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**Unveiling the Grammatical and Semantic Manifestation of Ironic  
Misgendering Among Cisgender People in Algerian Dialects**

Case Study: North West of Algeria Speech Community

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages in Partial Fulfilment  
of the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Linguistics

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## **Dedication**

Before dedicating this work to anybody, I want, first, to thank Allah for giving me such a great chance to resume my University studies after being away for eight years. Accordingly, I owe myself many thanks for all the efforts I did in order to balance my job and my studies.

Now, I would like to dedicate this work, initially, to my dear parents for all their support, encouragement, and love all along the way. May Allah bless them for me.

I also dedicate this work to the rest of my family members. My beloved sisters and my dear brother.

To all other family fellows that I, extremely, love and respect.

To all the precious souls, for me, that travelled out of this world to a better place.

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## Table of Contents

Dedications.....	I
Acknowledgments.....	II
Table of Contents.....	III
List of Tables.....	VI
List of Figures .....	VII
List of Graphs .....	VIII
List of Charts.....	IX
Keys to Phonemic Transcription.....	X
List of Abbreviations .....	XII
Abstract.....	XIII
General Introduction .....	1

### Chapter One: Theoretical Issues and an Overview to The Related Literature

1.1. Introduction.....	6
1.2. Problematizing the concepts of sex and gender distinction.....	6
1.2.1. Biological determinism and socially constructed gender/sex and gender terminology.....	6
1.2.2. Feminist Perspective on sex and gender.....	11
1.3. Gender as socially constructed.....	17
1.3.1. Gender socialization.....	17
1.3.2. Gender stereotyping.....	21
1.3.3. Gender as feminine and masculine sexuality.....	23
1.3.4. Gender as feminine and masculine personality.....	24
1.4. Gender bias and sexism.....	26
1.5. Language and society.....	28
1.6. Language and gender.....	29

1.7. Gender as a sociolinguistic study.....	31
1.7.1. Gendered language and sexiest language.....	33
1.7.2. Gender Bias in language (Linguistic gender-bias) / Sexism in Language (Linguistic sexism).....	35
1.7.3. Gender fair language (Gender-neutral/Gender-inclusive language).....	37
1.8. Misgendering and language.....	38
1.8.1. Ironic Misgendering.....	40
1.8.1.1. Ironic Misgendering toward cisgender females.....	40
1.8.1.2. Ironic Misgendering toward cisgender males.....	43
1.9. Conclusion.....	46

## **Chapter Two: The Context of Study**

2.1. Introduction.....	48
2.2. The Country's Profile: A General Introduction to Algeria.....	48
2.2.1. A Brief Insight On the Geographical Location, Administrative System, and The Historical Background of Algeria.....	48
2.2.2. The Demographic Situation by Gender and The Ethnic Composition of Algeria..	51
2.2.3. The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria.....	54
2.2.3.1. Language Situation in Algeria (Languages and Dialects).....	54
2.2.3.2. Algeria's sociolinguistic profile.....	67
2.3. The Perception of Gender in Algeria (differences between males and females in an Algerian context).....	75
2.3.1. The socio-cultural study of Algerian linguistic varieties in relation to gender.....	77
2.3.2. Gender-bias and sexism in The Algerian Linguistic Context.....	78
2.4. Ironic Misgendering Toward Cisgender People in Algerian Dialects.....	79
2.5. Conclusion.....	81

## **Chapter three: Research Methodology, Data Analysis and Interpretation**

3.1. Introduction.....	83
------------------------	----

3.2. Defining Research and Ethical Consideration in It.....	<b>83</b>
3.3. Description of the Speech Community (North West of Algeria).....	<b>85</b>
3.4. Population and Sampling.....	<b>86</b>
3.4.1. Description of the Sample Population.....	<b>90</b>
3.4.2. The Participants.....	<b>90</b>
3.5. Data Collection Methods (Research Instruments) .....	<b>91</b>
3.5.1. Qualitative Data.....	<b>91</b>
3.5.1.1. Participant Observation.....	<b>92</b>
3.5.1.2. The Interview.....	<b>93</b>
3.5.1.3. Content Analysis.....	<b>95</b>
3.5.2. Quantitative Data.....	<b>97</b>
3.5.2.1. The Questionnaire.....	<b>98</b>
3.6. Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	<b>99</b>
3.6.1. Participant Observation Analysis.....	<b>99</b>
3.6.2. The Interview Analysis.....	<b>100</b>
3.6.3. Content Analysis Interpretation.....	<b>105</b>
3.6.4. The Questionnaire Analysis.....	<b>113</b>
3.7. Conclusion.....	<b>136</b>
General Conclusion.....	<b>138</b>
Bibliography.....	<b>143</b>
Appendices.....	<b>165</b>
Appendix I: The Original Interview (in MSA).....	<b>166</b>
Appendix II: The Interview Translated to English.....	<b>167</b>
Appendix III: The Original Questionnaire (in MSA).....	<b>168</b>
Appendix VI: The Questionnaire Translated to English.....	<b>171</b>

## **List of Tables**

<b>Table 2.1:</b> An example of Various Lexical Variation between MSA, AA, as well as ATD and its Outskirts.....	<b>65</b>
<b>Table 3.1:</b> Data Gathered During the Participant Observation Phase.....	<b>100</b>
<b>Table 3.2:</b> Data Collected Out of the Interview.....	<b>103</b>
<b>Table 3.3:</b> Sampling and Stratification of the Participants.....	<b>114</b>



## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1.1:</b> Comparison of the traditional one-dimensional and the more recent two-dimensional models of gender.....	<b>26</b>
<b>Figure 2.1:</b> Country Profile: Algeria.....	<b>49</b>
<b>Figure 2.2:</b> Administrative Divisions ‘Wilayas/provinces’ of Algeria.....	<b>50</b>
<b>Figure 2.3:</b> Algeria Population 2020.....	<b>52</b>
<b>Figure.2.4:</b> Algeria: Total population from 2008 to 2018, by gender (in millions).....	<b>53</b>
<b>Figure.2.5:</b> Localization of Berber-Speaking Areas in Algeria.....	<b>61</b>
<b>Figure.2.6:</b> Dialects in Algeria.....	<b>62</b>
<b>Figure.3.1:</b> North West of Algeria provinces.....	<b>86</b>
<b>Figure.3.2:</b> An illustration of sampling.....	<b>88</b>
<b>Figure.3.3:</b> Types of Interview taken from Kumar (2011).....	<b>94</b>
<b>Figure.3.4:</b> Screenshot (01) of the Original Participants’ Answers to Question Twelve.....	<b>133</b>
<b>Figure.3.5:</b> Screenshot (02) of the Original Participants’ Answers to Question Twelve.....	<b>134</b>
<b>Figure.3.6:</b> Screenshot (03) of the Original Participants’ Answers to Question Twelve.....	<b>134</b>

## **List of Graphs**

<b>Graph .2.1:</b> Berber Language Varieties/Dialects Existing in Algeria Today.....	<b>60</b>
<b>Graph .3.1:</b> Participants' Educational Background.....	<b>115</b>

## List of charts

<b>Chart.3.1:</b> Provinces That the Thirty-three Interview Participants Belong to.....	<b>102</b>
<b>Chart.3.2:</b> Age Categories of the Informants.....	<b>114</b>
<b>Chart.3.3:</b> Informants' Gender Groups.....	<b>114</b>
<b>Chart.3.4:</b> Provinces in the Speech Community the Participants Belong to.....	<b>115</b>
<b>Chart.3.5:</b> Informants' Attitudes Towards the Difference Between Men and Women in General.....	<b>116</b>
<b>Chart.3.6:</b> Informants' Views About Men Who Incorporate Feminine Treats.....	<b>117</b>
<b>Chart.3.7:</b> Informants' Views About Women Who Incorporate Masculine Treats.....	<b>118</b>
<b>Chart.3.8:</b> Informants' Opinions About Expressing Feelings.....	<b>119</b>
<b>Chart.3.9:</b> Participants' Views About Women Revealing Emotions and Displaying Weakness.....	<b>120</b>
<b>Chart.3.10:</b> Participants' Views About Men Revealing Emotions and Displaying Weakness.....	<b>121</b>
<b>Chart.3.11:</b> The participants' Responses on What Influences More Their Choice of Answers.....	<b>122</b>
<b>Chart.3.12:</b> Informants' Opinions About Assigning Strength to Women Instead of Men.....	<b>123</b>
<b>Chart.3.13:</b> Informants' Opinions About Assigning Weakness to Men Instead of Women.....	<b>124</b>
<b>Chart.3.14:</b> Participants' Community View About Associating Women with Strength and Men with Weakness.....	<b>125</b>
<b>Chart.3.15:</b> The Existence of Ironic Misgendering Terms in The Participants' Dialect Use.....	<b>126</b>
<b>Chart.3.16:</b> Participants' Answers About Their Own Use of Ironic Misgendering Terms...	<b>127</b>
<b>Chart.3.17:</b> Participants' Self-Awareness of Ironic Misgendering Terms.....	<b>128</b>
<b>Chart.3.18:</b> The Most Ironically Misedgendered Gender.....	<b>129</b>
<b>Chart.3.19:</b> Participants' Views on Whether Ironic Misgendering Also Offends the Used Gender in the Terms Utilized to Migender.....	<b>130</b>
<b>Chart.3.20:</b> Informants' Opinions About the Background of Ironic Misgendering.....	<b>131</b>
<b>Chart.3.21:</b> Participants' Views on Whether Ironic Misgendering is Acceptable.....	<b>132</b>

## Keys to Phonemic Transcription

These phonetic symbols approximate the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

### Consonants:

IPA	MSA	Description
[b]	ب	bilabial plosive stop (voiced)
[t]	ت	alveolar plosive stop (voiceless)
[d]	د	alveolar plosive stop (voiced)
[t̤]	ط	Pharyngealized alveolar plosive stop
[k]	ك-ك	velar plosive stop (voiceless)
[ʒ]or[dʒ]	ج	[ʒ] Palatal Fricative (voiced) [dʒ] Palatal Stop Affricate (voiced)
[q]	ق	uvular plosive stop
[ʔ]	ء	Glottal plosive stop
[f]	ف	Labiodentals fricative (voiceless)
[θ]	ث	Interdental fricative (voiceless)
[ð]	ذ	Interdental fricative (voiced)
[d̤]	ض	Pharyngealized interdental fricative
[d̥]	ظ	Pharyngealized interdental fricative
[s]	س	Alveolar fricative (voiceless)
[z]	ز	Alveolar fricative (voiced)
[s̤]	ص	Pharyngealized alveolar fricative
[ʃ]	ش	Postalveolar fricative (voiceless)
[x]	خ	Velar fricative
[ɣ]	غ	Velar fricative
[ħ]	ح	Pharyngeal fricative
[ʕ]	ع	Pharyngeal fricative
[h]	ه-هـ	Glottal fricative (voiceless)

[m]	م	Bilabial nasal (voiced)
[n]	ن	Alveolar nasal (voiced)
[l]	ل	Alveolar lateral approximant (voiced)
[r]	ر	Alveolar flap (voiced)
[j]	ي	Palatal approximant (voiced)
[w]	و	Labial-velar approximant (voiced)
[g]	غ	Velar stop [Found only in (AA) not in MSA]

### Vowels:

#### *Short Vowels:*

- [a] as in [laʕb] ‘playing’  
[e] as in [weɫd] ‘boy’ or ‘son’  
[i] as in [jdɪd] ‘new’  
[u] as in [kursi] ‘chair’  
[ɔ] as in [nɔs<sup>s</sup>] ‘half’  
[æ] as in [bæb] ‘door’

#### *Long Vowels:*

- [a:] as in [da:r] ‘house’  
[i:] as in [li:l] ‘night’  
[u:] as in [bu:fu:n] ‘bottle cap’  
[ɔ:] as in [zrɔ:dija] ‘carrot’  
[ɛ:] as in [kɛ:s] ‘a glass’

**Note:** [ ˈ ] this symbol is used to mark ‘stress’ in Arabic. So, in the transcription we used [ˈ] to mark it.

## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

**AA:** Algerian Arabic

**ADA:** Algerian Dialectal Arabic

**CA:** Classical Arabic

**Ca:** Colloquial Arabic

**Cis:** Cisgender

**Fr:** French

**H:** High Variety

**L:** Low Variety

**MSA:** Modern Standard Arabic

**Tans:** Transgender

## Abstract

The present research work is an attempt to examine the North West of Algerian speakers' attitudes regarding the sociolinguistic practice known as 'Ironic Misgendering' towards cisgender people in the dialects they speak. It sheds light on how social norms can be reflected in the linguistic profile of its people. Algeria, as it was explored here, is characterized by a different set of dialects that originate from two genetically unrelated languages, which are Arabic and Berber. This, interestingly, has represented the topic in hand based on the different cultures and the distinctive societal outlook of each community speaking a divergent dialect, this in its turn, showed new standpoints apropos our topic of research. In order to reach our intended objectives, we planned our work in a way that guarantees all related points are to be probed. Accordingly, this research aimed, first, at finding out whether Ironic Misgendering is a conscious or an unconscious behaviour, in addition to knowing which gender is more targeted by it. The second vital purpose of this work was to investigate the reasons behind this phenomenon since only by figuring the factors out and studying them, solutions then, can be determined. Correspondingly, in order to fulfil the research objectives, participant observation, an interview, content analysis, and a questionnaire were used as research tools in a mixed method investigation. Correspondingly, the obtained data had well-answered the main points of the research. It was found that the number of people aware of Ironic Misgendering are much more than we expected. Besides that, the results showed that males are the ones most aimed by this phenomenon, the finding that reflects on females and on gender in general a certain reality that needs to be taken into account.

**Keywords:** language, gender, sociolinguistics, cisgender, Ironic Misgendering, Algerian dialects.



# General Introduction



### General Introduction

The most apparent undeniable feature that makes humans different from any other earthly species may well be language. It is the means they created to interact as members of a social group, and express themselves. The functions of language include communication, the expression of thoughts and beliefs, as well as emotional release.

Accordingly, language is directly linked to its creators who are its users as well. Therefore, the study of language that is known as ‘linguistics’ should not only be based on the perspective of the ‘symbol’ which exposes language as a system of symbols, but should be more people-oriented. In this regard, language is not only seen as a system of symbols, but also as a system of communication between individuals and, thus, a social phenomenon. Consequently, ‘sociolinguistics’ appeared as the area of study that combines both language and society, and that aims at bringing to light how the use of language is superintended by social factors such as class, race, and gender, etc.

Sociolinguistics, as a matter of fact, has involved many significant research topics aligned with those factors, among which is language and gender. Generally speaking, studies on language and gender tackle many topics. However, the focus is put more on aspects like gender differences in language, linguistic gender-bias, and sexism in language.

Indeed, sociolinguistics, a discipline that takes into account gender as an essential variable, has established many theories to study the relationship between gender and language that is mainly rooted in the difference between males and females in their use of language.

All the topics that raised in this respect, therefore, were all the result of the male/female dichotomy. One may ask, what caused such a division that gave birth to so many conflicting and challenging subjects which could be avoided from day one? Well, there are many reasons that enhanced and widened the gap between gender representatives in all aspects including the gendered use of language. These reasons involve issues like gender identities, gender roles, and gender stereotypes that each society had developed around its members which, in turn, contributed in upgrading the notion of male and female difference as if they originated basically from two distinct planets.

## General Introduction

Among the sociolinguistic themes that took shape out of language and gender amalgamation, is a theme that was, somehow, underrated. Very few scholarly works had targeted it. It is the linguistic phenomenon known as ‘Misgendering’ or more specifically ‘Ironic Misgendering’.

Correspondingly, having appreciated the fact that not many previous works had dealt with this topic and being impressed, as well, with the way it combines both sociolinguistics and gender studies (fields of study that we admire), we decided, then, to take a dare and attempt to study Ironic Misgendering as a linguistic phenomenon happening among cisgender people in Algerian dialects, uncovering the reasons behind it, and proving, in the meantime, that it is a topic worth investigation due to being rooted in gender-bias and sexism as well as in order to look, further, for ways to put an end to it. On the basis of this statement, the following research questions would be addressed:

- 1- Are Algerian speakers aware of the existence of Ironic Misgendering in their dialects?
- 2- Which gender is more affected by this linguistic behaviour? and why?
- 3- What is the main reason that makes them use Ironic Misgendering terms and expressions in their speech?
- 4- How can this linguistic phenomenon be avoided?

In the light of these research questions, the following hypotheses are put forward:

- 1- We hypothesize that some people are aware of the use of Ironic Misgendering terms and expressions in their speech while others may do that unintentionally (Fifty-fifty).
- 2- The most affected gender may well be males because they are the ones addressed by this phenomenon most.
- 3- They may do that due to the way they have been raised (home socialization).
- 4- The only way this linguistic phenomenon can be avoided or minimized is, we suppose, by tackling gender stereotypes, and by being more careful to children’s socialization vis-à-vis the issue of gender.

Our research has a descriptive-interpretive (analytical) nature. The descriptive review is on the theoretical frame with the first two chapters whereas the analytical interpretive approach is devoted to the practical data on the third chapter. Accordingly, to tackle the above former research questions and test the validity of the hypotheses, data will be collected qualitatively by means of participant observation, the interview, in addition to content

## General Introduction

analysis, and quantitatively via a questionnaire to a sample of respondents who belong to the North West of Algeria speech community. For the participants, and concerning, first, the interview, forty (40) random participants will be interviewed, men and women, from different ages, educational backgrounds, and occupations. Concerning, on the other hand, the questionnaire, the total number of the participants is planned to be 150, with an equal number of each gender i.e. 75 males and 75 females.

For the structure of the dissertation, the work is arranged in a way that covers all aspects of study that are associated with our main topic as well as providing an appropriate milieu for the adopted methodology to be reflected the right way. Accordingly, the current work is subdivided into two parts theoretical and practical. The theoretical part is represented by the first and the second chapters. The first one provides the conceptual framework by reviewing the intended literature joined with all the other topics that resonate to the chief topic going from general to specific, whereas the second one is the implication of what chapter one deals with broadly, but in an Algerian context with more relevant details about the sociolinguistic situation in the country. For the last chapter, it is devoted to the practical part. It is a fieldwork for the used research tools and the interpretation of the various generated data out of the methods used and conducted among the target sample population.

Hence, the first chapter starts with discussing the differences between the concepts of sex and gender. Then, it focuses more on gender as a socially constructed concept. It tackles, too, gender bias and sexism, in addition to, a precise highlight on both language and society besides language and gender. Also, chapter one includes the study of gender as a sociolinguistic study taking into account the different affiliations that branch off out of it. Finally, the last part will be dedicated to Misgendering and language precisely on our chief topic that is Ironic Misgendering.

The second chapter will be devoted, first, to a general introduction to Algeria geographically, administratively, and historically. After that, it deals with the sociolinguistic structure in the country, providing an overview of both the language situation in Algeria and its sociolinguistic profile. It will also track the perception of gender in Algeria in a way that addresses its major aspects. This chapter will end by exposing Ironic Misgendering in an Algerian context.

The third chapter is concerned with the fieldwork employed for this study. It will give an overview of the main techniques and methods which are going to be employed, including

## General Introduction

the participant observation, the interview, the content analysis, and the questionnaire in an attempt to test the validity of the hypotheses. Consequently, the collected data will be quantitative and qualitative to scrutinize the attitudes of the participants toward the intended subject of study.



# Chapter One

*Theoretical Issues and an  
Overview to the Related  
Literature*

## Chapter one: *Theoretical Issues and an Overview to the Related Literature*

### 1.1. Introduction

As a branch of macro-linguistics, sociolinguistics has set in since the 1960s. Thenceforth, it has tackled various important research topics among which is language and gender moving from the general concept of sex to the specific notion of gender. This significant shift paved the way to the appearance of new topics in the field that seemed to be vibrant areas of research such as linguistic gender-bias and linguistic sexism. In addition, there were other subtopics which emerged out of them as well, and which are main points of focus for this paper too, specifically, the manifestation of Ironic Misgendering in language among cisgender people. Accordingly, the current chapter sheds light precisely on the theoretical dimensions of the research in addition to the former views and studies performed in the same area of investigation.

### 1.2. Problematizing the Concepts of Sex and Gender Distinction

In everyday contexts and may be even for University students who didn't deal yet with gender studies or who didn't conduct research yet in this area of study, the terms sex and gender still for them express the same literary meaning; which is a way to be identified as being male or female, i.e. using them both interchangeably based on the binary biological identification. Even some languages, such as German, Arabic, or Finnish, have no separate words for sex and gender, and the distinction has to be made through context. All of this is going to be well-explored in a more particularized way right below.

#### 1.2.1. Biological Determinism and Socially Constructed Gender/Sex Terminology

Some dictionaries and academic disciplines give sex and gender different definitions while others do not. For example, The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2000) gave the following definition of sex: "*the state of being male or female*". Moreover, it suggested gender as a synonym. When looking at the term gender, in the same dictionary, one can read the definition: "*the fact of being male or female*". However; In the journals of the American Physiological Society, gender was first introduced into a title in 1982, whereas sex had been used since the early 1920s. It was not until the mid-1990s that the use of the term gender began to exceed the use of the term sex in APS titles, and today gender more the doubles that of

sex. Correspondingly, with this clear chronological shift in terminology use, we can clearly see that their uses have become increasingly distinct as the need was being increased to study in depth sex and gender differences during the early 1970s. So, what is actually the difference between gender and sex?

We need, first, to have a brief look at biological determinism which, as cited in Encyclopedia.com, refers to the idea that all human behaviour is innate, determined by genes, brain size, or other biological attributes (denial of free will). This theory stands in contrast to the notion that human behaviour is determined by culture or other social forces (Determinism, Biological, 2020, para. 1), which by its turn speaks for the socially constructed approach which embodies two appellations (social constructionism and social constructivism) for which Wikipedia makes this difference between them (right now today): “*While social constructionism focuses on the artefacts that are created through the social interactions of a group, social constructivism focuses on an individual's learning that takes place because of his or her interactions in a group*” (Social constructivism, n.d., para. 1).

According to UNESCO’s Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework, Sex describes the biological differences between men and women, which are universal and determined at birth. In the same context, Fuller and Wardhaugh (2015) said that sex categories were defined based on the biological distinction that was not always completely clear between ‘male’ and ‘female’ (p. 312-313). Here, we can see that in general terms, “sex” refers to the biological differences between males and females such as the genitalia and genetic differences as it is emphasized:

Sex is the term that is used to explain the features of biological, physiological, and genetic structure of a person. It mainly describes man and woman phenomenon based on these differences. In this regard, chromosome structure and genitals are the determiners of the sex as a biological being. (Arslan, Arslan, & Sezer, 2017, p. 25)

And also by West and Zimmerman (2002) when they wrote: “*Sex, we told students, was what was ascribed by biology: anatomy, hormones, and physiology.*” (p. 125). “*This means that sex refers to the biological differences in humans such as chromosomes, hormonal profiles as well as internal and external sex organs. It is sometimes referred to as the natural gender.*” (Bjørnson, 2017, p. 9).

In this binary context that defines ‘sex’ and that is based mainly on this duality composed of the two terms “male/female”, Aristotle defined females as those who could produce life inside themselves and males as those who could produce life in others. Consequently, this biological classification known as male/female stands essentially on the fact of life productivity description. Eckert and McConnell (2003) wrote: “*Sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential*” (p. 10). Biology offers us up dichotomous male and female prototypes as presented above, yet it also offers us many individuals who do not fit those prototypes in a variety of ways. Blackless et al. (2000) estimated that:

1 in 100 babies are born with bodies that differ from standard male or female. These bodies may have such conditions as unusual chromosomal makeup (1 in 1,000 male babies are born with two X chromosomes), hormonal differences such as insensitivity to androgens (1 in 13,000 births), or a range of configurations and combinations of genitals and reproductive organs. The attribution of intersex does not end at birth -- 1 in 66 girls experience growth of the clitoris in childhood or adolescence (known as late onset adrenal hyperplasia) (as cited in Eckert & McConnell, 2003, p. 11)

Dreger (1998) added: “*When ‘anomalous’ babies are born, surgical and/or endocrinal manipulations may be used to bring their recalcitrant bodies into closer conformity with either the male or the female category*” (as cited in Eckert & McConnell, 2003, p. 11). As reported above, we can deduce that the word ‘sex’ seems to be limited somehow and even inadequate to cover all those various biological anomalies mentioned before and even the socially constructed ones still coming to mention.

In view of this, Cheshire (n.d.) defined ‘gender’ as being a reference to the social and cultural elaboration of the sex difference - a process that restricts our social roles, opportunities and expectations. Since the process begins at birth, he said, it could be argued that ‘gender’ is the more appropriate term to use for the category than ‘sex’ (para. 3). This shows clearly how the term gender started to take over the use of the term sex as it proves to be more general with a larger inclusiveness compared to the former. Gender, indeed, embodies both the meanings of sex differences and gender differences by elaborating the biological side of the matter socially and culturally as well, as clarified previously by Cheshire.

Gender, hence, is more difficult to define as stated by Newman (2018), but it can refer to the role of a male or female in society, known as a gender role, or an individual’s concept of



themselves, or gender identity (para. 4). This definition combines two important terms that need clarification too. It shows ‘gender’ as being a role and an identity in one’s society. Gender role in society means how we are expected to be, act, speak, dress, and behave based on our assigned sex. For instance, girls and women are generally expected to dress in typically feminine ways and be polite, kind, and nurturing while men are generally expected to be strong, aggressive, and bold, yet every society or ethnic group and culture has gender role expectations that can be different from one another which can also change in the same society over time. For example, pink used to be considered a masculine colour in the U.S whereas blue was considered feminine. “*Gender identity, on the other hand, refers to the internal sense of one's own gender, whether or not it aligns with categories offered by societal norms.*” (Gender identity, n.d., para. 1) as asserted again by Fuller and Wardhaugh (2015): “*gender although based on sex categories, is culturally constructed. What is considered to be masculine or feminine differs from one society to another.*” (p. 312-313). In this sense, the characteristics of women and men that are socially constructed are reported using the term gender, while those that are biologically determined are referred to with sex. People are born female or male, however learn to be girls and boys who grow into women and men. This clarified learned behaviour makes up what we call gender identity and determines what is named gender roles. (Gender: definitions, n.d., para. 1). Arslan et al., (2017) added in this regard:

Gender’ imposes different roles and social responsibility to men and women, which differs according to cultural, geographic, and social structures. Gender, which is rebuilt by the society according to its cultural structure, determines perceptions of sex in that culture. In other words, gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed. While most people are born either male or female, they are taught to behave appropriate according to norms. (p. 25-26)

A shift is quite clear from the sex biological categories of “male” and “female” classifications to what we associate with the gender social-constructed categories of “masculine” and “feminine” traits. This is how the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987) defined feminine: “*someone or something that is feminine has qualities that are considered to be characteristic of women, especially in terms of being delicate, pretty or gentle.*”, and masculine as: “*something that is masculine relates to or is considered typical of men, in contrast to women.*” (as cited in Lagerlöf, 2006, p. 8)

At the end, Western Australian AIDS Council in their article entitled Sex, Gender & Sexuality Explained summed up all this spectrum with the addition of the term “Sexuality” to the dichotomy of “sex and gender” and their different varieties which adds more clarity and more meaning to the whole scene as follows:

'Sex' is used to describe what you are assigned at birth, based on what's in between your legs (a penis = male, or a vagina = female). However, this is not the full picture. Sex is defined by genitals, including internal sex organs, chromosomes and hormones. There are three sex variations: male (penis, XY chromosomes, high levels of testosterone), female (vagina, XX chromosomes, high levels of estrogen), and intersex (a person born with the sexual anatomy or chromosomes that don't fit the traditional definition of male or female. A combination of reproductive sex organs, including internal sex organs, chromosomes. and hormones).

'Gender' is used to describe the traditional social roles for males and females. Gender Identity describes how someone feels on the inside, and Gender Expression describes how someone chooses to present their gender to the world. You know how society tends to announce a baby boy with the colour blue or a baby girl with the colour pink? Or how boys are given trucks and girls are given dolls? And how men are encouraged to play sports and be a tough 'man' and women are encouraged to paint their nails and do their hair and where makeup? These are societal constructs of gender. There are three gender variations: *cisgender* - a person who identifies with the sex they were assigned at birth. For example, a person who was assigned as a male at birth, and identifies as male, or vice versa, *transgender* - a person whose gender identity does not match the sex they were assigned at birth. For example, a person who was assigned as a male at birth, but identifies as female, or vice versa (also called *non-binary*, *gender-nonconforming* or *third gender*), and *gender fluid* - a person whose gender identity is not fixed and / or shifts depending on the situation. These people don't feel the need to act according to the sex they were assigned at birth and the associated traditional social roles.

'Sexuality' is the part of you expressed through your sexual activities and relationships. It is represented in your feelings, behaviours and your sexual identity. Your sexual identity is how you choose to describe or label your sexuality. There are many different labels that a person can choose, including not choosing a label at all! Similarly, to pronouns, it's important to refer to a person's sexuality by their chosen label (just ask them if you're not sure, so you're not assuming). A person's sexuality can be: *heterosexual* - A person attracted to people of the opposite sex, *homosexual* - A person attracted to people of the same sex, *bisexual* - The word

'bi', meaning 'two', refers to a person's attraction to both genders (male and female), *asexual* - Asexuality is the absence of sexual attraction. For example, some asexual people are in romantic relationships where they never desire sex, and some are not in romantic relationships at all, *pansexual* - 'Pan', meaning 'all-inclusive', refers to a person's attraction to multiple genders. Some pansexual people describe their attraction as being based on chemistry rather than gender, but everyone is different, and *questioning* - Some people may be unsure about their sexuality and / or are exploring it, so might identify as 'questioning'.

### 1.2.2. Feminist Perspective on Sex and Gender

*“Feminism, one of the most recent ideologies to emerge, attempts to analyse the social position of women, explain their apparent subsidiary role in history, and offer the basis for reform and the advancement of women in all areas of society.”* (Boyd & Harrison, n.d., p. 296). Zembat (2017) also defined feminism as a theory which examines gender inequality, women's social roles, experiences, interests and chores on variety fields such as anthropology, sociology, communication, psychoanalysis, politics, home economics, literature and philosophy. The basic definition of feminism, he added, is that men and women should be equal politically, economically and socially (p. 4). Some have sought to locate the roots of feminism in ancient Greece with Sappho (570 BC), the medieval world with Hildegard of Bingen (d.1179) or Christine de Pizan (d.1434). (Rampton Marta, 2015) (as cited in Arslan et al., 2017, p. 26). However, it was not until late 19<sup>th</sup> that the efforts for women's equal rights coalesced into a clearly identifiable and self-conscious movement. That was called the first wave feminism which lasted until early 20<sup>th</sup> C. It focused on legal issues, primarily on gaining the right to vote and to participate in politics. Second wave began in 1960s to the 90s, named also Liberal Feminism. Here, sexuality and reproductive rights were dominant issues and women of colour were involved too unlike the first wave seeking sisterhood and solidarity claiming: “women's struggle is class struggle!”. Third wave in the mid-90s was informed by post-colonial and post-modern thinking. A Room of One's Own, an extended essay by Virginia Woolf in 1929 with its famous diction: *“a woman must have money, and a room of her own if she is to write fiction”* emphasised a powerful vivid symbol of intellectual freedom away from the demands of traditional womanhood. *“The fourth wave feminism is directly linked by the recent developments of liberal progressive order. Fourth wave feminists examined the changing society by new liberal approaches.”* (Zembat, 2017, p. 12). Moreover, feminist ideology can

make different forms depending on the different priorities and key concepts of the ideologies, history, culture and beliefs. Accordingly, there exists: *Radical Feminism*, *Liberal Feminism*, *Socialist Feminism*, *Cultural Feminism*, *Ecofeminism* and the list goes on.

Feminists believe that there is a fundamental power struggle between men and women. This, like the struggles around class and race, is potentially revolutionary. Indeed, it is the oldest power struggle, the least public in its manifestations of conflict, the most fundamental in its implications for society. (Boyd & Harrison, 2018, p. 296)

In fact, the distinction between sex and gender has been also one of the foundations of western feminist thought. Gender differences, patriarchal society structure, and male dominant power approaches and pressures were widely debated issues mainly during the second wave where the critique of patriarchy became a solid academic field in addition to gender and sexuality studies. This, if we can claim, has shaped the course of human history from “History”, as Boyd and Harrison (2018) also mentioned, “*or ‘His-story’ as some feminists describe it – is that of men and their doings.*” (p. 296) and of women, if they appear at all, appear as a support for men, to a new history marked by the existence and the contribution of women as rulers in their own right.

As we previously saw, despite the fact that sex was lately distinguished from gender, the meaning of gender was still based on the idea of sex.

In many academic fields, the transition from a non-feminist perspective on gender to a feminist approach is echoed in the tension between the concepts of sex and gender. While the former is usually associated with the reproductive function and divides human beings into men and women, the latter – deriving from ideas articulated for the first time by Simone de Beauvoir (1949) – is regarded as the product of social and cultural factors. Although the focus of ‘gender’ changed considerably over time, the underlying assumption has been that ‘gender’ encompasses two genders – men and women – which are built upon or presuppose the two sex categories. And, although, the historicity of gender was indisputable, the two gender categories were treated as homogeneous and stable. As a consequence, the idea that the distinction between women and men is not biologically but socially and culturally motivated often degenerated into a simple change of jargon, i.e. substituting the word sex with the word gender. (Pavlidou, 2011, p. 405).

Annandale and Clark (n.d.), also, assumed that:

Basic and common to all feminisms is the understanding that patriarchy privileges men by taking the male body as the 'standard' and fashioning upon it a range of valued

characteristics (such as good health, mastery, reason and so on) and, through a comparison, viewing the female body as deficient, associated with illness, with lack of control and with intuitive rather than reasoned action. (as cited in *Sociology of Health*, 1996, p. 19)

Obviously, here, patriarchy conflates biological sex and social gender which makes it a clear task of feminism to question this elision by showing that gender is socially constructed. Eckert and McConnell-ginet (2003) wrote that gender that was built on the notion of biological sex, exaggerated biological difference and, carried it into domains in which it was completely irrelevant. They exemplified by mentioning that there was no biological reason why women should mince and men should swagger, or why women should have red toenails and men should not (p. 10).

Although biological determinism of the kind endorsed by Geddes and Thompson who, in 1889, argued that social, psychological and behavioural traits were caused by metabolic state. Women, supposedly, conserve energy (being ‘anabolic’) and this makes them passive, conservative, sluggish, stable and uninterested in politics. Men expend their surplus energy (being ‘katabolic’) and this makes them eager, energetic, passionate, variable and, thereby, interested in political and social matters (as cited in *Feminist Perspectives*, 2008, para. 4) is nowadays uncommon. The idea that behavioural and psychological differences between women and men have biological causes has not disappeared. In the 1970s, sex differences were used to argue that women should not become airline pilots since they will be hormonally unstable once a month and, therefore, unable to perform their duties as well as men (Rogers, 1999, p. 11). *“Feminist theory has often been critical of naturalistic explanations of sex and sexuality that assume that the meaning of women's social existence can be derived from some fact of their physiology.”* (Butler, 1988, p. 520). *“Both sex and gender have been treated as binary categories in sociolinguistic research. Gender differences need not map directly onto the physiological sex differences”* (Milroy et al., 1994, p. 334) (as cited in Cheshire, n.d., para. 4).

In British sociology, Ann Oakley's text: *Sex, Gender and Society*, first published in 1972, heralded the new linguistic and analytic precision that allowed feminists not only to distinguish the social from the biological when considering male and female behaviour, but also to avoid the old ambiguity in meaning between sex as sexuality and sex as the broader corpus of male-female differences. As a result, the old language of sex roles and sexual divisions was, by the middle of the 1970s, being replaced by the language of gender roles and gender divisions.

And instead of an assumption of natural differences between men and women, there was a growing emphasis on the way in which gender differences are socially constructed and vary across time and place.

The precise definition of the term gender varies. Stoller in *Sex and Gender* (1968), the book said to have introduced the new terminological contrast, linked gender with notions of masculinity and femininity - that is, the characteristics or qualities regarded as appropriate to men and women: Gender is a term that has psychological and cultural rather than biological connotations. (Busfield, 1996, p. 32)

To counter this kind of biological determinism, feminists have argued that behavioural and psychological differences have social, rather than biological, causes. For instance, Simone de Beauvoir, famously, claimed that one is not born, but rather *becomes* a woman, and that “*social discrimination produces in women moral and intellectual effects so profound that they appear to be caused by nature*” (Beauvoir 1972 [original 1949], 18; for more, see the entry on Simone de Beauvoir), so commonly observed behavioural traits associated with women and men, then, are not caused by anatomy or chromosomes, but rather, culturally learned or acquired. (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 4). Butler holds that distinguishing *biological sex* from *social gender* is unintelligible. For her, both are socially constructed.

If the immutable character of sex is contested, perhaps this construct called ‘sex’ is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all. (Butler, 1999, p. 10-11)

For her, sexed bodies never exist outside social meanings and how we understand gender shapes how we understand sex (p. 139). Along with psychologists like Stoller, feminists found it useful to distinguish sex and gender. This enabled them to argue that many differences between women and men were socially produced and, therefore, changeable. (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 7). Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) sorted out:

In this sociobiological view, there is no gender, for there are no cultural determinants of human life. All is “sex”. This view of sex as naturally dictating behaviour and roles supports a functionalist model of human social organization. Feminists who make a distinction between sex and gender do not necessarily abandon the idea that there are some biological differences between women and men, but most attempt to sharply circumscribe that which can be attributed to such differences. Often implicit in such

distinctions is the idea that what is socially constructed (gender) can be more easily transformed than what is biological (sex). (p. 24)

To say that "gender" refers "to the social, cultural, psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences" implies that there are *two* genders, based upon two sexes. Linda Nicholson (1994) calls this the "coat-rack" model of sex and gender.

