

Linguistic Sexism in T.V. Drama: A Linguistic Analysis of Verbal Violence against Women in the Egyptian Sitcom *Al-Kabeer Awi*

Heba Nayef¹

Abstract

This paper attempts to shed light on sexism in Egyptian comic T.V. series as represented in the sitcom *Al-Kabeer Awi* (The Big Boss). Through employing a qualitative and quantitative analysis of four episodes (13 scenes), the study investigates the way language is manipulated and used to disparage women in this sitcom. Adopting the theoretical framework of feminist CDA, this paper employs three tools of analysis; namely, lexical choices and titles, transitivity, and collocations. The data showed that in the (13) scenes subject to analysis, the majority of names and titles used by *Al-Kabeer*, the main male character, to address *Hadeyya*, the main female character, were either disparaging words or direct insults. It was also shown that such insults were used as a source of humor. Moreover, lexical collocations used in association with *Hadeyya* were shown to be largely negative. The analysis also revealed that she was only praised in terms of sexual attributes. The study shows that such type of women representation and linguistic sexism in T.V. in general, and sitcoms in particular, cannot be regarded as benign source of humor but it can actually provide a fertile soil to grow ideologies of gender inequality and masculine hegemony

Keywords: Linguistic sexism, Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, gender studies, Egyptian sitcoms, sexist humor

Introduction

The topic of women representation in media in general, and television in particular, has been extensively studied in several academic disciplines, each focusing on a different angle of research. Some scholars addressed the topic to document a social phenomenon; others did so with the purpose of eliminating a type of social injustice. To this latter category belongs research conducted by advocates of feminism in diverse academic disciplines. Women representation in television in general, and T.V. drama in particular, drew the attention of many scholars throughout the world (Buonanno, 2014; Elasmr, Hasegawa & Brain, 1999; Holbert, Shah & Kwak, 2003; Lacalle & Gómez, 2016; Seggar & Wheeler 1973; Stafford, 2004, among others).

Arab feminist scholars were not alienated from this. Thus, we have seen several studies addressing this topic: From Egypt, Al-Hadiddy (1977), AbdelQader (1982), Faheem (1998), Fouad (2007), Mohamed (2014), Heikal, (2014); from Kuwait, Al-Aradah (2013); and from Syria, Al-Omar (2003). On the other hand, feminist linguists dedicated their work to studying the way language is used to portray women negatively. Works of feminist linguists from different linguistic disciplines, including sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, pragmatics and linguistic anthropology tackled this issue. The majority of these works were conducted in languages other than Arabic (See Nayef & El-Nashar 2015) Some attempts were made by Arab feminist linguists to study linguistic sexism in Arab countries.

¹ Humanities Department, College of Language and Communication, Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport, Egypt. hnayef@gmail.com

Yet, there has been a paucity of research in linguistic sexism in T.V drama to investigate the way language is used and manipulated to draw a certain 'mental image' for viewers. Such mental image not only reflects the ideology of masculine superiority that governs and controls societies but reproduces and sediments it as well, thus depicting such negative image of women. Hence comes the significance of this study which aims at shedding some light on how language is used through the discursive mode of humor and the media means of sitcoms to disparage women and represent them negatively in Egyptian sitcoms, represented in the sitcom *Al-Kabeer Awy* (The Big Boss). The choice of sitcoms to be the genre under investigation is due to its powerful effect in tolerating sexism as will be elaborated in Section 2.2 below.

This genre of T.V drama was introduced on the Egyptian Television in the 1980s. All the series, however, were either American or British and failed to enjoy popularity among viewers until 2006 when the first Egyptian sitcoms '*ragil we sit sitaat*' ('A man and six women') and '*Tamer we* (i.e. and) *Shawkeyya*' were introduced. Like western sitcoms in their beginnings, most of the successful Egyptian sitcoms featured leading male characters.

