Algerian Arabic, French and Berber Code-switching: Is there a Nexus between Gender and Code Choice in the Community of Chlef?

التناوب اللغوي في الجزائر بين العربية و الفرنسية و الأمازيغية هل هناك علاقة بين الجندر و اختيار اللغة في مجتمع الشلف

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Abstract

The objective of this scrutiny is to canvass how Algerian women and men employ code switching in tandem with the Algerian dialect (Chlef Spoken Arabic/ Tamazight) for a variety of reasons in conversations. What we attempt to do through this investigation is to comb out the salient relations between gender and code choice: Do women employ differently code-switching? And I will explore the sociolinguistic and pragmatic aspects of this phenomenon. Code switching can be defined as the mixing of elements of different linguistic varieties within a single utterance or even a text. Women and men seem to manipulate the alternative use of different varieties according to a bundle of social and psychological factors; it will be lucidly shown that male/female in Algeria exhibit some conspicuous differences, or let us say variations, in their code choice. The gender parameter is *inter alia* a crucial point that should be taken into consideration as a determining factor of language choice, in general and code-switching in particular. In the light that identities are multiple and complex, women and men tend to compute social meanings that they see as apt and relevant in specific contexts and particular periods of time.

الكلماتالمفتاحية:

العربية الجزائرية

البربرية

التناوب اللغوي

الفرنسية

الجندر.

ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استطلاع كيفية استخدام الرجال والنساء الجزائريين للتناوب اللغوي (Code-switching) جنبًا إلى جنب مع اللهجة الجزائرية (اللغة المنطوقة الشلفية العربية / الأمازيغية) بسبب جملة من الأسباب في المحادثات.نحاول من خلال هذا البحث كشف النقاب عن العلاقات البارزة بين الجنس واختيار اللغة: هل توظف النساء تبديل الشفرة بشكل مختلف؟كما ستستكشف الدراسة الجوانب اللغوية الاجتماعية والبراغماتية لهذه الظاهرة. يمكن تعريف التناوب اللغوي على أنه خلط عناصر من أصناف لغوية مختلفة في لفظ واحد أو حتى نص واحد. يبدو أن النساء والرجال يتحكمون في الاستخدام البديل لأصناف مختلفة وفقًا لمجموعة من العوامل الاجتماعية والنفسية ؛سيتضح أن الذكور / الإناث في الجزائر يحملون بعض الفروقات الواضحة، أو لنقل الاختلافات، في اختيار اللغة الخاصة بهم. يعتبر معيار النوع الاجتماعي(الجندر)، من بين المعايير الأساسية التي يجب أن تؤخذ بعين الإعتبار كأحد العوامل المحددة لاختيار اللغة عموما و التناوب اللغوي على وجه الخصوص.بحكم تعدد الهويات و تعقدها، يميل الرجال والنساء إلى رصد المعاني الاجتماعية التي يرونها مناسبة وذات صلة في سياقات محددة وفترات زمنية.

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1. Introduction

In this study, we attempt to consider the phenomenon as a communicative device to construct and define particular identities. Particularly important here is the point that code-switching (CS) is the linguistic outcome of language contact in multilingual communities. We intend to say "language contact" because there are, mainly, four varieties in an ongoing contact, viz. standard Arabic (SA), Algerian Arabic (AA), Berber (B) and French (F). In Algeria, a plethora of researches have tackled different aspects of code switching and have undertaken a structural analysis of this phenomenon following a host of models (Bouamrane, 1986; Benali- Mohamed, 2007; Benhattab, 2004; Iddou, 2001).One might profitably think that it would be beneficial in the arena of language and gender to descry how women and men build up their personae through the use of code switching as a linguistic device to trigger particular meanings in the ebb and flow of conversational interactions. We aim at highlighting to what extent women and men engage differently in defining themselves and constructing certain social meanings through the frequent mixture of different varieties in the conversations that form the bulk of day-to-day interactions. Put differently, what we attempt to do through this investigation is to comb out the salient relations between gender and code choice.