This dichotomous approach to sex and gender presented by the biologists or determinists/essentialists on one hand, and the social-constructivists on the other proved to be futile for feminists. A current tendency in feminist research is to look for ways to move beyond theorising in terms of two separate categories. At a time of social change, when the conventional gender roles are being challenged in many western societies, it no longer seems appropriate to work with polarised categories of either 'sex' or 'gender' (Cheshire, n.d., para. 5). As Bergvall and Bing (1996) pointed out: "*it would be ironic if feminists interested in language and gender inadvertently reinforced gender polarization and the myths of essential female-male difference*" (p. 18). This dissatisfaction and lack of conviction lead feminist scholars to take two different paths for redressing problems with the sex/gender distinction. One path, often followed by physical anthropologists and biologists, is to offer a more nuanced picture of the biological, and how it interacts with the social (Sperling 1991; Worthman 1995) (as cited in Ehrlich, Meyerhoff, & Holmes, 1991, p. 50). This approach challenges the notion of biology as more fixed and less amenable to change than culture is. It is associated with the idea that gender cannot or should not be isolated from other aspects of one's identity. 'Intersectionality' was the term employed for conceptualizing ways in which 'sociocultural hierarchies, power differentials and in/exclusions around discursively, and institutionally constructed categories such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age/generation, nationality, etc. mutually co-construct each other' (Lykke, 2006, p. 151).

The second path, a much recent work in sociolinguistics, adopts an approach which in effect subsumes what was traditionally placed under the domain of sex into the domain of gender. Scholars with this view look at the social construction of "sex". In addition to recognizing cultural differences in understanding the body (Nicholson, 1994) (as cited in McElhinny, n.d., p. 24), proponents of this view may argue that we need to look at how certain definitions of sex/ gender become hegemonic and are contested within a given society. Philosopher Judith Butler (1990) argued that:

Gender ought not to be conceived merely as the cultural inscription of meaning on a pre-given sex ... gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which "sexed nature" or "a natural sex" is produced and established as "prediscursive" prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts. (p. 7)

Instead of asking "what are the gender differences?", this approach (an approach which has been called *post-structuralist* or *deconstructive feminist*) leads one to ask "what difference does gender make?" and "how did gender come to make a difference?". To argue that differences found in people's behaviour, including their speech behaviour, can simply be explained by invoking gender is to fail to question how gender is constructed. Instead, one needs to ask how and why gender differences are being constructed in that way, or what notion of gender is being normalized in such behaviour. This approach, then, proposes to investigate how categories such as "woman" are created and which political interests the creation and perpetuation of certain identities and distinctions serves. Where people's behaviour does not conform to dominant norms of masculinity or femininity, it is rendered unintelligible or incoherent: certain people or certain behaviours may not be recognized as legitimately human. Because they deviate from normative conceptions of how sex, gender, and sexuality should be aligned they are subject to repercussions and sanctions which vary according to local context. Some are economic, with people being confined to certain kinds of work and expelled from others. In the USA, women working as police officers often find themselves addressed as "sir" and occasionally find that others assume they are lesbians, regardless of any other information about sexual identity, simply because of the work that they do (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003, p. 24).

Two independently originating approaches in the late 1980s have been very influential in this context. The first, known as 'doing gender', was proposed by West and Zimmerman and is, sociologically, more specifically ethnomethodologically informed. The term 'doing gender' was coined by West and Zimmerman in a talk, in 1977, that was published in 1987 (Pavlidou, 2011, p. 406). Their proposal was to understand gender as the product of social doings, more specifically 'as a routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment' (West & Zimmerman, 2002, p. 4) (as cited in Pavlidou, 2011, p. 406) rather than as a set of traits, a variable, or a role (i.e. situated identity). The second, labelled as 'gender performativity', is associated with the poststructuralist philosopher Judith Butler and draws on theatrical, anthropological and



philosophical analyses. Only shortly after West and Zimmerman's 1987 publication, Butler's proposal on gender as performance was articulated in a paper (1988), and further elaborated in the book that she became famous with, *Gender Trouble* (1990). In the 1988 paper, Butler set out to examine the ways in which gender is constructed through specific corporeal acts and the possibilities that exist for its cultural transformation through such acts. She argued that gender identity is 'instituted through a stylized repetition of acts' and through 'the stylization of the body'. She considered such acts to be performative both in the sense of 'dramatic' and of 'non-referential'. (Pavlidou, 2011, p. 406)

Gender is not something we are born with, and not something we *have*, but something we *do* (West & Zimmerman, 1987) -- something we *perform* (Butler, 1990). (as cited in Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 10).

### 1.3. Gender as Socially Constructed

Gender, like all social identities, is socially constructed. This can be closely seen through putting gender into historical and cultural focus and through social interaction, i.e. the things we do and say with other people (Zevallos, n.d., para. 17).

#### 1.3.1. Gender Socialization

The way we are, behave, and think is the final product of socialization. Since the moment we are born, we are being moulded into the being society wants us to be. Through socialization we also learn what is appropriate and improper for both genders (Crespi, n.d., para. 1). This is how socialization as a general term may be perceived and greatly explained in a more specific way by Šikić-Mićanović (1997) as being:

The life span process by which someone learns the behaviours and beliefs of a given society or social group. Enculturation was introduced in U.S. cultural anthropology as a substitute or alternative term for socialization. Participation in a socio-cultural system entails learning and internalizing appropriate behaviours, knowledge, values, expectations, and attitudes in order to become an effective member,' that is, both a social and cultural being. (p. 577)

Sociologists and other social scientists generally attribute many of the behavioural differences between genders to socialization. Our own interpretations of what constitutes proper actions

and performances for ourselves and others, as males or females, depend mainly on our awareness about gender roles which we obtain through socialization. *“When you meet a human being, the first distinction you make is ‘male or female?’ and you are accustomed to make the distinction with unhesitating certainty”* (Freud, 1933, p. 113). Equally, gender socialization is broadly known to be the learning of behaviours and attitudes considered appropriate for a given sex. Boys learn to be boys and girls learn to be girls too. One way to interpret Beauvoir's claim that one is not born but rather becomes a woman is to take it as a claim about gender socialization. *“females become women through a process whereby they acquire feminine traits and learn feminine behaviour. Masculinity and femininity are thought to be products of nurture or how individuals are brought up.”* (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 10). According to Šikić-Mićanović (1997) gender socialization: *“is a process whereby humans in the course of social interaction as well as exposure and reactions to diverse information are moulded and continually shaped to culturally appropriate images of femaleness and maleness.”* (p. 583) and to The Psychology Notes HQ website in their article entitled ‘Gender Socialization and Gender Stereotyping’ (2012): *“Gender socialization is the psychological process through which boys and girls learn the norms, rules and expectations about how boys and girls must behave in light of their sex”*. Likewise, to many other scholars as Giddens (1993) and Morris (1988), gender socialisation is a more attentive form of socialisation, it is how children of different sexes are socialised into their gender roles and taught what it means to be male or female (as cited in Crespi, 2003, p. 4).

In fact, it is quite obvious that biological factors such as genes, hormones, and brain lateralization are the initial contributor to gender differences, however; one cannot ignore that boys and girls are treated differently from the moment they are born, mainly by virtue of their sex, and this is what we simply mean by socialization.

If gender flowed naturally from sex, one might expect the world to sit back and simply allow the baby to become male or female. But in fact, sex determination sets the stage for a lifelong process of gendering, as the child becomes, and learns how to be, male or female. (Eckert, 2002, p. 16)

Gender role socialization is an ongoing process that an individual goes through from the moment of birth till late into adulthood. (Gender Socialization, 2012, para. 12). This process of categorizing others in terms of gender goes back to the dichotomous beginnings: It's a boy! It's a girl! Or even before birth as Butler (1993) assured:

The making of a man or a woman is a never-ending process that begins before birth -- from the moment someone begins to wonder if the pending child will be a boy or a girl. And the ritual announcement at birth that it is in fact one or the other instantly transforms an "it" into a "he" or a "she". (as cited in Eckert, 2002, p. 15)

Preparations for gender socialization begin, then, even before the birth of the child. One of the first questions people ask of expectant parents is the sex of the child. This is the beginning of a social categorization process that continues throughout life. Preparations for the birth often take the infant's sex into consideration (e.g., painting the room blue if the child is a boy, pink for a girl). Considerably, today it is largely believed that most differences in gender expression are attributed to differences in socialization, rather than genetic and biological factors. (Gender Socialization, n.d., para. 9). childhood comes right away after this crucial moment paving the way to a more intense asset for socialization. For Leaper (2014), early childhood is the phase in which girls and boys spend much of their time home with their families where parents and older siblings are the first ones they look to for guidance. According to him, parents might influence children's gender development through role modelling and encouraging different behaviours and activities in sons and daughters (para. 1). Cahill (1986) explained more:

During the exploratory stage of children's socialization . . . they learn that only two social identities are routinely available to them, the identity of "baby" or, depending on the configuration of their external genitalia, either "big boy" or "big girl." Moreover, others subtly inform them that the identity of "baby" is a discrediting one. When, for example, children engage in disapproved behaviour, they are often told "You're a baby" or "Be a big boy." In effect, these typical verbal responses to young children's behaviour convey to them that they must behaviourally choose between the discrediting identity of "baby" and their anatomically determined sex identity. (Cahill 1986a. p.175) (as cited in West & Zimmeman, 1987, p. 141)

The most intense period of socialization is, thus, during childhood when adults who are members of a particular cultural group instruct young children on how to behave in order to comply with social norms. Adolescence is a critical period in the development of gender attitudes and behaviours as well, which has potentially life-long effects. The rapid changes that take place during adolescence provide opportunities for the development and implementation of policies and programmes, which can influence the gender socialization process. (John, Stobenau, Ritter, Edmeades, & Balvin, 2017, para. 1).

Early investigations of adolescent socialization envisioned adolescents passively and individually receiving knowledge and skills from adults. More recently, scholars have

argued that adolescent socialization is an active, collective process in which adolescents interact with each other and adults to "produce their own worlds and peer cultures, and eventually come to reproduce, to extend, and to join the adult world" (Corsaro & Eder, 1995, p. 444).

Consequently, so begins the process of gender socialization, intensifying during adolescence and continuing throughout people's lives. In essence, this shows how males and females are defined, categorized, shaped or determined by social practices that reflect social and cultural priorities through their early life stages and we can also observe how gender roles are imposed by different agents or sources of socialization like family, community, mass media (consumption), and legal system as listed by Arnett (1995) (as cited in Šikić-Mićanović, 1997, p. 579). "*Gender socialization is defined as a process by which individuals develop, refine and learn to 'do' gender through internalizing gender norms and roles as they interact with key agents of socialization, such as their family, social networks and other social institutions*" (John et al., 2017, p. 3). During early childhood, the primary socialization agents are located within the family. It is said before that parents are the primary influence on gender role development in the early years of one's life (Crespi, n.d, para. 24).

Young children are influenced by how they are treated and expected to behave, as well as by observing the roles of their female and male family members. Studies have traced the influence of parents and family on the process of gender socialization at multiple levels in early childhood, ranging from children's play and participation in sports, family division of labour, type of media exposure, and knowledge/exposure to social norms, gender stereotypes and other social-structural factors (for a review, see Leaper & Farkas, 2014) (as cited in John et al., 2017, p. 16)

However, a child's expanding world is filled with many other agents of gender socialization such as the school, television, and books. (Gender Socialization, 2016, para. 4-5-6-7). For teenagers:

The nature of the parent-child bond shifts during adolescence in response to brain maturation processes. These processes, which are associated with the physical and sexual maturation of puberty over time, support the individuation of children from their parents and allow young people to become more independent and autonomous about their opinions and beliefs and increase their capacity for independent decision-making. (John et al., 2017, p. 16)

*"In essence, all the sources of socialization are related to one another and act together to promote the socialization goals of the culture."* (Šikić-Mićanović, 1997, p. 579). Arnett (1995)

added that the family, peers, school work, community, media, legal system, and cultural belief system are all sources of socialization (p. 619-624).

When we divide the world into two groups, males and females, we tend to consider all males similar, all females similar, and the two categories of “males” and “females” very different from each other. In real life, the characteristics of women and men tend to overlap. Unfortunately, however, gender polarization often creates an artificial gap between women and men and gender roles that are very difficult to change in time. (Crespi, n.d, para. 9)

This is what turned to be called gender stereotypes.

### 1.3.2. Gender Stereotyping

In order to understand stereotyping in general, an individual must first be made knowledgeable about the definition of a stereotype. The word “stereotype” is defined by Merriam and Webster’s online dictionary as: to believe unfairly that all people or things with a particular characteristic are the same. According to the Random House Webster’s college dictionary (1998) a stereotype is defined as an unvarying form or pattern, specifically a fixed or conventional notion or conception of a person, group, idea, etc., held by a number of people and allows for no individuality or critical judgment. Macrae, Stangor, and Hewstone (1996) defined stereotypes in a simplest way as being the representative of a society’s collective knowledge of customs, myths, ideas, religions, and sciences. (as cited in Vera, n.d., para. 4). Within this knowledge, an individual develops a stereotype or a belief about a certain group.

Stereotypic behaviour can be linked to the way that the stereotype is learned, transmitted, and changed and this is part of the socialization process as well. The culture of an individual influences stereotypes through information that is received from indirect sources such as parents, peers, teachers, political and religious leaders, and the mass media.” (Crespi, n.d, para. 13)

Stereotyping, as stated by Heilbrun (1981), and Hibbard & Buhrmester (1998) is how we perceive each other, especially individuals outside our group. What we believe to be “normal” is associated with who we are hanging out with. Which are usually our friends and social networks (as cited in Crespi, n.d, para. 14). Hence, the conceptualization of gender roles may easily generate stereotypes. Consequently, *“Gender stereotypes are judgments formed about men and women based on their membership to their group or sex. Stereotypes about men*

*and women can be quite precise, well-defined and are well-entrenched and intricately woven into the fabric of daily life.*” (Gender Socialization, 2016, para. 8). Additionally, Gender stereotypes are considered as a structured set of shared beliefs within a culture or a group about the attributes or characteristics that each gender has (Moya, 2003, p. 175). A gender stereotype is also explained as a generalised perspective or preconception about attributes, or characteristics that are or ought to be possessed by women and men or the roles that are or should be performed by them. It can be both positive and negative. For example, “women are nurturing” or “women are weak” (Gender stereotypes, 2014, para. 3).

So, as a matter of fact, gender stereotypes are basically the beliefs and the expectations that people have about the characteristics of males and females or men and women. These expectations are often related to the roles that the sexes are perceived to fulfil in a certain culture, society, or group and which can be positive or negative as mentioned before or even accurate or false, justified or unjustified and so on.

Gender stereotypes, however, do not necessarily reflect realities involving men and women, but they remain very powerful and enduring. As such, many men and women live their lives and adjust their behaviour in efforts to match the stereotype. Unfortunately, this can often turn out to have unpleasant consequences, one of which is imposing limitations on what one can aspire to be or to do. (Gender Socialization, 2016, para. 11)

Gender stereotyping, on the other hand, is *“the practice of ascribing to an individual woman or man specific attributes, characteristics, or roles by reason only of her or his membership in the social group of women or men.”* (Gender stereotypes, 2014, para. 4). They added to make a clear difference between the two and wrote:

a gender stereotype is, at its core, a belief and that belief may cause its holder to make assumptions about members of the subject group, women and/or men. In contrast, gender stereotyping is the practice of applying that stereotypical belief to a person. (Gender stereotypes, 2014, para. 5)

Gender stereotyping is considered by many scholars in the field, especially feminist ones, to be the reason behind gender inequality and gender discrimination. *“Gender stereotypes are beliefs about attributes associated to women and men that reveal gender discrimination.”* (Castillo-Mayén & Montes-Berges, 2014, para. 1). We can consider a stereotype as harmful when it creates limitations on women’s or men’s natural ability to develop their private capacities, seek their professional careers, and make life choices and plans. Hostile/negative or

seemingly benign stereotypes can both be harmful. It is for example based on the stereotype that women are more nurturing that child rearing responsibilities often fall exclusively on them. (Gender stereotypes, 2014, para. 7).

The gender stereotyping of men and women has a profound impact on our society. Due to the advances made in recent years to establish equality between the sexes, society reflects fewer attitudes that support discrimination and inequality between men and women. However, even though we are liberated in our beliefs and attitudes, many of our actions are still influenced by gender stereotyping and misconceptions about men and women that have been passed down through the generations. In spite of their stated values, a surprising number of people today relate to each other based on a gender stereotype. (Firestone, n.d., para. 2)

Are you male or female? Are you a man or a woman? Are you masculine or feminine? As for the first and the second question, the answer is usually fairly clear, however; the third question might not be quite so easy to answer. (Bem, 1974, p. 42).

### 1.3.3. Gender as Feminine and Masculine Sexuality

Catharine MacKinnon, an American radical feminist, activist, and author, develops her theory of gender as a theory of sexuality. Masculinity is defined as sexual dominance, femininity as sexual submissiveness: genders are “*created through the eroticization of dominance and submission. The man/woman difference and the dominance/submission dynamic define each other. This is the social meaning of sex*” (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 113). For MacKinnon, gender is constitutively constructed. In defining genders (or masculinity and femininity) we must make reference to social factors (Haslanger, 1995, p. 98).

In particular, we must make reference to the position one occupies in the sexualised dominance/submission dynamic: men occupy the sexually dominant position, women the sexually submissive one. So, gender difference for MacKinnon is not a matter of having a particular psychological orientation or behavioural pattern; rather, it is a function of sexuality that is hierarchal in patriarchal societies.” (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 16-17)

MacKinnon (1989) asserted that sexual difference was a function of sexual dominance. It was to argue a sexual theory of the distribution of social power by gender, in which sexuality was what makes the gender division be what it was, which was male dominant which is nearly everywhere. (p. 130)

This approach is primarily based on the notion of ‘Power’. Male power as socially defined through sexuality. In capitalist countries, for example, *“it includes wealth. Masculinity is having it; femininity is not having it.”* (MacKinnon, 1989, p. 131). MacKinnon claimed also that the social meaning of sex (gender) is created by sexual objectification of women whereby women are viewed and treated as objects for satisfying men's desires. She, then, sees legal restrictions on pornography as paramount to ending women's subordinate status that stems from their gender. (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 17).

#### 1.3.4. Gender as Feminine and Masculine Personality

Nancy Julia Chodorow, an American sociologist and professor, has criticised social learning theory as too simplistic to explain gender differences. Instead, she holds that gender is a matter of having feminine and masculine personalities that develop in early infancy as responses to prevalent parenting practices. (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 13). She offered a different explanation for the development of gender identity, theorizing that *“...in any given society, feminine personality comes to define itself in relation and connection to other people more than masculine personality does”* (1974, p. 43-44). Gendered personalities, for her, develop based on the attachment theory.

Chodorow holds that because mothers (or other prominent females) tend to care for infants, infant male and female psychic development differs. Crudely put: the mother-daughter relationship differs from the mother-son relationship because mothers are more likely to identify with their daughters than their sons. This unconsciously prompts the mother to encourage her son to psychologically individuate himself from her thereby prompting him to develop well defined and rigid ego boundaries. However, the mother unconsciously discourages the daughter from individuating herself thereby prompting the daughter to develop flexible and blurry ego boundaries. (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 13)

*“There is no need for the girl to “differentiate” or “separate” in order to continue her identity formation. This allows her to grow and develop along a “relational” trajectory, as opposed to the well-known “separation-individuation” trajectory followed by boys.”* (O’Donnell, n.d, p. 115). Childhood gender socialisation further builds on and reinforces these unconsciously developed ego boundaries finally producing feminine and masculine persons (Chodorow, 1995, p. 202-206) (as cited in Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 13). This perspective may seem to



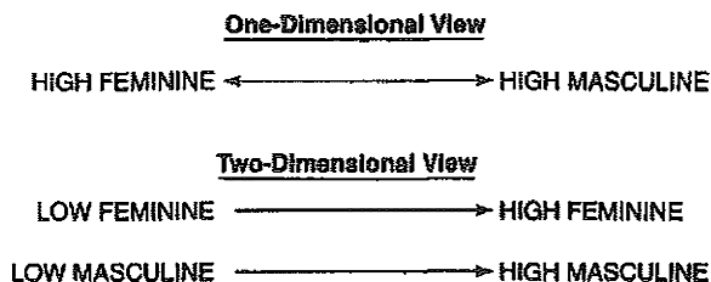
have its roots in Freudian psychoanalytic theory, it differs in many ways from it. Chodorow went further to consider Freud's theory on women and femininity flawed. (O'Donnell, n.d., p. 114).

Gendered personalities are supposedly manifested in common gender stereotypical behaviour. Women are stereotypically more emotional and emotionally dependent upon others around them. This is said to be because of their blurry and (somewhat) confused ego boundaries, they find it hard to distinguish their own needs from the needs of those around them. By contrast, men are stereotypically emotionally detached. This is said to result from men's well-defined ego boundaries that enable them to prioritise their own needs and interests sometimes at the expense of others' needs and interests. (Feminist Perspectives, 2008, para. 14). There are many other associations connected to masculine and feminine personalities. According to Cameron (1998): "*feminine* and *masculine* are not what we are, nor the traits we have, but effects we produce by way of particular things we do" (p. 271). McElhinny (1998) mentioned the traditional, old-fashioned associations such as "masculine, objective, rational, strong, cultural and feminine, subjective, emotional, weak, natural". (p. 322-323), but she emphasized in her article on female police officers that there is actually a change, a redefinition, to be noticed in society today especially when women are entering a classical male domain which pushes out the so-called redefinition of masculinity and femininity to begin (Lagerlöf, 2006, p. 6), and even Chodorow thought that these gender differences should and can be changed by involving both male and female parents equally in parenting (Chodorow, 1995, p. 214).

Prior to the 1970s behavioural scientists (and most non-scientists as well) usually assumed a mutually exclusive view of gender: that people's gender identity was either primarily masculine or primarily feminine. Masculinity and femininity were seen as opposite ends of a one-dimensional gender scale. Then, in the early 1970s this one-dimensional view of gender was challenged in an article by Anne Constantinople (1973) (with an idea which was revolutionary when first presented) claiming that masculinity and femininity are not two ends of a single scale but, rather, are best described as two separate dimensions on which individuals could be measured. In other words, a person could be high or low in masculinity and high or low in femininity at the same time. (Bem, 1974, p. 200). Connell (1995) admitted: "*the usage in which we call some women 'masculine' and some men 'feminine', or some actions and attitudes 'masculine' or 'feminine', regardless of who displays them*" (p. 69).

Bem (1974) added:

The two-dimensional view of gender was seized upon at the time by Sandra Bern of Stanford University. Bern challenged the prevailing notion that healthy gender identity is represented by behaving pre-dominantly according to society's expectations for one's biological sex. She proposed that a more balanced person, who is able to incorporate both masculine and feminine behaviours, may actually be happier and better adjusted than someone who is strongly sex-typed as either masculine or feminine. (P. 200-201).



**Figure.1.1.** Comparison of the traditional one-dimensional and the more recent two-dimensional models of gender (Bem, 1974, p. 201)

#### 1.4. Gender Bias and Sexism

We get going, here, by how Mukherjee (2015) defined bias:

The word ‘bias’ or ‘discrimination’ connotes different meanings. In general, ‘discrimination’ means the act of differentiating one person from another or recognition of the difference one thing and another. In primary sense ‘discrimination’ means ‘making an unjust distinction of the people on the grounds of caste, colour, creed, race and sex and treating them differently’. (p. 76)

Now, the term gender bias is often (wrongly) used interchangeably with the term sexism. “*Sexism is typically defined as the subordination of one sex, usually female, based on the assumed superiority of the other sex.*” (Kendall, 2005) (as cited in Gender Bias, n.d., para. 2). Or an ideology that defines females as different from and inferior to males (Andersen & Taylor, 2005, p. 262).

Sex is the basis for the prejudice and presumed inferiority implicit in the term sexism. The term *gender bias* is more inclusive than the term sexism, as it includes both prejudice (attitudes) and discrimination (behaviour) in its definition. Studies of gender bias also focus on gender, rather than on sex. Furthermore, the term gender bias could include

instances of bias against boys and men in addition to bias against girls and women.

(Gender Bias, n.d., para. 2)

Making a clear difference between the two terms above, we can assume that sexism is: *“prejudice or discrimination based on sex or gender, especially against women and girls.”* (Masequesmay, n.d., para. 1). Masequesmay (n.d.) added that: *“Sexism in a society is most commonly applied against women and girls. It functions to maintain patriarchy, or male domination.”* (para. 2). Andersen and Taylor (2005) explained that sexism was an ideology that defined females as different from and inferior to males (Gender Bias, n.d., para. 2). Their definition denotes clearly the notion that sexism appeared in societies structured by patriarchy which referred to a society or group in which men have power over women unlike matriarchy which has traditionally been defined as a society or group in which women have power over men (Andersen & Taylor, 2013, p. 263). They said, too, that it could be overt or subtle and conscious or unconscious (Andersen & Taylor, 2013, p. 262) as Napikoski (2019) mentioned in her article: *“Sexism means discrimination based on sex or gender, or the belief that because men are superior to women, discrimination is justified. Such a belief can be conscious or unconscious.”* (para. 1). Gender bias or discrimination, on the other hand, *“may be defined as differentiating people as male and female on the basis of gender or gender-based functions and treating them uniquely in the matter of social function, or treating them unjustly in the distribution or burdens and benefits in society.”* (Mukherjee, 2015, p. 76), or can be defined as a preference or prejudice toward one gender over the other, but can be conscious or unconscious, and may manifest in many ways, both subtle and obvious just as sexism do (What is Gender, n.d., para. 1).

According to the US National Judicial Education Program, the most prominent forms of gender bias are "(i) Stereotyped thinking about the nature and roles of women and men. (Halilovic and others, 2017, p. 29) (as cited in Forms of gender, n.d., para. 7). The relationship between gender bias and socialization is outlined here as *“socialization is a rational process and its objective is to build gender identity.”* (Crespi, 2003) (as cited in Mishra, Behera, & Babu, 2012, p. 46). *“One of the ways in which sexism is manifested in countries and cultures around the world is through the socialization of gender norms.”* (Forms of gender, n.d., para. 3). The article went on saying that: *“Children can be socialized from an early age to believe that women and men have different and proper gender roles in society. Those children may then grow up to perpetuate the existence of these damaging and restrictive roles in society.”* (para. 3). In sexism, Masequesmay clarified that: *“The extreme form of sexist ideology is*

*misogyny, the hatred of women.*” (para. 3). *“The presence of misogyny in cultures and societies often leads to high rates of violence against women and the commodification and objectification of women. Structural and cultural norms can breed misogyny.”* (Forms of gender, n.d., para. 5). Misogyny is matched by *Misandry*, which is according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the hatred of, contempt for, or prejudice against men or boys. We can see, accordingly, that *“Gender inequality affects everyone, including men. Stereotypes or ‘rules’ about how women and men, girls and boys should begin in childhood and follow us through to adulthood.”* (Gender inequality, n.d., para. 1). All of these results in gender stratification that is supported by beliefs that treat gender inequality as *“natural.”* Andersen & Taylor (2013) threw light on this saying: *“gender stratification is an institutionalized system that rests on specific belief systems supporting the inequality of men and women.”* (p. 263).

### 1.5. Language and Society

*“Language is indissolubly linked with the members of the society in which it is spoken, and social factors are inevitably reflected in their speech.”* (Downes, 1998, para. 1).

The term society is rather a vague and a broad term, but we generally mean by society, a group of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes. And for the term language, we use it to mean a system of linguistic communication particular to a group; this includes spoken, written, and signed modes of communication (Fuller & Wardhaugh, 2015, p. 2). Language, therefore, is *“both a system of communication between individuals and a social phenomenon.”* (Hickey, n.d., p. 1), and *“is central to social interaction in every society, regardless of location and time period. Language and social interaction have a reciprocal relationship: language shapes social interactions and social interactions shape language.”* (Crossman, 2019, para. 1). The area of language and society – sociolinguistics – is the field that shows how our use of language is governed by factors such as class, gender, race, etc. (Hickey, n.d., p. 1). According to M. Fuller and Wardhaugh (2015) sociolinguistics is: *“the study of our everyday lives – how language works in our casual conversations and the media we are exposed to, and the presence of societal norms, policies, and laws which address language.”* (p. 1). Jinyu (2014) wrote that social linguistics can be defined by two angles of simplicity and complexity. It is, as he stated, simply speaking, the study of the relationship between language and society. Precisely, the main content of sociolinguistics is the study of language structure and social context through the study of the interaction and influence between them. On the

complexity level, conforming to what he had said, it can be roughly divided into two levels: the microcosmic social linguistics and macroscopic sociolinguistics, this is a classification based on the interdisciplinary nature: macro refers to the sociology focus on the society; and micro is from the perspective of linguistics. (p. 92).

The relationship between language and society is very reciprocal. With regard to the influence of language on society, linguists have developed a view which they refer to as the ‘Sapir-Whorf hypothesis’ after the two linguists, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf.

This hypothesis is concerned with the possibility that man's view of his environment may be conditioned by his language. Whorf argued that the Hopi (Native Americans) considered clouds and stones to be living entities whereas for the English speakers they were inanimate objects. Thus Whorf believed that there would be a difference in the way the English and the Hopi viewed the world. (Importance of Language, n.d., p. 18)

Whorf added that the physical environment surrounding a particular society innately got reflected in its language as it is noticed, for instance, that the English language has only one word for 'snow' whereas the Eskimo has several. This is because the Eskimo must be able to differentiate between different types of snow (Importance of Language, n.d., p.18)

There is also the possibility of the social environment being reflected in language. As far as relationships are concerned it is found that in the English speaking societies these are referred to by single vocabulary terms like son, daughter, husband, wife, father, mother, brother, sister, aunt, uncle, grandson, grandfather, grandmother and the like. Though there is a reference to maternal and paternal aunt/uncle etc., this differentiation does not hold much importance. But when Indian languages are taken into account be it Hindi, Punjabi, Assamese, Bengali and others this differentiation becomes very pronounced. (Importance of Language, n.d., p. 19).

Consequently, it is clear that language is a mirror of society. The values of society can be reflected in its language and the other way around is very obvious as well, as Lakoff (1973) said: *“Language uses us as much as we use language.”* (p. 45).

## 1.6. Language and Gender

*“A major topic in sociolinguistics is the connection, if any, between the structures, vocabularies, and ways of using particular languages and the social roles of the men and*

women who speak these languages.” (Wardhaugh, 2006, para. 1). The earliest research about language and gender can be traced back to as early as ancient Greek, the time by which many dramas witnessed gender differences in language. However, it was not until the early 20th century that language and gender attracted anthropologists’ and linguists’ attention, and despite the fact that there is a trend to study language and gender, it has not become an independent linguistic topic until the 1960s, when feminist movement appeared and sociolinguistics advanced. Such well-known linguists as Lakoff, Trudgill, Zimmerman, West, Thorne, and Henley contributed a lot to the study by exploring the social roots of gender differences in language in the 1770s. (Li, 2014, p. 53). Female scholars felt drawn to research on language and gender because of the well-known discrimination against women which has taken place in the past and which is still to be observed today (Hickey, n.d., p. 21). Accordingly, and within linguistics:

the initial impulse was the work of the American linguist Robin Lakoff who in the early 1970s focused her attention on certain themes with the language and gender complex above those which she rightly felt were in need of rectifying. Her work stimulated other scholars to engage in this study and soon language and gender was a burgeoning research area in universities across the western world. (Hickey, n.d., p. 22)

Language and gender can, therefore, be defined as “*an interdisciplinary field of research that studies varieties of speech (and, to a lesser extent, writing) in terms of gender, gender relations, gendered practices, and sexuality.*” (Nordquist, 2019, para. 1). There have been some discussions on the sociolinguistic approaches applied in the study of gender and language so far concerned mainly with contrasting language as used by men and by women. In this context, many opinions emerged on this relationship with two gaining particular focus. According to Coates (1988), the research on language and gender is divided into studies that focus on *dominance* and those which concentrate on *difference* in language features of men and women (as cited in Han, 2014, p. 96). The difference approach was based on the idea that male and female language is dissimilar without associating this with the nature of the social relationship between men and women. (Hickey, n.d., p. 22). The pioneer in this field was Lakoff (1973) who confirmed that women’s speech had some features that were different from men’s speech. In Lakoff’s view:

some of language aspects consisting of lexical distinctions, tag questions, and strength of directive speech acts, strong versus weak expletives, question intonation with statement

syntax are more associated with women than with men. Women using these features are considered to be not only weak but also inferior and powerless. (Han, 2014, p. 96)

Lakoff (1975) suggested that the discussion of ‘Women’s language’ is related to ‘men’s language’ i.e., male speech is the unmarked standard that’s why female’s language is thought to be less powerful. (as cited in Wardhaugh, 2010, p. 346). However, Wardhaugh (2010) considered Lakoff’s approach a ‘deficit’ theory (p. 347) since her analysis was not centred on empirical research and her finding assured that women’s speech had uncertainty and lack of confidence on the part of women (Holmes, 1992, p. 313). The other approach is the dominance approach which perceived language use by females and males as reflecting established relationship of social control of the latter over the former. (Hickey, n.d., p. 22). In other words, language is one of the powerful tools which allows men to express their status of supremacy over women. (Han, 2014, p. 96). Hickey (n.d.) proclaimed: “*with the maturation of research on language and gender the simple ‘difference – dominance’ dichotomy was increasingly regarded as unsatisfactory and insufficiently nuanced*” (p. 22).

### 1.7. Gender as a Sociolinguistic Study

The study of language and society – sociolinguistics – can be dated to about the middle of the twentieth century. Before that, some authors commented on how language use was influenced or, indeed, guided by socially relevant factors, such as class, profession, age or gender. In fact, the father of modern linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), saw language as a type of social behaviour and in this he reflected French sociological thinking of his day. In the early 1960s a number of linguists in America began to investigate English usage in the United States from a social point of view. Since then, there has been a flood of publications in this vein, primarily in America, but soon afterwards in Europe as well (notably in Britain). This has led to the development of sociolinguistics. First and foremost, of these is William Labov, who in a pioneering investigation of the English of New York city published in 1966, arrived at many new conclusions concerning language variation and language change (Hickey, n.d., p. 2-3). Gender is one of the important social variables that sociolinguistics is concerned with. In sociolinguistics and other social sciences, gender refers to sexual identity in relation to culture and society. Apparently, ways in which words are used can both reflect and reinforce social attitudes toward gender (Nordquist, 2019, para. 1).

Human beings not only created language, but also become the users; therefore, the study on linguistics should not only be made from the perspective of symbol, but more should be people-oriented. But the most significant difference between human beings is the gender difference, so people of different genders from either physiology or psychology in the use of language will have their own gender characteristics, which leads to the gender differences in language. (Jinyu, 2014, para. 1)

Going back to the difference approach mentioned earlier, those differences between men and women in language use are not random. Jinyu (2014) confirmed:

Gender differences in language phenomenon are not accidental; they have the profound social root. Gender differences are the fundamental facts of social life and human differences. It reflects that there is a long historical origin in language difference phenomenon. Men and women have different status and play different roles, thus they have different duties and different rights. (p. 93)

He went further saying that many linguists such as Leonard Bloomfield, McConnell-Ginet, Haas, and Zhao Yuanren concluded that: *“in different contexts, men and women have differences to a degree in phonology, vocabulary and grammar, syntax options.”* (p. 93).

This is based mainly on the idea that men and women show significant differences in the characteristics when using the same language or dialect, and they usually form variations of gender. Language gender difference has always been complex according to Jinyu. Gender differences in language are not only regarded as a linguistic phenomenon, but also as a social phenomenon and in this context studies about which gender is more talkative and which is politer. In a recent study, Dr. Brizendine (1994) stated that women talked three times as much as men. On the other hand, Drass (1986), in an experiment on gender identity in conversation dyads found that men spoke more than women (Abdalgane, 2019, p. 2). In addition to that, gender differences in language were also studied in terms of: status vs. support, Independence vs. intimacy, advice vs. understanding, information vs. feelings, orders vs. proposals, conflict vs. compromise, and so on. (Language and Gender, n.d., p. 3-4).

This difference *“has a rich cultural background, historical connotation and profound social reality, reflecting the social psychology, folk psychology and the social and cultural value orientation.”* (Jinyu, 2014, p. 93). From the perspective of social structure, the dominance approach emerged. Researchers in this field of study,



think the formation of language difference is due to the unequal status of males and females. For one thousand years, the traditional concept of ‘men outside, women inside’ has dominated people, and men are seen as the dominators of the status and power. (Jinyu, 2014, p. 93)

Jinyu (2014) didn’t miss to mention Zimmerman thought about men as having absolute authority in the society; which, reflected their control in compliance with their positions in society. Zimmerman added that men always interrupt other’s conversations is an obvious sign to expose their social power and controlling force (p. 93). “*Dominance can be attributed to the fact that in mixed-sex conversations, men are more likely to interrupt than women.*” (Foliviera, n.d., p. 3).

The importance of gender difference in language went further to be claimed by Weinrich’s (1953) as a relevant variable in language contact situations (Motschenbacher 2007) (as cited in Hidalgo-Tenorio ,2016, p. 1). A claim, after which, “Genderlect” a controversial concept that finds its origins in the field of early sociolinguistics, emerged. It was only in the 1970s that the term “genderlect” was first used in the linguistics literature, where it refers to a language variety explained on the grounds of speaker gender/sex (Kramer 1974; Haas 1979) (as cited in Hidalgo-Tenorio ,2016, p. 1).

### 1.7.1. Gendered Language and Sexiest Language

Finding the exact meaning or definition of gendered language may be a slightly difficult task due to the fact that many confuse it with sexiest language like the following by Prior (2017):

gendered language is commonly understood as language that has a bias towards a particular sex or social gender. In English, this would include using gender-specific terms referring to professions or people, such as 'businessman' or 'waitress', or using the masculine pronouns (he, him, his) to refer to people in general, such as 'a doctor should know how to communicate with *his* patients'. (para. 4)

In fact, we have to be able to differentiate between the two terms as they are not the same. According to some research works on the topic, we can extract the meaning of gendered language as being the one with grammatical gender where all nouns are assigned a gender class and the corresponding dependent articles, adjectives, and verbs must agree in gender with the noun (e.g. in Spanish: *la buena enfermera* the good female nurse, *el buen enfermero* the good

male nurse) (Corbett, 1991-2006), and semantic gender, which is defined by a set of gender definition words (e.g., man, male, waitress) (Zhou et al., n.d., para. 3-9).