Al-Kabeer Awy, the subject of our research, is a popular sitcom that has been running for five seasons till now. Aired for the first time in 2010, the sitcom comically addresses relationships among family members. The characters of both '*Al-kabeer*' and '*Hadeyya*', represented by Egyptian comedians Ahmad Mekky and Donia Ghanem respectively, are some mock mimic of the famous '*Atrees*' and '*Fouada*' characters who appeared in the movie '*shei' min l-khouf*' ('A little bit of fear') produced in 1969, starring the two then renowned movie icons Mahmoud Morsi and Shadia. It is worth noting here that since the events of the sitcom take place in an imaginary village located in Upper Egypt, namely; El-Mazaryta, Hadeyya in *Al-Kabeer Awy*, like Fou'ada in *shei' min l-khouf* represents women in Upper Egypt. Hence, the term 'Egyptian Women' in the following discussion is meant to refer to women in Upper Egypt. The following section is a brief discussion of the theoretical framework of the study.

2. Theoretical Background

Sexism in sitcoms can have quite a strong discriminatory effect as it both uses the effective medium of television and the readily accepted discursive mode of humor through which it is conveyed. In investigating the effects of linguistic sexism in sitcoms, the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was found to be most suitable for the discussion.

In the coming section, I will briefly elaborate on these three points; namely, CDA as the theoretical framework, the influence of television as a medium for disseminating ideologies and establishing acceptable social behavior, and the negative effects of sexist humor on tolerating sexist behavior.

2.1 Feminist CDA

Feminist linguistics employs diverse approaches to conducting their studies. Christie (2000) introduced 'feminist pragmatics'; Kitzinger (2000) investigated 'feminist conversation analysis'; McElhinny (2003) and Mullany (2007) drew attention to 'feminist sociolinguistics' and Lazar (2005b) developed 'feminist critical discourse analysis' (For more details, see Mills and Mullany 2011). It is this latter approach that was chosen for this study. As an analytical research discipline, "CDA is mainly concerned with the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context," (van Dijk 2001). Employing various linguistic tools of analysis at all levels of discourse, feminist linguists used CDA to closely examine various texts and talks in their pursuit to understand the way those discursive tools are used to maintain the status quo of masculine superiority and social inequality. As Mills and Mullany (2011) argue, CDA has proved to be particularly fruitful for feminist linguistic analysis, especially when analyzing texts from the mass media and spoken language data, which is what this study is about.

2.2 Television and sitcom genre

Since its inception, Television has established itself as a powerful social medium and a site of culture formation disseminating "social values and behavioral expectations" (Yates, 1997). As Kottak (1990) puts it, the importance of television is in its ubiquity for "it is not used selectively, but rather by practically all the people, all the time. It crosses demographic boundaries - presenting to diverse classes, races, sexes and nationalities a common set of symbols, vocabularies, information and shared experiences."

From here comes its very powerful effect in regimenting ideologies and beliefs, and establishing accepted social norms and behaviours. Egypt was the first Arab country to introduce the Television service in 1960. Since that time, it has emerged as a cultural force disseminating various messages, lessons of "acceptable behavior, establishing role-expectation and shaping and reflecting social norms and ideologies" (Yates, 1997). On the other hand, sitcoms are among the most effective tools of disseminating ideologies and establishing social norms. By definition, a sitcom is "a setting and a group of characters providing the opportunity for a comic narrative, usually resolved in 25-30 minutes" (Stafford, 2004). In addition, the sitcom genre entails that it is safe and a family show. Such dependence on humor, as will be further elaborated in the following section, combined with the appeal of sitcoms to young viewers and children lend such genre its powerful impact, given its easy accessibility through television or the Internet.

2.3 Sexist humor

Freud (1960) regards humor as a substitution mechanism that enables a person to turn one's socially tabooed aggressive impulses to acceptable ones and consequently there will be no need to suppress them. Over the last twenty years, there has been a surge of research in both the fields of sociology and psychology on the negative direct and indirect effects of sexist humor. It was found that sexist humor affects the ways that men think about women and perceive discrimination against them (Ford, 2000; Ford, Wentzel, & Lorion, 2001; Ryan & Kanjorski, 1998). It was also found that it affects men's willingness to engage in subtle sexist behavior as it promotes the behavioral release of prejudice against women (Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, & Edel, 2008). Exposure to sexist humor was found to increase approval or tolerance of sex discrimination because it dampens men's critical sensitivities to sexism and interprets sexist behaviors and expressions as non-sexist. Thus, discrimination can be more easily rationalized as not inappropriate (Ford, 2000). Such studies show the serious effects sexist humor may have on social relations and roles, especially in a patriarchal society like that of Egypt, hence the need to investigate such phenomenon.