2. The phenomenon of Code Switching

Crystal (1987) points out that this linguistic style occurs when bilingual speakers tend to alternate between two different varieties during their speech with other bilinguals. A host of linguists define bilingualism as *"The use by an individual, a group or nation of two or more languages in all uses to which [they] put either"* (Bouamrane, 1986: 15). The choice of the code is determined by the person you are talking to, the ambient community or environment and many other social factors. For this reason, we attempt to examine the socio-psychological motivations of male/female selection of the manner they code switch to construct some sort of meaning. Style shifts take place according to the topic, setting, audience and even personal desires. We intend the term "style" to convey *"a process of bricolage -an appropriation of local and extra-local linguistic resources in the production not just of a pre-existing persona but of new twists on an old persona"* (Eckert, 2000: 214).

3. The Languages of Algeria

The history of the Maghreb as a whole and of Algeria, in particular has been reported that it was saturated with wars. Different invasions and conquests namely the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Turks, and The French play a potent role in using different languages in Algeria besides Arabic.Overall, the original people of North Africa are the Berbers who got in touch with myriad races of people, either through conflictual confrontations or through trade links. Besides Arabic and Berber languages, French is, in fact, still sustained till the Algerian independence in 1962. It is considered as the language of modernity, sophistication and science.

3.1 The Arabic Language

An Arab is a person whose language is mainly Arabic which is a Semitic language originating in Arabia. It has been claimed that the entire population of Mesopotamia, dubbed in Arabic as [bilaad arrafidajn], stemmed in the population movement of   (Arab's Island), a locus between the red sea and the Persian Gulf. Given the multilingual dimension of Algeria, classical Arabic (Cl.Ar) enjoys a great prestige, given its historical background as the language of the great Arabic literature. Interestingly, the feature of "purity" is grossly associated with (Cl.Ar), The Arabic of Quran, or the dialect of the prophet's tribe (Quraish). In modern period, the purity of the language is well-nigh situated thanks to the prescriptive Arabic grammar books and dictionaries which attempt to develop the modern variety of Arabic via education and academic research on Arabic and Arabisation (Ennaji, 2005). He further states that classical Arabic is a sign of erudition and Arabic scholarship. Additionally, Algerian Arabic (AA) is the variety which is considered to be "low" and non-prestigious. It is the vehicle via which the majority of Algerians use to communicate with each other, swap news and convey their emotions. It is not essentially oral; since we can note that a great number of short messages are written in Algerian Arabic despite of the fact that

those messages are written, most of the time, in Latin characters. In contrast to Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic is neither codified nor standardized.

3.2. Berber

The term "Berber" is, in fact, the label that was given by the Romans "Barbarous" to the Libyan peoples that were obstinate and refractory to the Roman Civilization. Later on, that word has been taken over by the Arabs, about the inhabitants of Maghreb "Barabir" as opposed to the term "Rum", used to dub the Romans or more accurately the Byzantine (Haddadou, 2000: 13). Today, the word for Berber is either "Tamazight" or "Imazighen", the first referring to their language, and the second to the people who use it. In this work, we strive to restrict our examination to the most important variety of "Tamazight", namely Kabyle (Taqvaylit).

3.3. French

After a long period of the French colonial rule during which Algerian-Arabic was neglected to a secondary status, Algeria had a long tradition of using French as the language of government and instruction. So, French possesses a prestigious position in Algeria and it is considered as the most suitable language for undertaking scientific and technical arenas of research. Following the Algerian independence, the country opted for a grand policy of Arabization in an attempt to reinforce and elevate Arabic to a status of an official language. We squarely agree with the fact that despite the political attempts to sustain the use and the holistic reliance on Arabic at the educational and institutional levels, French remains 'The semi-official' language in Algeria which is, may be, the point where both Arabs and Berbers meet.

4. Data Collection

Since Algeria is a nation that embraces more than one language, we tackle Algerian-Arabic, French (second official language) and Berber (second national language) code switching. Participants in this experiment are 88 informants (from the community of Chlef),48 females and 4 males. Myer's Scotton's (2003) Markedness Model is adopted in the sense that it minds a great attention to the fact that bilingual speakers constantly negotiate a number of identities employing a set of linguistic varieties depending on a host of factors: gender, age, level of education, cultural background, etc.

I will classify and describe my audio recorded bilingual speech data from a linguistic perspective. The intent is to test the Markedness Model on the basis of my collected data and to look whether or not the findings of the analysis underpin the theory. The primary aim is to analyze the recorded conversations particularly with regards to the main research question of the sociolinguistic and pragmatic aspects of code switching. The study consists of about 22 recorded conversations. The recordings lasted approximately from fifteen minutes up to two hours. The technique that was used for the recordings of the study was collecting spontaneous conversations. We adopt the indirect method of collecting data to guarantee that the resulted corpus does not submit to any control or external factors which may have nothing to do with any influences that might touch the recordings.