Jakiela and Ozier (2018) explained: “*Languages use different systems for classifying nouns. Gender languages assign many—sometimes all—nouns to distinct sex-based categories, masculine and feminine.*” (para. 1). It can go further saying: “*In some countries the language itself is gendered, with many – such as French – having masculine and feminine nouns. Whilst some words appear to be linked to gender for a discernible reason, it is often an arbitrary association.*” (Gendered language, n.d., para. 2). “*A language is considered a grammatical gender language if words related to nouns have to agree grammatically with the form of the noun, this agreement being the very essence of grammatical gender systems (Corbett, 1991)*” (Gabriel & Gygax, 2016, p. 4). To a speaker of a gender language, gender distinctions are salient in every thought and utterance; every object is either masculine or feminine because it is intrinsically linked to a word that carries a grammatical gender, for example, languages such as Spanish and Italian partition all nouns — even inanimate objects — into distinct gender categories. (Jakiela & Ozier, 2018, p. 3).

Therefore, under the light shed above on this, gendered language can simply refer to any form of language, which implies the gender identity of the person it is referring to. (Gendered Language, n.d, para. 1). Stahlberg, Braun, Irmen, and Sczesny (2007) proposed a distinction between three language types in this regard. All of them have lexical expressions of sex in words of the type “women,” “sister,” “father,” or “man.” However, two of them come under the classification of gendered language, which are natural gender languages, and grammatical gender languages. In natural gender languages (e.g., English, Scandinavian languages), there is no grammatical marking of sex such that most nouns and their dependent linguistic forms (articles, adjectives, pronouns) that can be used to refer to both males and females, and personal pronouns are the major resource for expressing gender whereas in grammatical gender languages (e.g., French, Italian, German) all nouns are assigned feminine or masculine (or neutral) gender, and the dependent parts of speech carry grammatical agreement to the gender of the corresponding noun. For instance, *the sea* is masculine in Italian, *il mare*, and feminine in French, *la mer*. Moreover, in these languages, grammatical and syntactical rules are built in a way that feminine nouns or adjectives are often marked as they derive from the corresponding masculine form. Similarly, masculine nouns and pronouns are often used with a generic function, that is, to refer to both men and women. (Menegatti & Rubini, 2017, para. 3).

On the other hand, the third type is a language with no grammatical gender distinctions, and therefore does not apply categories like male and female to nouns, articles, adjectives or verbs and is called a genderless language. (What are Genderless, n.d., para. 1). Menegatti and Rubini (2017) illustrated: “*Genderless languages (e.g., Finnish, Turkish), that have neither grammatical gender for nouns nor for personal pronouns.*” (para. 3).

Gendered language may lead to what is called ‘Sexist language or gender exclusive language’ which, differently, refers to words and phrases that demean, ignore, or stereotype members of either sex or that needlessly call attention to gender. It's a form of biased language. (Nordquist, 2020, para. 1). Umera-Okeke (2012) defined it: “*sexist language is considered to be any language that is supposed to include all people, but, unintentionally (or not) excludes a gender—this can be either males or females.*” (p. 1). Han (2014) claimed that stereotyped attitudes towards men and women are encoded by sexist language. (p. 97). English, for instance, is said to be a gender-biased language, because, as Braun (2001) and Engelberg (2002) clarified: “*a lack of grammatical gender, however, does not necessarily reflect gender neutrality*” (as cited in Caswell, Laakso, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2011, p. 296-270).

Women are addressed with three titles including “Miss”, “Mrs.” and “Ms.” to show their marital status and sex, whereas men are just associated with only title that signifies their sex: “Mr.”. Some other examples regarding the gender-biased phenomenon can be not only seen in English sex-paired words, ‘waiter/waitress’, ‘usher/usherette’. Also, when hearing the word ‘nurse’, most people have the image of a woman in their mind not a man. The addition of suffix and affix to the words considered as marked forms to signal ‘femaleness’ expresses the notion that women are not important, not serious, inferior and deviant. (Han, 2014, p. 97)

### **1.7.2. Gender Bias in Language (Linguistic Gender-Bias) / Sexism in Language (Linguistic Sexism)**

Bias, in general, “*is a tendency for prejudice towards a person or certain groups of people. Bias often results in unfair treatment, such as exclusion or discrimination. Bias may be conscious or unconscious as well as positive or negative.*” (What is linguistic, n.d., para. 1). “Numerous observers have described women’s speech as being different from that of men (see Baron, 1986, Arliss, 1991, pp. 44-112, and pp. 162–207 of this book). I should also observe that there is a bias here: men’s speech usually provides the norm against which women’s speech is judged” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 317). This is what we call linguistic bias that is defined by

Beukeboom and Burgers (2017) as: *“a systematic asymmetry in word choice that reflects the social-category cognitions that are applied to the described group or individual(s). Three types of biases are distinguished in the literature that reveal, and thereby maintain, social-category cognitions and stereotypes.”* (para. 1). Gender is just one of these social-category cognitions and stereotypes. As it is mentioned before, language is gender biased, it favours a certain gender over another which leads to different linguistic patterns conveying status differentially to men and women, yet especially to women (though other definitions which deal with the unfair treatment of both sexes in language, and not only the unfair treatment of women, have also been provided) and this what makes a language a sexist one. M. Fuller and Wardhaugh (2015) wrote:

Work in the 1980s on this topic addressed issues such as the so-called generic ‘he’ and the use of ‘man’ or ‘mankind’ to refer to all people. Penelope (1988) discusses how such usages exclude women and create the mentality that men are the default and the norm, and women are the exception. (p. 314)

Bodine (1975) used the term "androcentrism", that is, male-centred, as the biased representation of the sexes in language, mainly portraying men as the norm and making women deviate from that norm (as cited in Teso, 2010, p. 13). Atkinson (1993) defined —linguistic sexism as —a wide range of verbal practices, including not only how women are labelled and referred to, but also how language strategies in mixed sex interaction may serve to silence or depreciate women as interactants (p. 403). Ivy and Backlund (1994) added that if sexism refers to attitudes and/or behaviours that denigrate one sex to the exaltation of the other, then it follows that sexist language would be verbal communication that conveys those attitudes or behaviours (p. 72). Henley (1987) suggested that there were three broad types of sexist language. 1) Language that ignored women or makes them invisible. That was done through the use of the 'generic masculine' like the use of masculine forms such as mankind, fireman when referring to people in general or by using generic pronouns. 2) Language that defined women narrowly. This one referred to the observation that language usage reflects women's secondary status because they were more often discussed in terms of their appearance and their relationship to men, for example as wife or mother, or by courtesy titles which denoted their relationship with men (Miss, Mrs). 3) Language that derogated women or what had been called the “semantic derogation of women”. Here, the masculine forms tend to have more positive connotations than the feminine ones. Lakoff (1975) compared the connotations of the terms bachelor and spinster, master and mistress, and concluded that the masculine forms have a more positive connotation,

that in fact, these terms are not parallel, because the feminine has a more negative connotation. (Teso, 2010, p. 16-17). We can finalize this whole discussion by what Teso (2010) wrote:

Although sexism can in theory apply to the discrimination of both sexes, in practice the term has been frequently used to refer to the bias against women. However, this emphasis on discrimination against women has been often criticised because it can be in itself sexist (Pauwels, 1998) and therefore more recently new definitions of sexism have been provided in order to reflect the fact that sexism is the discrimination based on gender and therefore can apply to men as well. (p.17)

### 1.7.3. Gender Fair Language (Gender-Neutral/Gender-Inclusive Language)

There have been many attempts to desexify or degender language, that is to remove inherently sexist structures and to make language more gender-neutral. One obvious means is just not to use such language. But, there are many instances where one cannot avoid the issue, and speech communities have reacted in various ways, for example by creating new generic forms. Humankind for former mankind, chairperson instead of chairman / chairwoman or indeed chair. This type of reduction does not always work (Hickey, n.d, p. 28), but it's considered a promising way to minimize gender bias or sexism in language. In the field of linguistics, *"different terms have been used to refer to a language which is free of sexism and includes both women and men: gender-free, gender-inclusive, gender-neutral, gender-fair, non-sexist, non-discriminatory language. These terms are similar but not necessarily equivalent."* (Teso, 2010, p. 22). Gender fair language (GFL) is language that aims at reducing gender stereotyping and discrimination (Sczesny, Formanowicz, & Moser, 2016, p. 1). It includes gender-neutral language which is in fact, according to Teso (2010), a linguistic description. *"A gender-neutral term is formally unmarked for gender. Gender-neutral language involves recasting words or sentences so that they do not exclude either men or women."* (Miller and Swift, 1989) (as cited in Teso, 2010, p. 22). Gender fair language also includes gender-inclusive language which implies that both sexes are explicitly included. In grammatical gender languages such as French and Spanish, the term used to refer to language free of gender bias is "non-sexist" that is for (Frank and Treichler, 1989) a social, functional description. In French, for example, the term which is most frequently used in this field is the "feminisation of language" which implies a more visible presence of women in language (Teso, 2010, p. 22).

Teso (2010) asserted that promoting language change by means of formulating and distributing non-sexist language guidelines is considered the most widespread strategy for the implementation of gender-based language reform. Since the 1970s different approaches have been put forward and used to achieve equal linguistic treatment. In this context, two main strategies to achieve gender-fair language, that is, to make women more visible in language and to balance the lexis used for occupational titles have been identified. Namely, 1) gender-neutralisation and 2) 'gender-specification' (or feminisation). Gender-neutralisation involves the use of one term to refer to both sexes. The aim of this strategy is to have a society in which a person's sex has no relevance for their occupational status. Romaine (2001) calls this strategy "degendering". This approach has also been called "inclusion" which involves reducing or abolishing terms that connote one sex to the exclusion of the other (Mucchi-Faina, 2005). The gender-neutralisation strategy can also include what is called 'gender abstraction' because it sometimes recommends the use of an abstract term or word to avoid gender specification. Gender-specification, on the other hand, is defined by Pauwels (1998) as the approach which aims at achieving equal treatment of the sexes in language by making women visible through the systematic and symmetrical marking of gender. It has often been called feminisation of language. Romaine (2001) has called this "engendering" or "regendering". Mucchi-Faina (2005) defines this as the 'visibility principle'. Gender-specification can be achieved in different ways, for instance, by using both the masculine and the feminine forms as a way of explicitly mentioning both sexes especially in contexts where the sex of the referent is unknown like the use of dual third person pronouns for generic contexts in English for example (he or she and its variations) or the use of slashes with the masculine and feminine forms in German (e.g. Lehrerl/in). It could be concluded that most language planning reforms apply a mixture of the two strategies. (Teso, 2010, p. 41-43-45-47).

### **1.8. Misgendering and Language**

The processes of pathologization, marginalization, and inequality in the gender social zone result in specific linguistic practices like Misgendering that is considered "*a form of discrimination*" (Questions and answers, n.d., para. 5). Misgendering doesn't concern only transgender people, as it is largely perceived, but it is a larger issue targeting even cisgender people when they behave in a way or do something that doesn't match with the gender role

others expect from them according to their natural sex or gender identity as shown in the following definitions. Ansara and Hegarty (2014) defined Misgendering as:

The use of gendered language that does not match how people identify themselves, such as when people who identify as women are described as men. Although anyone may be misgendered by others, being misgendered is a particularly common experience shared by women in professions stereotypically associated with men (e.g. surgeons who are described by surname are often automatically described as 'he'. (p. 260)

In other words, using gendered language which does not match someone's gender identity is a form of Misgendering (Gendered Language, n.d., para. 1). Misgendering, therefore, describes any situation in which a person is referred to as a gender other than their true gender identity. It includes using the wrong form of gendered language, like pronouns or titles, but can also include challenging someone's right to be in a gender-restricted area such as a public bathroom (Misgendering, n.d., para. 1). It: *"is the act of referring to someone or describing someone with language that does not align with their gender identity."* (Misgendering, 2018, para. 8). It:

refers to the practice of referring to people (especially transgender people) with words that do not reflect their gender. These words may include pronouns such as he/him or she/her or honorifics such as Mr. or Miss. Any use of language that undermines someone else's gender identity is Misgendering. (Misgendering, 2019, para. 1)

In more specific linguistic terms, Rieger and Figueiredo (2017) wrote: *"Misgendering happens along with the practice of mispronouncing, which is defined by the authors as the practice of Misgendering through the use of pronouns such as s/he, neglecting or delegitimizing the gender preferred by the person who is being referred to"* (p. 145). In this regard, Clements (2018) said:

Misgendering occurs when you intentionally or unintentionally refer to a person, relate to a person, or use language to describe a person that doesn't align with their affirmed gender. For example, referring to a woman as "he" or calling her a "guy" is an act of Misgendering (para. 4)

Accordingly, Misgendering can be an accidental act due to many reasons such as the person's own gender expression and one's physical characteristics or it can be an intentional one done on purpose by those wishing to disrespect someone's gender identity (Misgendering, 2019, para. 3).

Misgendering can be described as a microaggression - a small discriminatory act which, although so brief that the person responsible may be unaware they did anything wrong, occurs so often that it creates a constant negative atmosphere for the person experiencing it. (Misgendering, n.d., para. 3)

Martinez (2019) confirmed: “*Misgendering someone can be done intentionally or unintentionally, but it has long lasting harmful impacts.*” (para. 6). McCready (2019) went further considering Misgendering as just pernicious as the use of slurs and that it should be regarded a slurring behaviour (p. 137).

### 1.8.1. Ironic Misgendering

In rarer cases, Misgendering can have malicious intents as being deliberate and used as a tool to hurt someone (Misgendering, 2018, para. 14) by insulting, for instance, cis people for not obeying gender roles, for example “Are you a girl? I heard you scream like one.” (Misgendering, n.d., para. 2).

Dewaele and Simpson (2019) referred to this practice as “Ironic Misgendering” and defined it as a situation in which the speaker knows and accepts the referred-to person’s expected gender, and is misgendering them for ironic reasons (e.g. to highlight a perceived failure to conform to gender-based expectations) (p. 105).

#### 1.8.1.1. Ironic Misgendering Toward Cisgender Females

Ironic Misgendering, as previously seen, is directed not only to transgender people, but also to cisgender people males and females as well. Davis and McCready (2018) affirmed:

Misgendering is sometimes done in error, as when a person fails to recognize the gender of the person they are speaking to (which is not, of course, limited to interactions with transgender people, as cis people are often misgendered as well). But, it can also be done deliberately. (p. 10)

This is the case we want to discuss here. However, Misgendering females ironically doesn’t happen as often or as frequent as it happens to males. In other words, the female Misgendering zone is a bit narrower than the male one due to the long-lasting “*perceptions that the male category is the norm and that the corresponding female category is a derivation and*



*thus less important.*” (Male as norm, n.d., para. 1). In this respect, Eckert and McConnell (2003) illustrated:

While females may wear clothing initially viewed as male, the reverse is highly stigmatized: western women and girls now wear jeans but their male peers are not appearing in skirts. Even names seem to go from male to female and not vice versa. There are girls named Christopher, but no boys named Christine. (p. 21)

*“It’s the fact that society has always seen “man” and “masculine” as neutral or the default. Feminine terms do not get the same treatment most of the time because feminine is seen as lesser and secondary.”* (Don’t Call Me, 2019, para. 7). In addition to the notions of patriarchy in societies, male superiority, and male dominance. *“The assumption is widespread in the literature that male dominance in the public sphere is universal in both time and space”* (Parker & Parker, 1979, p. 291). Men are expected to be strong and aggressive, women are expected to be docile and deferential. Lakoff tackled this point. She wrote that the language men and women used, or had used against them, was often subtly biased along gender lines, even if we didn’t overtly notice it. (as cited in Luu, 2016, para. 5). Luu (2016) added:

Whether you’re a man or a woman (or belong to some other social group), pointing out that you don’t seem like one, or how one should be, can often seem like the worst kind of insult. This changes how we use language to describe women in particular, because male, as Robin Lakoff has pointed out, is considered *the norm*, thus a “lady doctor” marks a difference from a regular doctor (who is generically male). (para. 5)

Moreover, and as a matter of fact, descriptions like ‘feminine’ and ‘girly’ are commonly used as insults whereas ‘masculine’ traits are seen as a good way to praise. Expressions like ‘take it like a man’, or ‘man up’, are generally used when describing courage and toughness. But, phrases like ‘don’t be such a girl’ are often used to insult, and draw comparisons between being feminine and weak (5 seemingly harmless things, n.d., para. 12). Eckert and McConnell (2003), again, depicted:

A girl may be sanctioned for behaving “like a boy” -- particularly if she behaves aggressively, and gets into fights -- on the grounds that she is being “unladylike” or “not nice.” But there is a categorization of “tomboy” reserved for girls who adopt a male rough and tumble style of play, who display fearlessness and refuse to play with dolls. And while in some circles this categorization may be considered negative, in general in western society it earns some respect and admiration. (p. 21-22)

So, owing to the fact that masculinity is generally used as a way to praise and seen as superior, as clarified previously, chances that women get misgendered for ironic reasons are fewer than the chances of men. Yogendra (2014) wrote: *“As many commentators and researchers have observed, “male” is the default by which desirable characteristics are often defined. Accordingly, anything that is deemed feminine is deemed inferior.”* (para. 1-2). Actually, femininity is not only used to misgender males ironically, but also to degrade or insult women themselves. Lakoff (1973) commented:

the little girl –now grown to womanhood- will be accused of being unable to speak precisely or to express herself forcefully. So, a girl is damned if she does, damned if she doesn’t. If she refuses to talk like a lady, she is ridiculed and subjected to criticism as unfeminine. (p. 47-48)

This paradoxical Misgendering assumption about females can be seen also in assuming a woman needs to act masculine to be successful.

The idea that in order for a woman to be successful, she needs to “act like a man” assumes that a feminine woman (and, again, someone of literally any gender other than male) cannot be successful. Women who are strong and tough are praised on their leadership qualities. However, women are cautioned that being emotional or too sensitive will prevent them from succeeding. (Mercado, 2017, para. 13)

On the other hand, when females do act masculine they are ironically referred to as “bossy”. *“When a little boy asserts himself, he’s called a ‘leader’. Yet when a little girl does the same, she risks being branded ‘bossy.’”* (Ban Bossy, 2015, para. 1). Baer (2014) wrote: *“As a girl I was called ‘bossy,’ ‘loud,’ ‘know-it-all’, Thomas (the president of LeanIn.org) says, “And as adults, women internalize it — it’s very painful to assert yourself when the message is that it’s not right to do.”* (para. 8). According to Baer (2014), linguist Deborah Tannen (author of *“Talking from 9 to 5: Women and Men at Work”*), said that “bossy” wasn’t just a word. It was a frame of mind. (para. 9). He added: *“Calling someone “bossy” is “just a way of expressing the negative reaction that women get if they talk in ways that are expected from someone in authority””* (para. 10).

Ban Bossy is *“a self-censorship campaign launched in 2014 by LeanIn.org. The campaign criticizes the use of the word “bossy” to describe assertive girls and women.”* (Ban Bossy, n.d., para. 1). And, on 11 August 2014, Irish singer-songwriter Sinéad O’Connor,

released her tenth full-length album *'I'm Not Bossy, I'm the Boss'* in support of the Ban Bossy campaign (I'm Not Bossy, n.d., para. 1).

Women or girls can be ironically misgendered by being referred to as a 'boi', 'beuy', 'man', 'lad' or any masculine pronoun. (The Misgendering of, 2018, para. 1). Or can be called, too, 'dude' or 'bro' as an article entitled, 'Don't Call Me Dude; I'm Not a Bro!', illustrated. The word 'dyke' as well. Kremin (2017) wrote about it: "*This reinforcement of the patriarchal gender roles is further seen in the other categories of swear words which are particularly offensive to women: slurs that suggest a woman is homosexual or masculine (e.g. dyke)*" (p. 22).

### 1.8.1.2. Ironic Misgendering Toward Cisgender Males

*"If you want to insult a woman, call her a 'prostitute'. If you want to insult a man, call him a 'woman'."* (Montell, 2019, para. 1).

Feminist theories perceive hostility toward women as arising within the maintenance of a patriarchal culture and its accompanying attitudes of sexism, objectification of women, and misogyny. (e.g., Jeffreys 2005) (as cited in Felmler, Rodis & Zhang, 2019, para. 10). This antagonism toward women or females in general results in a strong ironic Misgendering used toward boys and men. Despite that misandry, which is defined by Merriam-Webster dictionary as the hatred of men, also exists, but misogyny that "*has been defined as a hatred of or a strong prejudice against women*" (Malmi, 2009, p. 28) is far more common. Mugo (2015) said about that: "*The language used to insult, especially about being "a man's man", show the heightened levels of misogyny in society. A people's language shows its prejudices; it speaks how a people view that particular group.*" (para. 12). Now, why can't "*run like a girl*" also mean win the race? Well, Mugo (2015) explained that 'feminine' traits were used every day as insults from a very early age. Many times boys were told, '*Don't cry like a little girl*'? and when they grew up, a man could insult a bunch of other men calling them '*ladies*'. (para. 3). He carried on:

Often I will be sitting with a group of men and one will do something that others in the group do not agree with and they will say, "Don't be a *bitch*." This not only brings the man's actions down to animalistic level but also makes the negative actions female as well. (para. 5)

The answer for the initial question, therefore, is that being a woman is still seen as lesser than a man. Consequently, there is pressure on men to not be that way (Mugo, 2015, para. 6). Grobety (2018) claimed in her article that the eventual insult for many men was to be called a “*bitch*” or a “*pussy*” as these words were equated with femininity. Femininity was, for her, used as an insult, as if it was the worst thing in the world to be associated with (para. 1). “*Girly*” is another male Misgendering term. Mercado (2017) questioned: “*Why does doing something ‘like a girl’ mean you aren’t doing it well? Can you think of a female equivalent to ‘acting manly’? Acting ‘lady-like’ definitely doesn’t imply the sort of strength that ‘man up’ does*” (para. 10). Smiler (2016) explained that telling a guy to ‘man up’ or ‘be a man about it’ or ‘not act like such a girl’ could act like an amazingly strong insult especially by a powerful or a popular male (para. 1). In the same context, here, Mann (2014) went deeper and explained:

The fragmented movements that Young identifies as characterizing ‘feminine body comportment’ are the visible manifestations of the disruption of the ‘I can’ body. When a boy or a man throws ‘*like a girl*’ and is ridiculed for it, however it is not only the inhibited intentionality, the discontinuous unity, and the spatiality of enclosure that the ridicule calls into play. The contempt in the insult sets loose the specter of the female body and its orifices the female body that cannot defend itself against violent penetration, the female body lived in the mode of “*I suffer*” rather than “*I can*”. (p. 123)

The thing went further to The British prime minister Boris Johnson calling Jeremy Corbyn a “*great big girl’s blouse*”, but did at least make his “denigration via feminisation” policy cross party: David Cameron is, apparently, a “*girly swot*”. (Bell, 2019, para. 2). *Homo, fag, wimp* are also terms used to describe men as effeminate or weak. (Jay, 1999, p. 170). Vincent (2018) provided more examples like “You’re such a p—y.” “Quit being such a p—y.” “Jesus, you’re such a girl.” “Sissy.” “Are you gonna cry like a little b—h?” “If you watch any more of those movies, you’re gonna grow a v—a.” (para. 2). He commented on them:

Because these words are emasculating. They “reduce” a man to a woman. They reduce a man to a woman’s body part that is still somewhat taboo, that is still avoided because of the fear of “dirty”, of taste and smell. They reduce a man to a girl-child, considered to be an exceptionally helpless being. They reduce him to “not a man at all”. They imply that certain behaviours, particularly those considered to be feminine, will “feminize” the man in the eyes of his peers. If masculinity is the currency of status, then femininity empties the wallet. And in using these words as insults, the speaker is subtly insulting women as well, suggesting that a man being like “them” is undesirable. (para. 8)

Eckert and McConnell (2003) added that boys who adopted girls' behaviors, were harshly rejected. They were called "sissy" as they did not adhere strictly to norms of masculinity. They explained what sissy meant as: "*a sissy is a boy who does not display those very characteristics that make a girl a tomboy*" (p. 22). Moreover, "*It is easier to use words that are women's body parts or feminine emotions as curse words or insults for men. Calling a man, a pussy or effeminate are examples of such usage.*" (Yogendra, 2014, para. 3). '*A douche*' or '*Douchebag*' is another word used by men to insult one another. In fact, It's a bag that holds the feminine cleansing product. It's their way of telling women or girls that their natural smells are disgusting and need to be all flowery! Men use terms for women's products and parts as insults: tampon head, pussy, cunt, screams like a little girl, cries like a little girl, throws like a girl, hormonal, pmsing, boob. (Kristilz, 2011, para. 1-2-3). Another is '*p-word*' (slang for vagina, part of the female reproductive system). Grobety (2018) wrote about it:

When men refer to other men as the *p-word*, it is meant to demean them and give them "emasculating" feminine qualities. If two guys are at the gym and one can't lift as much as the other, he may be called the p-word. When a man shows any sort of emotion — or, God forbid, cries — they may be labelled a p-word. The insinuation is men shouldn't have feelings and if they do, they shouldn't show them. (para. 2)

Schonauer (2017), in this respect, narrated that when he was a kid, the worst way to insult a boy was to call him a girl. He carried on saying that fathers, grandfathers, uncles, coaches and peers did it to motivate boys to be tougher, more determined, and meaner. As if being a girl was the epitome of weakness, silliness and shame (para. 1).

Identifying with a woman is a scary thing for so many men because the effect of calling boys "*girls*" as a means of ridicule creates a deep-seated misogyny that follows them through life. This way, men are encouraged to hate and mistrust anything and anybody who expresses feminine attributes, especially when they encounter men and boys who do not meet the masculine standard of being tough, rugged and independent, and if it happens that they don't actually hate women, they often objectify them. Gender stereotypes oppress us all in ways both benign and insidious. They limit our expectations of one another, our freedom of expression and our vocational choices. (Schonauer, 2017, para. 2-3-5)

Another way in which Ironic Misgendering toward males is typified is through semantic change that can alter a word's meaning over time. This change generally occurs in two common procedures termed: 'Pejoration' and 'amelioration' or 'melioration'. Montell (2019) spelled

out: “Pejoration is where a word starts out with a neutral or positive meaning and eventually devolves to mean something negative. The opposite is called amelioration.” (para. 4). Here, she emphasized that feminine words usually went down the former route, while masculine words often went down the latter, and that’s the point over here.

In some instances, the process of pejoration rebrands a feminine word as an insult—not for women, but for men. Take the words “buddy” and “sissy”: Today, we might use sissy to describe a weak or overly effeminate man, while buddy is a synonym for a close pal. We don’t think of these words as being related, but in the beginning, buddy and sissy were abbreviations of the words “brother” and “sister.” Over the years, the masculine term ameliorated, while the feminine term went the other way, flushing down the semantic toilet until it plunked onto its current meaning: a man who is weak and pathetic, just like a woman. Linguists have actually determined that the majority of insults for men sprout from references to femininity, either from allusions to women themselves or to stereotypically feminine men: wimp, candy-ass, motherfucker. (Montell, 2019, para. 5)

Both men and women must work to reclaim these words from their negative connotations. Stopping the use of female-degrading words is integral to ensuring equal respect for both sexes. (Grobety, 2018, para. 7).

## 1.9. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the theoretical background to Ironic Misgendering in language among cisgender people. It focused on all the important aspects that are of relevance to the topic of gender and language paving the way to our research paper’s main field of interest that is Misgendering. More specifically Ironic Misgendering. In the next chapter, we will deal with the presentation of Ironic Misgendering in Algerian dialects/ in Algeria. The limelight will be put on the different grammatical and semantic structures that reflect the existence of our crucial point of study in this particular linguistic situation.



# Chapter Two

## *The Context of the Study*

## Chapter Two: *The Context of the Study*

### 2.1. Introduction

In its sociolinguistic repertoire, and owing to its historical background especially the colonial period, Algeria is widely known by its diversity, complexity and its linguistic plurality. The current chapter, thereupon, sheds some light on the history of Algeria and on the existing sociolinguistic situation in it that is considered as complex and distinctive because of its variations of languages and dialects. In addition to, a brief check on the perception of gender in this particular situation. All this is done as a way to study and unveil the incubating environment in which, Ironic Misgendering among cisgender people (the main point of this research), develops as a slightly detectable sociolinguistic phenomenon.

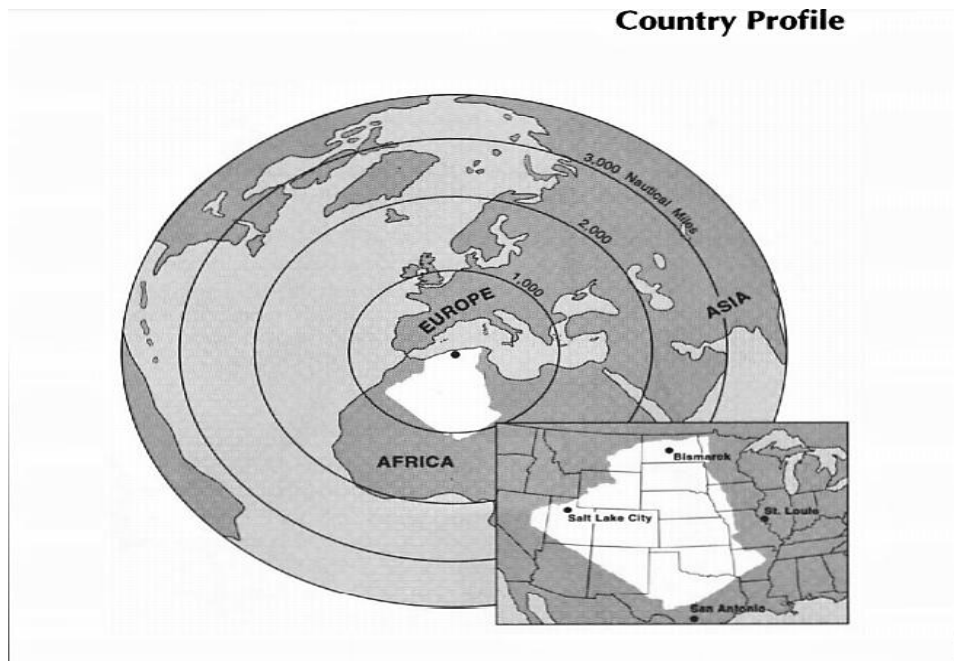
### 2.2. The Country's Profile: A General Introduction to Algeria

An overall view on the country profile's different aspects may well help in understanding the description of Algeria's linguistic situation.

#### 2.2.1. A Brief Insight on the Geographical Location, Administrative System, and the Historical Background of Algeria

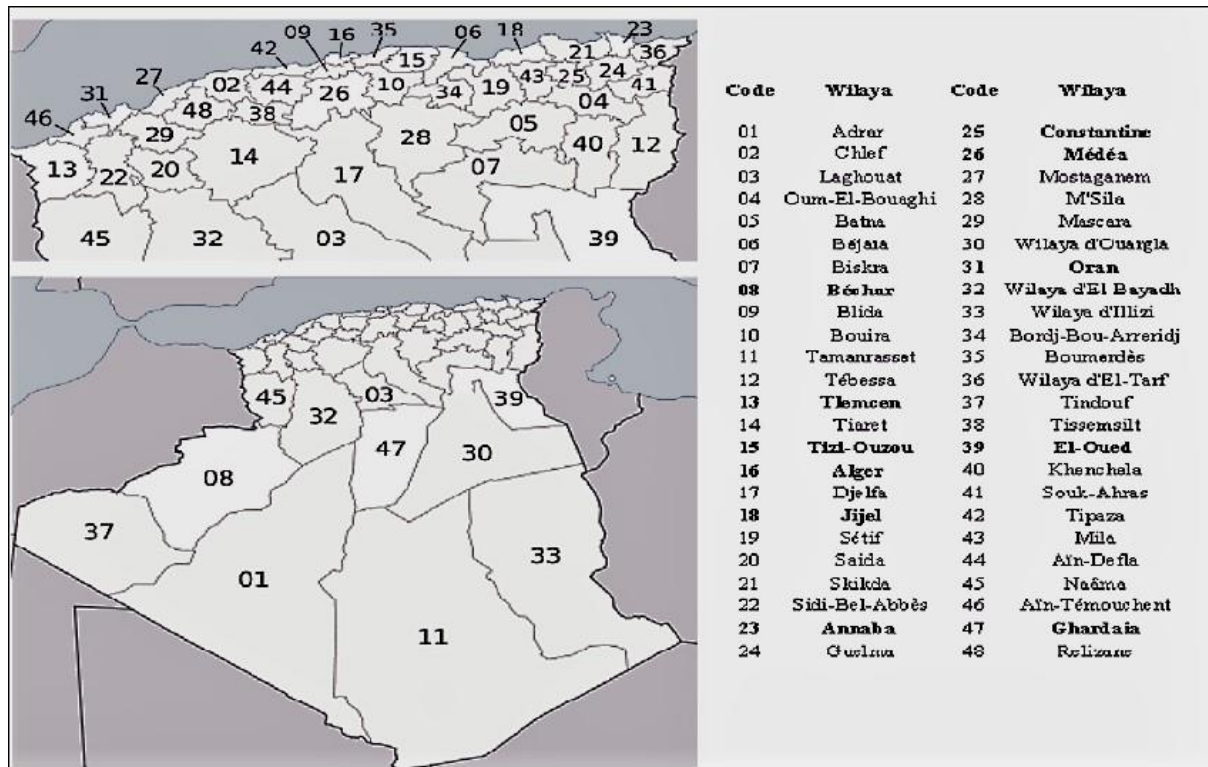
Algeria, a gateway between Africa and Europe, is the largest country in Africa. It is located on the Mediterranean coast between Morocco and Tunisia. At 2.38 million square kilometres (919,595.3 sq. miles), it is the tenth largest country in the world. (Algeria, n.d., para. 1). Its capital is Algiers, with a population of about 1.7 million, or 3 million including suburbs, in 2004. After Algiers, the most populous cities are Oran, Constantine, and Annaba. According to 2004 estimates, Oran has a population of 700,000; Constantine, 350,000; and Annaba, 235,000. (Country Profile: Algeria, 2008, p. 1). "*The Saharan region, which is 85% of the country, is almost completely uninhabited*" (Algeria, n.d., para. 1).





**Figure.2.1.** Country Profile:Algeria (Algeria a country study, 1993, p. 17)

Algeria, in its political frame, is a parliamentary representative democratic sovereign country, publicly referred to as the *People's Democratic Republic of Algeria (Al Jumhuriyah al Jazairiyah ad Dimuqratiyah ash Shabiyah)*. According to the second and the third amendments of the Algerian Constitution, Algeria is acknowledged as an Islamic, Arab and Amazigh (Berber) country. It is administratively divided into forty-eight wilayas (provinces/departments). Each wilaya consists of a number of administrative districts known as '*Daira*'. These '*Dairas*', in fact, are subdivided into small local authorities, the basic components of the territorial organisation, which are identified as '*baladiyats*' i.e. communes or municipalities. (Berrabah, 2014, p. 8).



**Figure.2.2.** Administrative Divisions 'Wilayas/provinces' of Algeria (Boudraa, Droua-Hamdani & Selouani, 2010, p. 160).

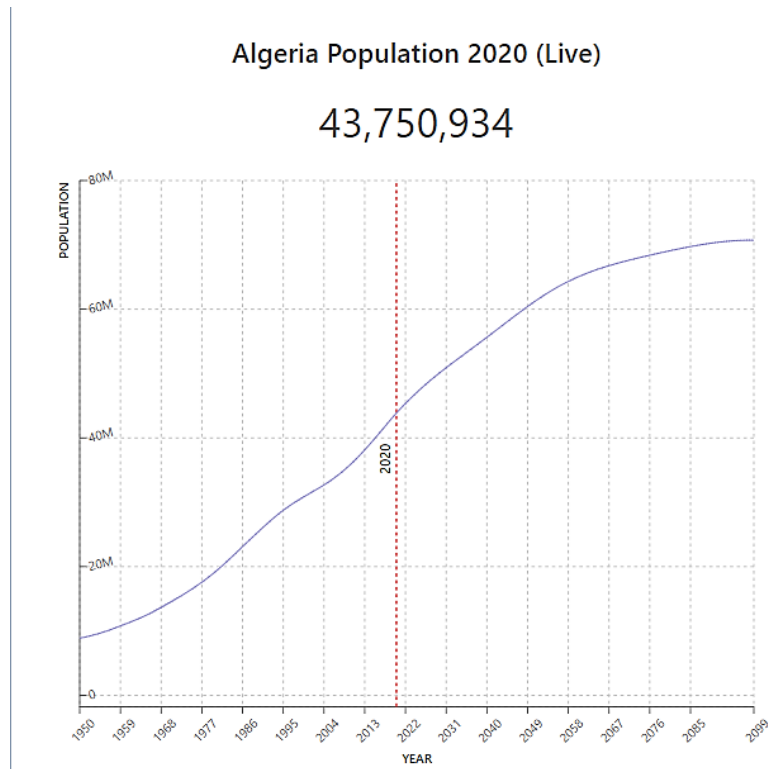
Algerian history is one of repeated invasions. Early inhabitants of the central Maghrib left behind significant remains including remnants of hominid occupation from ca. 200,000 B.C. found near Saïda. Neolithic civilization (marked by animal domestication and subsistence agriculture) developed in the Saharan and Mediterranean Maghrib between 6000 and 2000 B.C. The amalgam of peoples of North Africa coalesced eventually into a distinct native population that came to be called Berbers (Country Profile: Algeria, 2008, p. 1). Ahmed Sid (2008) mentioned: "The word 'Berber' is derived from the Latin one 'Barbarus', which was applied to anyone living beyond the confines of the Roman sphere" (p. 8). Or the Tamazight, that the Greeks and Romans indicated by the term Numidia. (Chami, 2009, p. 387). Tamazight or Imazighen (singular Amazigh), meaning "free men" (Ahmed Sid, 2008, p. 8). The first invaders were the Phoenicians, and then it was invaded by the Romans in 146 BC. Six centuries later, vandals came to replace the Roman Empire in 499 AD. After that, The Byzantines put an end to the Vandals domination in 533 AD. Then according to Camps (1987), they were themselves defeated by new conquerors the Arabs in 646, who came from the east to spread Islam in

Algeria, along with the north African countries, as a consequence of that North African countries inhabitants, in general, and Algerians, in particular, adopted the Arabic language and embraced Islam (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 20). It is important to mention, here, that Berbers had also resisted the Arab Fatihin (conqueror). They submitted and accepted Islam as a religion and Arabic as a language only after they were defeated, and consequently, lost their independence. (Djabri, 1981, p. 17).