3. Methodology and Research Questions

This study employs qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis to investigate linguistic sexism in Egyptian comic T.V. series as represented in the sitcom *Al-Kabeer Awwy* (The Big Boss). The details of data collection and sampling as well as the research question posed by the study are discussed in the subsections below.

3.1 Data collection and sampling

The first step of data collection and sampling was to retrieve the sitcom from the web utilizing YouTube application and using search terms '*Al-Kabeer Awwy* episodes'. For the purpose of this study, four episodes out of the 45 episodes featuring *Hadeyya*, the female heroine, were chosen. These were episode 1 & 2 season I, episode 1 season II and episode 1 season III. These episodes were carefully chosen for more than one reason. First, each one of them constitutes the opening episode of each season with an additional episode in season I being the first season to introduce the two characters *Al-kabeer* and *Hadeyya*. Moreover, these episodes include scenes that reflect diverse situations that involve *Hadeyya* and *Al-kabeer*. For example, a scene in which *Hadeyya* tries to solve a family matter (Scenes 3, 4 & 5); another that depicts *Hadeyya* trying to unravel an espionage case (Scenes, 8 & 9); a scene that shows *Hadeyya* meddling with police investigations (Scene 10), and scenes that tackle the intimate relation between *Al-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya* (Scenes 9, 11 & 12). The episodes were classified into scenes and the transcript of each scene was retrieved manually by the researcher. The transcript of the chosen scenes was then analyzed in light of the tools described in Section 3.3 below. All translations were made by the researcher.

3.2 Research question

The study aims at shedding some light on how language is used through the discursive mode of humor and the media means of sitcoms to disparage women and represent them negatively. Thus, it addresses the following overarching question:

How is language used in the sitcom to promote tolerance and acceptance of verbal violence against women? Attempting to answer that question, I have conducted a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data to filter the scenes that contain verbal or nominal choices that denote verbal violence against women employing the tools of analysis mentioned in Section 3.3 below.

3.3 Tools of Analysis

The paper runs a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of four episodes that involve *Hadeyya*, the main female character, and *Al-Kabeer*, the main male character. In the attempt to answer the research question mentioned above, three tools of analysis will be employed; namely, naming, lexical choices and titles, transitivity, and collocations. The following section briefly introduces these categories.

3.3.1 Naming, Lexical Choices and Titles

The act of choosing one lexical item over another, or addressing one person with a title rather than the other, is a process that is neither random nor accidental (Fowler, 1991). It is the product of certain group ideologies and both reflects and reproduces these ideologies and beliefs as well. In this paper, the data are examined using this tool which analyzes the connotations of the lexical choices used by *Al-Kabeer* in relation to *Hadeyya* in an attempt to discern gender roles and ideologies as represented in the data subject to analysis.

3.3.2 Transitivity

The data are analyzed in terms of transitivity to find out what type of processes and roles are associated with Egyptian women, represented by *Hadeyya* in the sitcom.

The data are examined in line with Halliday's approach (1994), to identify the Agent (an actor or sayers, etc.), the Goal (who is acted upon), and the Processes (doing or saying). In other words, this tool of analysis will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What do Upper Egyptian women, as represented by *Hadeyya*, do?
2. What is being done to Upper Egyptian women, as represented by *Hadeyya*?
3. What do Upper Egyptian women, as represented by *Hadeyya*, say?
4. What is being said to and of Upper Egyptian women, as represented by *Hadeyya*?

