as an interjection.

As an address form, beba is used reciprocally by
young people for calling the attention of a person who is
probably an old man and usually a stranger. It is linguis-
tically in 'free variation' with bʷa but socially it is not
used by women.

Another variant baba, on the other hand, is used
for calling the attention of a person who might be either
younger or older than oneself. It is, however, used either as a
provocative means of calling attention, or when one does
not want to be nice at all. In this case only young males
can have recourse to this lexical item, a woman in no con-

text can she make use of it for this purpose.

b^{W}a/beba followed by a proper name can be used in
either address or reference.   In either case, the person
in question is, generally, an old parent's friend, a neigh-
bour or simply an old person to whom respect is due. As a
general remark, beba is less used than b^{W}a in this case,
and both terms are less used by adults than youngsters,
and again less by girls than by boys.

	Male speech	Female speech
ja/?a b^{W}a (interj.)	less probable (but not by old people)	more probable
ja/?a beba (interj.)	used (but not by old people)	not used
baba	used	not used

4.6.2.2. 'Son' and 'daughter'

The following words are in use to denote offspring.

wald/bant   (+ - i poss. suf. or nte9 poss.part.)

masc.fem.

tfal/tafla

baz/bazza

masc. fem.

bzajaz/bzajza   )
                           diminutive forms.
wlijad,wlid/bnita)

wald can be used by women to address a member of the family or close friend of the family, and in such a case it is always used in the collocation wald amma 'son of my mother i.e. dear'. It cannot be used as a referent in this case since, for instance in

∫aft wald amma

'I have seen the son of my mother'

wald would have a kin meaning. When wald is used in the collocation wald amma 'dear', the speaker can only be a female. Men do not use it unless they are imitating a woman. Furthermore such a collocation occurs, mostly, in a context where the conversation is of an informal type.

wald can also be used as a term of address to call the attention of a child or a teenager together with tfal and wlid; the latter being more restricted to young children, and wlid being more affectionate than wald. tfal is more used by males because it is not a word which is commonly used in Tlemcen. wlid on the other hand, is not used by a male speaking to another male except if the speaker is very old. wlijad is, again, a diminutive which is more affectionate than the terms seen above. It is, therefore, for this reason as well as because it is in the diminutive form, that it is more probable in females speech.

baz on the other hand, is used to address or refer to males of all ages except very old. It is used with somewhat negative connotations and can be translated as 'brat, stupid brat', bzajaz is the diminutive form which increases the bad connotative meaning of the word.

bant 'girl, daughter' can be used by women to address another woman either young or old, who is a member of the family or a close friend. In such a case it is used

in the collocation <u>bant amma</u> 'daughter of my mother i.e.
dear'.　　An alternative use is <u>bniti</u> 'my little daughter
i.e. 'dear'. which is used when speaking to a woman of the
same age or slightly younger or older.　　Old females can,
however, use it to address females of all age groups.　　The
addressee must in both cases be of more or less the same
status.　　<u>bant amma</u> and <u>bniti</u> 'dear' can absolutely not
be used by a male to address a female.

　　　　All the feminine counterparts of the terms des-
cribed above have the same usage as the masculine forms.

	<u>Male speech</u>	<u>Female speech</u>
wald amma)		
bant amma) 'dear'.	not used	widely used
bniti)		
tfal	more used	less used
wlid/wlijad	less used	more used

4.6.2.3.　'<u>Mother</u>'

　　　　The root <u>m</u>-+ poss. suf. can be used in both add-
ress and reference as well as an interjection.　　When used
as an interjection it is invariably <u>?a/ja m^{w}a</u> and appears
mostly with the following intonational patterns.

　　　　?a'/ja 'm^{w}a　　　(when surprised)

or

~

\`ja \`m̌a   (when disappointed, deceived).

it can also be used as an interjection when col-
located with lɛlla for which there is no English equivalent.
cf. m̌a lɛlla 'dear!, really!', and in which case both speaker
and addressee are females.   The first interjection, cannot
also be used by adult males particularly in formal situations.

As an address form it is also preceded by the
vocative particle - in fact, in all address forms, this par-
ticle can be present.   When used as such, it is used for
calling the attention of a woman older than one-self, or
to whom one wants to show a little respect.   It is used by
both males and females, but the diminutive forms, however,
mimti, mema are characteristic of women's and children's
speech.

The reduplication of ma cf. mama is used only by
males as a feminine counterpart of baba.   The connotative
meaning, however, is weaker in mama than baba.

m̌ can be used with the poss. suf. -uk 'your'
cf. m̌uk! 'your mother!'   This word can be used as an in-
sult by a male speaking to either a boy or a girl.   A woman
cannot use it or else she will be seen as very vulgar.   The
meaning of this insult varies according to context;   it could
mean 'buzz off!, bastard!' and so forth.

ma, mema, mimti can also be used by a woman addres-
sing another close friend who is a woman of the same status,
in an informal situation.   A man, on the other hand, can-

not make use of these words in the same context.

	Male speech	Female speech
?a ja mắ (interj)	not used by adults	widely used
mắ lella	not used	widely used
mʉ́k!	widely used	not used
mama	widely used	not used
mimti/memạ	not used	widely used

4.6.2.4. Sibling forms 'brother and sister'

The root **x–** can give form to several words:

xu	'brother'
xuja	'my brother'
xuti	'my brothers'
xai	'my brother'
xawa	'brothers'
xi	'my brother'
?ax	'brother'
?uxt	'sister'
x^{W}ti	'my sister'
x^{W}tuk	'your sister'

ja/xi, xuja and x^{W}ti can be used as interjections which can mean 'Oh dear!, blast!, I don't believe it!, gosh!, dear me!' depending on context. ja x^{W}ti can be used by

males but it is mostly used by females. The latter do not use <u>jaxi</u> except, perhaps, when joking or imitating males and <u>?a xuja</u> is also very improbable as it is characteristic of N.T. speech. (see introduction).

xuja and xai are used to address someone of the same age or slightly younger/older, and towards whom one wishes to appear friendly, with <u>xai</u> somewhat more friendly than <u>xuja</u>. <u>xuja</u> can also be used by young children to refer to or address a close member of the family; in which case the proper name follows. <u>xuja</u> here is more a title than anything else, since it is rude for children to call an adult by the proper name only. Women, even after marriage, may go on using this title whereas their menfolk would have dropped it by the end of adolescence.

(1)?ax can be used either to address or refer to a male adult whereas (1)xu can only be used for purposes of address. (1)?ax can be used formally to mean 'comrade', in which case it is often followed by a proper name, it is used as a sign of respect or political solidarity. It can, however, be synonymous with (1)xu and similarly used to address someone of unfavourable 'looks', with l?ax having a somewhat more neutral meaning. When one hears a man addressing another as <u>lxu</u> 'mate' with the verb <u>sema9a</u> 'to listen' cf. <u>sme9 ?a lxu</u> 'listen, mate', an 'argument' might be expected soon! One, therefore, does not hear a woman say <u>lxu</u> nor <u>l?ax</u> when it is in 'free variation' with <u>lxu</u>. <u>l?ax</u> 'comrade' is possible but rare, because of restricted social contact.

(1)xawa can be used as either a term of address or reference. The contexts of its use will, however, be dif-

ferent for males and females.   l?uxt can be used by a
female to address ·or refer to another female in political
meetings only, in which case it means 'comrade', sister'.
Men, on the other hand, use it in this sense, but also
when addressing a female (except when very old) who for one
reason or another is unattractive or at least neutral.

If, he wants to be more polite x^Wti, on the other
hand, will be used. x^Wti can be used also by a man to
address a female either younger or slightly older than him.
If x^Wti is used by an old man, it cannot be directed to a
young girl, banti instead would be used.   If it is used by
a young man, it cannot be directed towards a young child,
bant in this case is more probable.

xiti, on the other hand, is used only by a female
when speaking to another female of approximately the same
status or very acquainted.   A man would be ridiculous if
ever he was to utter such a word in either casual or any
other style, except for imitation of female speech.