The Arab rulers of Algeria have come from various groups. In chronological order, they have included the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatimids, the Almoravids, the Almohads, and the Zayanids (Metz, 1994, p. 27). With the fall of the local Arabo-Berber dynasties in the 15th and 16th centuries, the opulent coastal strip of north Africa (known because of the Berbers as the Barbary coast) attracted the attention of the two most powerful Mediterranean states of the time - Spain in the west, Turkey in the east (History of Algeria, n.d, para. 1). In 1504, the Spanish entered Algeria and many towns and outposts were conquered and occupied; Mers ElKébir in 1505, Oran in 1509, Algiers and Bejaia in 1510. Consequently, Algerians asked for the protection of the Ottoman Empire. The country came under Ottoman supremacy in 1518, and it continued to be an outpost of the Ottoman Empire until the invasion of French forces to Algeria in 1830 (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 20). The French made Algeria a part of France in 1848. However, Algerian independence movements led to the uprisings of 1954-1955, which developed into full-scale war. In 1962, French president Charles de Gaulle began the peace negotiations, and on July 5, 1962, Algeria was proclaimed independent. (Algeria, n.d, para. 2-3).

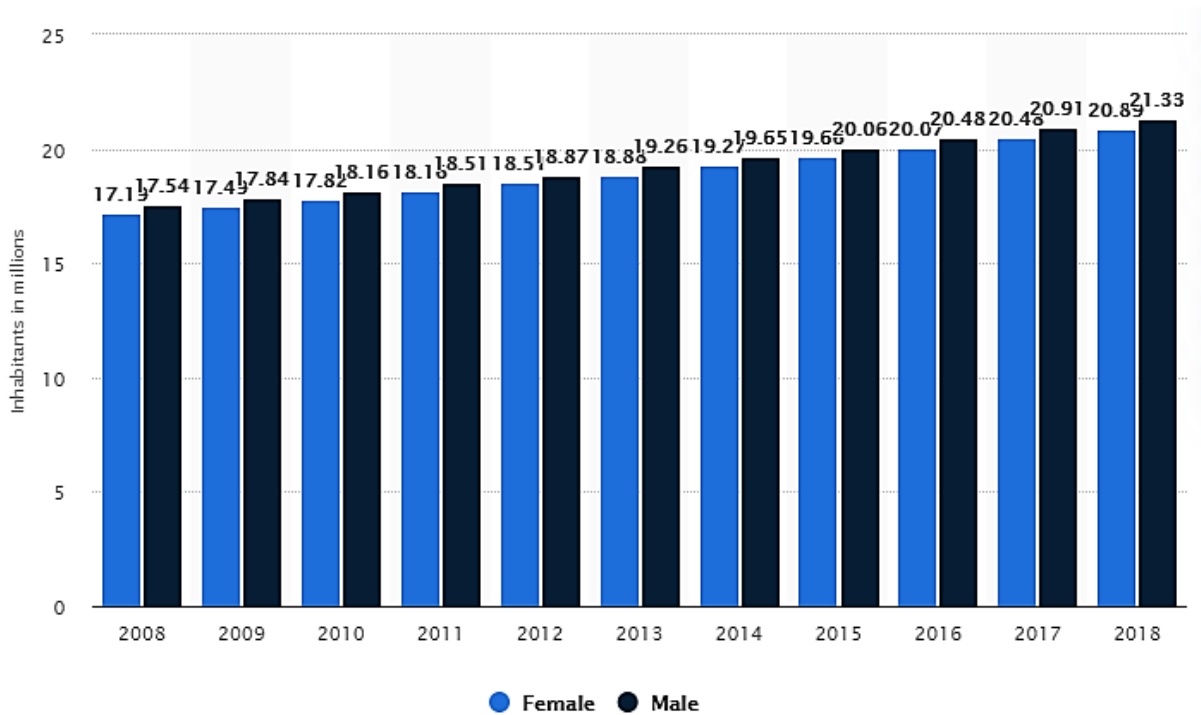
### **2.2.2. The Demographic Situation by Gender and Ethnic Composition of Algeria**

The current population of Algeria is 43,750,934, based on projections of the latest United Nations data. The UN estimates the July 1, 2020 population at 43,851,044. Algeria is currently growing at a steady pace. By 2049, Algeria is projected to surpass 60 million people and continue growing through the end of the century. Algeria's population is projected to be 70.72 million by 2099.



**Figure.2.3.** Algeria Population 2020 (UN World Population Prospects, 2019).

In 2018, Algeria's female population amounted to approximately 20.89 million, while the male population amounted to approximately 21.33 million inhabitants. This statistic shows the total population of Algeria from 2008 to 2018 by gender.



**Figure.2.4.** Algeria: Total population from 2008 to 2018, by gender (in millions) (Statista, 2019).

According to Sawe (2019): “Algerians generally identify as being of combined Arab and Berber ancestry, with Turks, French, and Sub-Saharan Africans being notable minority groups in the country.” (para. 1). “An estimated 99 percent of the population is Arab–Berber, combining Islamic faith with North African Berber cultural identification. Europeans constitute the remaining 1 percent.” (Country Profile: Algeria, 2008, p. 9-10). The CIA World Factbook clarified that the vast majority of the population of Algeria has a Berber ethnic background. However, a large population of Algeria does not identify as Berber. Many Berbers identify as Arabs due to the Arab influence since the conquests of the 7th and 8th Centuries. Concerning the small portion of Europeans, they are generally of a French, Spanish, and Italian ancestry. They are the group that remained after Algeria gained independence from France in 1962. They primarily practise Judaism or Christianity, in contrast to the majority of Algerians who are Muslims. Other Groups include The Turkish community in Algeria which is a minority group estimated to a number close to two million people. They came with the establishment of the Ottoman Algeria in the 16th Century. Other very small groups of Sub-Saharan African and Asiatic communities form significant minorities in Algeria also exist. The Saho people are an example of the Afro-Asiatic community (Sawe, 2019, para. 2-3-4).

### 2.2.3. The Sociolinguistic Situation in Algeria

All the historical events reviewed previously were building bricks to the current sociolinguistic status in Algeria. For this reason, a historical perspective was necessary to shed light on the evolution that led to this particular situation.

#### 2.2.3.1. Language Situation in Algeria (Languages and Dialects)

The linguistic profile in Algeria is said to be a complex one. An intricate co-existence of a number of languages and language varieties clearly marks its profile. Indeed, languages and dialects are what mainly characterize the Algerian sociolinguistic portrait. Accordingly, we need first to know the difference between a language and a dialect before we dive in how they are presented in the Algerian context.

It seems simple to differentiate between a language and a dialect. However, although the definition of language seems to be clear and every dictionary of the world contains it, in practical terms when facing the dilemma of whether a particular linguistic system is a language or a dialect, these definitions are blurry from a scientific point of view and sociolinguistic and political pressures may play a role in many cases. (García & Sandhu, 2015, p. 203)

Haugen (1966) also pointed out that language and dialect are ambiguous terms. He wrote: *“the identification and enumeration of languages –is greatly hampered by the ambiguities and obscurities attaching to the term ‘language’ and ‘dialect”* (p. 922-935). The Oxford Dictionary offered a definition which stated that the origin of the word ‘language’ seemed to derive from Middle English and this one from Old French language, which derived in turn from the Latin lingua ‘tongue.’ It went further providing these two definitions:

1. ‘The method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way.’
2. ‘A system of communication used by a particular country or community.’

For the word ‘dialect’, the Dictionary stated that it derived from mid-16<sup>th</sup> century French dialecte or via Latin from Greek dialektos ‘discourse, way of speaking’, from dialegesthai ‘converse with’. “A particular form of a language which is peculiar to a specific region or social

group.” According to García and Sandhu (2015), the reputation of the Oxford Dictionary, from the point of view of lexicology, is without any doubt unquestionable. Nevertheless, these definitions, for them, lack clarity and most definitely scientific rigor. They added:

a few authors have written about the criteria to define a particular linguistic system as a language in terms of the number of speakers, its prestige, whether they have been accepted as national languages, whether they present written forms and literary traditions, whether similar linguistic systems exist in the same country or area which present an elevated level of lexical similarity, whether they have less number of speakers, etc. (p. 203)

However, it was until 1995, that language was lifted to the status of science by Noam Chomsky. Twenty years later in 2015, linguists still have not agreed on a widely accepted set of parameters which would differentiate a language from a dialect. They apply different criteria and in this sense, what for one may be a language for another may be a dialect and vice-versa. This is clear even in Ethnologue, the largest language database in the world. Ethnologue considers language according to its individual characteristics and standing within a society as opposed to a dialect:

Two related varieties are normally considered varieties of the same language if speakers of each variety have inherent understanding of the other variety at a functional level (that is, can understand based on knowledge of their own variety without needing to learn the other variety). Where spoken intelligibility between varieties is marginal, the existence of a common literature or of a common ethnolinguistic identity with a central variety that both understand can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered varieties of the same language. Where there is enough intelligibility between varieties to enable communication, the existence of well-established distinct ethnolinguistic identities can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered to be different languages. (García & Sandhu, 2015, p. 206-207).

Many other have attempted an adequate definition of ‘language’ with more or less success. The most complete found so far is that of the Spanish philologist and dialectologist Manuel Alvar (1961) (as cited in García & Sandhu, 2015, p. 209), when he wrote that language was the linguistic structure a speech community used, and which was distinguished by being strongly differentiated by a high degree of levelling, being a vehicle of an important literary tradition and, on occasion, having imposed itself on linguistic systems of the same origin.

In this sense, language will oppose dialect as he defined language on the basis of the following criteria:

1. Strong differentiation among others. In this sense, every language has strictly defined rules such as orthography, grammar, phonetics, etc. These are spread through teaching, media and other manifestations in society.
2. High degree of levelling: The linguistic community is coherent and more or less numerous in members.
3. Vehicle of an important literary tradition: The language not only has a written form but also many writers have utilized the language in their literary works in prose, poetry, etc. and it has distinguished itself from others with the same origin.
4. Has imposed itself on linguistic systems of the same origin: In this aspect, the language has succeeded over other linguistic systems which have remained at an inferior level perhaps without established rules, uniformity, literary traditions, etc. (Alvar, 1961, p. 51-60) (as cited in García & Sandhu, 2015, p. 209).

Language, generally, is associated with standard variety. *“The standard variety is the language used in the formal setting: schools, literature, politics.”* (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 5). Holmes (2001) stated: *“the standard variety is generally written and has undergone a degree of regularization and codification. That is, the standard variety has a written form and is regarded as more correct and socially acceptable than the other varieties”* (p. 76). On the other hand, dialect is defined by Trudgill (1992) as: *“a variety of language which differs grammatically, phonologically, and lexically from other varieties.”* (p. 23) and by Auer (2005) who considered it as an inferior or non-standard form when he wrote: *“dialects have relatively little overt prestige and are mainly used orally”* (p. 1). Dialects can generally be classified into two types. Social and regional dialects. Carter (1993) emphasized: *“dialect refers to a variety of language that is identified geographically or socially”* (p. 20). *“A dialect that is associated with a particular social class can be termed a sociolect and a geographical/regional dialect may be termed a regiolect (alternative terms include 'regionalect', 'geolect', and 'topolect').”* (Dialect, n.d., para. 2). Moreover, there exists also the term *ethnolect* which refers to a dialect that is associated with a particular ethnic group. The dialects or varieties of a particular language are closely related and, despite their differences, are most often largely mutually intelligible, especially if close to one another on the dialect continuum (Dialect, n.d., para. 2).

With that being said, three preeminent different languages actually exist in Algeria; Berber, Arabic, French in addition to a range of dialects that slide from them. Besides a fourth language that is English which made its way to the country in the late recent years helped mainly by the internet. As we can see here, despite all the various invasions and, Algeria, being the



crossroad of many civilizations, what imprinted most its current linguistic situation was its early Berber provenance as well as the Arabic and the French presence in it.

**Berber:** On the basis of what Djabri (1981) maintained, despite of the fact that Berbers used to exist throughout the Arab world from Morocco in the West to South Yemen in the Machrek (East), the term Berber was associated with the tribes who lived in North Africa mainly (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia). For the Berbers of Algeria, the major groups are first the Shawiyas of the Aures range South of Constantine and Tebessa in the East. They constitute the majority of the Algerian Berbers, concentrated more in the rural areas. The Kabyles are the second largest group surrounding Algiers city. In earlier times they used to live in the Djardjura mountains East of Algiers. Next, are The Mozabites of the Northern part of the Sahara and the Twarege of the Southern Hoggar mountains who have clearly definable characteristics, but both exist in small numbers. In the hills North of the Chelief and some parts of the tell, Berbers live in villages among the sedentary Arabs, not very distinguished in the way of life from the Arabic speakers, but only very few have maintained their own Berber dialect (p .19).

The aboriginal Tamazight spoke the ‘Libyc’ as Elimam (2004) reported: *“During the Neolithic era, the principal elements of the Berber culture were already in place: A Libyc language, means of communication.”* (p. 32). It is mostly an oral language, explained by Chami (2009), written in the alphabet of the Phoenician conquerors (p. 387). In accordance with Chaker Salem (1980), the script that was developed from ancient Lybico-Berber is *“certainly of Phoenician origin in its essence and structure.”* (p. 31). He also said that the name given by the Tuareg to the Tamazight alphabet called ‘Tefinagh’ is derived from the root ‘Fnq /Fnqh’ which means ‘Punic’ (the language of Carthage, related to Phoenician) (as cited in Chami, 2009, p. 387). The history of this language is still ambiguous, Chami (2009) noted, because of the absence of written elements as Mercier (1888) said:

Unfortunately, almost all the past of this Berber language, or, if one wants, Libyc entirely escapes to us. A few hundreds of inscriptions known as Libyc, which date from the time of the Numidia“ kings and, precisely, the Roman domination. They are written in an alphabet that presents a narrow resemblance with that of the Tuareg. (P. 310) (as cited in Chami, 2009, p. 387).

Later on, linguists still couldn’t agree on the classification of Berber. Some say that Berber is a Semitic language, others assert it is a Hemitic one. Therefore, some of them

proposed the term “Semito-Hemitic” or “Afro-Asiatic”. Howbeit, Greenburg who made a study about African languages, since 1994 -1955, claimed that since Berber and Semitic languages have the same origin, he promoted the term "Afro-Asiatic". (Bougrit, 2009-2010, p. 8-9).

In Algeria, Berber was first preambled to constitution in 1997. Later on, president Bouteflika recognized Tamazight as a national language in a constitutional amendment on February 2002. (Berrabah, 2014, p. 10), but not as an official language. As a consequence, the language issue remained contentious (Country Profile: Algeria, 2008, p. 10). *“Nowadays, Tamazight is introduced into two important spheres. In fact, it is taught in schools and universities, and it is also admitted in the media where many exclusive Tamazight TV and radio channels broadcast a myriad of Tamazight programs.”* (Moussadek, 2013, p. 8).

According to Brahimi (2000), Berber in Algeria, is a language spoken natively by between 20%-30% of the population (p. 71).

Berber or Tamazight as a mother language has different varieties/dialects throughout the country. Many classifications put them into a random order of four subdivisions ignoring, by doing that, to mention many other distinctive varieties of them. So, in order to have a more recognizable unambiguous categorization, we need to go back in history to the Berber groups that had survived and which are mainly three tribes as mentioned by medieval Arab historians: The Masmouda, the Sanhaja, and the Zenata. Though only the origin of Sanhaja, as we have to note here, is a matter of controversy as Ibn alKalbī (AH 204 / AD 819), famous early Islamic historian and genealogist, reported: “the tribes of Kutama and Sanhaja do not belong to the Berber race: they are branches of the population Yemeni, whom Ibn Ṣaifī established in Ifrīqiya with the troops he left to keep the country” [Lafkioui 2008: 71–88; Ibn Khaldūn 1925: 167–70], and even Ibn Khaldūn himself insisted on the Arab origin of the Ṣanhādja (as cited in Stepanova, 2018, p. 8). Anyhow, Arabian genealogies claimed that all Berbers are descended from two men: Berr ibn Branes and Berr ibn Botr from which descended the great families of Berbers such as Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata. The earliest to spread was Masmuda followed traditionally by Sanhaja that is said to include many varieties of people like Tuareg of the Sahara. The third great expansion was the one of the Zenata who did not reach Algeria and Morocco until the middle ages. (Takruri, n.d., p. 96-97). Chiapuris (1979) stated: *“the Sanhaja consisted of three major branches. The Algerian branch furnished the sedentary populations of the country (Kabylia among them)”* (p. 2). Consequently, we can see that Algerian Berbers originated from these tribes mainly the Sanhaja and the Zenata. Accordingly, Takruri (n.d.)

wrote that scholars recognized two or three dialect clusters Zanatia, Sanhaja, and sometimes Masmuda (which, when not recognized as separate, is joined with Sanhaja) (p. 96). Some refer to them as dialects others as languages. It is obvious now that today Algerian Berber varieties derived from these two main language/dialect clusters, i.e. The Zanatia or (Zenati) named after the Zenata tribe and the Sanhaja that kept the same exact name of the Sanhaja tribe too. According to Kossmann (2013), Zenati includes the following varieties in Algeria:

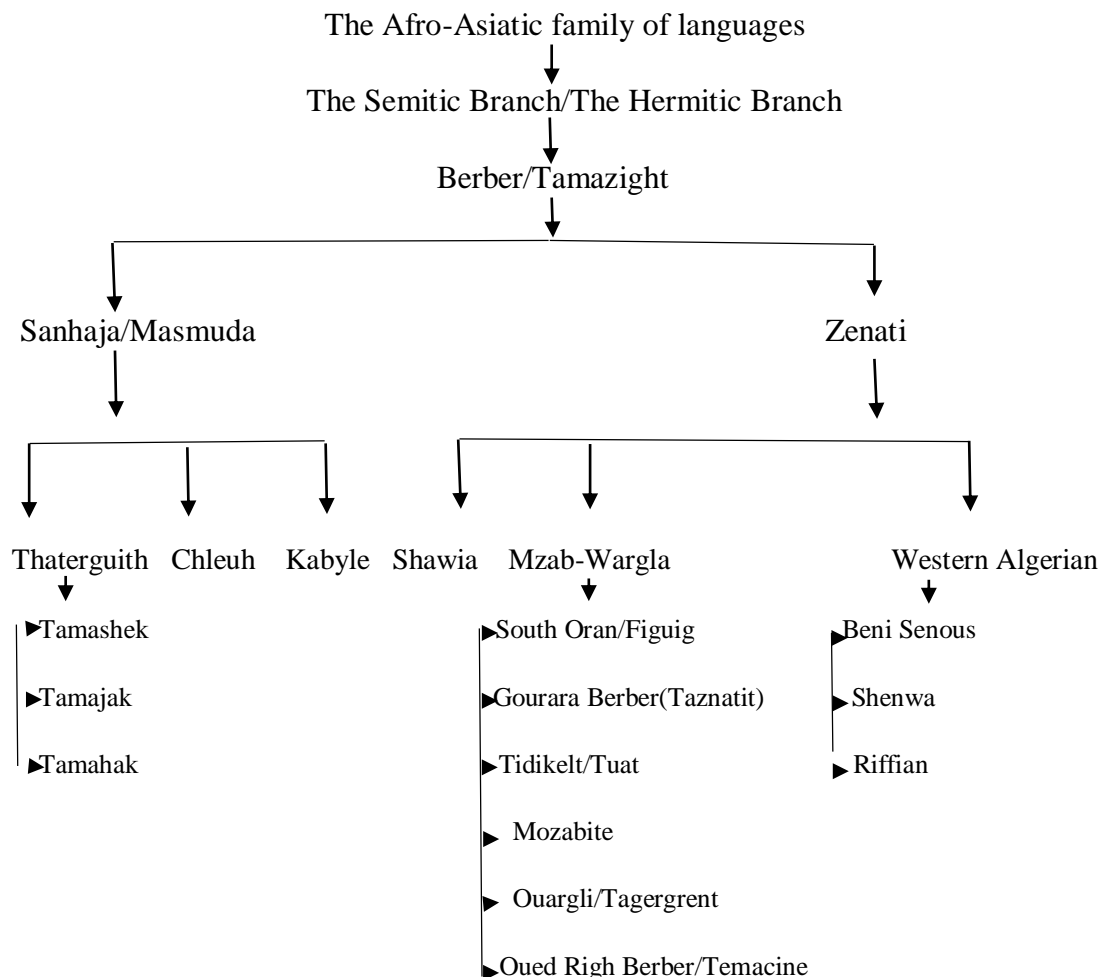
- Shawiya (Chaouia), in Batna and Khenchela, south of Constantine in northeastern Algeria.
- Mzab-Wargla (Northern Saharan oases dialects):
- South Oran and Figuig, in the ksours along the Algerian–Moroccan border and in Figuig in southeastern Morocco
- Gourara Berber (Taznatit) (Gourara, southwestern Algeria, around Timimoun)
- Tidikelt and Tuat (Touat, Algeria)
- Mozabite aka Mzab, Tumzabt, Thamzabith (northern Algerian Sahara, near Ghardaia)
- Wargla (Ouargli aka Tagergrent, Teggargarent), northern Algerian Sahara, near Ouargla
- Oued Righ Berber (incl. Touggourt; Ethnologue name "Temacine Tamazight") in Oued Righ, around Touggourt and Temacine, Algeria
- Western Algerian, west of Algiers (a diffuse group):
- Beni Snous (Tlemcen) dialect, in western Algeria near the border
- Shenwa (Chenoua): between Tipasa and Ténès in north-central Algeria west of Algiers, Beni Messaoud, Beni Menacer, and Jebel Bissa.
- Riffian or Tarifit (Arzew dialect), in Arzew in western Algeria. (p. 21-24).

For the Sanhaja, it involves the Kabyle, and the Chleuh (World History, 2018, p. 7). In addition to, the Berber language variety spoken by Touareg in southern Algeria as mentioned earlier.

- Kabyle Imazighen (plural of Amazigh), in Kabylia occupying the mountainous area east of Algiers.

- Chleuh/ Thashelhith or (Shilha, Tachelhit, Chelha) always reported as a Berber variety spoken only in Morocco while it also exists among some minority Berber groups in Algeria specifically in Béchar, Tindouf, Tlemcen (tachelhit, n.d., para. 3), and in other regions too.
- Berber language varieties of Tuareg (Thaterguith) are three main branches: Tamashek, Tamajak, Tamahak. Tamahak or Tamahag among them is the mostly known variety spoken in Algeria (Tuareg languages, n.d., para. 3) in the Saharan Ahaggar region.

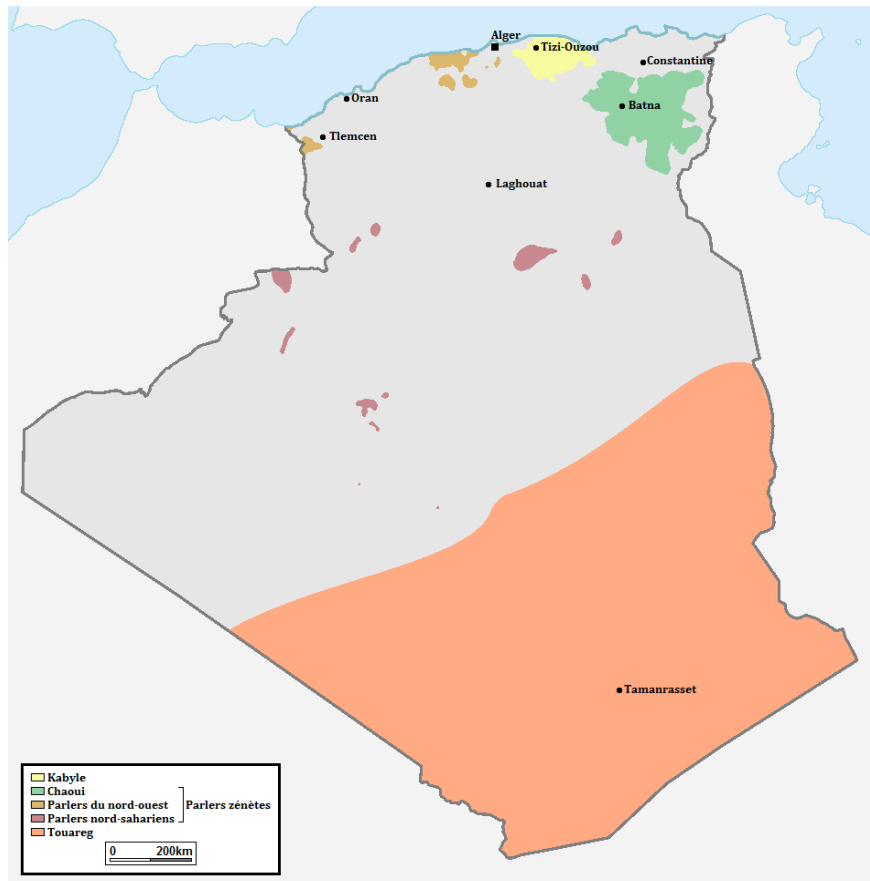
Another, but non-Berber variety, called Korandje language (*al-Balbaliyyah* in Romanized Arabic) is also found around the Algerian oasis of Tabelbala, between the provinces Béchar and Tindouf in south-western Algeria, spoken by about 3,000 people. It is by far the most northerly of the Songhay languages. While retaining a basically Songhay structure, it is extremely heavily influenced by Berber and Arabic (Korandje language, n.d., para. 1).



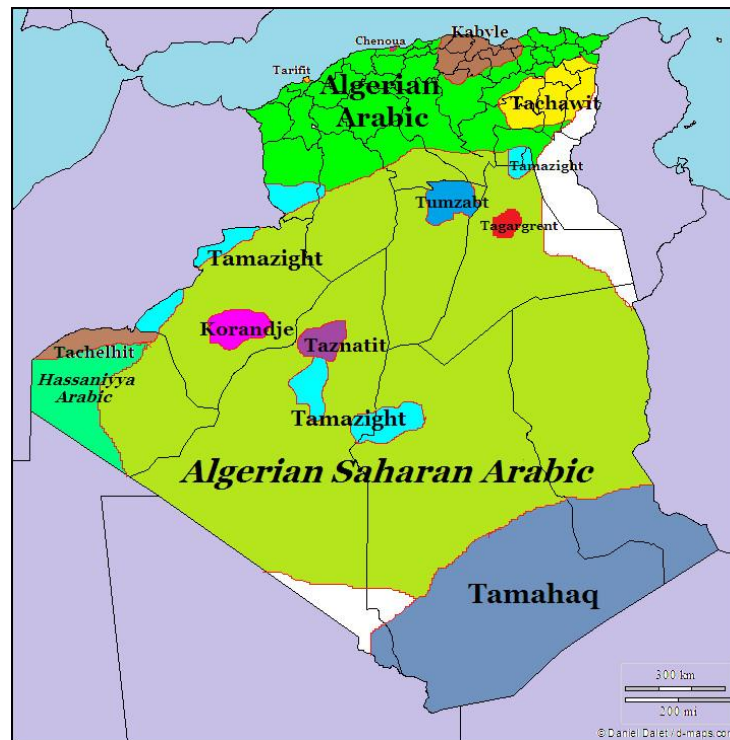
**Graph 2.1.** Berber Language Varieties/Dialects Existing in Algeria Today

The above diagram is our own inventive graphic representation based on the previously introduced data. It best outlines the different Berber language varieties and/or dialects used today in Algeria and their etymological origins.

The following two maps, also, show well the distribution of these varieties/dialects along the Algerian plane.



**Figure.2.5.** Localization of Berber-Speaking Areas in Algeria (Omar-toons, 2016).



**Figure.2.6.** Dialects in Algeria (languagemaps.files.wordpress.com, n.d.)

With regards to these living areas of the Berbers in Algeria, IWGIA, Indigenous Peoples in Algeria (2011), asserted:

The Amazigh of Algeria are concentrated in five large regions of the country: Kabylia in the north, Aurès in the east, Chenoua, a mountainous region on the coast to the west of Algiers, M'zab in the south, and Tuareg territory in the Sahara. A large number of Amazigh populations also exist in the south-west of the country (Tlemcen and Béchar) and also in the south (Touggourt, Adrar, Timimoun...), accounting for several tens of thousands of individuals. It is also important to note that large cities such as Algiers, Blida, Oran, Constantine, etc, are home to several hundred thousand people who are historically and culturally Amazigh but who have been partly Arabised over the course of the years, succumbing to a gradual process of acculturation. (para. 7-8-9).

**Arabic:** “Arabic is one of the World’s major languages with roughly 300 million speakers in twenty-two Arab countries. In 1974, Arabic was attested as one of the sixth United Nation’s official languages alongside Chinese, Russian, English, French and Spanish.” (Al-Huri, 2015,

p. 28). As the language of the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam, is also widely used throughout the Muslim world. Arabic belongs to the Semitic subgroup of Afro-Asiatic languages which also includes Hebrew and Amharic, the main language of Ethiopia (Arabic language, n.d., para. 1). Al-Huri (2015) maintained:

Arabic possesses many unique linguistic characteristics such as writing from the right to the left, the dual number of the nouns which is not found in English, the two genders, feminine and masculine, beside the root, the most salient feature of Semitic languages. (p. 28)

Arabic entered Algeria with the arrival of Arab Muslims in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. A large number of Algerians adopted Arabic as a result of embracing Islam (Bougrit, 2009-2010, p. 10). Rouzjdja (1991) wrote: *“the Arabic language and Islam are inseparable. Arabic has a privileged position as it is the language of the Koran and the prophet and the shared language of all Muslims in the world.”* (as cited in Benrabah, 2007, p. 67). This was considered as a first “Arabization” (Ahmed Sid, 2008, p. 12-13) preceding the one that took place after independence in reaction to French cultural and linguistic imperialism. It got fostered specifically with the migration of the two Arabic tribes, Beni Hilnialal/Bani Salim, who; according to Aberrahmane Ibn Khaldoun, played a great part in implementing the Arabic language in North Africa notably in Algeria (Djabri, 1981, p. 21). Morthad (1970) confirmed:

If these two tribes had not emigrated to the Maghrib, the Arabic language would not have any impact in the region and we cannot hypothesize that Arabic would exceed its limited boundaries and cannot be one day the Algerian everyday language and the language of the market. (p. 36)

That was rather a ‘self-Arabisation’ method like the case of the Snouci Berber tribe (as cited in Djabri, 1981, p. 21).

Arabic, then, has been the official language of Algeria, since 1963. It is spoken by an estimated 81% of the population (Languages, Literature, n.d., para. 1). Arabic, in line with Djabri (1981), has been:

Traditionally classified into two categories: Classical Arabic and the vernacular variety. Classical Arabic is a language with a long literary tradition and a closely guarded sense of grammatical and rhetorical correctness. This classification is no longer valid as the Arab renaissance of the 19th century and the renewed interest in the language, coupled with its use for education, saw the development of a third category emerging from elevated forms of speech in the Middle East. (p. 13)

Recent approaches in language and speech processing categorize the Arabic language into three subdivisions: Classical, Modern Standard, and the vernacular form. The same divisions exist in Algeria too.

1. *Classical Arabic* of the Qur'an 'Koran' (CA) is considerably valued by Muslims, Arabs, and non-Arabs alike. It is regarded as a model of linguistic excellence and the key to a prestigious literary heritage. It is valued over and above any other form of Arabic that is spoken natively by the Arabs (Djabri, 1981, p. 13-14) to the extent that Murphy (1977) said: “*when somebody says he does not speak Arabic well, he usually means the Classical one*” (p. 4).

2. *Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)* “Alfus’ha” in Arabic, is the language used in schools and administrative institutions (government, media, justice, etc.) (Boudraa, Droua-Hamdani, & Selouani, 2010, p. 160). Gordon (1985) claimed that MSA is the form that evolved after the Arab renaissance of the nineteenth century laboured to modernize Classical Arabic and make it effective enough to meet the demands of modern life. Certain western structures such as clause and phrase subordination have been adapted and a scientific terminology developed (p. 135). It is the one made official in Algeria and all Arab countries. (Kerma, 2014-2015, p. 7)

3. *Vernacular Arabic or Colloquial Arabic (Ca)*: “*the language of everyday communication in the family and the street. It is the native language of Arabs. Differences between the vernacular and the written form are manifested in morphology, syntax, the lexicon, and the complex system of case endings*” (Ahmed Sid, 2008, p. 14). It involves different Arabic varieties that are regionally divergent. Such varieties, on their part, also hold substantial differences among them in terms of Bedouin and Sedentary speech, the countryside and major cities, ethnicities, religious groups, social classes, men and women, young and old, educated and illiterate etc. (Al-Huri, 2015, p. 31). In the case of Algeria, it is called *Algerian Arabic (AA)* or ‘Darja’.

It is the mother tongue of the vast majority of the Algerian people. It refers to the variety that Algerians use in oral communication. It is a Colloquial Arabic used for everyday-life situations and all interpersonal interactions. AA reflects the folk’s culture and oral heritage of popular songs, stories and sayings. (Kerma, 2014-2015, p. 13)

AA, additionally, embodies many Algerian dialects (ADA), Algerian Dialectal Arabic, which are variants of MSA stemming from ethnic, geographical, and colonial influences of Spanish, French, Turkish, and Italian with significant local variations (in pronunciation, grammar, etc.) of spoken Arabic in Algeria. When we refer to dialects, we mean regional variations of spoken



Arabic. For example, the one spoken in Algiers is largely influenced by Berber and Turkish while the Constantine dialect is affected by Italian, and Oran dialect by Spanish. Even, the accent of spoken Darja differs from one region to another. By way of illustration, an Annabi (person from Annaba province) may have more difficulty in understanding an Orani (person from Oran province) and vice versa (Arab, n.d., para. 1). Concerning pronunciation, these are some of the well-known differences observed, for instance, in the Wilaya of Jijel where the phoneme [q] is replaced by [k] and in Oran, where the [q] is replaced by [g]. (Boudraa, Droua-Hamdani, & Selouani, 2010, p. 160).

It is important to mention that, Algerian Arabic is mostly used by both genders in rural areas, whereas French language is more employed by urban people especially women (Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 57).

As a way of clarification, Ain Temouchent Speech Community and its Outskirts can be taken as a good example for the Lexical Variation difference between MSA, AA, and ADA (in Ain Temouchent) which is ATD; i.e. Algerian Temouchent Dialect.

English	I am going
MSA	أنا ذاهب [ʔana] [ðahib]
AA	راني رايح [ra:ni] [ra:jaħ]
(ADA) ATD and outskirts	راني غادي [ra:ni] [ya:di:]
	راني ماشي [ra:ni] [mæʃi:]
	راني مشوّر [ra:ni] [mʃawar]
	راني صاد [ra:ni][sʰa:d]

**Table 2.1.** An example of Various Lexical Variation between MSA, AA, as well as ATD and its Outskirts. (Belhadj, 2016-2017, P. 26) (It was self-modified).

**French:** *“The French (1830 -1962) captured Algeria and annexed the country. When the French came, they attempted to obliterate the native culture, and they imposed the French language on the people.”* (Moussadek, 2012-2013, p. 15). Taleb Ibrahimi (2000) confirmed:

the only language among the other languages which lasted and influenced the users. It has gained a particular statue in the Algerian society. The French language which was imposed on the Algerian by fire and blood, constituted a fundamental element in the French policy of depriving people from their identity and the deculturation.” (p. 66) (as cited in Chami, 2009, p. 393)

It has been deeply rooted in the Algerian society before and after independence. (Salah, 2014-2015, p. 8). And until now, French continues to enjoy a privileged position in Algeria. It is used side by side with MSA in domains such education, the mass media and administration (Kerma, 2014-2015, p. 24). It is taught as a first foreign language, and used particularly in economic circles where it is essentially the language of work (Arab, n.d., para. 7). Indeed, Morsly (1984) claimed: *“official discourse avoids mentioning French as a second language in Algeria; it is referred to as ‘the first foreign language’”* (as cited in Ahmed Sid, 2008, p. 18). A large number of Algerian students, got confused when asked about their mother tongue, and did not know what to answer. French is the language they learned since the age of 5 or 6, with parents, friends, outside home, etc. The one learned from the family. Some Algerians ignore completely the use of French language in their society; others unconsciously use only some French words because AA is mainly composed of a mixture of MSA and French. (Salah, 2014-2015, p. 8-9). French, also, as a matter of fact, represents the language of the elites and it competes with CA and MSA in many areas (Moussadek, 2012-2013, p. 15). Besides that, it is used to display the social status of the speaker as Akila (2001) demonstrated: *“French has become an elitist language, symbol of social success and remains omnipresent in the fields of the bank, of economy and the opening up on the universal”* (p. 1) (as cited in Kerma, 2014-2015, p. 24).

*English*, as well, that is taught as a second foreign language in Algeria and used in economic and tourist circles, is seriously competing with both French and MSA in several domains notably in higher educational levels, commerce, etc. It is highly respected in Algeria because it is more related to technological and economic matters. Thousands of new words and expressions are infiltrated into the verbal speech of the Algerian people to meet the needs of the new universal communicative requirements (Kerma, 2014-2015, p. 28). Not only this, but the whole thing went, recently, further to Algeria's higher-education minister 'Tayeb Bouzid' encouraging the switch from French to English by proposing to promote English as an official language of teaching and administration at the country's universities in August 20, 2019. "*In order to increase the visibility of research in higher education institutions,*" Bouzid stated, "*and to open up to the international environment ... it has been decided to set up a think-tank of specialists and administration officials to present proposals for promoting the use of English in teaching and research.*" (Fox & Mazzouzi, 2019, para. 1-2-3).