3.3.3 Collocations

This tool of analysis serves the purpose of identifying the connotations of the words that collocate with *Hadeyya*, as representing Upper Egyptian women, in the sitcom. Conclusion will be drawn as to the mental images such words create.

3.4 Language Variations

In *Al-Kabeer*, several language variations are used by diverse characters. In the thirteen scenes under investigation, two main variations of Arabic are used: Upper Egyptian 'Sa'i:di' Colloquial Arabic (SCA) and Colloquial Cairene Arabic (CCA). SCA is the variety of Egyptian Arabic spoken by the inhabitants of the Nile Valley between Giza and Aswan. Its usage is more concentrated in the rural areas among people with little education. Some of the highly educated Upper Egyptians tend to use a mixture of both SCA and CCA (For further discussion on language variations in Egypt, see Woidich, 1994, 1996; Khalafallah 1969 and Habash, Eskander, & Hawwari, 2012). There are also two variations of English used: Standard American English with American accent and English with an Upper Egyptian accent, what I choose to term "Sa'i:di" English (SE). The latter is commonly used in T.V drama and cinema to produce comic effect. Both *Al-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya* switch codes between SCA and SE. This act of unexpected code switching between the two language variations and the use of English with the Upper Egyptian accent is employed as a source of comedy in the scenes. It is worth noting that in the English translation of the extracts mentioned in Section 4 below, the words that were originally uttered in English will be italicized to set them apart from the Arabic words.

4. Findings

As mentioned earlier, the data subject to analysis are four episodes from different seasons; namely, episodes 1 & 2 season I, episode 1 season II, and episode 1 season III. This yielded (13) scenes in which either *Hadeyya* was an active participant or there was a reference to her or to women in general. Following is the discussion of the scenes.

4.1 Episode I (season I)

Episode I (season I) has two scenes that involve reference to women by *Al-Kabeer*, with only scene (2) featuring *Hadeyya* getting into a light-hearted argument with *Al-Kabeer*.

4.1.1 Scene (1)

This scene occurred in Episode 1 season I

This is a short scene that lasts only 52 seconds from 7.51 min. till 8.43 min. It is the first scene in which there is reference to women in the episode. In the first part of the scene, *Al-Kabeer* enters the house with *Fazza'* and *Ashraf* – his assistants. He finds a group of women all dressed in black in the hall gathering and crying. After shouting at them, he kicks them all out.

In this scene, *Al-Kabeer* utters 21 words in reference to the women gathering in his house. Up to 10 of these words can be classified as derogatory to women in the sense that they contain explicit disparaging words that portray women negatively such as 'غورو' ('get lost'), 'وليه' ('broad'), 'بجرة' ('a cow'), 'يومة' ('owl') as will be discussed in the extract (1) below.

Extract (1)

Al-Kabeer: What is wrong with these (low-class) women bemoaning like owls? Could it be the anniversary of my mother's death today?

Fazza': May she rest in peace. We're so far away from your mom's anniversary!

Al-Kabeer: Hey, broad, you get lost! What is that? Go you, cow, each one of you!

الكبير : ايه النساوناللى عم بتتوح كيف اليوم؟
يكونش سنسويه أمى النهارده؟
فزازع: الله يرحمها ويحسن اليها . إحنا فين وسنويا
الحاجه فين؟
الكبير : ايه يا وليه. امشوا غوروا، ايه ديه . يالا يا
بجره انتى وهيه.

In this extract, *Al-Kabeer* refers to these women using derogatory language. They are a bunch of 'نساوين' ('low-class women'). Addressing them, he uses the two derogatory nominals 'وليه' ('broad') and 'بجره' ('cow'). He does not use the terms 'تعيط' ('shed tears') or 'تبكي' ('weep') but rather 'تتوح' ('bemoan') with its negative connotation. He used the metaphor 'كيف اليوم' ('like owls') in reference to these women. In Egyptian culture, owls are associated with bad omen. In addition, he uses the imperative 'امشوا غوروا' ('get lost!') with its degrading connotation, ordering women to leave. Women are doers of nothing more than crying and escaping. They are not sayers; rather, they are recipients of an order they follow. In this scene, not a single woman utters any word but they run away in fear.