Finally xtuk! 'your sister!' - can be used by a
male to insult a boy, adolescent, adult but not an old man.
When used as such, the meaning can be glossed as 'your sister,
the whore!'.   It is, therefore, not astonishing if this
lexical item is not used by females, at least not 'decent
females' and certainly not in the presence of males.

	Male speech	Female speech
jaxi (interj.) xtuk!.lxu	used	not used
xiti	not used	used
jax^{W}ti xuja + proper name xai	less used	more used
jaxuja , xuja,?ax,xawa,?uxt	more used	less used

4.6.2.5. 'uncle'

xeli 'maternal uncle' can be used to address an old person who seems friendly. It can be used in a 're-ciprocal sense' by an old male to address a male or female child. When used to address an old person, it is much more probable in male than female speech. It could be said - although rarely - by a young girl, but not by an adult female. 9ammi 'paternal uncle' is more likely to be selected by females than xeli. 9ammi can also be used by males, but the 'affective meaning' is somewhat weaker. 9ammi can be used in a reciprocal sense by an old man to address a young male or female. It cannot, however, be used by a female for that purpose.

	Male speech	Female speech
xeli	more used	less used
9ammi	- used to address a boy or girl - used to address an old man	used for an old man

4.6.2.6. 'grand-father' and 'grand-mother'

ʒaddi 'my grand-father' is used to address a very old man to whom respect is due, or to whom one wants to be very polite.   Old people can not use this term to address one another, but can use it to address young children.   Old females, however, cannot use it for such a purpose.

ʒaddi can also be ⸱ used in the collocation rik 9and ʒaddi: 'may you be with my grand-father' i.e. drop dead', in which case it is never/certainly not used by males.

ħanna is used as a feminine counterpart of ʒaddi and follows the same rules of address, except that it cannot be used by males to address young children; instead it is used by old females for such a purpose.   Furthermore, ħanna cannot be used in the collocation *rik 9and ħanna 'drop dead'.

	Male speech	Female speech
ӡaddi	- used by young males to address old people. - used by old people to address children.	- used by young females to address old people, but very rare occurrence.
rik 9and ӡaddi	not used	widely used
ḥanna	same as for ӡaddi, but cannot be used by old people to address children	same as for ӡaddi but can be used by old females to address children

4.6.2.7   'Son or daughter of husband or wife'

rbib 'son of first wife or first husband'and its feminine counterpart rbiba, can be used as terms referring to people whom a woman utterly dislikes.   Those terms cannot, on the other hand, be used by males in this sense.

	Male speech	Female speech
rbib/rbiba	ḥot used	widely used

4.6.2.8. 'Concubine'

Women use the word ʃrika to refer to a very mean and jealous woman.   Men on the other hand, can neither use this word nor can they use its masculine counterpart to imply this meaning (since polyandry is not permitted).

	Male speech	Female speech
ʃrika	not used	widely used

4.6.2.9   'Cousin'

wald 9ammi 'son of paternal uncle' can only be used in address, and has a limited possibility of occurrence in female speech where it can be used, for instance, when one's feelings toward the addressee are neutral or slightly negative.

wald xeli 'son of maternal uncle' is, on the other hand, not used at all as a N.K. form of address by females and has only few possibilities of occurrence in male speech. It is, therefore, in 'free variation' with wald 9ammi, but is very much less used.   wald xeli, however, has a somewhat more positive connotative meaning or 'emotive' meaning.

bant 9amti 'daughter of my paternal aunt' is only used as a K.T., but bant 9ammi 'daughter of my paternal uncle' can be used to address a woman when one's feelings are neutral or slightly negative towards her, either as an addressee or a referent.

ban 9ammi 'son of my paternal uncle' can also be

used in the same contexts as <u>bant 9ammi</u> to address either males or females, whereas <u>bant 9amti</u> is used to address only females and <u>wald 9ammi</u> only males.

    <u>ban 9ammi</u> can also be used as an interjection glossable as 'blast!', Oh no!, I don't believe it'. etc. depending on context. This 'interjectional' usage will not have the same possibility of occurrence in male and female speech since females have a wider choice of other inter- jections to use in the same situation(See Section 3.13). When used as an interjection c.f. <u>ban 9ammi!</u>, it conveys the information that the speaker is trying to remain calm or polite.

	Male speech	Female speech
wald 9ammi	wider possibility of occurrence (male addressee)	less used male addressee)
wald xeli	not frequently used, but possible	less frequent
ban 9ammi	male and female addressee	male/female addressee
bant 9amti	female addressee	female addressee

4.6.2.10 'Family'

As a N.K.T. the root <u>w-l-d</u> occurs invariably as an

interjection the meaning of which can only be acquired when put in a context; it can, however, be glossed as 'What is happening?, Fantastic'., How could he? etc.'. This interjection can also occur as an insult cf. ?a weldik glossable as 'Oh you!, Oh bastard! etc.' in which case I do not ever recall having heard a woman using it.

When not used as an insult, w.l.d. occurs mostly in informal conversations where the situation is of a relaxed type, and the participants of a young age.

4.6.3. Kin use of kinship terms

4.6.3.1. 'Father'

A father can be referred to by means of one or more of the following terms:

beba- + poss. suf.

b- + poss. suf.

ʃibeni 'the old one'

ħbibi/9zizi 'dear'

lwelid 'the father'

lħeʒ 'the pilgrim'

depending on age, context, participants and sex.

beba/b^{w}a can be used by both males and females either to address or refer to their father, b^{w}a being more often used by certain families than beba. Once a male grows up, he often drops the use of beba/b^{w}a for some other term. Women, on the other hand, generally do not change the appelation throughout their lives.

beba/b^{w}a can also be used by a father when addres-

sing his daughter or son, but when used by a mother, she can only direct it to her son. Furthermore when b^wa is used in the collocation b^wahum te9 wledi 'the father of my children' it is used to mean 'husband', in which case it can only occur in females speech.

bu + poss. suf. cf buja 'my father', buk 'your father', is generally speaking used only by male adults. Male children could, possibly, use it but certainly not girls, lest they would be reprimanded. The reason being that bu + poss. suf is more proper to rural speech (see introduction).

The diminutive form of b^w is b^wi . This stem can give rise to words such as b^wijak 'your little father' which are directed to children and are used mostly by females. This form can be used by male adults in certain cases such as when they are speaking to a child or, a baby in a casual situation. But generally speaking it is rare.

ħbibi/9zizi can be used either to address or refer to one's father. In the case where it is used as a referent, the addressee must know the father, otherwise these terms will not be used.

ʃibeni is used in reference only by males and mostly in casual conversations. It is not used by females to refer to their father. In formal conversations lwelid is preferred even to b^wa, but has a very limited possibility of occurrence in females speech. In female speech it occurs mostly in contexts such as when speaking to a complete stranger in a very formal conversation.

Finally, lħeẓ can be used by both males and females, although it is much more probable in a man's speech. This term is used only when the father is very old, or when he

has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

	Male speech	Female speech
beba	can be dropped when adult	if used when young, it is generally kept.
b^{W}a	can be dropped when adult	-if used when young, it is generally kept. -collocated in <u>bahum te9 wledi</u>
bu + poss. suf.	more used	less used
b^{W}ij + poss. suf.	less used	less used
lwelid	more used	less used
ʃibeni	used	not used
lħeʒ	more used	less used

4.6.3.2. <u>'mother'</u>

<u>m^{W}a</u>, <u>ʃibenija</u>, <u>lwelida</u> and <u>lħeʒʒa</u> are the feminine counterpart of <u>b^{W}a</u>, <u>ʃibeni</u>, <u>lwelid</u> and <u>lħeʒ</u> respectively, and they follow the same linguistic and social distribution as their masculine counterpart. The feminine counterpart of <u>ħbibi</u> and <u>9zizi</u> cf <u>ħbibti</u> and <u>9zizti</u> respectively, on the

other hand, do not have the same distribution as the mas-
culine forms. ħbibti is rare, and is used mostly by a
mother when addressing her baby girl; whereas 9zizti does
not occur at all, probably because of its phonetic similarity
with zizti 'my (female) sex organ'.