Wahiba Slimani (2019) mentioned in her article in Echorouk newspaper (an Algerian newspaper), translated to English by Dalila Henache, that The final results of a survey, which was followed by more than one million Algerians through the official website, on the enhancing of the use of English showed that 94,741 people voted for the latter, of whom 94.3% voted "yes" and 5.7% voted "no" (para. 6).

Dr. Idri (2018) summed up: "*Algeria is a colourful sociolinguistic mosaic which is characterized by the existence of panoply of languages and varieties of languages, namely Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, French, English and Berber with its regional variations.*" (p. 1).

### 2.2.3.2. Algeria's Sociolinguistic Profile

The language situation in Algeria is an open issue if we take it from the perspective of language contact. This is based on its complicated language contact historical background, discussed earlier, which resulted in the Algerians' current use of languages that are genetically unrelated. Indeed, language contact, by way of definition, is "*the social and linguistic phenomenon by which speakers of different languages (or different dialects of the same language) interact with one another, leading to a transfer of linguistic features.*" (Nordquist, 2020, para. 1). Accordingly, this is what happened chronologically during the foreign

interventions Algeria undertook and still undertaking in the present-day sociolinguistic atmosphere via the interventions of Berber/Arabic and their varieties besides French and even English lately. Language contact can be introduced in many different shapes, and has different outcomes as well, some of which can easily be identified in the Algerian sociolinguistic environment such as: diglossia, bilingualism (trilingualism/multilingualism/ Plurilingualism), the mixture of varieties [code choice (Code switching/Code mixing)] and borrowing.

We will, first, start with language contact and *diglossia*. “Diglossie” (diglossia), a term that was first introduced by the French linguist William Marçais (1930) (Salah, 2014-2015, p. 14). Ferguson, on the other hand, was the first to introduce it in the English literature on sociolinguistics and defined it as a: “*language situation where two varieties of the same language are used in the same speech community each having its definite role and used for different purposes*” (Bellil & Bellil, 2016-2017, p. 12). He added defining diglossia as being:

A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex ) superposed variety, the vehicle of a language and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of a community for ordinary conversation. (Sridhar, 1996, p. 54)

Charles Ferguson (1959), accordingly, stated that diglossic speech communities have a “High” variety (H) that is very prestigious and a “Low” variety (L) with no official status; they are in opposite distribution with each other (Bellil & Bellil, 2016-2017, p. 12). He, furthermore, claimed the well-known nine criteria to characterize the diglossic phenomenon and show how H and L varieties differ. These criteria are as follow: Function, Prestige, Literary Heritage, Acquisition, Standardization, Stability, Grammar, Lexicon, and Phonology (P. 328-335).

Then, came Fishman (1967) with another perspective of diglossia which he named 'extended diglossia' and clarified that a diglossic circumstance may exist even in bilingual speech communities where the two varieties are genetically unrelated (Bellil & Bellil, 2016-2017, p. 13).

Consequently, the diglossic situation in Algeria is, according to Bougrit (2009-2010), “*between Standard Arabic (H) and Algerian Arabic (L)*” (p. 11). MSA for short has the H stand and function, whereas Algerian Arabic, a number of mutually intelligible regional dialects

represents the L variety (Salah, 2014-2015, p. 14). Diglossia in Algeria, as a matter of fact, can be distinguished not only by the intralingual diglossia for CA or MSA and AA, but also by other types such as the interlingual diglossia for CA or MSA and F, and the one for F and AA. (Moussadek, 2012-2013, p. 21-22). This situation can be referred to as ‘pluriglossic’ as termed by Dichy (1994) where different functional domains are filled by completely different languages (Owens, 2001, p. 423).

Second, we have *bilingualism*. This sociolinguistic phenomenon can generally refer to the ability to communicate in two languages (Moussadek, 2012-2013, p. 16). So, “*whenever and wherever two languages get in direct touch with one another, bilingualism is the unavoidable result with varying degree of ability*” (Salah, 2014-2015, p. 11-12). This sees bilingualism with a varying degree of ability just like Myers-Scotton (2006) who said that “*being bilingual does not imply complete mastery of two languages*” (p. 3) whereas Bloomfield (1935) viewed a bilingual person as the one who can be perfect in both languages and in all skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. He considered a bilingual as someone having a “*native like control of two languages*” (p. 56). Bouamrane (1986), on the other hand, combined several scholars’ interpretations and formed the following definition that considers bilingualism as: “*the use by an individual, a group or a nation of two or more languages in all uses to which they put either*” (p. 15). Similarly, Bilingualism in Algeria is twofold: ‘societal’ and ‘individual’. The former is the result of the co-existence of two distinct languages, Arabic and French. The latter relates to the one speaker and depends on several forces, particularly level of education, place of residence and motivation. (Salah, 2014-2015, p. 12). Bilingualism in Algeria differs from bilingualism in other societies and communities in many respects. Within Algeria, there is alongside the Arabic French bilingualism, a Berber-Arabic bilingualism which differs from the former in a number of ways. (Ahmed Sid, 2008, p. 23-24). Mouhadjer (2004) wrote:

Algerian bilingualism is a special one. It is the result of the long gradual occupation of the whole country by the French, with more concentration on the northern part. In fact, bilingualism in Algeria is not homogeneous since not all the population is bilingual. In many parts of the country we can find monolinguals. It is much more practised in the cities where there is a high contact of Arabic with French, high level and high style of life. During the colonial and post-independence periods, the majority, if not all, of the Algerians without mentioning their educational and cultural level, were bilinguals contrary to nowadays where bilingualism is much more common among those who went to school, and those who were in contact with French language (p. 990).

He, also, claimed that Algerian bilingualism was “subtractive” (Subtractive bilingualism refers to “cases in which the acquisition of a second interferes with the development of a first language”). This kind of bilingualism is often obtained when children from minority groups attend school in the second language and are not given the opportunity to develop their native-language skills (the Oxford Companion to the English Language, 1992, p. 127). He, also, classified Algerian bilinguals as balanced and unbalanced. Balanced bilinguals for him, in the pre-independence period, were qualified Algerians in French as a result of being in contact with French people while the unbalanced ones were those who came after with higher competence in their mother tongue rather (p. 990).

On that account, Algerian bilinguals can be divided into:

1. Speakers who maintain excellent proficiency in French and use it in their daily life (active bilinguals).
2. Occasional French-speaking people: the individuals who use French in specific situations (formal or informal). These people use French words or phrases alternatively in order to explain certain aims such as ordering, insulting, being ironic or taking decisions.
3. Passive French-speaking people: this category concerns people who understand this language but do not use it regularly or fluently (Moussadek, 2012-2013, p. 18).

*Multilingualism or plurilingualism*, on the other hand, is: “*is generally the use of three and more languages by individuals, groups or regions*” (Moussadek, 2012-2013, p. 16).

Although plurilingualism is derived from multilingualism, there is a difference between the two. Multilingualism is connected to situations wherein multiple languages exist side-by-side in a society but are utilized separately. In essence, multilingualism is the coexisting knowledge of separate languages while plurilingualism is the interconnected knowledge of multiple languages. (Plurilingualism, n.d., para. 1)

This is in contrast with *monolingualism* or *unilingualism*, which is the ability to use only one single language. A person who can speak multiple languages is known as a *polyglot* or a *multilingual*. (Nordquist, 2019, para. 1), and *monolingual* refers to someone who speaks only one language (Monolingualism-What is, 2018, para. 3). In Algeria, there

exist two main groups: Berber speaking communities and Arab speaking communities in addition to French language that is used by both groups eventually. This indicates the plurilingual situation of the country (Moussadek, 2012-2013, p. 16-17). Suleiman (1994) supported this view by saying that this coexistence of Berber and Arab communities created bilingualism (Arabic / French), and even *trilingualism* (Berber/ Arabic/ French) (p. 24). Cenoz and Genesee (1998) suggested that a person should be defined as *trilingual* if s/he can use three languages to communicate in both oral and written speech (Anastassiou & Andreou, 2011, p. 111).

The third outcome is *code choice*. According to Wardhaugh (2010), code is defined as the particular dialect or language one chooses to use on any given occasion and the communication system used between two or more parties (p. 98). “*When we open our mouths to speak, we make a choice of what code to use, that is our code choice*” (What is code, n.d., para. 2). It is a habit or a norm for speakers in multilingual societies to mix and switch codes according to certain personal and social conditions of the communication they’re involved in. These two processes of code alternation are named code-mixing and code-switching (El-Saghir, 2020, p. 3). They are most of the time taken interchangeably despite the slight difference between them. Wardhaugh (2010), for instance, do not even distinguish between the two concepts (p. 10). Some other researchers do. Therefore, code-switching is, generally, taken as a linguistic situation that describes any switch among languages in the course of a conversation, whether at the level of words, sentences or blocks of speech, such as what often occurs among bilinguals who speak the same languages (El-Saghir, 2020, p. 3), whereas code-mixing describes the mixing of two languages at the word level (i.e., one word in the sentence is in a different language) (Baker & Jones, 1998) (as cited in El-Saghir, 2020, p. 3). It is also as Bokama (1989) defined:

Code mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes (bound morphemes), words (unbound morphemes), phrases and clauses from a co-operative activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand (as cited in Ayeomoni, 2006, p. 91)

Moreover, a different bunch of scholars consider code-mixing just as another distinctive type among the other types of code-switching. According to Poplack in (Romaine, 1989), these types can be identified as: Inter-sentential, intra-sentential and tag-switching.

*Intra-sentential switching* is the type also called “*code mixing*”. It occurs in the middle of the sentence, at the level of sentence and at the level of words. The second one is *Inter-sentential switching*. It is defined as the change or a switch occurs at a sentence or a clause, boundaries. It occurs between fluent bilinguals also is known as Mechanical Switching it occurs unconsciously. The last one is Tag-sentential switching. It is the engagement of a tag in one language into a speech which is in other language (Bellil&Bellil, 2016-2017, p. 7-8).

For Algerians, they mix or switch to French because they lack the knowledge of MSA in formal settings, and because Algerian dialects lack the specialized terms adequate for the daily informal discussions (Salah, 2014-2015, p. 13). That’s why, the conversation may sometimes start with the native language either AA or Berber and finishes with French or vice versa (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 30), or even with English. Thus, the three types of code switching including code-mixing that Poplack identified, explain the situation of Algeria. Here are some examples:

- Intersentential switching, which transpires between sentences;

[maqɔartʃ] [nji] (AA), c’est bien dommage (F)!

English: (I could not come. what a pity!)

- Intrasentential switching takes place within a sentence boundary (code mixing);

[mæʃandakʃ] (AA) le droit (F) [tahdar] [mʃaya] [bha:d] (AA) la façon (F).

English: (You do not have the right to talk to me on this way!)

- Extrasentential switching or Tag code switching refers to the insertion of unoriginal expressions or tags. Such situation is found in Algeria, when the conversation is in AA and suddenly the speaker initiates a French tag such as:

[ra:ni nasena:k] (AA), d’accord (F)?

English: (I am waiting for you, okay?)

There exists, also, another type of switching that is ‘intra-word’ switching. It happens when switching occurs within a word, for example at a morpheme boundary (Das & Gambäck, 2013, p. 43). Belarbi (2012-2013), additionally, mentioned this type too. He wrote: “*This kind*



takes place within word boundary, which means that a word may be linked to a morpheme from another language” (p. 43). As an illustration in the Algerian context, we can provide the word ‘tabla’ [ta:blæ] as an example. The word consists of the root that is the French word ‘table’ meaning, obviously, in English ‘a table’ plus the suffix ‘a’ which denotes the feminine in AA.

We, finally, have *borrowing* or *loan Words*. For Bellil and Bellil (2016-2017): “Speakers may use words from another language in order to explain, describe and express a given idea or an object. The equivalents of these words are not available in their mother tongue, this phenomenon of switching is known as ‘borrowing’.” (p. 15). There exist many scholars who defined borrowing. The definition that may cover all of the term’s aspects is the following: “the morphological adoption of a single word from another language” (Berrabah, personal communication, 2019). The language giver is called the donor language, while the receiver is called the recipient one. Also, the word which is borrowed is either called a borrowing, borrowed word, or a loan word. Boukhatem and Chouaou (2014-2015) wrote: “Sometimes, the donor language is seen as prestigious or more socially valued than the recipient language” (p. 32).

The difference between borrowing and code-switching is that the latter involves a choice whereas the former is resulted from a lack of vocabulary. In addition to that, “*borrowed words or loan words can be found in the speech of monolinguals. They may represent various semantic fields such as music, food, kitchen equipments and buildings and so forth.*” (Bougrit, 2009-2010, p. 24).

Borrowing can be classified in many ways. According to Haugen (1950), there are five different types of lexical borrowing.

Loanword: the word and the meaning are borrowed, e.g. *hummus* (or *humous*). Loan-translation: literal word-for-word translation of both parts of the lending compound, e.g. *superman* derives from the German ‘Übermensch’. Loan-rendition: the translation vaguely captures the original meaning: *refrigerator* is translated as ‘ice-box’ in Chinese. Loan-blend: one part of the compound is borrowed, the other one translated. Semantic loan: only the meaning is borrowed, not the word. (Loan Words in, 2013, para. 4)

It can also be divided into two other categories, namely; cultural borrowing and core borrowing. Myer-Scotton (2006) defined cultural borrowings as: “*words that fill gaps in the*

*recipient language's store of words because they stand of objects or concepts new to the language's culture*" (p. 212). She suggested that the best example about cultural borrowings can be versions of the English word 'automobile' or 'car' since most cultures did not have such motorized vehicles until contact with western cultures (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 9). For core borrowing, Haspelmath (2009) wrote: "*core borrowings are loanwords that duplicate or replace existing native words*" (p. 48). Core borrowings can be associated with the prestige of the source language, may replace an earlier word with the same meaning that falls out of use, or may also coexist with a native word with the same meaning (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 10).

Borrowing happens through two ways. Direct via spoken spoken/oral interaction, and indirect via a written way. "*Orally or in the written form, words borrowed orally are assimilated quicker*". (Types of borrowings, 2011, para. 7). Assimilation is an adjusting practice with different degrees that borrowed words go through. According to the degree of assimilation, borrowings are also subdivided into: completely assimilated, partly assimilated and non-assimilated (barbarisms). 1. Completely assimilated borrowings are not felt as foreign words in the language. They correspond to all phonetic, morphological, and semantic laws of the recipient language like the French word "table" and the Scandinavian "Husband" in the English language. 2. Partly assimilated borrowings are subdivided into the following groups: a) borrowings non-assimilated semantically, because they denote objects and notions peculiar to the country from the language of which they were borrowed, e.g. sari, sombrero, taiga, kvass etc. b) Borrowings non-assimilated grammatically, e.g. nouns borrowed from Latin and Greek retain their plural forms (bacillus - bacilli, phenomenon - phenomena, datum -data, and genius - genii etc. c) Borrowings non-assimilated phonetically like words that kept their original pronunciation such as: camouflage, prestige, and regime from French to English. 3. Non-assimilated borrowings (barbarisms) are borrowings which are used by Englishmen rather seldom and are non-assimilated, e.g. addio (Italian), tete-a-tete (French), dolce vita (Italian), duende (Spanish), an homme a femme (French), gonzo (Italian) etc. (Types of borrowings, 2011, para. 8-9-11-12-13-19).

Guella (2011) claimed that in Algeria, due to historical reasons, a great number of borrowed words from different languages are introduced to Algerian dialects. (as cited in Boukhatem & houaou, 2014-2015, p. 32). We will take AA as a model. Correspondingly, AA has borrowed from *Berber* many words like: [felu:s] for "chick" and [ti:flɛlas] for the bird "swallow". From

*Turkish*, too, such as: [ga:zu:z] from (Gazoz) for “any carbonated drink” and [bælæk] from (Balak) for “maybe”. From *Spanish*, as well, many words got integrated into AA. For example, [bu:ga:du:] from (Abogado) for ‘lawyer’ and [si:ti:rnæ] from (Cistarna) for ‘reservoir’. Several studies (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015; Khalid, 2005; Nassour & Mokhtari, 2016-2017). For French, according to Haoues (2009), the long period of the French colonization has made French deeply rooted in the daily life of Algerians and a large number of French words are used as if they are part of Algerian dialect. (as cited in Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 33). Examples of borrowed French words used in AA: [ku:zi:næ] from (Cuisine) for “kitchen” and [ga:tu:] from (Gâteau) for “cake”.

The contact between the many previously studied languages and language varieties in Algeria gave birth to all the different sociolinguistic phenomena figured out above as well. However, if we speak about the whole collective sociolinguistic situation in Algeria, we may find it very difficult to interpret because its sociolinguistic profile is more complex than it seems. Ahmed Sid (2008) mentioned that some considered that Algeria fitted what Fishman (1972) described as a type B nation. Type B nations are called uni-modal and are characterized by an indigenous language with a literary tradition (Classical Arabic or Modern Standard one), plus a language of wider communication (French) that often exists as a result of colonial policy (p. 11). But, scholars couldn’t agree on the same perspective in diagnosing its sociolinguistic exact status owing to its complexity. Consequently,

the language situation in Algeria may be characterized as diglossic, bilingual, and even multilingual. Diglossia refers to the uses of Arabic along a written-spoken continuum, while bilingualism involves the ongoing interaction between Arabic and French. Multilingualism concerns the use of Tamazight as a mother tongue in addition to Arabic and French. (Ahmed Sid, 2008, p. 19)

And even English recently.

### **2.3. The Perception of Gender in Algeria (Differences Between Males and Females in an Algerian Context)**

The societal norms created a gap between men and women in the way they behave and speak. These differences created are seeded in the minds and beliefs of people dating back to their childhood (Ghounane, 2017, p. 399). In Algeria, despite the fact that women had,

historically, enjoyed more freedom than is usually admitted by Western authors. (Heggoy, 2014, para. 2) and were an integral part of the liberation struggle standing as sisters in arms to their Algerian brothers in the National Liberation Front (Camacho de Abes, 2011, p. 201), they are traditionally as in the rest of the Middle East, regarded as weaker than men in mind, body, and spirit and always in need of protection. The honour of the family depends largely on the conduct of its women; consequently, women are expected to be decorous, modest, and discreet. As in Arabic culture in general, girls in Algeria are brought up to believe that they are inferior to men and must cater to them, and boys are taught to believe that they are entitled to the care and solicitude of women (Men and Women, n.d., para. 1). Moreover, Women live in a very confined circle of house and family; their only contact aside from male family members is with other women. Furthermore, women work almost exclusively in the home, taking care of all domestic chores. Anything that involves leaving the house is taken care of by men, including shopping. Only 7 percent of women work outside the home, most of these in traditionally female professions such as secretarial work, teaching, or nursing. Men, on the other hand, are entrusted with most important decisions and have a much broader sphere, which includes the mosque, the streets, marketplaces, and coffee shops (Culture of Algeria, n.d., para. 46-47).

For Berbers, their perceptions regarding gender varies widely among the different existing groups. Kabyle women status is most similar to the Arabic tradition; they are, most of the time, unable to inherit property or to remarry without the consent of the husband who divorced them. The Chaouia women, while still socially restricted, are given a slightly higher status. The M'zabites promote social equality and literacy for men and women within their villages, yet do not allow women to leave these confines. The Tuaregs, else ways, are an anomaly among Muslim cultures in that the society is dominated more by women than by men. It is traditional in Islam, for women, to wear veils, but among the Tuaregs, it is the men who are veiled. Women control the economy and property as well, and education is provided equally to boys and girls (Culture of Algeria, n.d., para. 48). In fact, these stereotypical notions about women started to be somehow less tense in the recent years due to the more freedom women are given thanks to education and to Algeria that is regarded as a relatively liberal nation which guarantees equality between genders. Women can vote and run for political positions (Women in Algeria, n.d., para. 1); however, those notions still abide in many life aspects, and are still seen and experienced in the Algerian culture in general.

### 2.3.1. The Socio-Cultural Study of Algerian Linguistic Varieties in Relation to Gender

The language used by a certain speech community usually reflects its social and cultural heritage. Sadiqi (2003) gave eight components which are said to influence gender and lead to linguistic differences. In this regard, she claimed that: “Eight such components have a direct impact on gender perception, gender subversion and language use: (i) history, (ii) geography, (iii) Islam, (iv) orality, (v) multilingualism, (vi) social organization, (vii) economic status, and (viii) political system.” (as cited in Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 41-42).

As stated before, Algeria has important varieties which differ from each other at different levels. Besides, there is also a difference between people of the same town in using accent. As far as studies on gender differences in Algeria are concerned, the most important works are done by Dendane (2007), for instance. Indeed, he focuses on studying variation at the lexical, phonological and morphological levels (Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 50) influenced, of course, by the factors claimed by Sadiqi (2003) above. Accordingly, various linguistic differences can be easily spotted between Algerian males and females in addition to the effect of their attitudes toward each other, and the stereotypes highlighting them. Sadiqi (2003) asserted: “*Gender interferes greatly with language use: women do not often have the same choices as men.*” (p. 6) (as cited in Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 56).

Henceforth, women, for instance, are more conscious in using language in Algeria i.e., they are aware that the social norms of the Algerian society govern their acts. They are, also, socialised from their childhood to be polite and conservative. This is what drives Algerian women to use more prestigious forms of speech including French. Besides, it is very rare, in the Algerian society, to hear women swearing or using offensive language, and very shameful if it ever happens. Interestingly, one should mention that some linguistic forms are seen as aspects of femininity. Like pronouncing the French letter [r] as /g/ that is done generally by females, and thus avoided by males who replace it by pronouncing it like /r/. (a self-provided example). In addition to this, Algerian males try to show their superiority over females, whereas women struggle to prove their presence. This view is supported by Tannen (1990), in her investigation when she claimed that men “struggled to preserve independence and avoid failure”, whereas, she added, women “struggled to preserve intimacy and avoid isolation, though their hierarchies in this world too, they are hierarchies more of friendship than of power and accomplishment.” (p. 24-25). Further, the use of language reflects the social rules that control the attitudes of speakers. For instance, the speech of females is connected with home

activities such as words like [da:rna] ‘our home’, [hwajaʒ] ‘clothes’ whereas males’ speech is related to work and business like in [tiki] ‘ticket’ or [ʃarika] ‘company’ referring to money. These factors help females to develop a stock of words and phrases that males never use, but understand and vice versa. Additionally, Bassiouney (2009) explained: “women sometimes do not have access to education and professional life to the same extent as men do and thus their use of MSA is less than that of men” (p. 161). In this context, educated women, tend to use more standard forms than illiterate ones. Bassiouney added that women differ from men even in the use of urban and rural varieties (Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 45-46-47). What is more, is that Sadiqi saw gender stereotypes as reflected in the language males and females use. So, women, as indicated previously, in Algerian culture, are viewed as weak and powerless. This weakness is reflected in their language. Besides, their pronunciation, their choice of words, and their styles together with being seen as tools of gossip, limit of their conversation, and pronouncing words incorrectly are also considered as stereotypes. (Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 60-91-62).

### 2.3.2. Gender-Bias and Sexism in the Algerian Linguistic Context

Sexiest language has its own position in the Algerian culture and language as well. This is apparently seen in the Algerian vocabulary that people use in their everyday interaction and that appears in all domains. In this respect, Sadiqi (2003) highlighted the following: “*vocabulary items expressing male professions are culturally valorised, whereas the ones expressing female professions are not. The connotations of words referring to male professions are often associated with notions of leadership.*” (p. 129) (as cited in Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 64).

She, additionally, argued that males create some terms to name women’s occupations in order to invoke mockery. This is represented in Algerian culture through examples like the word [buznasia] referring to a ‘businesswoman’. Sadiqi maintained: “*The terms idaria, siyasiya, and musiqara are rarely used. As for names of professions where women are not usually present, they are derogatory and trivializing in most cases (bulisia ‘policewoman’) or invoke mockery (ʃifura ‘woman driver’)*” (Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 65).

Algerian people have also created expressions to describe women and to insult them as well. According to Sadiqi, females are usually described and referred to in relation to their physical characteristics: *zwina* ‘beautiful’, *biDa* ‘white’, *çamra* ‘plump’, whereas men are less so.

Physical beauty is socially promoting attributes so far as women, and not men. As for insulting, Algerian people have developed a vocabulary related to women's physical description rather than men. Even terms of address couldn't escape sexism. On this view Kammoun stated:

The word *mra* ("woman") sometimes carries a derogatory connotation in use, but not in its definition in general; the saying *Imra mra werajel rajel* ("A woman is a woman and a man is a man") implies a woman is inferior and should not compete with a man's superior status. (As quoted in Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p. 105) (as cited in Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 62-64-65)

Further, you may notice, as well, that when Algerians want to praise a man they use the term 'رجل' [ra:ʒal]. They say, for example, 'هذاك رجل' [hæðæk] [ra:ʒal] that means 'he is a man'. However, when they come to praising a woman they use the expression 'مرا و نص' [mræ] [w] [nəs] which means 'a woman and a half'. They add 'half' as if a woman as a whole isn't enough, and that she needs another 'half' to be complete whereas a man is complete without adding another 'half' metaphorically.

In short, as Sadiqi (2003) has pointed out, lexical sexism, in Algerian culture, is natural since it is related to the speaker's identity, gender, power and ideology (p. 132) (as cited in Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 66).

#### 2.4. Ironic Misgendering Toward Cisgender People in Algerian Dialects

Ironic Misgendering toward cisgender people exists in Algeria too as in all the Arab countries. It is undeniably and specifically observed in its different dialects straightened out in details previously including Berber ones and Arabic ones as well. It is a very common linguistic phenomenon in its people's daily life to the extent that it tends to be regarded unconsciously as a normal natural behaviour. However, despite this, sociolinguistic studies about this topic are rarely found if not found at all not only in Algeria, but also in all the other Arabic countries' plane. Even at the level of terminology, an exact Arabic typical term for the concept of Misgendering, in general, cannot be found easily. Some translation trials are all what you may dig out knowing that they may convey the meaning of Misgendering, but not the meaning of Ironic Misgendering as a specific concept. They are presented as follow in ProZ.com (in MSA):

- Maha Corcoran: [ʔatayri:f] [ʔalʒinsa:ni] [ʔalxa:tiʔ] التعريف الجنساني الخاطئ

- Ebrahim mohammed: [taqdi:r] [xa:ti?] [lilzins]/ [is3:ʔat] [taqdi:r] [ʔalzins] إساءة تقدير  
تقدير خاطئ للجنس/الجنس
- Mina F.: [afɑ:ra] [biʔalzins] [ʔalxataʔ] أشار بالجنس الخطأ
- Rayan Millard: [tafwi:h] [ʔalzins] تشويه الجنس

In the Algerian context, Ironic Misgendering is used by approximately all people age categories ranging from children to elders. This is besides being used by both males and females either between same gender group members or from one group toward the other. However, what can be clearly noticed is that Ironic Misgendering toward females exists less frequently than the one towards males. This is, indeed, as formerly determined due to the poor perception of women or let's say females overall in the Algerian society. And instead, manly treats are generally taken as good qualities that are used most of the time to praise women with. Consequently, you may find in the majority of Algerian dialects, when praising a woman, expressions like 'مرا بألف راجل' [mra:] [b] [alf] [raʒal] meaning (a woman like a thousand men), and like 'نتيا ليزوم' [ntija] [lizɔ:m] meaning (you are like men). [lizɔ:m], in fact, is a new word used in the Algerian dialectal context. It is borrowed from the French (les hommes) i.e. (men), and used in its plural form even to describe a single man or woman as a way to compliment her as said earlier.

Indeed, there are some Ironic Misgendering terms and expressions that are very known and widely used across the country's territory existing language varieties. They use them in a common precise way for fulfilling the same purpose. Others may be changed or modified in certain ways according to the region they are used in or even translated from one language variety to the other so as to be used in the same context. Other terms and expressions, on the other hand, are specific to the culture of the spoken language variety, and it cannot be found in other varieties and not even translated to fit it. We can also add that some borrowed words from French are also used in this context as ways to manifest Ironic Misgendering. Consequently, they stay defined and described as a specific aspect of that variety's culture. Here, and concerning the Algerian dialects which the research instantly addresses, there exists mainly different regiolects for AA, and other ethnolects that derive from Berber.



## **2.5. Conclusion**

Algeria has witnessed a wide diversity of linguistic variation due to the historical events which resulted in different sociolinguistic phenomena like diglossia which is characterized by the use of two varieties in different contexts, bilingualism, or even multilingualism due to the existence of three languages namely; Berber, Arabic, French, in addition to English. Accordingly, Algerian speakers may switch or borrow words from these languages for different reasons and aims. Furthermore, this chapter tried to highlight the most important points in language differences between males and females in the Algerian context. Besides, it represented a socio-cultural study of Algerian language in relation to gender, sexism in the Algerian linguistic context, and Ironic Misgendering toward cisgender people in the same context mainly in Algerian dialects which is the central point in this whole research paper. The following one will be concerned with collecting data and interpreting it quantitatively and qualitatively to acquire relevant and sustainable results about our main topic of study.



# Chapter Three

*Research*

*Methodology, Data*

*Analysis, and*

*Interpretation*

### Chapter three: *Research Methodology, Data Analysis, and Interpretation*

#### 3.1. Introduction

Throughout this chapter, we will deal with the methodology, analysis, and the interpretation of the collected data. However, we will, first, give a general overview about the term research in general and the importance of the ethical consideration in it together with the targeted speech community. Then, about the sample population and the participants. Within the same chapter, we will, also, explain the methods used for analysing and interpreting the data in addition to the importance of using many research techniques and methods all collaborated together to gain a more naturalistic data. Finally, we will give an analysis and interpretation of the main obtained results and have answers about the topic of our research that is Ironic Misgendering toward cisgender people in the dialects of the addressed speech community sample population.

#### 3.2. Defining Research and Ethical Consideration in it

Research is important both in scientific and non-scientific fields. It is not confined to science and technology only. There are vast areas of research in other disciplines such as languages, literature, history and sociology. Whatever might be the subject, research has to be an active, diligent and systematic process of inquiry in order to discover, interpret or revise facts, events, behaviours and theories because in our life new problems, events, phenomena and processes occur every day. Scientists have to undertake research on them and find their causes, solutions, explanations and applications. Research, then, assists us to understand nature and natural phenomena (Chinnathambi, Philominathan, & Rajasekar, 2013, p. 2-4). It seeks answers of certain questions which have not been answered so far, and the answers depend upon human efforts. In common parlance, it refers to a search for knowledge. The term 'research' consists of two words: Research: Re+ search. 'Re' means again and again, and 'search' means to find out something (Hoadjli, 2016, p. 5). Goddard and Melville (2001) confirmed:

Research is not just a process of gathering information, as is sometimes suggested. Rather, it is about answering unanswered questions or creating that which does currently exist. In many ways, research can be seen as a process of expanding the boundaries of our ignorance (p. 1)

Waltz and Bausell (1981) also defined research as: *“a systematic, formal, rigorous and precise process employed to gain solutions to problems or to discover and interpret new facts and*

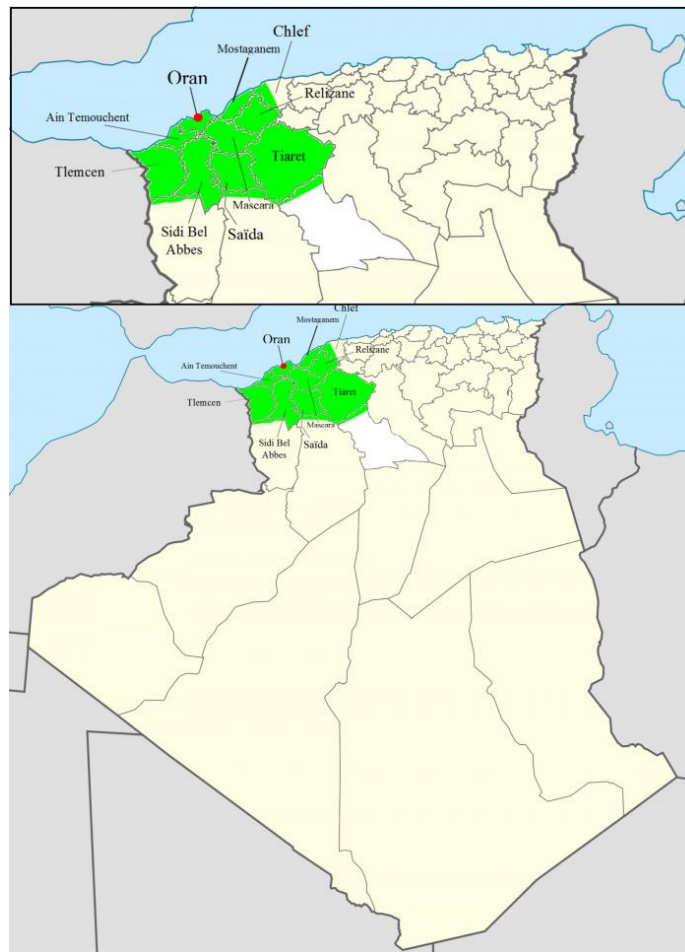
*relationships*” (p. 1). In their point of view, here, Waltz and Bausell observe that research is an experience done to obtain answers to ambiguous questions, and bring to light new possible realities and findings. It has been, also, perceived by Kerlinger (1973) as: “*the systematic, controlled, empirical and critical investigation of hypothetical propositions about the presumed relations among natural phenomena*” (p. 1). Kerlinger’s definition is somehow more detailed and more precise. It states that research has to start with the hypothesis that is going to be investigated based on observation and experience rather than only on theory.

Concerning the ethical consideration in research, almost all researchers face ethical problems depending on the nature of the subject at hand. Ethical considerations, then, can be specified as one of the most important parts of the research especially during data collection. For this reason, Cacciattolo (2015) wrote that: “*good research has at its core a commitment to ensuring that strategies for collecting data are responsible; that at all times research attends to a professional code of conduct that ensures that safety of all the participants involved*” (p. 56). Thereupon, the researcher should ensure that participants are safe from harm and are protected from unnecessary stress. The displayed unethical behaviour by researchers can also compromise the validity and trustworthiness of data that is collected mainly if the participants feel that their physical or mental well-being is threatened in some way (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2001; Escobedo, Guerrero, Lujan, Ramirez, & Serrano, 2007) (as cited in Cacciattolo, 2015, p. 55-56). As depicted above, the participants’ well-being and dignity are the first things to consider in the research, and what makes the research an ethical one. Accordingly, Bryman and Bell (2007) claimed ten points that represent the most important principles related to ethical considerations in dissertations. Since the current research work is a dissertation, we will state them here briefly. For them, research participants should not be subjected to harm in any ways whatsoever, and respect for their dignity should be prioritised. Moreover, full consent should be obtained from the participants prior to the study besides the protection of the privacy of research participants has to be ensured. In addition to that, adequate level of confidentiality of the research data should be ensured as well as the condition that anonymity of individuals and organisations participating in the research has to be ensured. Furthermore, any deception or exaggeration about the aims and objectives of the research must be avoided, and affiliations in any forms, sources of funding, as well as any possible conflicts of interests have to be declared. Finally, any type of communication in relation to the research should be done with honesty and transparency along with any type of misleading information,

as well as representation of primary data findings in a biased way must be avoided. (as cited in Ethical Considerations, n.d., para. 2).

### 3.3. Description of the Speech Community (North West of Algeria)

The North West of Algeria is a socio-cultural area in western Algeria. It includes the following provinces (wilayas): Oran, Ain Temouchent, Mascara, Mostaganem, Relizane, Saïda, Sidi Bel Abbes, Tlemcen, Tiaret, and a part of Chlef. It is also named ‘Wahran sector’ as the capital of the region is the city of Oran (Wahran sector, n.d, para. 1). It dates back to the Ottoman administrative division of the Algerian territory that was called the Baylek of the west: founded in 1553 in Mazouna then Mascara (Oran after 1732) (Chami, 2009, p. 390). This Algerian region is bordered to the east by the Mediterranean, Chlef Valley to the west, (Morocco) to the north by the Mediterranean Sea and to the south by the upper western hill, and it is also distinguished by the proximity of the Spanish coast, so the distance between Ain Temouchent and Almeria is 94 km to 180 km (Wahran sector, n.d., para. 5). Though this speech community consists of various provinces that may differ in many aspects socially and linguistically, it was selected because despite the existing distinctions (slightly inconsiderable), the whole community still shares common social features and linguistic traits that differ clearly from the middle, east, and south provinces such as the common mother dialect of the region known in the whole country as the “west dialect”. Moreover, choosing a single province as a case study didn’t seem a suitable choice owing to the nature of the topic that needed a larger field study. Finally, it is also important to acknowledge, as stated previously, that this speech community involves Berber citizens that live in many provinces of the north west, and who speak different Berber dialects like Kabyle, Mozabite, chleuh, and other varieties.



**Figure.3.1.** North West of Algeria provinces (Wahran sector, n.d.)

### 3.4. Population and Sampling

Apparently, the most difficult step in data collection may well be choosing a sample or a target population or also called a population of interest (or simply population). Resultantly, it should be chosen on solid, well-examined bases, and for the right reasons. As cited in Majid (2018), the population of interest is the study's target population that it intends to study or treat (p. 3). In this sense, Hartas (2010:67) stated the following: "*A population is a group of individuals or organizations that share the same characteristic. what defines a population is not its size (it may be small or large) but the presence of a specific characteristic*" (as cited in Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 86).