4.1.2 Scene 2

This scene is slightly longer than scene 1. It lasts 1.12 minutes, starting at 8.43 till 9.55. It marks the first introduction of *Hadeyya*. In this comic scene, *Al-Kabeer* enters the bedroom to find *Hadeyya* playing a PlayStation boxing game. She immediately tries to hide the joystick behind her back, anticipating that he will snatch it from her hand. The scene sets the power relation between the two protagonists. *Al-Kabeer* has the upper hand and is the master while the more clever *Hadeyya*, as shown from the dialogue that she helps him win games and successfully pass levels, is the more submissive party who accepts verbal and physical abuse. This is illustrated in extracts (2,3& 4) below.

Extract (2)

Hadeyya: Do you think you want to beat me?(addressing the virtual player)

Al-Kabeer: The joystick, the joystick, *Hadeyya*.

Hadeyya: Why? What on earth have I done?

Al-Kabeer: (Pinching her ear)

Al-Kabeer: Haven't I told you many times before not to touch the PlayStation, ever since I caught you play free wrestling?

هديه: عايز تضربنى إياك؟ (للاعب الافتراضي)
الكبير: الجوستيك ... الجوستيك يا هديه
هديه: ليهو انا عملت ايه طيب الكبير: يقرص ودانها
الكبير: انا مش جلتكميتمر همتمديشيدك على البلاى
ستيشن ، من ساعه ما جفشنك وانتى بتلعبى
مصارع حرة.

Extract (3)

AI-Kabeer: What's your problem? *Games* are absolutely above your station, woman.

Hadeyya: Oh, Really? *Super Mario* bears evidence, ha. Wasn't it I who helped you surpass the monster of the last *level*?

AI-Kabeer: The one with a fin?

Hadeyya: No, the one with four arms.

AI-Kabeer: Just keep meddling cluelessly and you'll get screwed.

الكبير : بعدين انتي مالك انتي ومال الجيمز يا
جرمه.

هديه : يا سلام بأماره السوير ماريو ... مش أنا
اللى معدياك الوحش بتاع اللفل الللى فات؟

الكبير: أبو ز عنوفه؟

هديه: لا أبو أربع دراعات.

الكبير: اجعدى افتى انتى واتنلى علنعينك.

Extract (4)

AI-Kabeer: By the way, tell me, what about these (low-class) women who keep bewailing like owls?

Hadeyya: Oh! I forgot to tell you, *Kabeer*, the doctor has just left your father and said he is in a very bad condition. He got a solution hung for him. And your father is only repeating: "Where is *Kabeer*, where?"

AI-Kabeer: All of that's happened and you're keeping silent. You, cow!

الكبير: إلا جوليلى صوح
أيهاالنساوينا للنعمةبتنو حكيالايومدى؟

هديه: وه نسيت أجولك يا كبير الدكتور لسه
ماشى من عند أبوك دلوك وبيجول حالته صعبيه
جوى وعلجله محلول وأبوك كل الللى على لسانه
الكبير "فين الكبير فين"؟

الكبير: وكل دى وساكته يا بجره!

The scene involves (137) words with (72) uttered by *AI-Kabeer* and (60) by *Hadeyya*. Of the *AI-Kabeer's* total, 22 words are found to be derogatory to *Haddeya*. *Haddeya's* speech, on the other hand, is characterized by submission and self-defense, as illustrated in examples (2,3, 4) above.

Hadeyya's defensive use of the exclamatory mode of discourse? (Why? What on earth have I done?) Combined with the commanding tone of *AI-Kabeer*? (Haven't I told you many times before not to touch...?) establish the power relation between these two characters. The fact that he pinches her ear while talking serves to add to the comedy of the whole situation as the whole argument is about PlayStation games. This lightens the effect of such words of direct insult as *اجعدى افتى انتى واتنلى علنعينك* ('Just keep meddling cluelessly and you'll get screwed') in (3) and *النساوينا للنعمةبتنو حكيالايوم* ('women who keep bewailing like owls') and *بجره* ('cow') in (4).