In addition to these, other lexical items are used
to refer to or address one's mother. These include mama,
mema, lamema, mimti.

mama can be used as both a term of address and
reference, and supposes either a very young male speaker or
a female of any age; as generally speaking, this lexical
item is dropped in male speech by the end of adolescence.

mema, lamema and mimti, again, can be used by
male children, but as they grow up they drop their use in
favour of other terms.

m^wa, mema, mimti can also be used reciprocally by
a mother when addressing her daughter or her younger son,
but not her eldest son, in which case she instead uses b^wa
or other terms which will be seen subsequently.

	Male speech	Female speech
ħbibti	not used	few occurrences
9zizti	not used	not used
mama/mema/lamema/ mimti	can be used by young males	frequently used

4.6.3.3. Spouse forms

How to refer to or address one's wife or husband
is determined, again, by such factors as age, participants
and context.   Moreover in the case of reference, factors
such as degree of relationship to the addressee are very
decisive in the selection of one or other of the lexical
items, by one or the other sex.   Finally in case of address,
we shall see that the presence or absence of third party is a
very important conditioning factor.

The system of address and reference using K.T. is
very complex in the idiolects of the old generation.   The
present generation, as we shall see, is more 'daring', hence
numerous innovations and/or simplifications have been intro-
duced.   For instance a young couple say, thirty or under,
will address each other using personal names, in the presence
or absence of other people and in most contexts.   They
might also refer to each other using the surname.   Such a
possibility is, however, very restricted, not to say rare, in
the speech of older people.

4.6.3.3.1. Female spouse forms

Several forms are possible to refer to a wife,
namely c.f.

mahum te9 wledi   'the mother of my children'

zuz + suf

mrat (+ suf.) , mart (+ suf.)

lamra

mulet addār/addār

As far as the collocation <u>mahum te9 wledi</u> is concerned, it must be regarded as an idiomatic expression in its own right, not as the sum of the meanings of particular words.   Moreover it has a unity of its own;   thus we cannot have:

maha te9 banti   'the mother of my daughter'

or mah te9 waldi 'the mother of my son'

or mahum aʃʃebba te9 wledi 'the beautiful mother of my
                            children'.

This idiom is never used by women in reference, and rarely by young males.   When used by men, the addressee must be a complete stranger to the family and/or the topic is very formal and/or one wants to create a certain 'distance' from the addressee.   This idiom is also preferred by old men who do not use the name of their wives, together with <u>makum</u> 'your mother' when talking to the sons and/or daughters, <u>9amtak</u> or <u>xeltak</u> when addressing a nephew or niece, <u>nsibtak</u> when addressing an in-law, <u>ʒartak</u> 'your neighbour' when talking to a neighbour and so forth.

Another possibility would be the word <u>zuʒt</u>. This lexical item has very formal connotations and is mostly used in the particular domain of official public transactions such as in a police station, town hall, school and so forth. e.g. ma huwwa ?asm zuʒtak   'what's the name of your spouse?'

<u>zuʒ</u> is scarcely used in isolation, it is often followed by the first pers. poss. suf. or the sec. pronominal suf., the others are very rare if not impossible.   cf. <u>zuʒtak</u> 'your wife', <u>zuʒti</u> 'my wife' <u>zuʒtu</u> 'his wife', but but *'zuʒtna 'our wife', *zuʒtkum 'your (plur) wife', *zuʒthum 'their (plur) wife' since polyandry is not permitted in the

Algerian community.

It is possible that zuztak be used by a woman, but only where this woman is a clerk asking the above question; zuzt is, therefore, very improbable in women's speech. It is also rare, but less so, in men's speech as this word is very formal and mostly used in the written medium. It can be used in the oral medium, in which case the addressee must be a complete stranger to the family and probably of a high social status.

A more common lexical item used in the oral medium is 9jel. This word is not used by women to mean 'wife of'. It is very rare in young males and when it is used, the addressee is not very close or no detail needs to be given. It must be noticed that this word is more common in very traditionally minded people. An alternative term of the same root would also be 9aila, which is somewhat less formal. A less formal word would be the Algerianised 'famille' 'family' which is used by young males and never by old people of, say, fifty or over.

9aila, familia, familti can also mean family of procreation i.e. wife and offspring, and family of orientation i.e. parents. Those words are then used in a case where one wants to give as little information as possible, hence creating some distance.

When 9aila, familia, familti are used by women to mean 'family', the only meaning can be 'family of orientation' whereas both meanings i.e. of procreation and orientation, are possible in men's speech.

A particular meaning of addār 'house' i.e. 'wife'

can be made use of by both old and young people, although
much more probable in the speech of the first group.   This
word is used to create or maintain a certain respect between
speaker and addressee, and at the same time between addressee
and the wife referred to.   It is also used when the addressee
is a stranger, or when the wife referred to is a stranger
to the addressee, although he himself might be a friend.
addār, on the other hand, cannot be used by females to refer
to a 'wife of'.

mulat addār 'the owner of the house' i.e. 'wife'
is, on the other hand, possible in both male and female
speech.   It is used by both young and old females, but is
more common in old men'sspeech than that of youngsters'.

In address addār cannot be used, the only possi-
bility is mulat addār in which case the speaker cannot be
the husband.

The root m.r 'woman' i.e. 'wife' can be used as
follows
- mra   'woman', 'wife'
- lamra   'the woman', 'wife'
- mrat + poss. suf. e.g. mrati 'my wife'.

The use of mra 'wife' has a very restricted usage.
In reference it is mostly used to mean the 'wife to be'
(e.g. xasna nsebulu ħal mra 9la ħseb ?albu 'we must find him
a wife, as good as his heart').   It follows that men use it
much less often than women for the simple reason that women
arrange marriages and decide them.   In address mra 'wife',
can only be used by males, and again more by adults.   In
this case it occurs mostly in contexts where the addressee
is a stranger to the wife and/or the situation is of a 'formal'

type.

lamra is used only in reference.   When used in
address it becomes a N.K.T.   Although both males and females
can use it, the contexts of its usage are in many cases
different, and its collocational range differs between male
and female speech.

e.g.   lamra raha tṣannani   'my wife is waiting for me'
the same sentence if uttered by a woman could mean
'the woman (whom you know) is waiting for me'

mrat can be used by both males and females, but
its distribution can vary depending on sex.   Thus whereas
a woman can address another woman as ja mrat 9omar 'O, wife
of Omar', a man cannot do so.

mart, on the other hand, is not used by females,
as it is more characteristic of N.T. speech. (see intro-
duction).

Finally, it is important to mention that all the
above terms, often, are not used by a male to address or
refer to his wife in the presence of his father (and often,
also, his mother).   In this case the name is much more
likely to be used.

	Male speech	Female speech
mahum te9 wledi/9aila familia/familti 'wife', makum/9amtak/xeltak etc. mart	Used	Not used
zuʒt	More frequent	Less frequent
mrat/lamra	Can occur in different environments	Can occur in different environments

4.6.3.3.2. <u>Male spouse form</u>

Generally speaking, the lexical items designating the male spouse are less numerous, for the reason that females have less contact with unknown interlocutors and, consequently, are less inhibited in referring to their husband. Hence, less images, innuendoes and so forth are used. The most common words are

zuჳ 'husband', a∫∫ibeni 'the old one' i.e. 'husband'
radჳal/arradჳal 'man/the man' i.e. 'husband'
mul addār/mul alxima 'the owner of the house' i.e 'husband'

We have noted above, that some old women do not use the name of the husband, in which case <u>bakum</u> 'your father' is used when addressing offspring, <u>xelkum</u> or <u>9amkum</u> when addressing nieces or nephews, <u>nsibak</u> when addressing in-laws and so forth. In the presence of close members of the family, she can also use the pronoun '<u>huwwa</u>''him, he'; old men, however, do not correspondingly use the form <u>hijja</u> 'she, her' for such a purpose.

zuჳ has the corresponding usage restriction as its feminine correspondant, but can also be used by a man as a sign of respect when addressing a woman and referring to her husband. Women, on the other hand, rarely use it in this context, <u>arradჳal</u>, <u>radჳlak</u> are much more probable.