5. The Markedness Model

Myers-Scotton (1993:3) claims that CS *"serves the same general socio-psychologicalfunctions everywhere"* and she develops what has become known *"the markedness model"* (MM) that seeks to elaborate social motivations for CS across different languages and contexts. She develops and propounds this model as a framework for describing socio-psychological motivations for the linguistic practice of CS. The theory behind this model stipulates that speakers have markedness metric *"that enables speakers to access all code choices or more or less unmarked or marked for the exchange type in which they occur"* (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 80). By the metric, she intends to mean a universal cognitive ability of all humans; speakers are conscious of what code is expected (unmarked) or unexpected (marked). The MM postulates that code switching is not determined by situations as assumed by Blom and Gumperz (1972). Instead, code switching is the choice that a speaker decides to make. Following the MM. all code choices can be interpreted in terms of speakers' motivations.

5.2. The Unmarked Maxim Choice

According to Scotton (1993), all people are equipped with a competence to access linguistic choices. By so doing, they tally with the norms and the expected choices through adopting what she labels "unmarked choices" or they transgress the norms and convey their disagreement via the use of "marked choices". By unmarked choices, she intends to denote the switch which is normally expected by the audience; they are those that are more or less expected, given the ingredients of the interaction such as participants, topic, setting, etc. (Myers-Scotton, 2006). She postulates that the unmarked code refers to the "expected medium" in a particular type of conventionalized exchange (1993, 89 – 90). This choice is marked as expected because it has been used most frequently in such contexts, and Scotton predicts that it will be more frequently selected by speakers because it is unmarked. According to this model, a linguistic choice is always made on the basic of a particular evaluation of markedness for a specific "Rights and Obligation" set (or RO set).

(1): A: /ðəʃu θxəðməm ðəks θhaḍram jiɣəs niɣ mazal/ (What did you do? Did you speak with him or not yet?).

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

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

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

A:θəfḍiḍ lxədma s l'ogiciel ixdifka?

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

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

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

A: Tant mieux   (Good).

The above conversation is held between two colleagues at the University in Algeria. They were talking about the results of their postgraduate theoretical year. They seemed vexed and worried since they haven't met their supervisor for the many times they come to his office. Obviously, speaker (A) who is a male shares a general consensus about adopting Kabyle with his female colleague (B) even in a formal community of practice which is the University. The community of practice is *"an aggregate of people who come together aroundmutual engagement in an endeavour"* (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992: 464). Perhaps unsurprisingly, the female speaker intends to switch code from Kabyle to French since the male asks her a question which is normally a preamble to a scientific subject. This fragment of conversation reveals a conventionalized exchange for which switching between Kabyle and French is an unmarked choice for the other bilingual peers, who are not native speakers of Berber language. In other words, the code was expected mainly for two reasons. The first reason may be the need to employ the apt language for a scientific topic which is normally Fr, and she attempts to convey a meaning of solidarity with the other Arab colleagues who joined them (the two Kabyle speakers in the above conversation) at that moment. So, it is true that the MM directs much attention on the role of the speaker's communicative intentions, but the choice made by the speaker is related in some ways, to his/her audience expectation. By making an unmarked choice, the speaker aims at minimizing costs and maximizing rewards. As a case in point, male/female switch to F in this conversation shows that they are causing no social ripples since the other interlocutors predict and expect such a choice. To further embed the notion that women, in their communities for practice, perform and display a variety of social identities; this dialogue will be an illustrative example that points out that the woman was keenly aware that French is the suitable and most expected choice to both express solidarity and negotiate position and erudition.

The following example taken from the Algerian Arabic dialect and French further shows switching as an unmarked choice:

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

B: Ça va, merci.(Fine thanks).