It is worth noting that in this episode that lasts 20.22 minutes, *Hadeyya* appears for 1.12 min. only while *AI-Kabeer* over ridingly appears in 16.05 mins.

4.2 Episode 2 (season I)

Episode 2 (season I) has four scenes in which *Hadeyya* appears in scenes 3, 4, 5, 6 with a duration of 9.49 mins. of the 20-minute episode.

4.2.1 Scene (3)

The scene lasts 3.45 minutes, starting at 2.03 min. till 5.48 min. In this scene, *Hadeyya* is introduced to Johnny, *AI-Kabeer's* long lost brother who was taken to the United States of America to live all his life with their American mother. Johnny comes to claim his inheritance and *Hadeyya* welcomes him with trills in expression of her joy. In this scene, *Hadeyya* is more composed and shows more self-control than *AI-Kabeer*. Yet, she accepts a series of verbal abuse and threats from *AI-Kabeer*, and again her language is characterized by apology and submission. This is illustrated in the following extracts:

Extract (5)

Hadeyya: You're most welcome at your home, Mr. Johnny.

Al-Kabeer: Stop it, you foolish! My father is being tortured in his grave and you are trilling like a beast. What should people say about me?

Hadeyya: Just never mind, dear. I never meant it, I swear. It was just the joy of your brother's comeback that made me forget. I'm so sorry, *Kabeer*.

هديه: نورت بيتك ومطرحك يا سي جوني .
الكبير: بس يا هتير هانتى . أبويا عم يتعذب فى
جيره وانتى عم بتزغرى كىفالبهيمة. الناس
تجول على آيه؟
هديه: معلش يا خوى. والنبي مجصديش. هى
بس الفرحة بجدوم اخوك جوني نستنى . حجك
عليا يا كبير

Extract (6)

Hadeyya: What! Lemonade! What is that? I ordered them to prepare dinner.

Al-Kabeer: You listen up! Stupidity is the last thing I need. I swear by God, whoever is going to utter a word, I'll bury them.

هديه: آيوه صوح لمون آيه ده؟ أنا موصياهم
يحضروا العشا.
الكبير: بجولك آيه منقشاش غياوه . جسما بالله
اللى هينطج هاتاويه

Al-Kabeer calls *Hadeyya* هتير ('foolish') and likens her behavior to that of البهيمة ('a beast') in (5) and accuses her of being 'stupid' in (6). He threatens to kill her that if she opens her mouth, using the phrase هاتاويه ('I'll bury them') in (6). Note the use of اتاويه ('bury') and اجتله ('kill'), which reflects the little value of the victim.

On the other hand, *Hadeyya* not only accepts this abuse but repeatedly apologizes using words like مجصديش ('I never meant it'), معلش عليا ('please forgive me'), والنبي ('please'), حجك عليا ('I owe you an excuse'). She calls him ياخوى ('dear') and يا كبير ('boss'), showing endearment, respect – and fear as well.

Extract (7)

Johnny: You shut up your mouth. I didn't address you with one word. I mean we bring the *two countries*, one country and another country, (together).

Hadeyya: He means, may God protect your status, that the two were brought together in a 'melting pot'. He says 'countries'!

Johnny: Exactly. Besides your awesome style, you are intelligent as well.

Al-Kabeer: (Angrily) My patience is wearing damn thin in here. (hitting the ground furiously)

Johnny: Calm down, bro., chill.

جوني: إنت تسكت خالص انا مكلمتكش بكلمة هو..
كنترى على كنترى two countries قصى نلم
تانيه
هديه: جسده اسماللعلمجامك اتم اشامى على
countries المغربى بيجولك
انتى غير ان ستايلكتحفه كمان . exactly جوني:
نكيه
الكبير (بغضب) : يا مصبر الوحش على الجحش
(يذق الأرض غضبا).
calm down bro chill جوني:

In extract (7), beautiful and witty *Hadeyya* is being praised by her brother-in-law, Johnny, which angers *Al-Kabeer*. This reflects the presupposed ideology that women may be respected and praised by any man but not the husband. The power relation that governs the husband and wife is that of 'domineering' and 'dominated'.