<u>radჳal</u> is a possible term of address or reference used by women who prefer not to use their husband's name. Notice that this word can occur as a term of address meaning 'husband' only in female's speech; in males speech the only meaning can be 'man' if used as a term of address. As a term of address <u>ja radჳal</u> + name of wife 'O husband + name

of wife' is a social heresy and cannot be used by either
men or women, since a man cannot be defined in relation to
his wife.   In reference radʒal + name of wife is, on the
other hand, quite possible, if the addressee does not know
the husband referred to:

e.g. - mustafa   'Mustapha'

     - ʃkun?   'who?'

     - radʒal samira   'the husband of Samira'

It follows that radʒal + name is probably more used by women,
since it is possible for a woman to know another woman without
knowing the husband, but a man knowing a woman without knowing
her husband, is very rare. indeed;   one possibility, of course,
could be that the speaker is of her family.

        arradʒal can only be a referent and occurs mostly
in women's speech, when used by men it becomes a N.K.T. ex-
cept in cases like: arradʒal wa lamra mattehdin 'man and
wife are united'.

        In old females speech radʒli 'my husband' and
arradʒal are much less probable than mul addār or aʃʃibeni
or mul al xima or the terms described above.   aʃʃibeni can
only be used by an old woman in non-formal conversations,
when used by a male it becomes a N.K.T. meaning simply 'old
man' or a K.T. meaning 'father'.   mul addār on the other
hand, is used by both males and females, but the contexts of
its use may differ.   Thus, it can be used reciprocally by
a woman when speaking to a stranger, or by a male speaking to
a female, even a friend of the husband, so as to maintain a
certain respect between him and the addressee.   It is not
used in this case when addressing another male.   mul alxima
has the same meaning as the above term, and follows the same

distribution in male and female speech, with the proviso
that it is more probable in 'lower class' speech and language
of N.T.

Sometimes the word lam9allam 'the boss' used by
males to refer to the husband, in which case the addressee
is a close friend or a relative, and the situation is of
a 'jocular' type.   Finally it must be noticed that addār
'the house' is not a possible term for a male spouse refer-
ence, and that in the presence of the father (often, also,
the mother) a young married girl would rarely use any of
the terms described above; instead the name would be used.

	Male speech	Female speech
bakum/xelkum etc../huwwa aʃʃibeni	not used	used mostly by old females
radʒal	-used in refer- ence.	used in address
arradʒal	-less frequent	more used
lam9allam	used	not used
mul addār	can have dif- ferent dis- tributions	can have differ- ent distributions
mul alxima/zuʒ	more	less

4.6.3.4. Forms denoting offspring

In the section 3.6.2.1., we have noted that $b^w a$
'father' can be used to address a male child.   This word can
also be used to address a 'son', and so can the root w-l-d.

The root w-l-d can be realised in words like waldi
'my son', wlijad 'little son' and wlid 'little son', which
can occur both in address and reference.   waldi is used by
males to address their younger or elder sons.   In fact, it is
one of the few permissable K.T. in use to address the eldest.
Women on the other hand, can have recourse to numerous other
terms as well.   So one may see, therefore, that one enormous
difference between men's and women's speech is the possibility
for one term to be in 'free variation' with other terms in the
lexicon for one of the sexes, but not for the other.

wlijad is much more common in female speech, because
of its being in the dimunitive form.   This word is used mostly
for youngsters, but it can be used in some cases for the
eldest, even a married son
e.g.   ʃkun huwwa 'who is he?'

wlijad nora   'the son of Nora'
in which case it is even less probable in males speech.
Another form of the same diminutive is wlid. The latter is
more likely to be used for the eldest son than wlijad.   It
is also more likely to be used by a male than wlijad.

wlid + poss. suf. -i 'my' cf wlidi 'my little son',
is more used by old males than by young ones and more by
females than males.

Another word denoting 'son', is tfal which occurs
only in reference.   This word is rare in T.A.,

and when it occurs, it is formally used as a referent for
a young male offspring, but not for an adult, and more in
males speech than females speech.

bn c.f. bni 'my son, bnak 'your son' etc, again
is less probable in females speech, and is mostly used in
formal conversations in both address and reference, although
it is much more likely to occur in reference.

Another formal word dkar occurring only in refer-
ence, can be made use of only by women, when used by a man,
it has a N.K. meaning of 'masculine'.   This word is used, in
most cases when a woman is bragging about her son, or when
saying, for instance, that she gave birth to a boy rather
than a girl.

e.g.   zed 9andi dkar

          'I gave birth to a Boy'

          hamma dkura ʒew

          'here, the Boys/Men (i.e. my sons), come!'

baz, on the other hand, has very negative conno-
tations and can be translated as 'brat'.   It could be used
in address, but very rarely so.   It is mostly used in re-
ference by either sex.   This word can also be used by some-
one who considers himself more 'important' or 'better' than
the child he is talking about.

Another somewhat 'rude' word, which has no singular
form, is aʒʒra.   This word has a negative connotation im-
plying that there are 'too many'.   It is neutral as to sex,
and is rarely used by men.

Finally, the words mazuzi 'the youngest son' and
bkar ' the eldest son ' are used by women, but are almost
non-existent in male's speech, particularly the younger gener-

ation.   (I myself did not know them until I started writing
about K.T).   All the feminine counterparts of the lexical
items described above follow the same distributions

	Male speech	Female speech
wlijad/wlid/dkar/aʒʒra/	less used	more used
mazuzi/bkar	very rare	frequently used
tfal/b-n	more used	less used

4.6.3.5. A concluding remark

In conclusion we can say that some kin terms of
radʒli, mrati and their synonyms are only used if the con-
ditions along certain parameters such as age, social status,
sex, degree of acquaintance, are fulfilled.   The same and/or
other kin terms are taboo in certain contexts if and when
certain conditions are not met.   Another example of restric-
ted usage and taboo is the family name and personal name of
one's mother.   For instance, to the question wald man nta
'whose child are you?' different answers are possible:

    - If the person who asks the question is a female,
the answer can be wald 'son of' + family name

        or   "   "   + father's or mother's name

    - If the person who asks the question is a male,
then the answer can be wald 'son of' + family name

        or   "   "   + father's name

        or   "   "   + maternal grandfather's
                    name

or <u>wald</u> 'son of' + paternal grandfather's
name

but the mother's name is never given unless one knows that
the questioner is a member of the family who knows her.
Furthermore, a woman can ask the name of one's mother and/or
her family name

e.g. 1. kisam m^{W}ak   "what's the name of your mother?"

    2. ʃkun   "   "who is your mother?"

    3. bant man   m^{W}ak "whose child is your mother?"

a man can, but rarely asks 1.   Furthermore an old man can
also ask <u>ʃkun xwelak</u> "who are your maternal uncle" to mean
'whose child is your mother'.   This is never used by females.

4.7.   <u>The Algerian French Kinship and address system:</u>
          <u>a sexual difference.</u>

      There is a difference between the Algerian kinship
system and that of standard French because of the different
cultural realities they operate with, and the different con-
notative and 'emotive' meanings involved with some K.T.
Again like the T.A. system, there is a difference in the A.F
kinship system as regard both 'sex-address' and 'sex-refer-
ence'.

      In this section, I will not describe the entire
kinship differentiation nor the whole address system between
S.F. and T.A. but only those differences which are accounted
for in terms of sexual difference.

4.7.1.   <u>Terms of address</u>

4.7.1.1.   <u>Kin use of K.T.</u>

4.7.1.1.1. <u>frer/fReR (French 'Frère') 'brother' and</u>
<u>frero (French 'Frero') 'little brother'.</u>

<u>Frère</u> is rarely used in T.A. to address one's
brother, but <u>fréro</u> its diminutive form is currently used in
relaxed situations or jocular situations by young male spea-
kers.   It is scarcely, if ever used by females of any age.