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

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

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

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

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

A:/ ħamdullah/ /raki ɛærfa lmard taɛəsɣa:r /

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

Example (2) narrates a conversation between two female teachers at the university. Albeit speaker (A) commenced the conversation by using the Islamic greeting "Salam alikoum" rather than the French one "Salut", it is obvious that the first part of conversation wascarried in Fr which seems to cope with the context of administration and the formal topic about the schedule of the examinations. By switching then to the unmarked choice of French, teacher (A) is keenly aware about the change of topic and she accordingly decides to alter the code she intends to use at the beginning of the conversation. She knows that this code alteration would be welcomed and expected by the other interlocutor. By analogy to the Berber language as characterized by the vitality of the mother tongue, the Algerian Arabic dialect is much closer to people's everyday concerns and worries. The two female speakers agree on using French as an appropriate variety to discuss or negotiate with her colleague the modifications of speaker's (A) timetable, then the latter decides to call for the use of AA, the variety of home, family, intimacy, etc. By adopting AA, she intends to draw a link, which does not transgress the social norms and expectations, between the speech about her daughter and this code choice. As expected, she marks a natural unmarked choice to speak about personal facts that are squarely far from the formal subjects at the university.

Furthermore, we are more inclined to allow space for what might be described as women's negotiation of different identities all the time in a multiple communities of practice. The idea of "mutual engagement" as defined by Wenger (2000) is very important in interaction between the participants of the conversation (speaker and listener). What we intend to mean here is that the unmarked choice used in this situation (example 2) is derived from generic agreement about the codes involved and speaker (A) does not venture to break the norms of the expected codes. Besides, women in Algeria may use F in order to say taboo words as a linguistic strategy to escape from the Algerian society's pressure. The following example will be a case in point:

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

Algerian women, in particular, manipulate a number of social identities, and those miscellaneous identities seem to be momentous and prominent in different communicative events. This woman is about to niggle a couple which went beyond the limits of social and religious ethics in the Algerian culture by creating an intimate picture despite their knowledge that they might be watched by other people. More importantly, the speaker first used AA when talking about general views about the values of abashment in our culture, she then decides to adopt French CS as a bid to narrate a fact which is seen as taboo in an Arab-Islamic country, Algeria. To make this picture vivid, the female speaker's language choice for the interaction means embracing the expected 'Rights and Obligations' set for the interaction. That is, the set of rights (R) and obligations (O) which corresponds to the role relationship between the interlocutors. Naturally enough, knowing that she (the speaker) intends to criticize the couple about their lack of embarrassment and the fact that they overtly show their intimacy, she would, thus, build and portray through this code choice her social role and identity. In one word, she was aware that the switching to Fr was imperative to look as a conservative woman which is the norm in our society.

5.3. The Marked Maxim Choice

In contrast to the unmarked choice, making a marked choice signals an intention to disrupt a status quo and try to negotiate a different weight of rights and

obligations. It is the case where bilingual speakers negotiate rights and obligations in an endeavour to leave room for them to select a code which may either maximize or minimize the distance between them and other interlocutors. According to Scotton (1993), the marked choice stems from two sources: first, since it is not the unmarked choice, it is considered as a negotiation against the unmarked RO set; and the marked choice calls, on the other hand, for another RO set. It is well known that the MM seeks to tackle what motivates speakers to follow any one of the maxims proposed by Myers-Scotton, but the gist of our examination is to descry how men and especially women negotiate the RO set which they see as beneficial to them in some way. We should note that we specify women in this study not because men do not use code switching, but because it is believed that CS is more associated with women than with men. In this respect, the following example will cite how a man decides to alter the code for some purposes.

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

M: ħamdullah   (Thanks God).

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

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

F: swəʃħal θakki?   (How much this?).

M:θakki 2200 AD bəṣaħ ikkemini 2100.

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

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

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

It is important to note that this snatch of conversation is recorded in a shop of women's clothes between a salesperson and a woman who is Berber too. It is very prevalent in Arabic speaking communities that Berbers, especially, women adhere to the use of their mother tongue with native speakers of the same language to haggle or negotiate the price in the market. This is blatant in her initiation of the conversation by using Kabyle starting by greeting 'azzul' (hello), and

we can consider the first as unmarked choice since it is expected that women consider Berber as the language of daily activities, intimacy, etc. and this code choice is employed by women as a ploy for a successful bargaining with other salespersons. This code has been unmarked until the salesperson decides to make the marked choice by switching to AA to increase the social distance as a smooth way to tell the client that he cannot reduce the price more than that, and he quickly decides to switch code because he seems to be connoisseur about the women's persistence when negotiating a price.

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

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

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

B: /ɛandhɒm əṣṣaħ xælihɒm/

(They are right, let them).

A: /ṭli:g qwa wəlħɒkma ræħət/

(Freedom is prevalent and dominance disappeared).