The population can be *homogeneous* or *heterogeneous*. A heterogeneous population (all items in the population have different characteristics) and a homogeneous population (all items in the

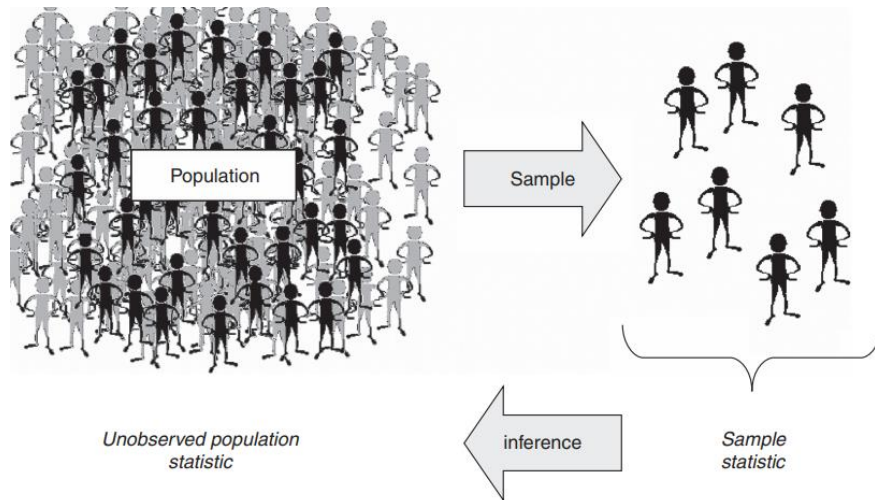
population have the same characteristics) (Homogeneity, Homogeneous Data, 2015, para. 3). Moreover, it can also be *closed* or *general*.

We refer to target populations within organizations that maintain some sort of list of their membership as closed populations (for example, lists of company employees, university staff members, or magazine subscribers) ... we refer to populations other than closed populations as “general populations” (for example, residents of California or patients who have reported adverse drug reactions) (Fricker, Elliott & Schonlau, 2002, p. 37-38)

Investigators will recruit a sample from the population of interest to include in their study. In such cases, the objective of the research study is to generalize the study findings from the sample to the population of interest (Majid, 2018, p. 3). This process, in research, is known as *sampling*. Sampling is the process of selecting a statistically representative sample of individuals from the population of interest (Islami & Kamangar, 2013) (as cited in Majid, 2018, p. 3). It is an important tool for research studies because the population of interest usually consists of too many individuals for any research project to include as participants. A good sample is a statistical representation of the population of interest and is large enough to answer the research question (Browner, Hully & Newman, 2013, p. 43). Fink (2003) defined the sample as: “*a proportion or subset of a larger group called a population...A good sample is a miniature version of the population of which it is a part – just like it, only smaller*” (p. 1).

A sample is said to be representative when the characteristics of elements selected are similar to that of entire target population. The more the sample is representative of the population, the higher is the accuracy of the inferences and better are the results generalizable. The results are said to be generalizable when the findings obtained from sample are equally true for the entire target population because the sampling process may encounter the problem of systematic errors and sampling biases. Systematic errors can be defined as incorrect or false representation of the sample. These errors are caused by over representation of one characteristic and/or under representation of the others, and sampling bias, on the other hand, is said to occur when the selected sample does not truly reflect the characteristics of population. For instance, a research takes into account the people at a hospital; the researcher judges which person might be willing to be a participant of his research. In this way, people who look friendly and less disturbed are more likely to be a part of the research. This sample would not be reflective of the whole hospital population, i.e. more aggressive, unfriendly and disturbed people are also a part of the target population. Thus, this sampling is biased by researcher’s

subjective judgment. Systematic error has occurred by the over representation of friendly people. (Alvi, 2016, p. 11-12).



**Figure.3.2.** An illustration of sampling (Fricker, 2008, p. 196)

Sampling is, usually, done through a set of techniques. These techniques are broadly categorized into two major types or approaches. Probability sampling methods and Non-probability sampling methods. Alvi (2016) wrote: *“Probability sampling is also called as random sampling or representative sampling. In probability sampling every member of the population has a known (non zero) probability of being included in the sample, and some form of random selection is used”* (p. 12) whereas non-probability sampling: *“is also called as judgment or non-random sampling. Every unit of population does not get an equal chance of participation in the investigation, and no random selection is made”* (p. 13).

There are different ways in each approach of the two to do the sample selection. The sampling in the current research work is an online one owing to the lockdown measures taken to control the expansion of the widespread virus called ‘Corona Virus’. It was done through the combination of three methods from both sampling approaches discussed earlier. *“Whilst graduate level research projects would normally utilise one or other of these sampling approaches, it is possible to combine these within a single study”* (Lynch, n.d., p. 2). The methods used have been chosen depending on the nature of the topic, population, and on what is possible in the present lockdown circumstances as a suitable approach for online sampling. The first method is a non-probability sampling method which is called *convenience/convenient*



sampling (also known as availability, accidental, or opportunity sampling). This method is the main one used here. It “*relies on data collection from population members who are conveniently available to participate in study. Facebook polls or questions can be mentioned as a popular example for convenience sampling*” (Convenience sampling, 2019, para. 1). It is identified by an unsystematic approach to recruiting respondents that allows a potential respondent to self-select into the sample. Any sample in which the probability of a sample member’s inclusion in the sample cannot be computed is considered to be a convenience sample (Fricker et al., 2008, p. 33). In this method, the researcher includes those participants who are easy or convenient to approach, and it is done in a way any member of the target population who is available at the moment is approached. He or she, then, is asked for participation in the research. If the person shows consent, the investigation is done. (Alvi, 2016, p. 29). The second employed method is a probability sampling one. It is *stratified random sampling* that is defined by Hayes (2020) as: “*a method of sampling that involves the division of a population into smaller sub-groups known as strata*” (para. 1). Alvi (2016) added:

This type of sampling method is used when population is heterogeneous. i.e. every element of population does not match all the characteristics of the predefined criteria. Instead the elements differ from one another on a characteristic. So, the sub groups are formed that are homogenous i.e. all the elements within a group contain same kind of characteristics (keep in mind, those characteristics are to be taken into account that defines the target population) (p. 20)

This approach is helpful when researchers want to over-sample a particular sub-group within their population. For instance, studying equal numbers of men and women in the sample to compare their responses even though the numbers of men and women may not be equal in the whole population. (Lynch, n.d., p. 4). This method was partly adopted in the sampling of this research to divide males and females equally in the sample not to compare between their replies, but to get more adequate credible results. This helps to avoid that one gender subgroup overshadows the other which may lead to an unfair set of findings. The third and last method is another non-probability sampling method that is *snowball sampling* (also named chain sampling). Lynch (n.d.) described it as the practice in which the researcher built his/her sample on the basis of contacts suggested by other participants. This, for him, had potentially the advantage of drawing on participants’ own expertise in developing the sample as well as expanding the sample beyond contacts known to the researcher (p. 6-7).

Alvi (2016) explained too: “*One element of the population is approached at a time and then is asked to refer the investigator to the other elements of the population*” (p. 33). It was utilized in the sampling of this contemporary research not as a main technique, but as a helping one included in the first in order to reach more aimed respondents.

Sampling is also done on the basis of the category of the population of interest. Here, we can have *homogeneous sampling* in which all the items in the sample are chosen because they have similar or identical traits. For example, people in a homogeneous sample might share the same age, location or employment. Besides this, we also have *heterogeneous sampling* which is the opposite of a homogeneous sampling i.e. all items in the population have different characteristics (What is Homogeneity, 2015, para. 2-3).

### **3.4.1. Description of the Sample Population**

The population of interest in this research work is mainly all the inhabitants of the selected speech community (north west provinces of Algeria). It was framed in this general way due to the nature of the research topic which is a sociolinguistic one i.e. all society members in the area are concerned, and also because all social categories are known or expected to practise the studied linguistic behaviour. Consequently, all members are allowed and required to answer with all the differences existing between them including: age, gender, and the educational level. So, as a matter of fact, the intended population, in regard to the present research paper, is a general heterogeneous one.

### **3.4.2. The Participants**

The principle used tools for data collection in this investigation have a number of participants selected randomly depending on some social variables like age, gender, and the educational level. For the questionnaire, the sample collection includes 150 participants (75 males and 75 females) aged between 15 and more than 40 years old. Concerning the interview, the total number of participants is 40 (including a variety of males and females).

### 3.5. Data Collection Methods (Research Instruments)

The choice of the research instruments is certainly a matter of particular factors. As stated earlier, the nature of the topic, the type of the sample population, and other conditions all contribute in the selection of the data collection methods. The data, in the current work, were collected online due to reasons mentioned previously, and this, itself, was a factor to consider in the choice of the instruments. Furthermore, in doing research, variation in the use of research methods, counts a lot. Many scholars and researchers call this: “mixed research” since it mixes or combines *qualitative* and *quantitative* techniques, methods, or designs to explore a single research topic in order to provide more authentic findings that is most favourable for external validity (Cropley, 2019, p. 103). In this context, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), defined the mix of methods as: “*the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts, or languages into a single study.*” (p. 17). The relationship between them is specifically clarified by Hollis (1994) as he put it: “*the qualitative approach seeks to understand phenomena, whereas the quantitative approach seeks to explain them*” (as cited in Cropley, 2019, p. 36). So, the data were, basically, collected through the following research methods.

#### 3.5.1. Qualitative Data

Qualitative research has been growing so much in the last few decades. This is due mainly to its specific relevance to the study of social relations which was lately characterized by the pluralization of life worlds, the new diversity of milieus, subcultures, lifestyles, and ways of living (Flick, 2009, p. 12). Qualitative research can be defined as the development of concepts which help us to understand social phenomena in natural (rather than experimental) settings, giving due emphasis to the meanings, experiences and views of the participants (Pope & Mays, BMJ 1995; 311:42-45) (as cited in Sunday, n.d., p. 4). The types of data this approach generates are field notes, audio (and sometimes video) recordings, and transcripts (Family Health, n.d., p. 2), and it is collected using a variety of methods. In our research work, we have adopted the following:

### 3.5.1.1. Participant Observation

“Scientific inquiry typically starts with observation of a case or cases and then proceeds to the subsequent formulation of an explanation via inductive thinking” (Cropley, 2019, p. 49). Correspondingly, while qualitative analysis takes many forms, one of these is found in participant observation methods. “It is better known and more commonly applied outside psychology and education, for instance in sociology, anthropology or ethnography” (Cropley, 2019, p. 85). O’Connor (2005) described it as: “the process of immersing yourself in the study of people you’re not too different from” (p. 5) while Jorgensen (1989) defined it as: “... a strategy for gaining access to phenomena that commonly are obscured from the standpoint of a nonparticipant.” (p. 9). For Cropley (2019), the key to participant observation (in contrast to non-participant observation), is the fact that the researcher in it collects information within a social milieu by taking on a role in that milieu. This generally occurs in such a way that it is not apparent to the elements being observed that it is happening (i.e., the observation is *covert*), except perhaps for a small number who are “in the know” (p. 85). O’Connor (2005) puts it well again when he explained:

If it's a group you already know a lot about, you need to step back and take the perspective of a "Martian", as if you were from a different planet and seeing things in a fresh light. If it's a group you know nothing about, you need to become a "convert" and really get committed and involved. The more secretive and amorphous the group, the more you need participation. The more localized and turf-conscious the group, the more you need observation (p. 5)

Apparently, in the ongoing research, it was the first case O’Connor mentioned. The sample was extracted from a population that we already live among and know very well. So, we took the role of the conscious observer from the very beginning knowing that the topic we are working on right now was the outcome of observation when we became suddenly aware of the linguistic phenomenon within the circle around us. It helped us, too, in recognizing that even children and elders are involved in the scene. The thing that was going to be difficult to spot or to study via any other data collecting method as well as the rationale for participant observation which is, as Qaddo (2019) asserted, “*embedded in the belief that natural behaviours are more likely to be representative of certain traits within the group, such as shared perceptions or beliefs*” (p. 9). This is besides the fact that it is done in the most inconspicuous way as it is stated by Dantzer and Hunter (2012): “*the researcher gathers information in most unobtrusive fashion by simply watching the study subjects interact, preferably without their knowledge.*” (p. 61).

### 3.5.1.2. The Interview

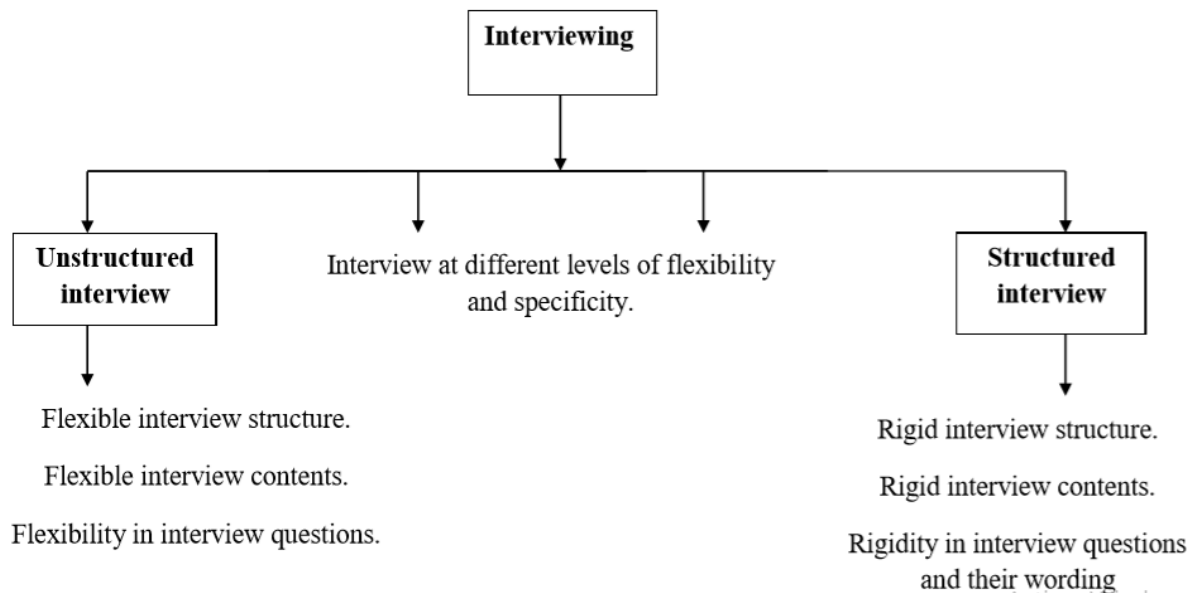
Despite the fact that there exist many methods for collecting qualitative data, Briggs (1986) estimated that 90% of all social science investigations make use of interviews (as cited in Cropley, 2019, p. 93). Within this frame of reference, Mac Kenzie, Meyerhoff & Schleeff (2015) confirmed about the importance of interviews especially in social and sociolinguistic studies:

Interviews have been a favoured mode of data collection among sociolinguists for years. They are a very good, and quick, way to collect quite substantial amounts of talk and they are especially attractive because of the kind of speech that we collect in them. A skilled interviewer can collect substantial amounts of fluent and relatively natural speech from the people s/he is working with (p. 46)

The interview, then, can be defined as: “*a deliberate pre-designed conversation about a specific topic in which at least two persons are involved. The person who devises the interview questions is the interviewer and the one who answers the questions is the interviewee*” (Parvaresh-Masoud, 2018, p. 4). Equivalently, Burns (1997) also defined the interview: “*a verbal interchange, often face to face, though the telephone may be used, in which an interviewer tries to elicit information, beliefs or opinions from another person.*” (p. 329) (as cited in Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 83). Typically, the interview consists of a number of questions depending on the researcher’s own choice. In fact, there are many types of questions that can be used in the interview like open and close questions. In this sense, Spradley (1979) described several kinds of systematic interview questions. He included questions that ask for an overview of some object of study, and questions asking for more detail on some point already introduced. Questions, too, asking for an example of something introduced by the respondent to make it easier for the interviewer to understand as well as the ones asking for a concrete example from the respondent’s own life, in addition to, questions asking for clarification of idiosyncratic language (as cited in Cropley, 2019, p. 97). Cropley (2019) went further saying that questions commencing with either “Why?” or “What do you mean?” should be avoided as much as possible while “What?”, “When?”, “Where?” and “How?” are more appreciated as they help respondents express their views (p. 97).

As far as the types of interview, there exists various kinds such as *open interviews, semi-structured interviews, structured interview, in-depth interviews, group interviews* (Cropley,

2019, p. 98-99-100-101). One-on-one interviews are also common besides focus groups, and many other types. However, in social sciences, the types of interviews that are frequently employed are: *structured interview*, whose key feature is that it is mostly organized around a set of predetermined direct questions that require immediate, mostly ‘yes’ or ‘no’ type, responses. The second type of interviews is the *open-ended (unstructured) interview*. Here, Gubrium & Holstein (2002) pointed out that the structured interview was different from this kind of interviewing in that the latter was an open situation through which a greater flexibility and freedom was offered to both sides (interviewers and interviewees), in terms of planning, implementing and organising the interview content and questions (p. 35). The following figure demonstrates more:



**Figure.3.3.** Types of Interview taken from Kumar (2011) (as cited by Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 84).

As far as the interview employed in this research work is concerned, we have relied on the semi-structured interview that “*employs a blend of closed- and open-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up why or how questions. The dialogue can meander around the topics on the agenda—rather than adhering slavishly to verbatim questions*” (Adams, 2015, p. 493). Additionally, it was an electronic interview which is an alternative to the traditional method due to the factors mentioned earlier. Parvaresh-Masoud (2018) stated that these interviews could be done in two ways simultaneously and asynchronous. In the former method, the

interviewer communicates with the interviewees simultaneously i.e. via telephone conversations, webcam use, and chat on social networks are some examples. On the other hand, asynchronous interviews are those that interviewer and interviewee take part in an interview at different times. Emails, online communities and Bulletin Boards or social network sites are examples of interviews that are asynchronous. (p. 4). The e-interview in our research paper was the second type (an asynchronous one).

### 3.5.1.3. Content Analysis

The last qualitative method used in this research is content analysis. A method originally used in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business (Neuendorf, 2002) (as cited in Sándorová, 2014, p. 95). According to Weber (1990): “*content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text*” (p. 117). Likewise, Sándorová, in her definition, showed that content analysis is applied directly to texts or transcripts, in other words to the products of human communication, which is the core of social interaction (Sándorová, 2014, p. 95-96). Neuendorf (2002), also, considers content analysis, as a summarising method of analysing messages quantitatively, to be scientific, in terms of “objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalisability, replicability, and hypothesis testing”; without being limited to the measurable types of variables or the context of the messages (p. 10). As seen in the above definition, two approaches to content analysis exist (qualitative and quantitative), however; as the one used in this work is a qualitative one, we are going to give more details about it by comparing between both of them in this context. In the same line of thought, Dörnyei (2007) referred to the qualitative content analysis as: “*latent level analysis, because it concerns a second-level, interpretative analysis of the underlying deeper meaning of the data*” whilst the quantitative content analysis as “*manifest level analysis*”, providing an objective and descriptive overview of the “surface meaning of the data” (p. 246). Interestingly, Dörnyei reveals that the difference between the two approaches in content analysis is at the level of the depth of the data analysis. In the same wave, a similar definition and differentiation is given by Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) figuring out that “*qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text*” (p. 308). According to Carley (1990), content analysis has types or strategies that can be classified into four categories as it is quoted below:

Current strategies can be roughly divided into three categories: (1) conceptual analysis, (2) procedural analysis, and (3) relational analysis. Conceptual analysis centers on extracting what concepts are explicitly or implicitly present in the text. Procedural analysis centers on extracting the procedures that the author of the text uses to perform some task. Relational analysis centers on extracting the mental model implicit in the text. Each of these three strategies will be discussed in turn. In addition, a special section on extracting affectual content and the utilization of affect in analyzing texts is provided (p. 2)

Concerning our content analysis in this dissertation, it is a blend of all those categories together since analysing the selected items will be conceptual in terms of their grammatical and semantic presentation. And, then, procedural focusing on what procedures or actions are present in them. After that, we deduce the relation between those concepts. That obviously is relational. Finally, we will have a brief view on the affectual side of the units of study because it is an important step in content analysis as Carley (1990) stated: *“Many texts have an affective or emotional content, which if ignored may reduce the validity of the analysis, but which if attended to may increase the researcher's ability to interpret the text”* (p. 8). Further, the source of data (that is going to be analysed), here, is from the participant observation and the interview.

For the process of content analysis, Cohen, Manion, & Morrison (2007), in this respect, described content analysis as the process of four “C” s, i.e. coding, categorizing, comparing and concluding. Dörnyei (2007) explained coding as used to minimize or simplify the data while highlighting their specific features so as to link them to broader concepts, e.g. categories, whereas *“‘code’ is simply a label attached to a chunk of text intended to make the particular piece of information manageable and malleable”* (p. 250) (as cited in Sándorová, 2014, p. 98). In addition, categorizing refers to developing meaningful categories into which words, phrases, sentences, etc. as the units of analysis can be grouped, while comparing means making connections between categories. Finally, concluding stands for drawing theoretical considerations on the basis of the text and the results of the analysis. Cohen et al. (2007) goes further; claiming the following: *“essential features of the process of content analysis: 1. breaking down text into units of analysis; 2. undertaking statistical analysis of the units; 3. presenting the analysis in as economical a form as possible”* (p. 476). With that being said, almost all of the essential details about content analysis method have been introduced herein.



### 3.5.2. Quantitative Data

Different researchers give different definitions to “quantitative research.” Creswell (1994) provided a very concise definition of quantitative research. He said it is a type of research that is “*explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analysed using mathematically based methods (in particular statistics)*” (as cited in Sukamolson, 1996, p. 2). Sukamolson claims that Creswell’s definition focuses on the idea that quantitative research starts with the concept named ‘explaining phenomena’ that is when we set out to do some research, he affirms, we are always looking to explain something (Sukamolson, 1996, p. 2). The next part of the definition is closely connected with collecting numerical data which is data in the form of counts or numbers where each data-set has a unique numerical value associated with it. This data is any quantifiable information that can be used for mathematical calculations and statistical analysis (Surendran, n.d, para. 1) which is what is claimed in the last part of the definition that refers to the use of mathematically based methods to analyse the data. In quantitative research, when data is collected, the people or things (e.g. schools) we collect data on or from are known as research *units*, *units* or *cases*. If the data have to be taken from the samples of population, the samples are also called *sampling units*. The data that we collect from these units are known as *variables*. Variables are any characteristic of the unit we are interested in and want to collect (e.g. gender, age, self-esteem). The name variable refers to the fact that this data will differ between units like in terms of gender, achievements and so on otherwise the research is not going to be that interesting (Sukamolson, 1996, p. 11).

Sukamolson, further, maintains that there are several types of quantitative research. For instance, 1) survey research, 2) correlational research, 3) experimental research and 4) causal-comparative research. Each type has its own typical characteristics. The current research belongs to survey research which uses scientific sampling and questionnaire design to measure characteristics of the population with statistical precision. (Sukamolson, 1996, p. 4).

We use quantitative research, when we want a quantitative answer i.e. a numerical one that a qualitative approach cannot obviously provide. It is also useful to quantify opinions, attitudes and behaviours and find out how the whole population feels about a certain issue. We call this: 'descriptive research' since it describes a situation using descriptive statistics. In addition to, its appropriateness to explain different phenomena besides the fact that it especially suites the testing of hypotheses. This is, on the other hand, called: 'inferential research' because

we are trying to explain something, using inferential statistics, rather than just describe it (Sukamolson, 1996, p. 8-9).

In short, Sukamolson (1996) perceives that quantitative research generally focuses on measuring social reality, and searches for quantities in something and for establishing research numerically (p. 4). Moreover, he added: *“the ultimate goal of any quantitative research is to generalize the “truth” found in the samples to the population (while the ultimate goal of any qualitative research is to understand a certain phenomenon)”* (p. 9).

Quantitative research in general, and more specifically survey research, are done using a wide variety of methods. We have chosen, in our research, the following:

### 3.5.2.1. The Questionnaire

As indicated earlier, quantitative research has many types among which is the survey research that our present work relied on. It is *“the systematic gathering of information from respondents for the purpose of understanding and/or predicting some aspects of the behaviour of the population of interest. The survey research is concerned with sampling, questionnaire design, questionnaire administration and data analysis.”* (Sukamolson, 1996, p. 12). It is very popular and it has many types. In our investigation, we made use of a type called by Sukamolson (1996): *Self-Administered Questionnaires* or can be also called: *Unrestricted self-selected surveys* like Fricker (2015) puts it as a web-based survey method since ours was an internet-based one. However, we will first try to have a look on how a questionnaire, in general, can be defined. In this regard, Seliger and shohamy (1989) defined it as: *“printed forms for data collection, which include questions or statements to which the subject is expected to respond, often anonymously.”* (p. 172). Questions in the questionnaire are written (Boukhatem & Chouaou, 2014-2015, p. 36), and vary between open, close, and multiple questions (Rabahi, 2012-2013, p. 81).

For self-administered questionnaires, respondents fill them out themselves. They are generally distributed through mail (Sukamolson, 1996, p. 14). Moreover, they may simply be posted on a website so that anyone browsing through may choose to take the survey, or they may be promoted via website banners or other online advertisements, or may be publicized in traditional print and broadcast media (Fricker, 2015, p. 17). Sukamolson (1996) assumed too that questionnaires: *“enable the researcher to elicit detailed information from respondents who*

*may not be accessible otherwise (homebound, rural, etc.)” (p. 14) especially internet-based ones as Fricker (2015) emphasized: “the web can also facilitate access to individuals who are difficult to reach either because they are hard to identify, locate, or perhaps exist in such small numbers that probability-based sampling would be unlikely to reach them in sufficient numbers” (p. 17).*

In fact, our questionnaire was written in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as a way to allow all the informants to understand the questions. Except for the examples provided in order to clarify some questions, those were presented in Algerian Dialectal Arabic (ADA) since they are part of the quest of the research in the Algerian dialects context. This is because the language of the questions is also important in writing the questionnaire. It is preferable to write short, precise, and clear questions with simple appropriate words so that the informants don't get confused, and since you are not going to be able to explain to all of them misunderstandings or difficult words if there are any. In this context, Kumar (2011) wrote: *“in a questionnaire, take extra care to use words that your respondents will understand as you will have no opportunity to explain questions to them” (p. 154).*

The questionnaire was, further, divided into three sections; the first aimed at collecting general personal information about the respondents; gender, age, educational background, and provinces. The other two sections contained questions related to the research project topic ranging from general to more specific questions.

### **3.6. Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Throughout this part, we will analyse and interpret the obtained data.

#### **3.6.1. Participant Observation Analysis**

Participant observation was the seed our research topic first sprouts from, and the evidence of its existence. As a living part of the target speech community, we have always questioned the fact that people used to misgender each other purposefully to create a situation in which either males or females are made fun of. Our very first question was: what pushes a gender to use the other one as a way to belittle the other? Out of this question, we started taking this idea as a serious topic that seemed worthy to be investigated and studied. Sociolinguistics, as a matter of fact, paved the way for us and gave us the chance to do so. Consequently, a notebook was used to keep all the field notes about the research topic categorized according to

gender accompanied with the situations they are said in, and the reasons why they are said. The field notes are all about words or expressions people use to misgender each other ironically. Either used among members of the same gender or from members of one gender toward the other gender members. Field notes are the primary way to capture the data that is collected from participant observations. These data, that are in AA, accordingly, are going to be analysed in the coming content analysis section. As a result, we will limit ourselves, here, just to mention them in the following table:

Males	Females
1. مربية [mrija]	1. عيشة راجل [ʕajʃæ] [ra:ʒal]
2. يبكي كما النسا [jabki:] [kima] [nsæ]	2. The same is done here. Changing the female name into a masculine form. For example, from 'Zahira' into 'Zohir'.
3. Changing the form of the male's name into a feminine form like: 'Amine' becomes 'Amina' or 'Hadi' to 'Hadiya'.	
4. Using, also, the feminine form of adjectives to address males.	
5. Addressing males using the feminine form, too, in verbs, and pronouns as well.	

**Table 3.1.** Data Gathered During the Participant Observation Phase

Interestingly, to confirm our observation findings as well as to have more data to study, an interview was conducted for that purpose.

### 3.6.2. The Interview Analysis

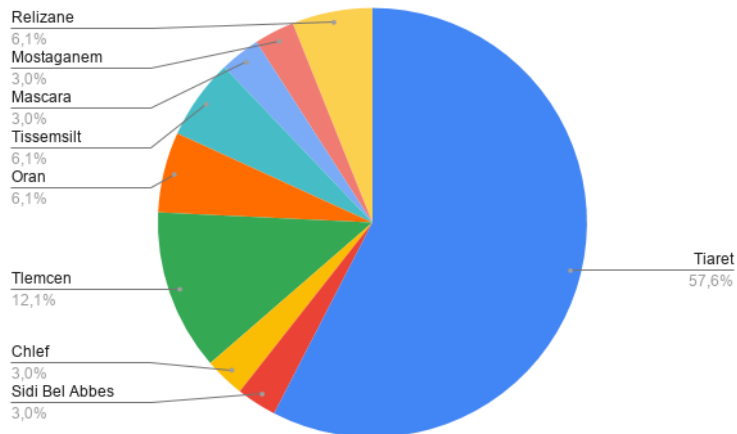
The interview in the current research work was composed of five questions. It was noted at its opening that the research work linked to the given interview questions is intended for

cisgender people so that the informants don't get confused, and deviate out of the real topic stream. Additionally, we attempted to investigate through the questions, and confirm principally whether the sociolinguistic phenomenon 'Ironic Misgendering', we are studying, exists in other areas of the target speech community either in AA or in Berber as well due to the fact that many Berber citizens reside in the north west of Algeria, the speech community we are targeting, as aforementioned. We, also, tried to gather more examples of Ironic Misgendering words and expressions for further content analysis interpretation and study. Lastly, we tried to investigate the situations, those words and expressions are usually used in.

In order to collect our data, we have interviewed forty (40) random participants, men and women, from different ages, educational backgrounds, and occupations. Further, owing to the fact that the interview was an electronic one, we relied mainly on Facebook groups in which we had posted it, and invited people there to participate in it. In order to reach different member categories that present and reflect all social in the target speech community, we attempted to post our E-interview in different groups. For example, groups intended to educated people such as university stuff groups, and others for everybody else like groups for commerce (sell and buy groups). Moreover, for the purpose of reaching only members of our target population in the speech community we study, and to reach as well members from each single province in it, we have chosen the groups mentioned before, on the basis of belonging to the target area. We mean groups like 'Nass Lgharb' i.e. a group just for people who live in the west of the country. In addition to groups that are specified only to certain provinces, and they mention them in the group name such as groups named 'wlad lgharb Oran Tlemcen Sidi Belabes Saida Mosta', and the list goes on. Thirty-three (33) of the participants were the ones who answered the interview directly in the form. Two of them were from a province not included in the target speech community provinces that is 'Tissemsilt' which, as a result, pushed us to exclude their answers. The remaining seven (07) participants were interviewed via Facebook Messenger application.

1. Which wilaya (province), in the North West of Algeria, you belong to?

This question was rather an introductory one, and one to make sure members, from the different provinces of the speech community we have chosen, participate in our interview. The results for the thirty-three participants are shown in the following pie chart:



**Chart.3.1.** Provinces That the Thirty-three Interview Participants Belong to

For the other seven participants interviewed via Facebook Messenger, two (02) were from Chlef province, one (01) from Ain Timouchent, another one (01) from Saida, another (01) from Mostaganem, another (01) from Mascara, and the last one (01) was from Tlemcen.

2. What is the dialect (in Arabic or Berber) you usually use in your daily life?

Considering that our research puts emphasis on the Algerian dialects, this question was designed to fulfil this part of the research focus. Interestingly, the majority of the participants answered that they spoke AA with its varied regional accents related to each province in our target speech community. Only four of the whole number spoke varieties of Berber among which two (02) use Kabyle (One from the province of Tiaret and another from Tlemcen), one (01) uses Mozabite (from Oran province), and another one (01) uses Chleuh (from Chlef province). What can be noted here, too, is what we noticed about how the AA speaking participants answered this question i.e. the words they used to express their response about which dialect they used. Some of them wrote 'دارجة' [dæridʒa] which means AA. Others wrote 'دارجة تاع الغرب' [dæridʒa] [tæʕ] [lyarb] or simply 'تاع الغرب' [tæʕ] [lyarb] meaning the AA spoken in the west part of Algeria. Others, further, answered saying 'العربية' i.e. Arabic to refer to AA as well.

3. Is there in the dialect you speak, words or expressions that belong to women, but used sometimes to disdain or to make fun of men and vice versa; i.e. words or expressions that has to do with men used to belittle women? (an example was provided, here, in case the respondent face difficulties understanding the topic).

In this question, we gave the interviewees a direct yes/no question with the intent to make sure the phenomenon exists, and whether the interviewee knows about it or not. The larger part of them i.e. thirty-three (33) wrote ‘yes’ as an answer whereas only seven (07) of them replied with ‘no’, and claimed that they didn’t think it existed.

4. If your answer is ‘yes’, then could you mention some examples about that? (with their origin or the history behind them if possible).

According to the ones who answered with ‘yes’ in the previous question, there were many different examples to be given presented as words and expressions. Some of those examples are used for males and others for females. In addition to that, the greater number of examples were given in AA while just few were given in the following Berber dialects (Kabyle, Mozabite, and Chleuh). We shall note, as well, that some examples given were out of subject so they weren’t taken into account. We are going to put all the examples given by the participants in the table below, and they are going to be analysed later in the content analysis part.

	Males	Females
AA	1. مريوة [mriwa] 2. Madama [madama] 3. فاملات [fa:mlæt] 4. لعزبة [ʕazba] 5. كهينة [kahina] 6. مراوي [mrawi:] 7. خيرة البواسة [xajra] [lbewasa]	1. جعفر رجلة [ʒaʕfar] [rozla] 2. موسطاشة [mu:staʃæ] 3. ماتشو [ma:tʃo:] 4. مسترجلة [mestarʒla] 5. غارسون مونكي [ga:rsɔn] [mɔ:nki] 6. التراس المسخوط [ʔataræs] [lmasxɔ:t] 7. عود [ʕawd]

	8. عقلية الخالات [ʕaqliyat] [lʁalæt] 9. طفيلة [tʃi:læ] 10. هَجَال [ha'zæɪ] / هَجَالَة [ha'zæla] 11. ولية [wlija] 12. أُنُوش [ʔa'nu:ʃ] 13. بو بنات [bu:] [bnæt]	8. نطفة صغيرة [noʔfa] [syi:ra] 9. بابا راجل [bæbæ] [ra:ʒal] 10. راجلة [ra:ʒalæ] 11. مو ولاد [mɔ:] [wlæd]
<b>Berber Dialects</b>		
Kabyle	1. Tharggazth [θærgæzθ]	1. Ametoth [æmitoθ]
Mozabite	1. بومطوط [bu:mʔo:t]	
Chleuh	1. Tamechthahth [tæmaʃθa:hθ] 2. Tamzourth [tæmzu:rθ] 3. Tyazit [tjazit] 4. Yetinith [jetiniθ]	1. Mhal Aryaz [mħæl] [arjɛ:z]

**Table 3.2.** Data Collected Out of the Interview

5. Finally, in which situations are, those words and expressions, usually used in that context?

In this concluding question, we aimed at knowing in which context those words and expressions are usually used. To see, too, if the participants would agree on the same answer or if it would be otherwise other varieties of answers. Correspondingly, the majority of participants agreed on the view that these words and expressions are used mostly to disdain and to express contempt toward males who behave like or look like females and vice versa. They added that people used them, as well, with the purpose of insulting and offending. Others said they are used to express annoyance toward some unusual behaviours from the part of each gender compared to its habitual nature. Others interviewees claimed that people used them when feeling angry or in physical or verbal fights. One of the respondents explained in details that in



this kind of words, the ones used toward males are generally used against males who talk a lot, gossip, not punctual, irresponsible, not strong enough to do tough works whereas the ones used against females are used in case the female is too aggressive and harsh. Or for the one who uses swear words and insults in her speech. Finally, a small number of participants argued that these words are no more than a way to joke or to have fun among friends or siblings, and even said by the elderly to kids in families.

In short, we can deduce that the main purpose of our interview is, first, to make sure the studied linguistic phenomenon exists all along the target speech community. Second, it is to have as much examples as possible from the part of the respondents, and discover, even, the differences between cultures in expressing Ironic Misgendering which provides a richer perspective about the research topic. Lastly, it works on discovering the real context in which this linguistic behaviour is practiced.

### 3.6.3. Content Analysis Interpretation

To start with, the data that are going to be analysed, here, are the data collected in the participant observation and in the interview phase.

The data were already coded and categorized in terms of gender. Now, they will be conceptualized in terms of their grammatical and semantic presentations. This will include implicitly the procedural, relational, and affectional links between them.

It is important to note, here, that Algerian dialects, either Arabic or Berber ones, being primarily dialects i.e. only spoken with no written codification, when people use them in texting or in a written form in general, they either write them using the Arabic alphabet or the Latin one. That's why, in the gathered data, some of the examples were written in Arabic letters and others in Latin ones. That, indeed, is the result of Algerian people being influenced both by Arabic and French languages.

Concerning the *grammatical presentation* of Ironic Misgendering in the examples taken from the collected data, they were all recognized in the participant observation. They are embodied in the following analysis:

- Using the feminine form of adjectives to address males. Here, the grammatical form of adjectives is transformed from the masculine form, that is habitually used to address males, to the uncommon feminine form to them. For instance, the adjective 'جايحة' [ʒæjħa] instead of the masculine usual form 'جايح' [ʒæjah] which means 'coward' in English, is used in this case to ironically misgender males. The transition from masculine to feminine is done through adding the letter 'ة' [t], but pronounced as [a] within the word, to the masculine adjective in order to have the feminine one. This is just one example among many other all done in the same way to make males generally look or perceived as ridiculous, weak, and useless.
- Addressing males using the feminine form, too, in pronouns. Accordingly, people use the pronoun 'هي' [hija], 'she' in English, instead of 'هو' [hɔwa], 'he' in English, to ironically misgender males, and make fun of them. The pronoun 'نتي' [nti:] or similarly 'تي' [ti:], 'you' in English, that is originally used to address females, is also applied to misgender males ironically as an alternative to their original masculine pronoun 'نتا' [ntæ] or 'تا' [tæ].
- Verbs, as well, are used to misgender males ironically. In the same previous way, verbs in the feminine form are used to address males as a way to sarcastically misgender them. A well-known example can be presented here. It is generally used in fights especially among males. They use the expression 'خرجيهالي ديراكت' [xɔɾʒi:hali:] [di:rekt] meaning 'face me'. In this expression, the verb form 'خرجيهالي' [xɔɾʒi:hali:], which is in feminine form, is utilized in place of 'خرجيهالي' [xɔɾʒhali:] that is the masculine form to make the counterpart in the fight seem unworthy of the fight, and to disdain his capacities. This can be applied to many verbs so as to fit in different ironic Misgendering situations.
- The last one to analyse is another grammatical way to misgender both males and females. In this context, males' personal first names are turned into the feminine version of the name. One such example can be, the masculine name 'Amine' becomes 'Amina' which is the female name of the same name, or 'Hadi' (masculine) to 'Hadiya' (feminine). Additionally, the same is done for females by changing the female name form into a masculine form. For example, from 'Zahira' (feminine) into 'Zohir' (masculine).