4.7.1.1.2 <u>kuzẽ (French 'cousin') 'cousin'</u>

<u>cousin</u> is frequently used, and mostly by males when
addressing cousins or distant relatives as a sign of soli-
darity or reaffirmation of family bonds.

4.7.1.2.   <u>Non-kin use of K.T.</u>

4.7.1.2.1. <u>papa (French 'papa') 'father'</u>

<u>papa</u> is used exclusively by adolescent or young
adult male speakers to address members of a peer-group or
slightly older males in relaxed situations as a sign of soli-
darity, intimacy, or to make the addressee at ease.   It is
mostly used in greeting someone cf <u>eiwa sava papa</u>? 'well,
how are you father i.e. friend, chum, lad'.   This lexical
item cannot be used by females for such a purpose.

4.7.1.2.2. <u>kuzẽ, 'cousin'</u>

Again, this lexical item is exclusively used by
males when it is in free variation with <u>papa</u>. <u>Cousin</u> can

also be used in the middle of a conversation, and in which
case it is in 'free-variation' with the name of the addressee
cf. alɔr ʒəkãt syr twa kuzẽ, ty mə fe lə viza də sɔrti (alors
je compte sur toi, cousin, tu me fais le visa de sortie?)
'well cousin (i.e. friend, chum, lad) mayIcount on you, will
you 'manage' to bring me a visa to go out from the country?'

4.7.1.2.3. <u>la famij (French 'la famille') 'the family'</u>

<u>La famille</u> can also be used in the same situations
as <u>papa</u> or <u>cousin</u> and, again, exclusively by males to address
a male.   cf alɔr la famij, ty mərã sə sɛrvis (alors la famille,
tu me rends ce service?) 'well, the family (i.e. friend, chum,
lad) will you do me this favour?)

4.7.1.2.4. <u>Frère</u>

This term can also be used as a political label to
mean 'comrade', in which case it is more used by males than
females, since as mentioned earlier, the political life is
more of an activity within males.

4.7.1.2.5. <u>fij (French 'Fille') 'girl, daughter'</u>

<u>Fille</u> is always colligated with the third pers. fem.
poss. <u>ma</u> 'my' cf <u>ma fille</u> 'my girl/daughter', when used as an
address form.   It occurs only in female speech when addres-
sing another female of about the same age-group or slightly
younger or slightly older.   It occurs when the addressee is
of the same 'status', a friend or relative as a sign of soli-

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darity, familiarity or intimacy.

4.7.1.3. Non-kin address forms

4.7.1.3.1. vjə (French 'vieux') 'old man'

Vieux is used by male speakers to address a male
of the same age or older in relaxed or intimate situations.
It cannot be used by females, and the corresponding feminine
word is not a possible form of address for females.

4.7.1.3.2. bɔgɔs (French 'beau-gosse') 'beautiful lad'

This collocation is mostly used by adolescents or
young adult males to address a male of the same age or
younger in relaxed situations.   But it can be used -although
very much less frequently - by females in such a situation.
It can, however, occur with provocative or derogatory conno-
tations when addressing a stranger of the group, in which case
it never occurs in female speech.

4.7.1.3.3. bɔs (borrowed from French 'boss') 'boss'

'Boss' can be used by males, particularly by adoles-
cents to address members of their peer-group; but it cannot
be used by females.

4.7.2.   Terms of reference

4.7.2.1. <u>Kin use of K.T.: La famille</u>

<u>La famille</u> can refer to a wife, wife and children, or a member of the family whose relationship is not wanted to be specified. When <u>la famille</u> is used to refer to 'wife', it is only used by a male addressing another male. <u>La famille</u>, in this case is in free variation with <u>ma fam</u> (ma femme) 'my wife', but the former is more 'formal' and may imply distance or respect between both speaker-addressee and addressee - wife referred to. When <u>la famille</u> refers to the family of procreation again, it can only be used by a male, but the addressee this time can be either male or female.

4.7.2.2. <u>Non kin use of K.T.: femme</u>

<u>femme</u> 'woman, wife' is often used to refer to a girl friend, in which case it is only used by males as a more polite corresponding term to <u>sahhabti</u>. As a general rule French four-letter words, or French words referring directly or indirectly to sex, are felt to be less 'shocking' than their Arabic equivalents.

Kin use of kinship terms			Non kin use of kinship terms			Non kin terms		
Male speech	Variables	Female speech	Male speech	Variable	Female speech	Male speech	Variables	Female speech
rare	FRERE	raro	More used by younger generation	PAPA	∅	Frequently used to address a male	VIEUX	∅
Used in relaxed jocular situations	FRERO	Rare use	Frequently used	COUSIN	∅	Used by young generation to address a male	BEAU-GOSSE	∅
More used by males as a sign of solidarity or kin re-affirmation	COUSIN	Less used by females	Frequently used	FAMILLE	∅	More used by younger generation to a male addressee	BOSS	∅
			Political title	FRERE	Less used by females	Used to address a male (friend or waiter)	CHEF	∅
			∅	FILLE used	∅			
More formal correspond-ant of wife	FAMILLE	∅	More polite term correspondant of 'girlfriend' sahhabti or ma petite amie	FEMME	∅			

4.8.   A 'cafe' terminology

In Tlemcen public places such as 'cafés' and bars
are restricted to male membership.   It follows that registers
in such situations and, particularly, the lexical items used
for ordering certain types of drinks are exclusively used by
men.   There are, however, one or two places where 'families'
can go, but even so, females are accompanied by males and
have a limited choice of drinks.

As a rule women select the drink of their choice,
pass the order to their male partners, who in their turn
speak to the waiter.   It is very rare for females, parti-
cularly among the older generation, to have 'direct commu-
nication' with a waiter.   Whereas females, through their
male partners can order a coffee 'qahwa' or white coffee
'qahwa blaḥlib', men have a wider range of lexical items to
describe the particular kind of coffee they want.

For both sexes, qahwa can designate a black coffee,
but it is also possible for males to refer to it in a café
as kaḥla 'black'.   qahwa can also be used by males as a
superordinate term for black or white coffee – qahwa blaḥlib
designate white coffee for both sexes, but a man in a café
situation can refer to it as qahwa ḥlib.
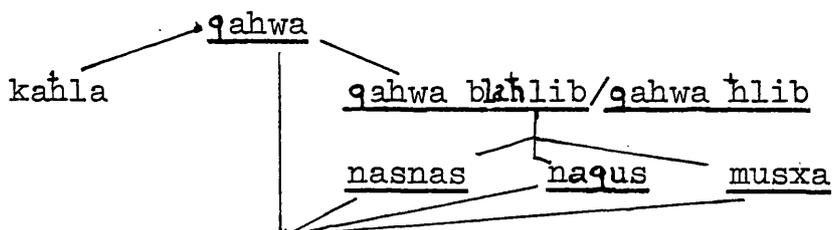
Men also use nasnas to refer to a mixture which is
half-coffee and half-milk; naqus is used to refer to a cup

with about ¾ coffee and ¼ milk; and <u>musxa</u> to a cup with only
a few drops of milk. Most women do not even know the meaning
of the hyponyms. Similarly a cup of tea can be either <u>atei</u>
or <u>ne9ne9</u> for males in a café situation whereas, for females
it is generally <u>atei</u> or <u>atei ba ne9ne9</u> 'tea with mint'.

If one heard someone ordering alcoholic drinks
such as <u>bira</u>, <u>trotrwa</u>, <u>bao</u> etc. one could be sure absolutely
that in such a context only a man can be the speaker and the
consumer. Furthermore, a toast is generally made when
drinking alcohol, consequently <u>saħħitak</u>, <u>saħħa</u> 'cheers' are
only used by males again, since only males can drink alcohol,
sentences like <u>kunt sis dos</u> 'I was drunk, "pissed"' are only
uttered by males in both address and reference.

<u>Male speech</u>	<u>Female speech</u>
qahwa/kaħla/qahwa ħlib/	qahwa/qahwa blaħlib
qahwablaħlib/nasnas/naqus	
musxa	
atei/ne9ne9	atei
all alcoholic drinks	
sis dos	

4.9. <u>Some female-specific lexical items</u>

There are some lexical items which characterise
female speech and are never used by males.