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

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

This conversation between (A) a male speaker with his sister revolves around women's day which attested the use of two codes. The conversation commenced by employing Algerian Arabic. Obviously, the male does not believe in what is called "women's day" and he is humorously telling his sister and three other people (the mother, male cousin and a female neighbour) that he was astounded about the huge number of women in the city center.First of all, the

female speaker seems to sustain the code AA which is the more expected for such a case. Then she switches to French and construct the marked choice once her brother reveals his viewpoint about the right of women to celebrate their women's day. She chooses to use F for aesthetic reasons (Myers-Scotton, 1993). By this token, the fact that such code demonstrates particularly well the creativity met in making marked choices might be equated with what Sadiqi (2003: 269) labels a type of "linguistic innovation". As it may be seen in the overall Algerian socio-cultural context, the use of code switching by urban women involves a "new style of speech" which indexes "modernity", "determination", and "will".

The female's switch to French in this conversation is a response to women's exclusion from the sphere of her rights. She perceives the male's speech as thriving her feminine *statusquo* and she intends to use French as a device of power management and power negotiation in situations where she (an educated woman) feels herself as, in the words of Sadiqi (2003), "overridden" by less educated man (her brother) in the conversation. Above all, the female makes the marked choice as a gamble geared by a number of relative calculations of the costs and rewards that may be elicited from taking the marked choice rather than the unmarked. We agree with Scotton (2003) that this code choice is more speaker-oriented than audience oriented. Example (4) demonstrates that the woman is thinking about her position in the rights and obligations set which is under the process of negotiation. By this token, the speaker's orientation is extremely built in making the marked choice. Sadiqi (2003) says that the use of French in such contexts is often interpreted as "aggressive" and many males are "put off" by this linguistic behaviour and opt for "stepping back" and let the floor to women. That is to say, women's employment of French code switching is a kind of self assertion in mainly the same way as the case of men's monopolizing the turn-taking part of conversations.

5.4. Exploratory Maxim Choice

Finally, speakers may use CS when they are in a situation where they find themselves not certain of the expected or optimal communicative intent, or at least not sure about which code will be felicitous to attain their social goals. Aligning with this, this kind of choice is the case where the unmarked choice is opaque; hard to be understood. This may cause a state of maze in the expected norms and role relationships.The use of Berber among women expresses solidarity between them, and constructs a conscious way of embedding the symbolic value as a significant part of their identity. And this is not in all cases, the exploratory choice maxim is attested in the fact that women are, however, more interested than men to be reluctant to cleave solidarity with Berber speakers in the presence of non-native speakers of Berber and this lest the misunderstanding which may lead to miscommunication and the break of communicative expectations because of the language choice. Example (5) will be the case:

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

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

B: /kæn ɛandi cours ṣba:ħ/

(I had a lecture this morning).

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

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

B: i:h qri:næh

(yes, we have studied it).

A: /amala afkiji:dles cours nəl module akki laxaṭəʃħawadʒəxθa asugas akki/

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

B: D'accord (OK).

A: Merci (Thanks).

B: De rien (for nothing).

What is of particular interest here is that the young lady does not use Berber which is customarily a

strategy of alignment with other Berbers, and, hence, signals an ethnic identity. When we asked the male about his persistence in adopting Berber despite of the female's use of Algerian Arabic, he answered that he was not aware that they were communicating in the laboratory of an Arab speakers group and that he was most interested in how he would get the information he needs. By way of contrast, this woman is likely to manipulate the different values that are ascribed to each language such as education, prestige, modernity, ethnic identity, and intimacy in a given context, in order to score "gains" in a conversation. This is the case where the female student attempts to eschew any misunderstanding from the other group who might perceive this as an intention to exclude them from the conversation. The Female's exploratory code switching can further be described as intent to employ a neutral choice which is to be acceptable for all participants of the conversation.

(6) A: aɛṭiːlu hishuwa biotechnologie wana nədi ɣi tawɛi

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

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

(He cannot. It is impossible)

A: aɛṭiːlu maɛliha walu

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

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

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

This snatch of conversation is taken from a reunion at the University between some teachers who are responsible for options. One of them is the female (B) speaking in this dialogue with the head of department about managing the distribution of modules and planning the timetable. In the light that speakers principally negotiate in order to reach a consensus

about the mode of interaction (Bassiouney, 2009), women make choices either to accentuate their position, or to convey their own views which is the case of speaker (B) who decides to maintain French speaking with the head of department about discussing the possibility to give the module of biotechnology (the study of the use of microorganisms for beneficial effect) to a professor (X).