For the *semantic presentation* of Ironic Misgendering, it is displayed in all of the remaining examples extracted from both the participant observation and the interview collected data. It is analysed as follows:

### Examples of Semantic Ironic Misgendering Items that Target Cisgender Males:

- Algerian Arabic (AA):

1. مريّة [mrija]: is the diminution of the word 'مرا' [mræ] from AA that is derived primarily from the MSA term 'امرأة' [imraʔa] which means 'a woman' in English. Used broadly to target males which are taken as weak, shy, sensitive, emotional, not tough etc.
2. يبكي كما النساء [jabki:] [kima] [nsæ]: an expression that means in English: 'he cries like women'. It is, also, a widely used, expression to misgender males especially when they feel vulnerable or emotional, and show their feelings or when their tears come to the surface.
3. مريوة [mriwa]: it is another form or way to the word 'مرا' [mræ] which means 'a woman' in English. Used in the same context of the first mentioned one.
4. Madama [madama]: this word is composed of the French word 'Madame' [mada:m] which is used to address or refer to a woman in a respectful way, and the AA suffix 'a' which denotes the feminine form. This addition, in the Algerian context, changes the meaning of the word drastically from a polite term to address women to a disrespectful insulting one employed mainly to misgender males ironically. Linguistically, the way the word was composed is called: "Intra-word Switching", one of the outcomes of language contact (discussed earlier in chapter two).
5. فاملات [fa:mlæt]: this term originated from the French term 'Femmelette' [fa:mlæt] which means a weak woman, and used mainly to describe a man as weak, powerless, and lacking energy. The word, in this case, was transliterated from the Latin alphabet to

the Arabic one. *Transliteration* is the process of transferring a word from the alphabet of one language to another.

6. لعزبة [lʕazba]: this word in AA refers to the ‘unmarried woman’. It comes from the MSA word ‘عزباء’ [ʕazba:ʔ] that indicates the same meaning. In our research topic context, it is used widely to misgender males, and make them look like young ladies.
7. كهينة [kahina]: another Misgendering term that is a proper name for females. To be more precise, it is a female name generally used by Berber people that has a historical reference to the Berber warrior and queen Dihya Elkahina. It is worth mentioning, here, that the word ‘Kahina’ means in Arabic: a woman that dedicates herself to serve God. This name was mentioned by one of the interviewees who claimed that it is a term used to misgender males in the province of ‘Tiaret’. Indeed, in addition to the feminine connotation of the name as a Misgendering one, it shows, as well, slightly the still existing ‘malaise’ or discomfort between Arabs and Berbers as the word is used by an Arab majority in this province for the purpose of Ironic Misgendering.
8. مراوي [mrawi:]: an AA term meaning a man with feminine traits or a man who spend too much time with women. Also, extracted from the AA word [mræ] which, as written earlier, means ‘woman’ in English.
9. خيرة البواسة [xajra] [lbewasa]: an expression composed of the female proper name [xajra] and the adjective [lbewasa] which means ‘who kisses a lot’. This expression is an ironic phrase, generally, used for females who, for example, in friends’ gatherings or family occasions don’t miss the opportunity to kiss everybody there. Accordingly, it is used for the same purpose with males, but in order to ironically misgender them by resembling them to this kind of females. The expression indicates, too, that this intimate behaviour is referred to as a feminine trait implying the stereotype that women are emotional, and that men shouldn’t be so.
10. عقلية الخالات [ʕaqliyat] [lʕalæt]: this expression means ‘the way aunts think’. The reference to females, here, is via the word ‘aunts’ that refers primarily to women. This

phrase is, also, used to ironically misgender males by comparing them to aunts (i.e. women), their gatherings, and their speech when together.

11. طفيلة [tʃi:læ]: is the AA diminution of the MSA word 'طفلة' [tɪflæ] that means 'a little girl'. A word used, also, to ridicule males.
12. هَجَال [ha'zæɪ] / هَجَالَة [ha'zæɪla]: [ha'zæɪla] is a negative disrespectful term used, generally, to describe a divorced woman or a widow. It becomes a Misgendering word to target even males in its feminine form [ha'zæɪla] or in an invented masculine form extracted from the original feminine one that is: [ha'zæɪ] used for the same aim for males i.e. ironic Misgendering toward cisgender men. The interviewee said that it is used, mainly, in the province of 'Mascara' (the one with the masculine form we mean).
13. ولية [wlija]: a term utilized mainly for women to figure them as fragile, weakened, and unable to protect themselves. It started to be used, too, to refer to males, connoting an inferior perception.
14. أَوْش [ʔa'nu:f]: is a word derived from the feminine term أَوْشَة [ʔa'nu:ʃa] that is used to describe young ladies as beautiful. The masculine form of this term started lately to be used as a Misgendering term for males to compare them to young beautiful ladies denoting that they have no masculine qualities. It is, often, used against males who tend to take over care of their physical appearance, wear clothes with feminine colours, or feminine styles.
15. بو بنات [bu:] [bnæt]: the interview participant who came out with this term, wrote that it was used in the province of 'Tlemcen'. It is composed of the word [bu:] that originates primarily from the MSA term 'أبو' [ʔabu:] meaning 'father of' plus the word [bnæt] taken from the MSA term 'بنات' [banæt] that means in English 'girls'. The overall phrase seems to have the meaning of 'father of girls', but, in fact, it isn't. The phrase in its context of Ironic Misgendering refers to males who hang out a lot with females, and who tend to have a lot of female friends' relations. In other words, males who are frequently found in a female entourage.

- Berber:

#### A. Kabyle:

1. Tharggazth [θærgæzθ]: the respondent who provided us with this term said that he didn't think 'word miniaturization' exists in Kabyle in the context of Ironic Misgendering. He said that Misgendering males, ironically, is done in another way which is 'to feminize the masculine term that refers to them'. That is to say, the word 'Arggaz' [ʔargæz] in Kabyle which means 'a man' is, linguistically, emasculated or feminized to become: Tharggazth [θærgæzθ]. I.e. shaped in a female form word. He, additionally, added that the words he stated may differ from one place to another. They may be used in a certain area, and not in another.

#### B. Mozabite:

1. بومطوط [bu:mʔɔ:t]: is a Mozabite word that means 'like a woman'.

#### C. Chleuh:

1. Tamechthahth [tæmajθa:hθ]: this term means in English 'a female dancer'. The participant who gave us the term said that in Chleuh dialect, when a man is hyperactive or behaves in an uncontrollable way, especially in gatherings, they call him so referring to a female dancer provoking sarcasm and irony around him too.
2. Tamzourth [tæmzu:rθ]: is a word that refers to a woman in the postpartum or post-natal period that is the period after giving birth to a baby. This word is used in Chleuh dialect to describe and make fun of a lazy man who does nothing other than sleeping and eating.
3. Tyazit [tjazit]: a word that means 'a hen' in English. It is used to describe a fearful man. We can see, in this regard, that even the feminine names of animals can be utilized to ironically misgender males.

4. Yetinith [jetiniθ]: it is a word that refers to a pregnant woman in an uncontrollable mood that makes her desire food and other things in an unusual way during a certain period of pregnancy, often in the first weeks. So, this term is used in Chleuh dialect to indicate a man who craves things or who asks frequently for onerous demands.

### Examples of Semantic Ironic Misgendering Items that Target Cisgender Females:

#### ● Algerian Arabic (AA):

1. عيشة راجل [ʕajʃæ] [ra:ʒal]: this expression contains two words. The first is a female proper name [ʕajʃæ] in addition to the term [ra:ʒal] that means ‘a man’ taken, originally, out of the MSA term ‘رَجُلٌ’ [raʒɔl] that means the same. The expression is used to depict a female in a masculine image or in case a female behaves or looks like a male. We can note, that some respondents commented on this expression, as it was given for them as a clarifying example, saying that though the female proper name used in this phrase had a religious background for Muslims, they still used it in this unsuitable context.
2. جعفر رجلة [ʒaʕfar] [rɔʒla]: another Ironic Misgendering expression for females composed, too, of two elements. The first one is, also, a proper name, but this time is a masculine name [ʒaʕfar] used with the word [rɔʒla] which is borrowed from the MSA word ‘رجولة’ [rɔʒu:læ], and they both mean ‘manhood’ in English. Consequently, we notice, here, addressing the female with a masculine proper name, and attributing manhood to them, but in an ironic way.
3. موسطاشة [mu:staʃæ]: this is a term that is formed using the French word ‘Moustache’ [mu:sta:ʃ] that means the same in English ‘mustache’ a strip of hair left to grow above the upper men’s lip. The word is transliterated into Arabic linked to the letter ‘ة’ which is pronounced [æ], and which denotes the feminine form. It pictures females as being manlike in a comic way. I.e. to make fun of them as lacking femininity and female beauty. It is, then, another “Intra-word Switching” presentation.
4. ماتشو [ma:tʃɔ:]: the interviewee who provides this term wrote that it meant ‘rabbit male’ in Spanish. When we verified the information given, we found out it was true. We have found that the translation of the English ‘male rabbit’ to Spanish is ‘conejo macho’: conejo=rabbit and macho=male. As a result, the word ‘macho’ was borrowed from Spanish and transliterated into

Arabic letters. As we can see, the masculine Spanish term for a male rabbit is used, as well, to ironically misgender females. It can be classified as a core borrowing term.

5. مسترجلة [mestarʒla]: another female Ironic Misgendering term borrowed from MSA. A slight difference appeared in the pronunciation of the borrowed word from the original Arabic pronunciation: [mustarʒila] to the AA pronunciation: [mestarʒla]. It means a woman with masculine traits, behaviors, and sometimes even appearance.

6. غارسون مونكي [ga:rson] [mɔ:nki]: this expression is originally the French expression: 'Garçon manqué' designating a female human who adopts characteristics and traits that are typically considered masculine. The phrase, here, is just transliterated into Arabic characters.

7. التراس المسخوط [ʔata'ræs] [lmasxɔ:t]: this expression is composed of two terms. The first one [ʔata'ræs] is an AA word meaning 'a man' while the second is an adjective that is used to insult conveying the following meaning: 'not desirable to look at'. So, in a whole, the expression means 'a horrible looking man'.

8. عود [ʕawd]: this AA term means in English a 'male horse'. It is, generally, used to refer to a nasty woman. The use of the masculine form was, purposefully, emphasized despite that the feminine form exists too. That confirms the Ironic Misgendering purpose that is aimed through it.

9. نطفة صغيرة [nɔʔfa] [syi:ra]: this one is a phrase that consists of two words borrowed both from MSA. The word [nɔʔfa] means 'a sperm', and the word [syi:ra] means 'little'. 'Little sperm' (a masculine connotation), said the interviewee, a phrase used in the province of 'Mascara' to disdain females.

10. بابا راجل [bæbæ][ra:ʒal]: a phrase used in the province of 'Tlemcen'. It is formed of two words. [bæbæ] a term meaning 'dad' in English, and [ra:ʒal] means 'a man'.

11. راجلة [ra:ʒalæ]: this one is the feminization of the word [ra:ʒal] i.e. 'a man' by adding the letter 'ة' that works as a suffix which is pronounced [æ], and which denotes the feminine form.

12. مو ولاد [mɔ:][wlæd]: a phrase that refers to females who are always found around males with a lot of male friends' relations, who also behave like them, and have similar departments with them. It is built using two terms. [mɔ:] extracted from the MSA 'أم' [ɔm] which means 'Mother of', besides [wlæd] taken from the MSA term 'أولاد' [ʔawlæd] meaning 'boys'. However, the



meaning is not that the misgendered female is the mother of boys, but the expression rather means, the girl that is always found side by side with boys and who enjoys their companionship.

- **Berber:**

- A. Kabyle:

1. Ametoth [æmitɔθ]: After seeing above how Misgendering males, ironically, is done in Kabyle, we will see now how that is done for females. It is, indeed, the inverse i.e. the feminine form of the term is masculinized. Accordingly, the term ‘thametoth’ [θæmɛtɔθ] which means ‘a woman’ is formed differently in a masculine form to be presented as Ametoth [æmitɔθ], and this term is the one used to ironically misgender women.

- B. Chleuh:

1. Mhal Aryaz [mħæɫ] [arjɛːz]: this phrase in Chleuh dialect consists of two terms. The first one [mħæɫ] means ‘like’ and the second [arjɛːz] means ‘a man’. Correspondently, the whole phrase means ‘like a man’.

#### 3.6.4. The Questionnaire Analysis

The questionnaire used in the current research was divided into three sections. The first part (section one) aimed at gathering general information about the respondents; their age, gender, province they belong to, and educational background. The total number of the participants is 150, with an equal number of each gender i.e. 75 males and 75 females as explained earlier. Here, too, as in the interview, it was noted at the opening that the research work is intended for cisgender people (not trans) so that the informants don’t get confused, and deviate out of the real topic stream.

##### Section one:

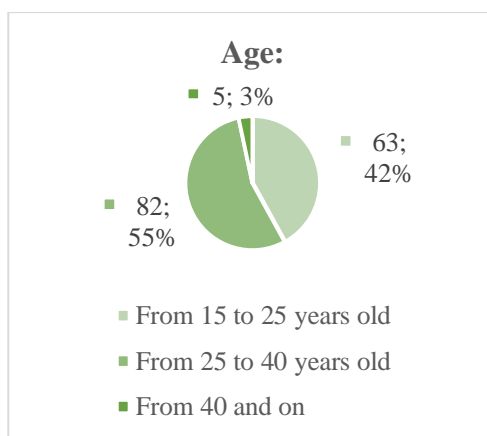
The following table reveals the sample group of informants undertaken by means of three age groups divided in gender categories (males and females). The number of males and

females was chosen to be equal, on purpose, not to compare between their results, but for the sake of the results validity and objectivity.

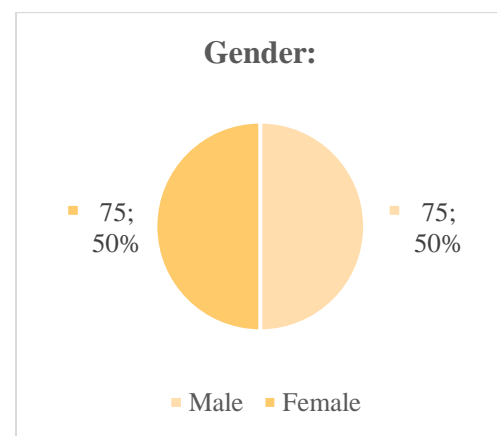
Age Group	Male	Female	Total
15-25	27	36	63
25-40	44	38	82
Above 40	04	01	05
Total	75	75	150

**Table 3.3.** Sampling and Stratification of the Participants

The two pie charts below show the results of the age groups and the gender categorization separately.

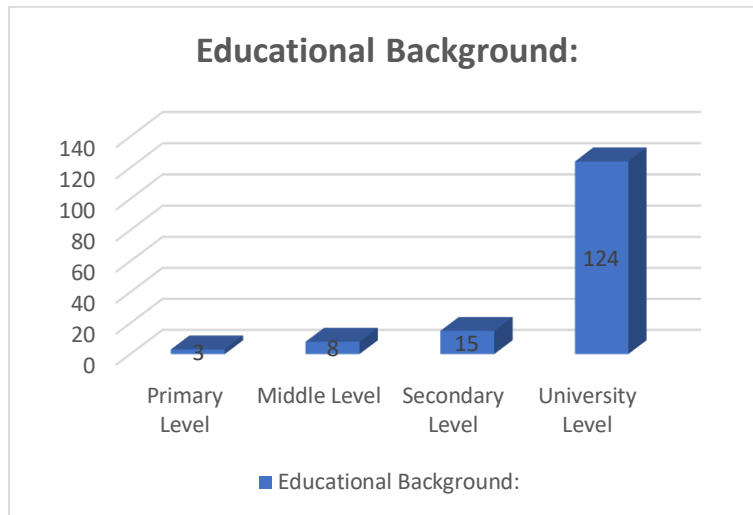


**Chart.3.2.** Age Categories of the Informants



**Chart.3.3.** Their Gender Groups

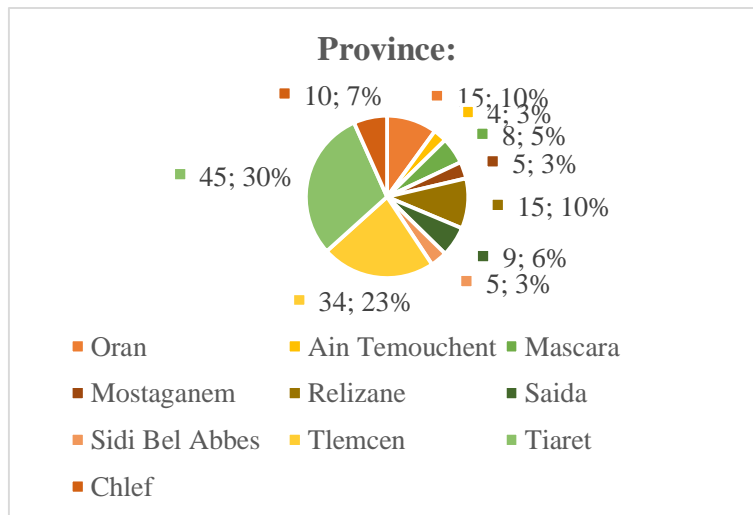
Additionally, the participants were from different educational backgrounds as it is shown in the following graph:



**Graph.3.1.** Participants’ Educational Background

According to the results obtained, the majority of the respondents hold a university degree followed by the ones who have a secondary degree, then the middle degree, and at last the smallest number was for the ones who have a primary educational level.

The respondents were, also, from the different ten (10) provinces that compose the target speech community. The following pie chart indicates more details:



**Chart.3.4.** Provinces in the Speech Community the Participants Belong to

As we can see here, the great number of the participants were from ‘Tiaret’ and ‘Tlemcen’.

The second part of the questionnaire, was divided into two other sections. The first one consists of seven (07) questions that are a bit general questions, but still in the context of the topic, and that pave the way to the more specific ones in section three that consists of twelve (12) questions. The aim of the questions was, chiefly, to investigate the participants' attitudes and views in a quantitative way, in addition to giving them the opportunity to write their suggestions and comments in some of the questions so as to compare them to the research hypotheses later on.

### Section two:

The second section is composed of seven (07) questions:

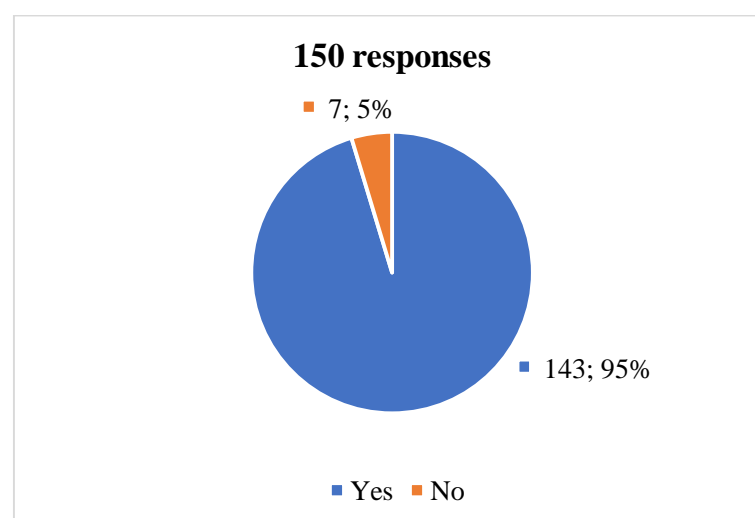
**Question n°1:** It is generally estimated that men and women differ mainly in the physiological and biological composition. However, it is claimed that both of them also differ in the way they behave, and the way they use language like in constructing sentences, choice of words and expressions, and selection of topics.

Do you agree with this?

Yes

no

The first question, as presented above, was preceded by a short introductory paragraph to familiarize, first, the respondents with hints from the topic, and, second, to create a suitable setting for the first question to be asked properly. The participants, then, were asked about whether they agreed with the given claim or not. Their answers were as follows:



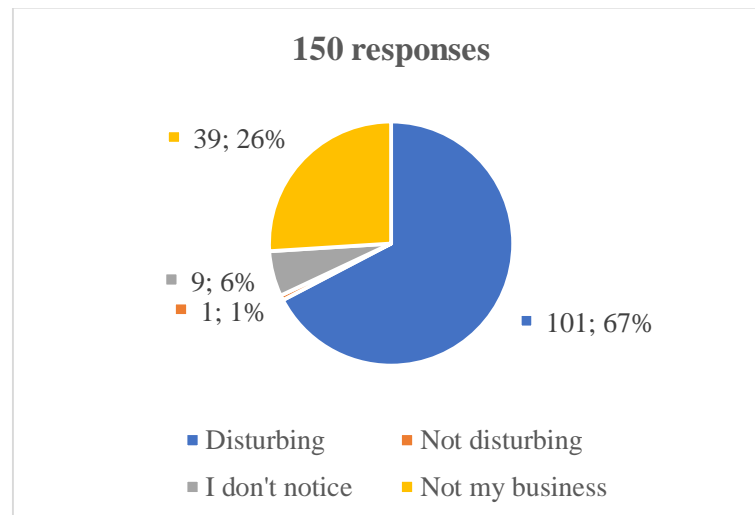
**Chart.3.5.** Informants' Attitudes Towards the Difference Between Men and Women in General

The pie chart reveals that the vast majority of the informants who presented 95%, agreed on the claim that men and women didn't differ only at the physical and biological level, but also at a behavioural level and in their choice of topics and language options. On the other hand, only 7% of them didn't support that claim. This, to begin with, gives a hint about the collective view which considers men and women as unquestionably different.

**Question n°2:** How do you perceive a man who behaves sometimes like women, talks like they talk, and about the topics they usually prefer to discuss?

Disturbing                      not disturbing                      I don't notice                      not my business

The second question aimed at perceiving participants' views of 'men' who embody feminine traits. What we found out is presented in the pie below:



**Chart.3.6.** Informants' Views About Men Who Incorporate Feminine Traits

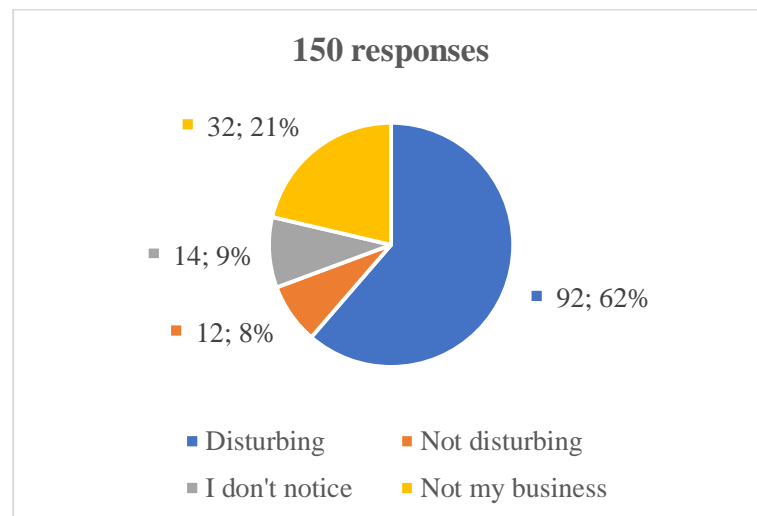
Looking at the results presented in the pie above, the overwhelming majority of participants that represents 67%, supported the first suggestion i.e. they consider a man with feminine behaviours and traits as disturbing for them. Only one participant chose the second

choice which is ‘not disturbing’. For the remaining ones, nine of them with the percentage 6%, claimed the suggestion that they don’t even notice, and the last proportion of them, that is 26%, selected the last suggestion which presented them as that thing wasn’t their business. What can be noticed, here, is that despite that a large number of the informants declared they did not like when a man did what women did or behaved like they did, still a significant other number considered others’ business not an interesting issue for them.

**Question n°3:** How do you, on the other hand, perceive a woman who sometimes behaves like men do, talks their way, and about their preferable topics?

Disturbing                      not disturbing                      I don’t notice                      not my business

Concerning this third question, it has the same purpose as the previous one, but while the former targeted men, this one tackles women who have masculine presence. The informants’ responses are introduced in the coming pie chart:



**Chart.3.7.** Informants’ Views About Women Who Incorporate Masculine Treats

Here, too, the results show that the greater part of the informants, that is 62%, supports the first suggestion idea. However, unlike the results of question two concerning the second reply choice where only one participant said that wasn’t disturbing for him, in this question that concerns women, twelve of them i.e. 8% answered ‘not disturbing’. 9% chose the third choice ‘I don’t notice’, and finally, the last part of the informants which represents the considerable

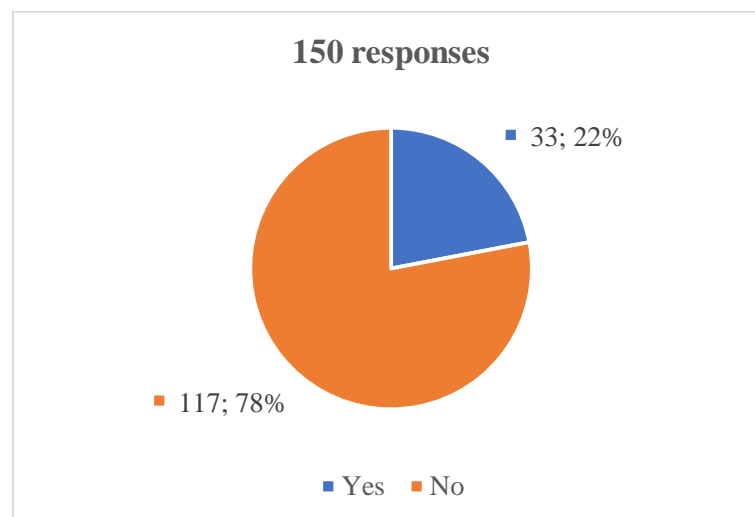
percentage 21%, picked the last answer which is that the whole thing wasn't their business (denoting freedom of choice).

**Question n°4:** In your opinion, do you think that expressing feelings and emotions and showing weakness is a nasty or an undesirable behaviour?

Yes

no

In this question, the respondents were asked to give their opinions about whether the act of expressing feelings and emotions and showing weakness was an appreciated one or not. Chart 3.12. indicates the obtained outcomes:



**Chart.3.8.** Informants' Opinions About Expressing Feelings

From the assessment of the above results, it is obvious that 78% of the respondents show positive attitudes about expressing one's feelings and weakness when felt by choosing 'no' as an answer. The remaining proportion that is estimated at 22% believed the opposite. It means that they consider revealing weakness and affection as not welcomed.

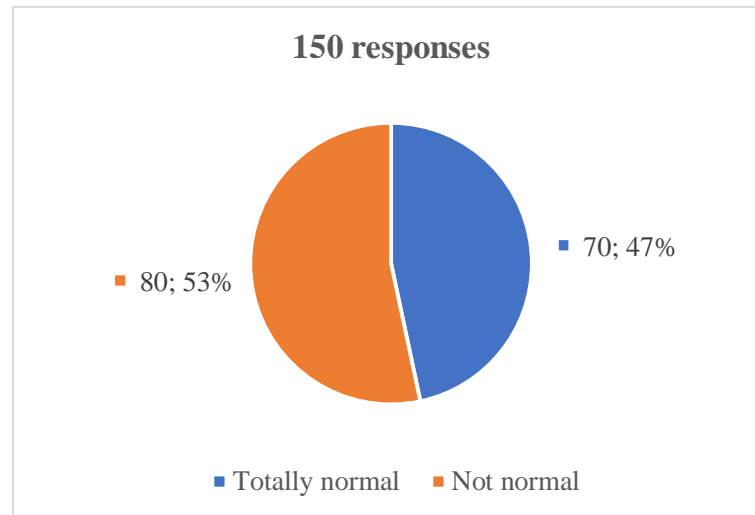
**Question n°5:** What is your view about women expressing their feelings and demonstrating weakness?

It doesn't matter

it matters







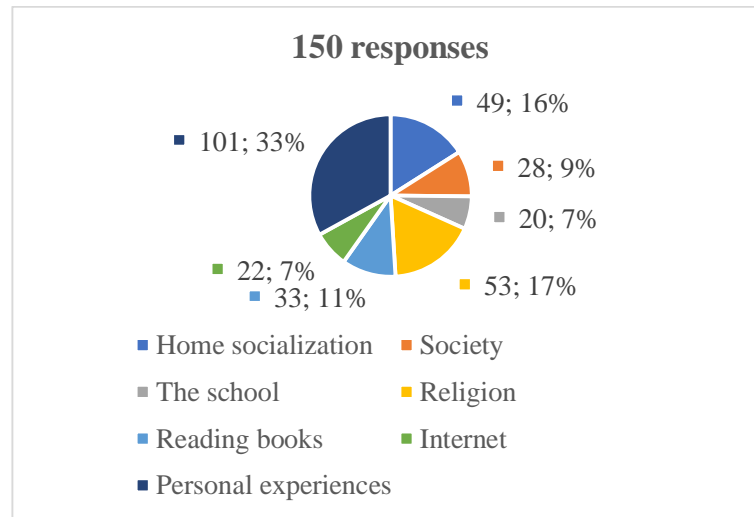
**Chart.3.10.** Participants' Views About Men Revealing Emotions and Displaying Weakness

The results, as you can figure out in the pie chart, were totally different compared to the ones found about women. Here, the responses on 'totally normal' and 'not normal' were slightly close. 47% selected the answer choice of 'totally normal', and 53% selected the other choice which claims that it is not normal for men to show vulnerability and weakness. Interestingly, we can deduce, here, that for the participants, it is more likely accepted, for women, to be seen in such a situation (as seen in question 5) than it is for men.

**Question n°7:** What helped to make up the ideas, you answered based on, in the previous questions? (seven options were provided):

- Home socialization
- Society
- The school
- Religion
- Reading books
- Internet
- Personal experiences

The current question was designed to look at the background or at the reasons that pushed the participants to answer the way they did. They were allowed to choose more than a single choice. Chart.3.12. shows the different views:



**Chart.3.11.** The participants' Responses on What Influences More Their Choice of Answers

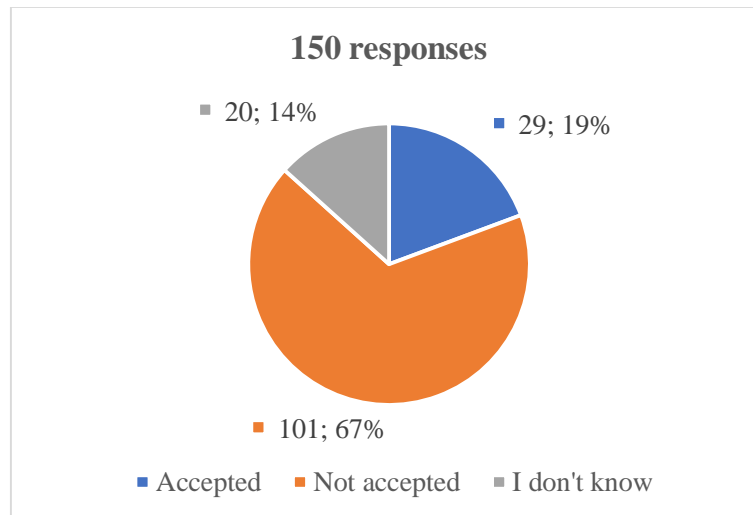
Out of the analysis of the above results, we notice that the greater part of the informants answered the previous questions based on knowledge out of their personal experiences as 33% of them responded. The next two dominant answers were 'Religion' with 17% and 'Home socialization' with 16%. This shows the importance of the religious teachings in shaping the opinions of a significant part of the respondents as well as the very early socialization they got as children in their homes. Reading books comes next with a percentage that is estimated as 11% followed by societal socialization i.e. anything they observed when they get out of their homes into the society around them which was represented by 9% of them. Lastly, we find out that 'the school' and 'Internet' were the least chosen options in this question with very approximate rates. Do participants mean to say that 'schools' don't teach life .. hmm, looks interesting!

### Section three:

This section is composed of twelve (12) questions:



Concerning this question, the respondents were asked to give their opinions about assigning men with weakness instead of women. The pie chart below summarizes the data gathered:



**Chart.3.13.** Informants' Opinions About Assigning Weakness to Men Instead of Women

The results denote, clearly, the views of most respondents. They show that more than half of them i.e. 67% didn't agree on linking men to fragility. Only 19% found no problem in accepting that, and 14% were neutral on that. Consequently, the refusal of the idea that suggests assigning men with weakness is quite evident whereas, for women, the results in the former chart showed a more accepting views of assigning them with strength.

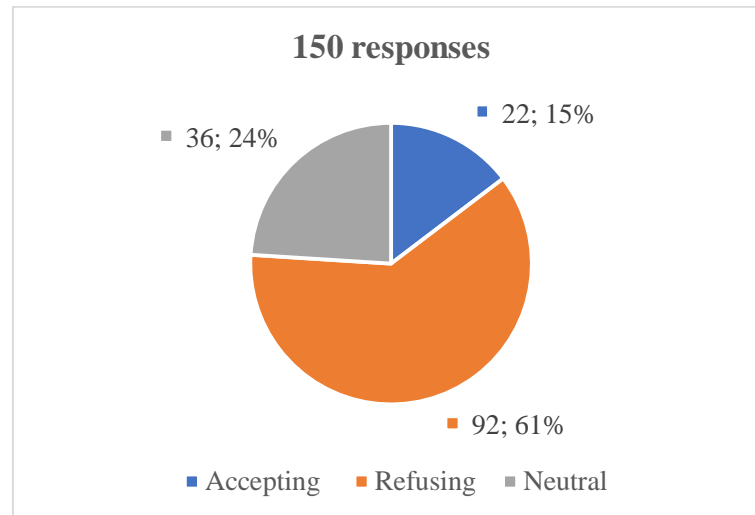
**Question n°3:** How do the community you live in regard that?

Accepting

refusing

neutral

After checking on participant's views in the two previous questions, the aim of question three was to check on how the community the participants live in observe that suggestion. The outcomes were as follow:



**Chart.3.14.** Participants' Community View About Associating Women with Strength and Men with Weakness

According to the majority of participants who represent 61%, the community, they live in, refuses that exchange of the 'naturally-assigned' features for each gender with the other. Only 15% saw that it is an accepting one while the rest 24% preferred to answer that the community is neutral about that.

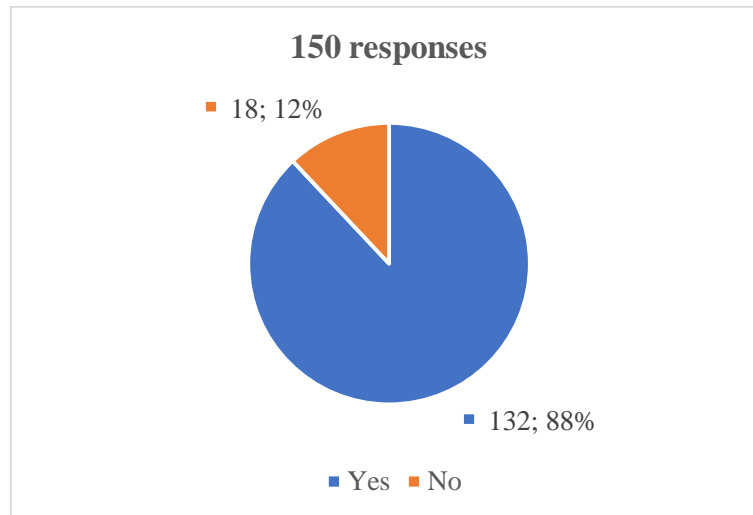
**Question n°4:** There are words and expressions that belong to women, but used sometimes to disdain or to make fun of men and vice versa; i.e. words or expressions that have to do with men used to belittle women in the Algerian dialect like the word [mrijæ] the minimization of the word [mræ] for males, and the expression [ʃajfa] [ra:ʒal] for women.

Do similar words and expressions exist in the dialect you speak in the province you live in?

Yes

no

This question was anticipated by a brief initiatory paragraph to introduce the topic of the coming question. The participants, accordingly, were asked if Ironic Misgendering terms existed in the dialect they use. They were provided with some examples to clarify even more the context they are asked about. Their answers are showcased down below:



**Chart.3.15.** The Existence of Ironic Misgendering Terms in The Participants' Dialect Use

The above chart demonstrates that when the participants were asked about whether Ironic Misgendering terms existed in the dialect of the province they belonged to, the overwhelming majority of them, accounted for 88%, said yes, they existed. Only 12% claimed that they didn't. The results, hence, prove strongly that the sociolinguistic phenomenon we are studying does exist at a large pace.