4.9.1. <u>Use of tai-tai 'detail'</u>

<u>tai-tai</u> is a lexical item most probably created
from the French 'detail' (detail) and is female specific.

In T.A., this word is more specialised than the French 'detail'.
It is restricted to meaning 'detail of someone else, detail
of a gossip, details of a conversation' depending on context.

e.g. 9abatsalha kemal ataitai ?a bnitsi

    'She reported to her(the whole conversation my dear'

                      (all the details of the conversation.

4.9.2. almrāham 'The ones God has been merciful to'

    almrāham is, again, female specific, and is used
as a substitute for a name when the identity of the person
under focus needs to be concealed. It is also used para-
digmatically in opposition, to the first person singular
pronoun when one is using indirect speech or innuendoes.
This lexical item is mostly colligated with the verb qela
'say'

e.g. ewa kif ?elu lamrāham ma 9andi zhār

    'well, as one said, I don't have any luck'.

Male speech	Female speech
Ø	almrāham
Ø	taitai

4.10. Cuisine

    Women, generally speaking, being confined to the
home, have to do all the household chores. They have, there-
fore, developed certain technical terms relating to household
actions which men do not use at all. For instance

1. - n?alli   'pour oil and fry for five minutes

                      approximately'

2.- <u>nharraz</u>   'mix vegetables and meat, ready to be

                                       cooked'

3.- <u>nmarra?</u>   'add water or make a sauce'

4.- <u>nzammar</u>   'let the sauce thicken or simmer'

5.- <u>msalda</u>   'cut in thin slices'

6.- <u>m^{w}arr?a</u>   'with a lot of sauce'

In certain cases, the choice is greater in female speech.

Thus

7.- <u>nhattu lmida</u>   'we set the table or we give the meal'

8.- <u>nfattru annes</u>   'we give lunch to the people (guests)'

9.- <u>n9aʃʃiw annes</u>   '"   "   dinner " "   "   "

10.- <u>natta9mu annes</u>   'we feed the people (guests.)'

can all be used by females depending on the setting and the

participants involved, whereas <u>natta9mu annes</u> is not used by

males and <u>nhattu lmida</u> is rarer.

      There are often cases where men use superordinate

terms while women use more specific hyponyms

e.g.   - <u>Rarbel</u> 'strainer'

          <u>buzawwez</u>   <u>busejjār</u>

          - <u>mahrez</u> 'pestle'

          <u>gdijeh</u> 'pestle for pepper'

        - <u>qadra</u> 'pan'

<u>shan</u>   <u>tanzra</u>   <u>tazin</u>   <u>qallel</u>   <u>bant9māra</u>

'for meat' 'for vege- 'for bread' 'for couscous' 'big pan'

           tables

                                                         qadra

                                                 'for soup'

      Some of those hyponyms are known to men but are

simply rarely used as the superordinate term is preferred.

Others, however, such as <u>buzawwez</u>, <u>busejjār</u>, <u>gdijjeh</u> and

bant9māra are unknown to most male community.

Male speech	Female speech
- use of superordinate terms	- use of lexical items referring to actions performed by females only
- some lexical items (hyponyms) are known but not used, others are rarely known.	- specific hyponyms

4.11 Colour field

In T.A. women make more precise discrimination in the naming of colours than do men. Some words are in current use in women's speech while non existent in men's. If not in perception, at least in usage the sexes have different systems of colour terms.

Men

bjad	sfar	latʃini	ħmar	
white	yellow	orange	red	

xdar	zraq	rmādi	qahwi	kħal
green	blue	grey	brown	black

Women

'white'	bjad		faddi	

'yellow'	tabni	limi	sfar	

'orange'	krevet	ħamsi		latʃini
'red'	xoxi		ħmar	
'green'	friki	ħʃiʃi	xdar	ziti
'blue'	smawi	zandʒār	zraq	nili
'purple'	ħelħeli	sambli	vjuli	
'brown'	qarfi	xarrobi	qahwi	
'grey'	rmādi		ʃxam	
'black		kħal		

It must be mentioned that the adjectives berad
'pale' and nāsaħ 'dark' can be collocated with any of the
above colours.   For instance purple could be sambli nāsaħ
or pale brown qahwiberad.   Very often, instead of using
these qualifiers, men code-switch to French.

4.12   Baby talk

One of the most important roles of women in Tlemcen
and Algeria at large, is the bringing up of children.   The
mother-child relationship is, again, different from the
father-child relationship.   One such differentiation is
characterised by an extensive use of baby talk by women, which
translates the affective and emotional mother-child relation-

ship.

Baby-talk is not an ad hoc baby creation which is imitated by adults, but is relatively stable and culturally transmitted. It is an interesting phenomena to study, for both its sociolinguistic value and its purely synchronic dimensions which, very often, do not confirm to the general 'central system'.

Baby-talk is formed through two processes: modification and innovation.

4.12.1. Modification

This process consists either of substituting one consonant by another: we can formulate here the following rules:

1 - r ⟶ w

e.g.   <u>drabni</u> ⟶ <u>dwabni</u>

'he hit me'

2 - r ⟶ l

e.g.   <u>rāsi</u> ⟶ <u>lāsi</u>

'my head'

3 - r ⟶ j

<u>rasi</u> ⟶ <u>jasi</u>

(The choice of either rule 2 or 3 is, usually determined by non-linguistic factors such as, say, the way a mother was heard speaking to her child i.e. that the rule in this case is determined by a previous speaker- or by the first substitution the child makes).

4 - k ⟶ t

e.g.   <u>kulʃi</u> ⟶ <u>tulʃi</u>

'everything'

5 - ʃ → s

e.g. ʃuf   →   suf

'look'

6 - ʒ → z

e.g. meʒi   mezi

or changing the structure of a word to a c c v (v) c v form.
We can therefore have_

ccvvc ——→ ccvvcv

e.g. ħlib   →   ħliba

'milk'

cvcc ——→ ccvcv

e.g. kalb   →   klibu

'dog'

cvcc ——→ ccvvcv

e.g. ʔatt   →   ʔteta

'cat'

Finally, we also notice an interesting shift in gender
as a mark of endearment i.e. that a feminine noun, pronoun or
adjective occurs where a masculine form should be used.   For
instance a boy can be addressed as bnitsi 'my little girl'
and a girl as wlidi 'my little boy'.

We could, therefore formulate the following rules:

1.   Masculine/male addressee → Masculine/female addressee

2.   Feminine/female addressee → Feminine/male addressee

4.12.2.   Innovation

This process consists of creating words for which
there is no 'root' in the language.   This is done either by:

- Creation of a lexical item consisting of two
identical syllables with gemmination of the second consonant.

c v ⟶ cvccv

mamma	'eat'
pappa	'bread'
babba	'bread
diddi	'hit'
nonno	'nice thing'
?a??a	'sweety'
xaxxa	'dirty'
tatta	'sit down'
bubbu	'frightening'
kakka	'dirty/excrement'

- Creation of a bisyllabic word similar to the above
pattern, but with a final consonant of unpredictable quality

cv ⟶ cvccv + c

dadda	'walk'
tattah	'hit'

- ad hoc creation

maħħa 'kiss'

baħ 'allgone'

kex 'dirty, don't'

mamme 'eat'

mbuwa 'drink'

Finally, we could, also notice an extensive use of
diminutive forms in baby talk e.g. wlidi instead of waldi
'my son'

4.13.   Exclamations/interjections

Men and women differ in their choice of exclamatory items.   If a woman uses inappropriate exclamations, she will sound ʼrustic'.   If, on the other hand, a male similarly uses items reserved to women, he will, then sound <u>nsewi</u> 'effeminate', ʼridiculous'.

fik rabbi! can only occur in female speech.   It is used as an expression of surprise which always need reaffirmation of the statement, and can be glossed as 'really?', 'really!', 'you don't say!'

e.g. A. <u>se9tsejan wena fal kār nastsanna</u>

'I have been waiting for two hours for the bus'

B. <u>fik rabbi</u>

'you don't say !, really?'