What deserves annotation here is the fact that the woman, along more than two hours of reunion, mixes alternatively between AA and F, but in this conversation in example (6), she seems that she does not agree on what is the unmarked choice (AA), which is clearly adopted by the head of department. Her deliberate use of French has the effect of breaking the stream of thought and forces the interlocutor (s) to pay attention to what she is saying. It is used, in this context, as *"a primarily empowering linguistic device"* (Sadiqi, 2003: 268). The female's first code is not reciprocated, but she persists, perhaps as a means to denote women's agency in everyday all-female or mixed interactions. Moreover, she strives to negotiate the identity of being topper in her arguments and try to impose herself by the use of French (as an exploratory code). To nuance the picture, women usually see the use of Fr in some contexts as equating with men's tendency to "snatch" turns in conversations. Let me conclude this discussion by stating that the negotiation of the RO set associated with French in this exchange is, for her, a strategy to impose her opinions and let the other participants of the community mind her viewpoint.

6. Conclusion

women according to these findings, tend to use more French code-switching as a bid to construct and negotiate a multiple of identities. French, in general, is more favoured by women because it is positively perceived as a symbol of "enlightenment", "social mobility", "modernity" and "opens to the western world". Invariably, women are still considered as the most interested in employing French in different contexts more than men, of course, depending on

their linguistic ability and the topic addressed. We share a consensus with Sadiqi (2003) that this gender division should not be taken for granted and that it is not fixed and absolute because both women and men are in a constant process of negotiation of identities by manipulating different languages in a variety of contexts. The use of French CS in Algeria is a linguistic marker for both women and men, but with variant symbolic meanings for each. What we can infer from the daily observation and actual findings is that Algerian women employ code-switching to score personal gains in everyday conversations. They are keen on the fact that French is a prestigious variety in the Algerian society. Through CS, women easily succeed in getting and maintaining attention, a goal which is not necessary to men since they are not in need of this self-assertion. Women, however, use code-switching as a means of controlling and keeping the floor for the necessary time without being interrupted. Beyond this general level, it seems very important to note that this does not connote that women always and only use French phonology or embed phrases from French whereas men never do. In urban settings of Algeria, CS is seen as a female type of communicative style; it is a kind of ploy to show difference not solely vis-à-vis other men butvis-à-vis other women. The most probable reason for this linguistic practice may be due to females' greater care with the manner they speak, given the higher social pressure on them. In this case study, both the interviews and the snatches of conversations we embezzled reveal that gender identity is perceived by a host of Algerian women as intimately related to many other different identities. To conclude in other words, women, under study, manifest the tendency to display femininity compatibly with the intention to derive social power which is stereotypically ascribed only to men; they code switch either to maintain the conversation or to transcend other interlocutors' expectations.

Conflict of Interest

I declare that I have no conflict of interest

Annexe 1:List of Phonetic Symbols

[m] [mra] a woman	[n] [na:d̪] he stood up	[dʒ] [ra:dʒəl] a man	[ʃ] [ʃibæni] an old man
[ʃ] [ʃibæni] an old man	[ɛ] [ɛərs] a wedding	[k] [kəlma] a word	[k] [isərwalik̲] your trousers (a Kabyle variety)
[d] [dwa] medicines	[r] [rabbi] God	[j] [jəbki] he cries	[l] [li:m] lemon
[ɣ] [ɣanna] he sang	[w] [warda] a rose	[b] [bæb] a door	[s] [sma] the sky
[s] [salla] he prayed	[t] [tra:b] soil	[t] [tabla] a table	[h] [hija] she
[ħ] [ħəʃma] abashment	[v] [vɣiɣ] I want (a Kabyle variety)	[q] [qli:l] little	[ɒ] [fɒm] a mouth
[z] [jəzgi] he shouts	[x] [xæli] my maternal uncle	[g] [galb] a heart	[ʔ] [ʔalf] a thousand
[θ] [θu:m] garlic	[ð] [ðəbæna] a fly	[d̪] [d̪aw] light	[j] [jəd] a hand
[ə] [ħbəs] he stopped	[ɒ] [xɒdmi] a knife	[i] [ħidʒæb] a veil	[a:] [fa:r] a mouse
[i:] [smi:n] fat			

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