#### Question n°5:

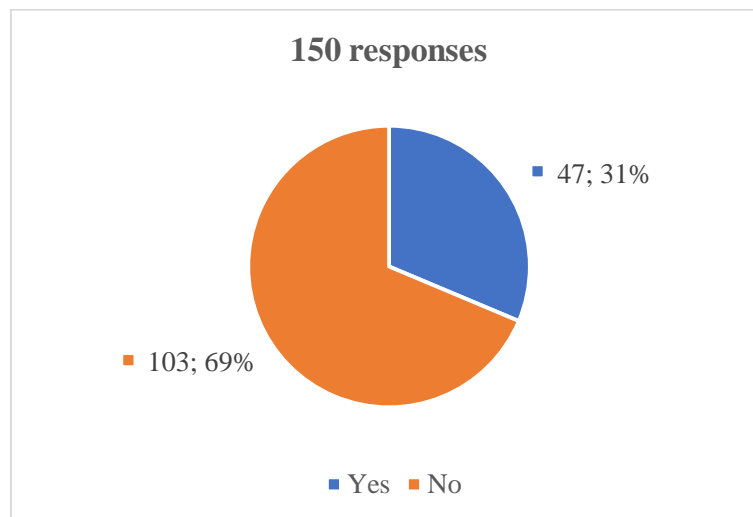
This fourth question was joined with another for the informants who answered 'yes' in one. They were asked to provide their own answers for why they think these terms are used. I.e. for what purpose Misgendering terms may be used. In view of this, we received 127 different answers. However, most of the answers agreed on that they were generally used to make fun and rip on both genders, and to offend them. Others wrote that they were used to evoke anger in the person in question. Another wrote for humiliating. Other responses claimed that they are uttered with the intention of insulting and disdain. Moreover, it was added that they may be used just as a habit or just as a way to joke around. Some participants perceived that linguistic behaviour as an inherited undesirable habit that was caused mainly by ignorance. Furthermore, an interesting reply considered that behaviour as "a weapon" that targeted the psychological body of the concerned person, and manipulated him/her. "to criticize or show disrespect" was another answer. Finally, some other informants explained that due to the way

most of people were raised, and the standard image that society figured for how a man should be and how a woman have to be, any behaviour done by them out of the box drawn for them will be considered as strange and unacceptable. Ironic Misgendering, therefore, was a way to express this stereotyped rejection. In fact, almost all of the answers to this question were really so appealing, and reflected, in a way or another, the high degree of awareness of the participants.

**Question n°6:** Do you use them yourself in your daily speech?

Yes no

The aim of this question was to see the number or the percentage of participants who use those terms. Chart.3.17. shows the results:



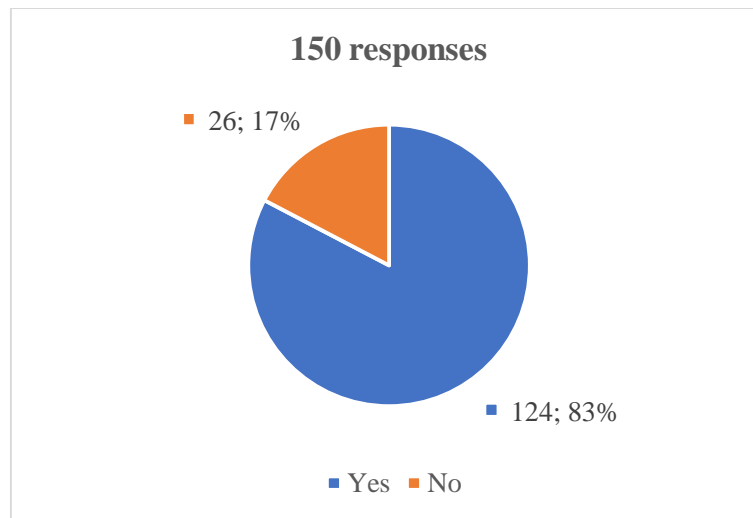
**Chart.3.16.** Participants' Answers About Their Own Use of Ironic Misgendering Terms

The results above show that most respondents, who represent 69% of the sample, declared that they didn't use those terms in their daily life. On the other side, 31% of them admitted that they did.

**Question n°7:** Were you aware of the existence of such words and expressions in your daily own speech or in the speech of others?

Yes no

The sixth question was designed to investigate whether the participants were already aware of Ironic Misgendering terms or not. The results were summarized as follows:



**Chart.3.17.** Participants' Self-Awareness of Ironic Misgendering Terms

As shown in the chart above, the vast majority of respondents asserted they were aware while the minority of them declared they weren't. This, as a consequence, may well reflect the level of the community consciousness. In other words, having the awareness about something can be taken as a very positive sign. That means it is observed, it is noticed. This may give it a greater chance to be categorized as right or wrong, and obviously corrected in case seen as an inappropriate behaviour.

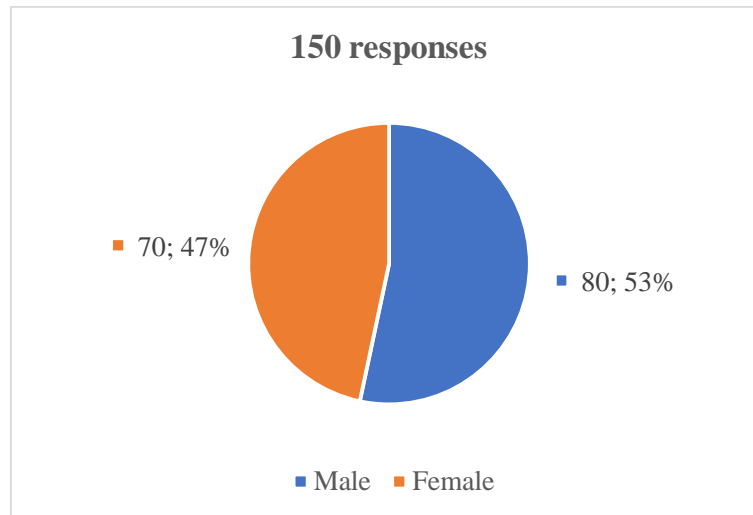
**Question n°8:** Which gender is more affected by this linguistic behaviour?

Male

female

This question was planned in an attempt to discover whether males are more misgendered than females or whether females are. Our findings show:





**Chart.3.18.** The Most Ironically Misgendered Gender

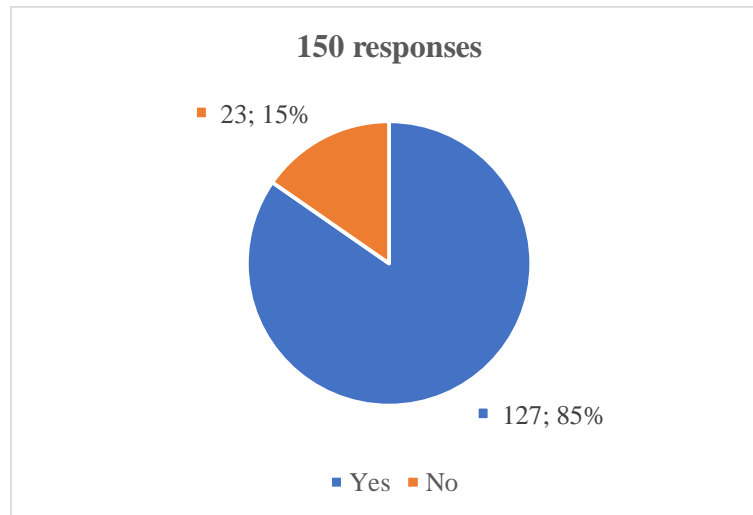
As it has been shown in the chart, the greater part of participants agreed on that males are more ironically misgendered compared to females. Accordingly, 53% of the informants claimed male as an answer, and 47% chose female. We can deduce that, because males are more misgendered than females, this means that female Ironic Misgendering words and expressions are more commonly used than male ones.

**Question n° 9:** Do you think that this linguistic behaviour is harmful too for the gender used to misgender with in those words and expressions?

Yes

no

Concerning the ninth question, the respondents were asked to give their opinion about whether Ironic Misgendering is harmful too for the gender used to misgender. In other words, does using, for example, a Misgendering term that originally concerns males, to misgender females, hide a certain offending or disdain attitude toward males themselves? The chart demonstrates the views on that:



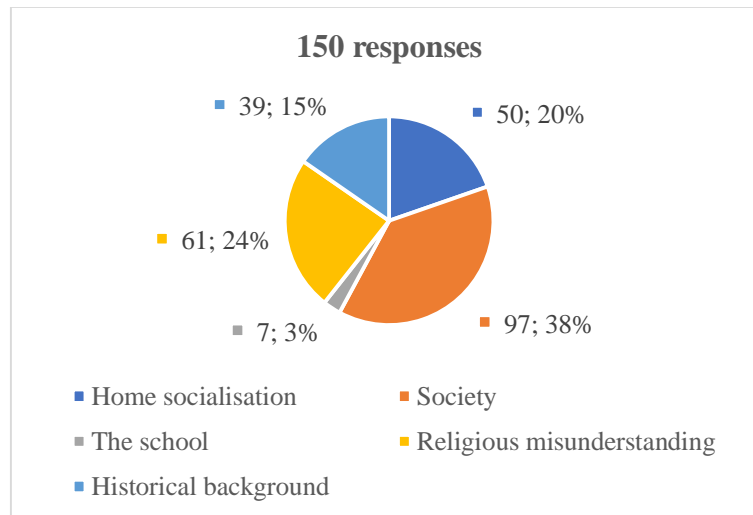
**Chart.3.19.** Participants' Views on Whether Ironic Misgendering Also Offends the Used Gender in the Terms Utilized to Misgender.

In the course of determining the rates presented by women and men participants as responding to the ninth question, it is apparent in the chart that the overwhelming majority, estimated as 85%, extremely support the view that Ironic Misgendering does affect negatively the gender used in the terms. Only 15% don't agree on that, and see that it doesn't. consequently, according to the findings in question seven, males are the ones who are more likely to be misgendered compared to females. This, as we analysed previously, means that 'female Ironic Misgendering words and expressions are more commonly used than male ones'. Therefore, if we mingle these results of question seven with the ones of the current question eight, we find out that females are, thus, more exposed to be offended implicitly when males are misgendered.

**Question n°10:** What helped or contributed in creating such a linguistic phenomenon in the environment you live in, in your opinion?

- Home socialization
- Society
- The school
- Religious misunderstanding
- Historical background of the area

The following question was designed to unveil the background that contributed to the creation and the spread of Ironic Misgendering in the target speech community. The participants were allowed to choose more than a single answer. Chart.3.21. shows the different views:



**Chart.3.20.** Informants' Opinions About the Background of Ironic Misgendering

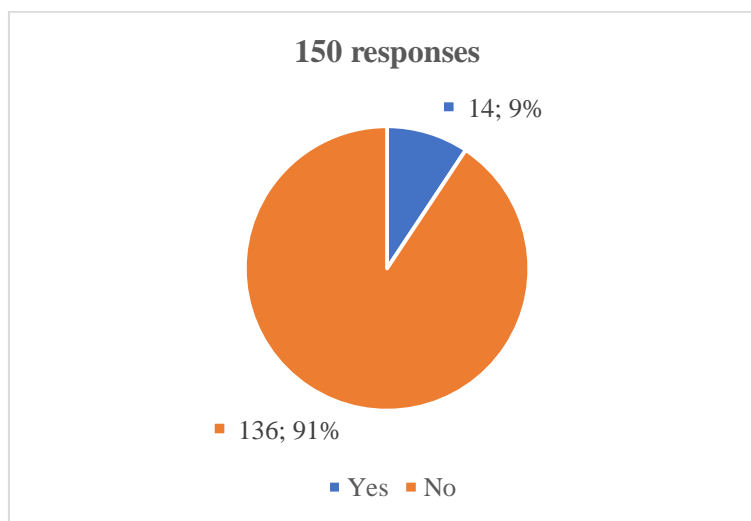
As far as question nine is concerned, we notice that the great majority of the respondents had chosen 'society' as an answer with a percentage of 38% in the total number. This reflects the informants' view of their society as an incubator for this linguistic behaviour, and how they shift full responsibility onto it for this linguistic phenomenon. 'Religious misunderstanding' comes next with 24% as a score out of the total number. Indeed, it shows that the participants are aware of the effects of misunderstanding religious teachings like inequality between the genders. After that, 20% goes for 'Home socialization'. Another important factor in causing Ironic Misgendering, according to a significant number of informants, which reveals the crucial influence of the familial upbringing on both the citizen and the community he/she belongs to. Furthermore, 15% of the views went for the 'Historical background'. Historical background, here, includes many components like wars if they existed, terrorism and its shape shifting mind effects, ideas, beliefs, and customs that were handed down to the present generation by their ancestors. Finally, the last proportion went for 'The school' with a minimal proportion estimated as 3%. This mirrors the participants' conviction that the school is a place somehow far away from being a source of such an improper linguistic behaviour as the next question will demonstrate.

**Question n°11:** According to your way of thinking, is it an acceptable behaviour?

Yes

no

The present question seeks answers on whether Ironic Misgendering is a tolerable linguistic behaviour or not in the opinion of our participants. They answered as follows:



**Chart.3.21.** Participants' Views on Whether Ironic Misgendering is Acceptable

The results above show that most respondents, who represent 91% of the sample, declared that Ironic Misgendering was not an acceptable department. On the other side, only 9% of them were against this view, and considered it totally acceptable. Interestingly, the high rate of "no" for this question is considered as a negative attitude towards Ironic Misgendering whereas the "no" rate can be explained as a positive attitude towards it.

**Question n°12:** If your answer was no, can you suggest some tips to eradicate or decrease this phenomenon?

.....

This question is linked to the former one as it addresses the ones who responded on it with 'no', and who were in this case, the vast majority. Correspondingly, they were requested

to suggest tips, ideas, or mechanisms that could help in fighting that unacceptable linguistic behaviour, as they pointed out, that is Ironic Misgendering.

To be honest, we were extremely moved by how seriously, the participants, dealt with this question. The majority of them if not all, were heartily proposing their suggestions, and taking time explaining them in details enriching them even with examples. They really showed a strong desire and a sincere interest toward stopping the phenomenon of Ironic Misgendering, which honestly, wasn't expected by us. In fact, we got 125 different answers to this question. Some of the answers expressed the same ideas i.e. they were repeated while others provided more specific exclusive responses. At last, a tiny other number of responses were not clear whereas another part of participants wrote that they didn't have an exact answer. A final note to add here is that, few answers were written in French, some other ones in ADA, but the majority were written in MSA. These are some screenshots of the original participants' answers just to see what we have described above:



**Figure.3.4.** Screenshot (01) of the Original Participants' Answers to Question Twelve



Figure.3.5. Screenshot (02) of the Original Participants' Answers to Question Twelve



Figure.3.6. Screenshot (03) of the Original Participants' Answers to Question Twelve

Now, we will start with the more frequent answers. Accordingly, one of the most recurring suggestions was to go back and understand again the true religious teachings which, in case, committed to would lead, they assumed, to a better societal state. The second most

persistent suggested solution, by many respondents, was discipline. Approximately, the majority of participants proposed ethical discipline at a very young age especially concerning gender. This means, to raise children on the basis of the importance of respect between one another mainly from one gender to the other. Some of them emphasized, in this point, the crucial importance of teaching children how to treat others the right way, and how to always use kind words. Another supporting point of view to this idea suggested that the grown-ups should control themselves in children's company, and pay more attention not to utter such terms in front of them so that they don't mimic uttering them, and as a result get used to them. Indeed, various solutions were proposed concerning kids' home breeding and socialization. Accordingly, another participant wrote that it is quite difficult to change a grown-up man or a grown-up woman, however it is much easier to do that with kids as the phase of childhood is the basis for all the coming phases. Another interesting solution was to familiarize children with stories of historical heroines like 'Lala Fatma Nsoumar' and other female combatants in order to change the typical image our society usually depicts women in. In the same regard, another participant claimed that in order to find a solution for this phenomenon we have, first, to uncover the reasons behind it, and where it, first, started. The informant thought it all begins at a very young age. He/she suggested to let children be themselves. When a little boy cries for some reasons and shows vulnerability, the parents shouldn't stop him and say 'men don't cry' (in implicit reference that women do!), and when a girl enjoys playing hard sports or develops a strong personality, she shouldn't be stopped too. Consequently, he/she added, in this way when they grow up, they will not misgender others in an ironic way because they weren't raised to do that. One more solution was suggested by some respondents is linked to the previous one. It tackles the role of parents in the way they bring their children up being the first and most influencer for them. Accordingly, many of them said that everything started at home. If parents taught their children to respect and accept others' differences, there would be no such thing as Ironic Misgendering. Another claimed that parents had to control their kids and make them aware of the negative or insulting terms in case they hear them using them. Further, a significant number of participants focused on the role of schools, too, in this respect. They asserted that education and its programs have to teach children ethical issues, and treat them, at the same time, in a morally accepted way i.e. treat them with respect without any kind of segregation especially between genders. This way they would, themselves, learn how to be respectful and accepting toward one another. Moreover, other suggested tips included providing advice for people who misgender others ironically, get away from western culture, and looking back at

our history and try to correct what have to be corrected. A final suggestion considered Ironic Misgendering a verbal harassment, and proposed to get it directly reported when exposed to it.

### **3.7.Conclusion**

This foregoing chapter was devoted to the practical part of the investigation. It dealt with the issue under study that is mainly 'Ironic Misgendering' among cisgender people in Algerian dialects by exposing research itself and ethical consideration in it, describing the target speech community as well as the population with the sampling, and finally discussing the research tools used in collecting data. The last part was dedicated to the analysis and the interpretation of the generated outcomes. The results were analysed, chiefly, in terms of tables and pie charts in order to show their significance and validity. Furthermore, throughout this chapter, we tried to prove the validity of the previous hypotheses in an indirect way by comparing the results of each question with another paving the way to the intense examination and hypotheses testifying in the coming general conclusion.





# General Conclusion

### General Conclusion

The ongoing research set a clear objective from the very beginning. Its major concern was to explain the phenomenon of Ironic Misgendering among cisgender people in general, and in the Algerian context, in particular.

Correspondingly, the research work aimed at finding out answers to four main research questions. The first one was to know whether or not Algerian speakers were aware of the existence of Ironic Misgendering in their dialects. The second one was asked to determine which gender was more affected by it and for what reason. The third aimed at identifying the main reason behind the use of Ironic Misgendering terms and expressions, and the last one asked for suggestions to avoid the target phenomenon.

Equally, four hypotheses have been formed. Indeed, some people can be aware of the use of Ironic Misgendering terms and expressions in their speech whereas others may be unconscious about it. Moreover, the most affected gender may well be males because female terms are employed for the purpose of Ironic Misgendering more frequently than male ones. Thus, females are used as a subject of irony and belittling more than males. Further, people may do that owing to the way they have been raised (home socialization), and, finally, the only way this linguistic phenomenon can be avoided or minimized is, as we guessed, by tackling gender stereotypes and to be more careful to children's socialization.

The research work was composed of three chapters. The first one dealt with defining the key concepts related to Ironic Misgendering with a review to the concerned past literature. The second chapter dealt with explaining the language situation in Algeria, and its relation with gender, and with Ironic Misgendering later. The last one was practical; it was devoted to a case study. To tackle effectively the research problem, a collection of research tools was selected to collect data including participant observation, the interview, content analysis, and a questionnaire. Then, the obtained data were analysed and interpreted.

Actually, the overall findings of this research reveal that the use of Ironic Misgendering terms and expressions is linked to the society's norms and the individuals' attitudes which are controlled by these norms, in addition to many other social factors that contribute to the existence of this linguistic phenomenon in the target population. These norms started to meet surface from the initial onset when the overwhelming majority of the participants agreed on the fact that women and men are different in many aspects, and that none of them should embody

## General Conclusion

the other's treats (as is custom). Indeed, Ironic Misgendering emerged out of this point. I.e. it is originally practiced when one of the genders incorporates the behaviours or characteristics that are 'known to be' the other's. This finding shows the large gap that is made between males and females in the sample population which is clearly demonstrated in the results of question three in the last section of the questionnaire's questions.

Indeed, the study has four hypotheses as mentioned earlier. The findings of the study didn't support, to a certain point, the first hypothesis which basically tests whether Algerian people are aware of their use of Ironic Misgendering in their speech. The hypothesis suggested that some of them may be very aware and some may not i.e. an approximate equal number of the two parts. However, the results in the study, surprisingly, showed that the massive majority of the informants said they were aware while the minority said they weren't. This proves that Ironic Misgendering, in contrast to our previous suppositions, is a known admitted behaviour even more than we had expected it to be. Thus, this outcome proves it to be a topic worth more academic intention and, hence, more investigation.

The second hypothesis predicts the male gender to be the one that is more exposed to such a linguistic behaviour taking into consideration women status in the Algerian society. The findings show, in this point, that males are more ironically misgendered compared to females. This hypothesis is, therefore, confirmed because the result was well-predicted. The findings, accordingly, support the hypothesis view about what it means to have more ironically misgendered males, that is, more female ironic misgendered articulations are used which denotes females as being a juicy substance to make fun with, this was even more asserted by the question that tested whether Ironic Misgendering also offends the used gender in the terms utilized to misgender, and in which the majority of the respondents answered 'yes'. That, as a matter of fact, can clearly reflect how females are viewed in the target society i.e. still taken in a degrading prospect.

The third hypothesis refers to the nature of the reason behind Ironic Misgendering. The hypothesis, we suggested, considered home socialization to be the prior reason. The findings, also, considered it a major reason, however, it was preceded by society as a reason and religious misunderstanding. This makes us say that the results still keep up with the hypothesis as it acknowledges its supposition as a third main reason.

Concerning the last one, it evinced tackling gender stereotypes and children's socialization as a solution to avoid Ironic Misgendering. For the findings, the second most

## General Conclusion

persistent suggested solution was discipline for children, too. This confirms the importance of the hypothesis's claimed solution as the respondents, also, agreed on the same suggestion knowing that gender roles and stereotypes start to be known for people in a very young age viz. from their childhood. As a consequence, Ironic Misgendering begins to develop, in parallel, at the same age which makes it crucial to target children with the right type of ethical discipline about gender and its roles so that they grow up free of any negative influence that may lead them later to misgender people ironically.

From the above results, one might confirm the role of the child socialization which may lead to real negative outcomes in case it wasn't led the right way. Consequently, a society's state of being depends a lot on the way its children have been raised since they are its future constructors. Of course, all this depends on the parents at a first level as they are the first ones the child contacts after being born and learn from as a first source of knowledge.

The research was, inevitably, faced with some limitations. In the first place, the new spreading pandemic named 'COVID-19 virus' pushed for a total lockdown for months which made it impossible to go to libraries and borrow books. Moreover, the lockdown gave us no choice, but to work the practical part of the research online. Viz. looking for the sample participants online, and transforming the interview and the questionnaire into electronic versions using Google Forms. Another limitation that tended to cause some difficulties was the lack of the works about our topic 'Ironic Misgendering' which required us to do more efforts both in searching and in generating the results.

Furthermore, after the investigation of our research work, we can recommend the following points. It is very important to stop considering the topic of gender a feminist affiliation, and study it, rather, in a more academic objective way. It is very crucial, too, to study gender not only with a total focus on the differences, but to make an attempt in narrowing the already existing gap. We need, then, academic research works with more concrete solutions and suggestions instead of empty results. Research has to step, accordingly, into that level of provision and fruitfulness.

Ironic Misgendering, thus, isn't only a usual way to insult among the genders, but it represents much more than that. It reveals the nature of the relationship each holds towards the other. If one gender sees the other one as a way to make fun and offend with, then, this poses a serious problematic concerning the connection between the two, and opens doors to an

## General Conclusion

interesting possibility to make further research on this topic in the field of sociolinguistics that covers well both the linguistic and the social aspects of the topic in hand.

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# Appendices

### Appendix I:

#### مقابلة إلكترونية

في إطار هذه الدراسة الميدانية ونظرا للظروف الحرجة التي نمر بها جميعا حاليا، اضطررنا بسبب الحجر، لتحويل المقابلة لمقابلة الكترونية. وفقا لذلك، نضع بين أيديكم أسئلة هذه المقابلة التي نرجو منكم التعاون معنا والإجابة عليها بكل صدق وموضوعية، وشكرا على تعاونكم.

**ملاحظة:** هذا البحث لا يقصد به الأشخاص الذين يعانون من اضطراب في الهوية الجندرية (الجنسية)، بل الأشخاص العاديين.

1. ما هي الولاية التابعة للغرب الجزائري التي تنتمي إليها؟

.....

2. ماهي اللهجة (العربية أو البربرية) التي تتحدث بها في حياتك اليومية؟

.....

3. هل توجد في لهجتك كلمات أو عبارات خاصة أو منسوبة للمرأة في الأصل، لكن تستعمل في بعض الحالات لإهانة أو للاستهزاء بالرجل والعكس صحيح، أي عبارات أو كلمات خاصة بالرجل تستعمل للتقليل من شأن أو السخرية من المرأة؟  
(تم تقديم مثال هنا لمن تعسر عليهم فهم السؤال).

.....

4. إذا أجبت بنعم، هل يمكنك ذكر أمثلة أخرى غير التي قدمت أعلاه عن ذلك؟ (مع معانيها أو أصلها إن أمكن).  
اكتبها أدناه بالطريقة التي تريحك.

.....

5. أخيرا، ما هي الحالات والمواقف التي تستعمل فيها هذه العبارات والكلمات بتلك الصيغة؟

.....

شكرا جزيلا على تعاونكم .

Appendix II:

E-Interview

Within the framework of this field study, and due to the difficult conditions we are all going through, we were obliged because of the Corona Virus lockdown to transform our interview into an electronic one. Accordingly, we would like you to answer the following questions in an honest objective way. Thanks in advance for your most appreciated help.

Note: this research work is intended for cisgender people.

- 1. Which wilaya (province), in the North West of Algeria, you belong to?

.....

- 2. What is the dialect (in Arabic or Berber) you usually use in your daily life?

.....

- 3. Is there in the dialect you speak, words or expressions that belong to women, but used sometimes to disdain or to make fun of men and vice versa; i.e. words or expressions that has to do with men used to belittle women?

.....

- 4. If your answer is 'yes', then could you mention some examples about that? (with their origin or the history behind them if possible).

.....

- 5. Finally, in which situations are, those words and expressions, usually used in that context?

.....

Thanks a lot for your collaboration.

### Appendix III:

#### إستمارة بحث علمي

في إطار هذه الدراسة الميدانية، نضع بين أيديكم هذه الاستمارة التي نرجو منكم الإجابة عليها بكل صدق وموضوعية مع العلم أن معلوماتها تبقى سرية ولن تستخدم إلا لأغراض علمية بحثية، وشكرا على تعاونكم معنا .

**تعليمية:** للإجابة، اضغط على الخانة المناسبة أو املا الفراغ المحدد للإجابة.

**ملاحظة:** هذا البحث لا يقصد به الأشخاص الذين يعانون من اضطراب في الهوية الجندرية (الجنسية)، بل الأشخاص العاديين.

#### المحور الأول (البيانات الشخصية):

- السن: من 15 إلى 25 سنة  من 25 إلى 40 سنة  من 40 سنة فما فوق  .
- الجنس: ذكر  أنثى
- الولاية (ولايات الشمال الغربي فقط): .....
- المستوى الدراسي: ابتدائي  متوسط  ثانوي  جامعي

#### المحور الثاني:

\*من المعلوم أن المرأة والرجل يختلفان بديهما في البنية البيولوجية (الفيزيولوجية). هناك أيضا من يرى بأنهما يختلفان أيضا في السلوكيات والتصرفات وفي الطريقة التي يتحدثان بها أي في استعمال اللغة وطريقة تركيب الجمل واختيار العبارات والمواضيع .

1. هل توافق ذلك؟

- نعم  لا

2. كيف تنظر لرجل يتصرف أحيانا بطريقة تشبه طريقة النساء، يتحدث مثلهن، أو عن مواضيعهن؟

- مزعج  غير مزعج  لا أنتبه أساسا  أمر لا يخصني

3. بالنسبة للمرأة، كيف تراها إذا تصرف أحيانا على طريقة الرجال أو تحدثت بأسلوبهم أو تناولت مواضيعهم؟

- مزعجة  غير مزعجة  لا أنتبه أساسا  أمر لا يخصني

4. هل تعتقد، في رأيك، بأن التعبير عن المشاعر وإظهار الضعف تصرف مشين؟

- نعم  لا

\*كيف ترى علاقة التعبير عن المشاعر وإظهار الضعف:

5. بالنسبة للمرأة؟

- أمر عادي  أمر غير عادي

6. بالنسبة للرجل؟

- أمر عادي  أمر غير عادي

7. ما الذي ساهم في تشكيل أفكارك التي أجبت من خلالها على الأسئلة أعلاه؟



- التنشئة المنزلية
- الشارع
- المدرسة
- الدين
- المطالعة
- الأنترنت
- تجارب شخصية

### المحور الثالث:

1. ينسب الضعف للمرأة والقوة للرجل في أغلب الأحيان. ما رأيك في نسب الضعف للرجل بدل المرأة؟

- مقبول  غير مقبول  لا أدري

2. وما رأيك في نسب القوة للمرأة بدل الرجل؟

- مقبول  غير مقبول  لا أدري

3. كيف يتعامل المجتمع الذي تعيش فيه مع ذلك؟

- قابل  رافض  حيادي

\* هناك كلمات أو عبارات خاصة أو منسوبة للمرأة في الأصل، لكن تستعمل في بعض الحالات للإهانة أو للاستهزاء بالرجل والعكس صحيح، أي عبارات أو كلمات خاصة بالرجل تستعمل للتقليل من شأن أو السخرية من المرأة في الدارجة الجزائرية مثل كلمة (مرية) أي تصغير كلمة امرأة للرجل و عبارة (عيشة راجل) للمرأة .

4. هل توجد مثل هذه الكلمات أو العبارات في اللهجة التي تتحدث بها في ولايتك؟

- نعم  لا

5. في حال كانت موجودة، لماذا تستعمل في رأيك؟

.....

6. هل تستعملها أنت أيضا في حديثك اليومي؟

- نعم  لا

7. هل كنت واع أو مدرك، من قبل، لوجود مثل هذه الكلمات والعبارات في حديثك اليومي أو في حديث غيرك؟

- نعم  لا

8. ما هو الجنس الأكثر عرضة لمثل هذا التصرف اللفظي؟

- المرأة  الرجل

9. هل ترى بأن هذا التصرف اللفظي ينطوي على إهانة، أيضا، للجنس الآخر المستعمل في تلك الكلمات والعبارات؟

- نعم  لا

10. ما الذي أدى أو ساهم في خلق سلوك لفظي مشابه في البيئة التي تعيش فيها في اعتقادك؟

- التنشئة المنزلية

## Appendices

الشارع

المدرسة

الفهم الخاطئ للدين

الخلفية التاريخية للمنطقة

**11.** هل هو تصرف مقبول في نظرك؟

لا

نعم

**12.** إذا أجببت بلا، كيف يمكن التقليل من أو القضاء على هذه الظاهرة في رأيك؟

.....

### Appendix VI:

#### Questionnaire

On the light of this study, we would like you to answer the questions of this questionnaire in an honest objective way knowing that all information provided here will be kept secret, and will be used only for purely scientific purposes. At the end, we would like to thank you in advance for your most appreciated help.

**Instruction:** in order to answer, please, press the right option or fill in your response in the space left for that purpose.

**Note:** this research work is intended for cisgender people.

#### Section one (personal data):

-Age: from 15 to 25 years old  from 25 to 40 years old  from 40 and on

-Gender: male  female

-Province (wilaya) -only Algerian North West provinces-: .....

-Educational Background: Primary level  Middle level  Secondary level   
University level

#### Section Two:

It is generally estimated that men and women differ mainly in the physiological and biological composition. However, it is claimed that both of them also differ in the way they behave, and the way they use language like in constructing sentences, choice of words and expressions, and selection of topics.

1. Do you agree with this?

Yes  no

2. How do you perceive a man who behaves sometimes like women, talks like they talk, and about the topics they usually prefer to discuss?

Disturbing  not disturbing  I don't notice  not my business

3. How do you, on the other hand, perceive a woman who sometimes behaves like men do, talks their way, and about their preferable topics?

Disturbing  not disturbing  I don't notice  not my business

4. In your opinion, do you think that expressing feelings and emotions and showing weakness is a nasty behaviour or an undesirable?

Yes  no

5. What is your view about women expressing their feelings and demonstrating weakness?

Totally normal  not normal

6. What is your view, now, about men expressing what they feel and showing weakness?

## Appendices

Totally normal  not normal

7. What helped to make up the ideas, you answered based on, in the previous questions?

Home socialisation

Society

The school

Religion

Reading books

Internet

Personal experiences

### Section Three:

1. Women, usually, are perceived as weak beings and men as the strong ones. What do think about inverting that concept, and assigning strength to women instead of men?

Accepted  not accepted  I don't know

2. And what do you think about assigning men with weakness instead of women?

Accepted  not accepted  I don't know

3. How do the community you live in regard that?

Accepting  refusing  neutral

There are words and expressions that belong to women, but used sometimes to disdain or to make fun of men and vice versa; i.e. words or expressions that has to do with men used to belittle women in the Algerian dialect like the word [mrijæ] the minimization of the word [mræ] for males, and the expression [ʃajfa] [ra:ʒal] for women.

4. Do similar words and expressions exist in the dialect you speak in the province you live in?

Yes  no

5. In case they exist, why do you think they are used?

.....

6. Do you use them yourself in your daily speech?

Yes  no

7. Were you aware of the existence of such words and expressions in your daily own speech or in the speech of others?

Yes  no

8. Which gender is more affected by this linguistic behaviour?

Male  female

## Appendices

**9.** Do you think that this linguistic behaviour is harmful too for the gender used to misgender with in those words and expressions?

Yes  no

**10.** What helped or contributed in creating such a linguistic phenomenon in the environment you live in in your opinion?

Home socialization

Society

The school

Religious misunderstanding

Historical background of the area

**11.** According to your way of thinking, is it an acceptable behaviour?

Yes  no

**12.** If your answer was no, can you suggest some tips to eradicate or decrease this phenomenon?

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## الملخص:

الدراسة الحالية هي محاولة لاختبار مواقف وآراء المتحدثين في شمال غرب الجزائر اتجاه ظاهرة لغوية اجتماعية يمكن تعريفها كالاتي: 'الإشارة بالجنس الخاطئ بغرض السخرية' نحو الأشخاص متوافقي الجنس في اللهجات التي يتحدثون بها. تلقي الدراسة، في هذا السياق، الضوء على كيفية انعكاس المعايير الاجتماعية على المعيار اللغوي المتحدث به من قبل أصحاب تلك المعايير. تتميز الجزائر، كما تم تناولها هنا، بمجموعة مختلفة من اللهجات التي تنشأ أساساً من لغتين غير مرتبطتين جينياً وهما العربية والبربرية. هذا ما مثل موضوع البحث استناداً على الثقافة المختلفة والنظرة المجتمعية الخاصة بكل مجتمع يتحدث لهجة متباينة عن غيرها، وهذا بدوره، قام بإظهار وجهات نظر جديدة حول موضوع بحثنا الأساسي. وفقاً لذلك، ومن أجل الوصول لغاياتنا المرجوة، خططنا لعملنا بطريقة تضمن أن جميع النقاط ذات الصلة بالموضوع الأساسي يجب أن يتم التطرق إليها. لذلك، فإن هذا العمل يهدف، أولاً، إلى معرفة ما إن كانت 'الإشارة بالجنس الخاطئ بغرض السخرية' سلوكاً يتم القيام به بوعي أو بدون وعي، بالإضافة إلى معرفة أي من الجنسين هو الأكثر استهدافاً بها من الآخر. الهدف الرئيسي الثاني من هذه المذكرة هو دراسة الأسباب الكامنة وراء هذه الظاهرة اللغوية لأنه فقط من خلال معرفة العوامل ودراستها، يمكن حينها تحديد الحلول لها. إذن، لتحقيق مقاصدنا من هذا العمل، تم توظيف كل من الملاحظة، المقابلة، تحليل المحتوى، والاستبيان كأدوات للدراسة الميدانية. في المقابل، أجابت البيانات التي تم الحصول عليها بشكل جيد جداً على النقاط الرئيسية للبحث. أظهرت النتائج أن عدد الأشخاص الواعيين بـ 'الإشارة بالجنس الخاطئ بغرض السخرية' أكبر بكثير مما توقعنا. إلى جانب ذلك، أظهرت أيضاً أن الذكور هم الأكثر استهدافاً بهذه الظاهرة، والنتائج التي توصلت إليها في الواقع تعكس على الإناث وعلى موضوع 'الجنس' عموماً واقعاً معيناً يجب أخذه بعين الاعتبار.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** اللغة، الجنس، اللسانيات الاجتماعية، متوافق الجنس، الإشارة بالجنس الخاطئ بغرض السخرية، اللهجات الجزائرية.

## **Le résumé :**

Le présent travail de recherche vise à examiner les attitudes des locuteurs du nord-ouest de l'Algérie à l'égard du phénomène sociolinguistique connu sous le nom de 'Mégenrage Ironique' envers les cisgenres dans les dialectes qu'ils parlent. Cela jette la lumière sur la façon dont les normes sociales peuvent être reflétées dans le critère linguistique de son peuple. L'Algérie, telle qu'elle a été explorée ici, se caractérise par un ensemble différent de dialectes issus de deux langues génétiquement indépendantes qui sont l'arabe et le berbère. Il est intéressant de noter que cela a représenté le sujet en main basé sur la culture différente et les perspectives sociétales distinctives de chaque communauté parlant un dialecte divergent, ce qui à son tour, a montré de nouveaux points de vue à propos notre sujet de recherche. Afin d'atteindre nos objectifs, nous avons planifié notre travail d'une manière qui garantit que tous les points connexes doivent être examinés. En conséquence, cette recherche visait, tout d'abord, à savoir si le 'Mégenrage Ironique' est un comportement conscient ou inconscient, en plus de savoir quel sexe est plus ciblé par le phénomène à l'étude que l'autre. Le deuxième but vital de ce mémoire est d'examiner les raisons de ce phénomène linguistique, car ce n'est qu'en déterminant les facteurs et en les étudiant, des solutions alors, peuvent être déterminées. Afin d'atteindre les objectifs prévus, l'observation des participants, une entrevue, une analyse de contenu et un questionnaire ont été utilisés comme outils de recherche dans une enquête à méthode mixte. De même, les données obtenues avaient bien répondu aux principaux points de la recherche. Il a été constaté que le nombre de personnes qui sont conscientes du 'Mégenrage Ironique' est beaucoup plus élevé que prévu. Par ailleurs, les résultats ont montré que les hommes sont les plus visés, le constat qui en fait, reflète sur les femmes et sur le genre en général une certaine réalité dont il faut tenir compte.

**Mots clés :** langue, genre (sexe), sociolinguistique, cisgenre, Mégenrage Ironique, dialectes algériens.