A <u>wallah ja bnitsi</u>

'(I swear) by God dear (my little girl)'

<u>fik rabbi</u>, invariably occurs with one of the following intonational patterns

or

ʼfik ra ʼbbi   ʼfik ra ʼbbi
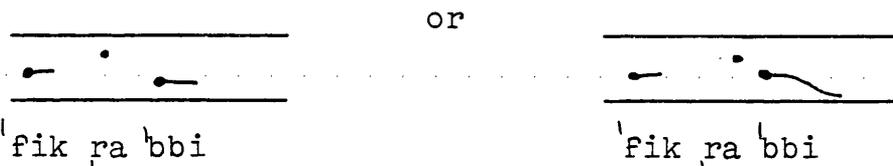
<u>ewa lella</u>! is used to express slight disagreement, a sense of triviality about the thing spoken about, or attitude expressed.   In no case, can it occur in men's speech and neither can <u>aḥḥai</u> - also realized as [aḥḥaː]- and <u>buh</u>, which occur when either the speaker or participant makes, or is felt to have made an error or mistake, or infringed certain ʼnorms'. <u>j9arrik</u> occurs in the same context, but only when the 'norm' has been violated. <u>jxabbik</u> can be in 'free variation' with j9arrik, but can also occur when reprimanding.

All those lexical items are very difficult to translate into English for several reasons:

a.   their 'meaning' fluctuates with the context.

b.   they cannot be segmented into 'features'

        e.g. $\pm$ animate

c.   they only carry 'connotative' or 'expressive' meanings.

The only possibility which is offered to us is, therefore, to describe the plausible contexts in which these lexical items can occur. In other tems, these lexical items can be compared to extra-linguistic behaviours such as a growl emitted by an angry man, a 'squeal' by a frightened woman and so forth.

xassak (walla watek), ter 9ainak, kitsak wa xla darak) are used by females to negate what the participant has been speaking about, to contradict a statement or to show strong disagreement or disapproval.

e.g.   A. ma tsa9raf tsa?ra 'you can't read'

        B. xassak (walla watek)! 'certainly not, sure I do!'

under no circumstances are males allowed to venture into those utterances.

xladār (literally 'home-ruin) like many other interjections cannot be used by males, except in females imitations. It occurs in female speech to convey either disagreement, diappointment or pity.

     - Re mʃa jatlab ħa??u 'he only went to ask for his

                           rights.'

     - xladār, xladār 'poor him, he must have been crazy'

        xladār is often reduplicated and invariably used with the following intonational pattern.

ˈxla ˈdār ˈxla ˈdār

The collocation <u>xladār aʃʃar</u> (literally 'home-ruin
of evil') however, does occur in male and female speech to
convey either surprise or anger but <u>xladār</u> in isolation and
<u>xladār</u> collocated with <u>aʃʃar</u> should be considered as two
different 'words' as they have different syntagmatic and
paradigmatic distributions, different prosodic features as
well as different 'meanings'.

<u>la9za</u> (literally 'mourning!') is also female
specific and occurs in situations where a mistake or error
is made, or where an accident or bad incident has happened.
For instance, if a woman is sewing and pricks herself with
the needle, such particle is very likely to be uttered.

<u>ewa ndab ah</u> (literally 'well, scratch!') is again
restricted to female speech, and used to convey disappoint-
ment or repproach.   (<u>ʔa/ja</u>) <u>ma trāni</u>, <u>ja kijtsi</u>, <u>ma xasni</u>
and <u>maʃrut 9liha</u> are also female specific.   <u>ʔa./ja matrāni</u>
lit. 'oh you don't see me' is used as an interjection of
complaint or repproach or both.

e.g.   ja ma trāni al falfal satt mja lal kilo

          'Gosh! pepper is three pounds a kilo!'

<u>ja kijtsi</u> (lit. 'oh my burn') can be in free
variation with <u>ma trāni</u>, but the negative feelings or con-
notations are somewhat stronger.

<u>ma xasni</u>, on the other hand, is an exclamation
used for self-pity or to show that something is not to be
generally expected.

e.g. A. duk n∫allah ja9tewak alħa?

'you will, God willing, be given your rights'

B. maxasni

'poor me, I don't think so!'

<u>ma∫rut 9lijja</u> (lit. 'compelled on me' occurs in siuations where something is being rejected or disagreed upon

e.g. A. xassak tam∫i tatlab ħaqqak

'you must go and claim your rights'

B. ma∫rut 9lijja

'well, must I? (I don't think so)'

Women, finally, use a voiced glottal fricative preceded by the open front vowel [a] with an ingressive air mechanism as an interjection which can occur in any of the contexts described above. Again men cannot use this interjection, except when imitating women's speech.

Men, on the other hand, use other interjections or exclamations which are shared by their women folk. Other interjections or/and exclamations are, however, male specific. These include collocations with the lexeme <u>r.b.</u> cf. <u>jaburab</u> 'father of God!', <u>rabbak</u> 'your God!', <u>arrab</u> 'the God!', <u>dini</u> 'my religion!' as well as various 'four letter words'. The occurrence of such lexical items or collocations are, however, conditioned by parameters such as age, participants, degree of formality, mood and so forth. Nevertheless, generally speaking, we can say that they are more used by adolescents than adults- less used in formal situations, and less still when the participants are old or have a higher status- they are more likely to be used when anger is to be conveyed.

Male speech	Female speech
	fik rabbi
	ewa lɛlla
	aḥḥai, aḥḥa
	buh
	j9arrik
	jxabbik
	xassak, teer 9ainak
Ø Ø kijtak	
	xla darāk
	la9za, ewa ndab ah
	jamatrāni, ja kijtsi
	ma xasni, maʃrut 9lijja
	ah (ingressive)
r - b collocations	
d - n collocations	Ø
four letter words	

4.14.   Collocational 'restrictions'

An interesting characteristic of female speech, is the occurrence of some collocations which are stylistic markers of sexual differences and which could, partially, be explained by what has been referred to as 'Gender or Sexual display'.

Such collocations include ki ?ɛlat lamra 'as said the woman', which is not necessarily used before a quotation but, mostly and mainly as an 'embellishing' idiomatic expression.

e.g.   kunt natmaʃʃa, kiʔɛlat lamra, fattreʔ...

'I was walking, as said a woman, 'in the street..'

kiʔɛlat lamra, is in fact an idiom since the verb ɛela 'to

say' is always in the third person singular feminine, and

lamra 'woman' cannot be substituted by annsa 'woman' or

radʒal 'man' cf

* kiʔɛlu nnsa, * kiʔɛl arradʒal.

dik assa9et / kassa9et which can be used as an

adverbial form meaning 'then' e.g.

mnin jzul alpisto dikassa9et/kassa9et tsaggad alħela.

'when favouritism is killed, then all things will be

better.

But it is, also, used as an 'embellishing' marker, totally

divorced from its functional meaning. In both cases, however,

kassa9et is solely used by females.

lrabbi 'for God's sake' is another collocation charac-

teristic of women's speech. lrabbi has not to be understood

literally, but is mostly a stylistic marker used either when

complaining, asking for a favour, asking for a suggestion or

persuading.

   e.g.   lrabbi ja bniti dʒibli ħakwejjas ma

          For God's sake (i.e. please) dear, bring me a glass

          of water.

In typical situations, there are numerous collocations which

are, again, sex specific. Thus, riha 9lih blaʒnun she is all

devils with him', i.e. she is angry with him' can only be

uttered by a female describing an angry female. 9la rās lilatha

'on the eve of her day' can only be used by a female referring

to a female about to give birth. ?assaħ jaddak 9la ....
'harden your hand on' can only be used by a female addressing
another female who is asked to work properly. ʃams tsa?bats
al ħet wa ..... 'the sun has made a hole in the wall and ...'
can only be used by a female to mean that time is being wasted.
There are also numerous other sex-specific collocations which
can be found in the analysis of half, kfer, reduplication,
sayings, beseeching/imploring, m9ɛjar and so forth .