Thus, while Johnny, with his western culture background, praises *Hadeyya* as stylish and intelligent, *Al-Kabeer's* reaction is that of anger. This witty side of *Hadeyya* is further shown in the same scene when she tries to stop *Al-Kabeer* from taking foolish actions when he threatens to kill Johnny who threatens him back by his American citizenship. *Hadeyya* winks to *Al-Kabeer* who does not get it so she, for the first time, uses the phrase هفمك ('I'll make you understand'), which carries a sense of superiority on her part (See extract 8 below).

Extract (8)

AI-Kabeer: (Threatening to kill Johnny). I'll shoot you.

Hadeyya: Don't you forget that I'm an *American citizen* and with one phone call, I can turn it *upside down*.

Hadeyya: Calm down, folks, you're brothers after all. Get the folks to get some rest in the guest room, and so shall we (winking to *AI-Kabeer*) in our room coz we're tired after a long day.

AI-Kabeer: Why are you winking at me?

Hadeyya (incensed): I'll make you understand, sober up!

الكبير: (يهدد جوني بالقتل) اطخك.
جوني: متنساش إني أمريكيانسيترين وممكن بتليفون واحد للسفاره اقلب الدنيا ايسايد داون
هديه: يا جماعه صلو على البنى مش أكده دا انتو اخوات. خلى الجماعه يريحوا فى اوضه الضيوف واحنا كمان (تغمز للكبير) هنريحوا فى اوضتنا عشان احنا تعبانين طول النهار.

الكبير: و عما تغمزيلى ليه
هديه بغيط: هفهمك فوج.

4.2.2 Scene (4)

This is a short scene (1.49 minutes) in which *Hadeyya* tries to explain to *AI-Kabeer* the danger of antagonizing an American citizen, in reference to his brother Johnny, and the threat of a nuclear war. She suggests a way out of the whole situation by giving Johnny little money and telling him it is all his due inheritance. This scene marks a linguistic change in *Hadeyya's* discourse. She speaks longer (79 words) against (45) for *AI-Kabeer*. She uses 'no' ('no') two times, though it is not in defiance of an order, but as a correction of an explanation. She uses 'هدا' ('calm down'), 'بالعجلاوزنها' ('think of it rationally') in extract (9) and 'شوف' ('Look!') in extract (10) below in order to talk sense to *AI-Kabeer*. It is worth noting that in (10), *Hadeyya*, for the first time, uses the plural first person pronoun 'نا' ('we') in 'خلصنا' ('we finish (him) off') to include herself with *AI-Kabeer* in a move of inclusion that is rare in her speech. She also praises him for understanding her point with the phrase 'الله ينور عليك' ('touché!' or 'well-said'). On the other hand, he praises her by laughingly calling her 'بجره' ('a cow') in (10).

Extract (9)

AI-Kabeer: Here we are upstairs. What do you want?

Hadeyya: Calm down, boss, and think of it rationally. He can turn it *upside down*, as he said. He's American, American.

الكبير: أدينا فوج أهه. عايزه أيه؟
هديه: اهدى بس يا كبير اكديه واوزنها بالعجل.
ده ممكن يجلب الدنيا زى ما جال ايسايد داون .
دا أمريكايى أمريكايى.

Extract (10)

Hadeyya: Look, *Kabeer*. If wefinish him off now, what will happen?

AI-Kabeer: We'll be better off.

Hadeyya: No, at all, of course. This will turn the United Nations against us, and they do not bide time; they hit nuclear directly.

AI-Kabeer: Nuclear! What should I do know? Leave him to take half of the inheritance?

Hadeyya: No. Not half. How could he know how much *AI-Kabeer* the senior's (*AI-Kabeer's* father) inheritance was?

AI-Kabeer: Do you mean I give him his handout and then drive him out?

Hadeyya: Well-said. Thus, he doesn't hurt us nor do we hurt him.