There are also certain similative collocations which
tend to occur quite frequently in women's speech. When des-
cribing something, there is a choice between two forms of
collocations

     - collocations involving two lexemes:

  e.g.   sadru luħa 'his chest (is) as solid as a board'

         snanha xet ʒuhar 'her teeth (are) as white as pearls'

         ʃ9arha sbib addra 'her hair (is) as beautiful as the
                           hair of an ear of corn'.

     - the use of the particle ki

  snanha ki xet al ʒuhar 'her teeth (are) as white as pearls'

  9iniha ki al fandʒel 'her eyes (are) as big as a cup'

  twel ki barrāradʒ '(he is) as tall as a stork'

 ʃabba ki albijja '(she is) as beautiful as a lioness'

  Rzel ki asbe9 '(he is) as beautiful as a lion'

  beda ki ʃams '(she is) as white as the sun'

  safja ki lwiz '(she is) as pure as a Louis (golden coins)'

  sekat ki alħaʒra '(he is) as silent as a stone'

  jdur ki nnaħla al9amja 'he is as unstable as a blind bee'

  hedal katsen wa?af ki aʃʃam9a 'this material is as straight
                              as a candle'

  tatlawan ki tatsa 'as colour changing as a chameleon'

9amlat ki bibi 'she behaved like a turkey' (i.e. she shrieked)

When describing a person, the two-lexeme similative colloca-
tions is much less used in male speech, and all the above
similative collocations are much less used by males,except
sadru luħa and hedal katsen wa?af ki aʃʃam9a which are never
used as idioms and never occur in male speech.

   e.g. ma kenʃ ki lallek bantak di

        'there is nothing like your dear daughter whom

         t9asarha mkarʃak wa tħatteha

         you push from your womb and deliver'

         (i.e. your own children are your best relatives)

   There is also another type of collocational restriction which
is determined by the 'features' of a given lexical item. Thus
radʒal fħal 'a perfect man' is a normal sentence but fħal
'   perfect' (or its non existant feminine
counterpart fħla) cannot be collocated with mra 'woman'
and the sentence *mra fħal/fħla is socially unacceptable and
'meaningless'.

4.15. Reduplication

        Complete or partial reduplication is a process which
is most characteristic of women's speech. Women, very often,
repeat a lexical item altering the first consonant, to form
typical collocations of idiomatic usage.

   -republication with 'm'

e.g.   ħlili mlili   'my great luck'

            bnina mnina   'very tasty'

            seʒi meʒi   'very intelligent'

            sejaħ mejaħ   'very abundant'

            sehal mehal   'very easy'.

- reduplication with 's'

e.g. 9arjāna sarjāna   'totally naked/poor'

berad   serad   'very cold'

The second lexical item does not have any "inherent'
meaning i.e. to the extent that componential analysis is
acceptable, the second word cannot be segmented into features.
It has, however, a 'functional meaning', as it intensifies the
meaning of the first lexical item. Furthermore, although the
first word can appear in isolation, the second word cannot
c.f.

ħlili, zeʒi, sehal, berad

but   *mlili, *meʒi *mehal *ʃerad

In some cases, the second lexical item suggests an
'onomatopeic meaning'. For instnace ʃxer means 'snoring' and
ʃxer wa nxer suggests the breathing in and out of the snoring
action. Similarly, ʃhe? wa nħe? suggests the two noises of the
donkey's braying. Again, the second word cannot appear in
isolation.

Another possibility, is the use of a lexical item
together with a second, both having similar meanings and
partial phonetic similarity or similar consonantal structure.
This is, of course, not a reduplication of the same 'order'
as illustrated above. Examples include rqiqa dqiqa (CCVCV)
'very thin', mħazma mrazma (CCVCCV) 'very determined',
al?āsl wa lfāsl (CCVCC) 'of a good origin'.

Finally, women's speech is also characterized by
complete reduplications the purpose of which is either to
insist, praise or intensify.

-     <u>insistance</u>: The verb <u>akala</u> 'to eat', when used in the third person sing. masc. in <u>kul</u> 'eat'; <u>kul kul</u> is used to insist on the action of eating, by, say, a guest whom one wants to make at ease.

-     <u>praise</u>: For instance ḥalmra 'what a woman!' is reduplicated cf., <u>ḥalmra, ḥalmra</u>, to praise this woman i.e. she is a good housewife, she works hard...'

-     <u>intensification</u>: For instance 9ābra ' proud' when reduplicated '9ābra, 9ābra means 'very proud'.

<u>Male speech</u>

limited occurrence of
complete reduplication
and mainly to insist.

<u>Female speech</u>

partial and complete
reduplication usage.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that there are numerous differences between male and female speech in both T.F. and T.A. The differences in the latter being more important as most cultural norms are transmitted by and reflected through this language. These differences exist at the phonetic, syntactic, and lexical levels, and require to be stated in terms of probability of occurrence and specificity as to the sex of the user. Further parameters are both address and reference.

Before studying the detail of these differences, it was necessary to analyse very briefly the place of sex-dialect in modern linguistic theory so as to emphasize, again, that the notion of 'homogenous speech community' and 'one-system language' are at best highly abstract idealisations. Indeed, if a language has to be described adequately, one must take into account the fact that one of its characteristics is its variability, and that such variation is the normal state of affairs.

This variation is often, if not always, caused by social differences vis à vis certain behavioural or cultural norms, and/or the evaluation of individuals in a given community. It was also necessary, therefore, to explain the cause of sex-dialect. By doing so, numerous 'explanations' offered in the literature had to be examined, and it was found that none was entirely satisfactory. A plausible cause which encompassed the above explanations, was the 'socio-economic' one. This claims that sex-dialect is a consequence of different norms and different evaluations with regard to male:female behaviour at the social level. Thus language is but the mirror of our social interactions.

The linguistic differences within the same speech community can, therefore, reveal a social difference of some kind. It was then necessary to give a sketch of the possible types of differences causing 'sex-dialect', and exemplify our socio-economic hypothesis in both French and Arabic.

At the phonetic level, it was found that there were formant differences between boys and girls, even before physiological differences having an impact on speech production were supposed to have appeared; and these formant differences could only be accounted for in terms of social conditioning. Furthermore, boys and girls from an early age could identify the sex of children through certain linguistic features, and such identification was quite beyond the margin of chance. It was also found that differences existed in both the vocalic and consonantal systems and structures of the languages described.

In the case of vowels, whereas, for instance, females produce a front vowel, males produce a more centralised or back quality. This phenomenon is true for both T.A. and T.F. In the case of consonants, the glottal stop, and the affricates, are more used by females in T.A. Likewise, whereas devoicing of the dental plosive is female specific, velarisation is a male characteristic. In T.F. the alveolar roll is male specific and can never be used by females under any condition.

At the grammatical level, we noticed for instance the extensive use by females of protraction for lexico-grammatical purposes, and their specific use of the exclamatory particle ma, and the use by males of numerous features borrowed from neighbouring dialects. These include for instance, the third pers. masc. pronominal suf. ah, the use of certain verb forms such as ʒaj instead of meʒi 'coming', and so forth.

At the lexical level, we found differences in, say, the use of insults, blasphemies, ill/well wishes, ways of expressing sorrow, and some register specificity such as the language of the _fatiḥa_ by males, and the language of marriage by females, among many others.

It is generally the case that features that are the most discriminated against by N.T., are also those which T. males avoid using. While the features which are avoided by T. females are precisely those which are borrowed from N.T. dialects. Finally, the features which are not used by one sex or the other reflect a social impossibility to perform certain roles or acts associated with these linguistic features.

It must be emphasised, therefore, that for the teacher of a second language, it is important to bear in mind that context and social roles are crucial in language learning, and this goes far beyond the acquisition of syntax and phonology. It also, and primarily, consists of learning the norms of a given society as well as the rules of interaction of its members. 'Competence' in T.A., therefore, is not only a matter of 'generating' grammatical sentences, but before anything relates also to the _ability_ to use appropriate sentences not only in a given context of situation but also to and by the right sex.

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