AI-Kabeer: You, cow.

هديه: شوف يا كبير لو خلص (نا) عليه دلوك أيه اللي هيحصل؟
الكبير: كل خير.
هديه: لع مش كل خير طبعاً اكده منتجلب علينا الأمم المتحده ودو لك مبيتفاهموش يضرربوا النووى عدل.
الكبير: النووى؟ طب وانا اعمل ايه دلوك . أسيبه ياخذ نص الورث؟
هديه: لع مش النص هو يعنى يعرف منين كد ايه ورث الكبير جوى؟
الكبير: جصدك ادبله حسنته و بعد اكده اصرفه؟
هديه: الله ينور عليك ولا يأذينا ولا ننذوه.
الكبير: يا بجره انتى.

4.2.3 Scenes (5 & 6)

Scene (5) is the only scene subject to analysis in which *Hadeyya* does not get either verbally or physically abused. In this short scene (2.36 minutes), she utters (21) words only as she interferes in the end to defuse the situation between *Al-Kabeer* and Johnny (Extract 11). She uses the word *عجل* ('wise up') which is not common in the way she addresses *Al-Kabeer*.

Extract (11)

Hadeyya: Nuclear, *Kabeer*!

Al-Kabeer: Whatever it could be!

Hadeyya: Wise up, boss. It will bring us havoc, yes havoc. They will stop sending us corn flakes. And he'll take his right back through the court anyway.

هدية: النووى يا كبير!

الكبير: والله لما يكون أياه!

هدية: أعجل يا كبير ده فيها خراب. أكده فيها خراب وهيجطعوا الكورن فليكس عنينا. وحجه أكده أكده بالمحاكم هياخدو.

Yet in scene (12), *Al-Kabeer* is back to his habit of insulting her only for posing a question. In the scene, *Al-Kabeer* suggests to hire a serial killer to get rid of his brother who not only claims the money but after having it seeks the post of the village mayor. When *Hadeyya* asks the simple question of how he will get in touch with the serial killer whom he describes as scoring better in killing than Hitler, he rebukes her and calls her *هتيره* ('fool') in Extract (12) below - the third time in the episode.

Extract (12)

Hadeyya: And how could you possibly reach this guy, *Kabeer*?

Al-Kabeer: I'm the boss, fool. *Abuleil* was no more than one of my apprentices.

هدية: وده هتوصلو كيف يا كبير؟

الكبير: انا الكبير يا هتيره. ابو الليل ده كان حياه واحد من تلاميذى.

Thus, in three of the four scenes, *Hadeyya* is both verbally and physically abused by *Al-Kabeer* and she, along with the rest of characters, readily accepts this as normal. For *Al-Kabeer*, she is *بهيمه* ('a beast'), *بجره* ('a cow') and *هتيره* ('a fool').

4.3 Episode (1) season II

This episode contains four scenes involving *Hadeyya*, three of which bring *Hadeyya* and *Al-Kabeer* together. These are the scenes subject to analysis (Scenes 7, 8, 9). The fourth is a comic scene that involves *Hadeyya* with intelligence officers. The episode, which lasts 25.26 minutes, is a mock imitation of the famous Arabic-language T.V. espionage series '*Dumu' fi 'uyoon waqiha*' ('Tears in Ugly Eyes') which was broadcast in the 1980s and whose main actor is called *Gumaa El-Shawwan*. The episode makes fun of the conspiracy theory in which any foreigner is deemed to be a spy.

4.3.1 Scene (7)

In this scene, *Al-Kabeer* is watching the sexy singer *Hayffa Wahby* on television. When *Hadeyya* enters, he switches the channel to watch a cooking program. *Hadeyya* pleads with him to let her watch the espionage thriller *Gumaa Al-Shawwan* (calling the thriller by the protagonist's name) but he refuses. The scene lasts 2.22 minutes. *Hadeyya* appears in 0.25 sec. and leaves in 1.54 min. This is one of the rare scenes in which *Hadeyya* talks longer than *Al-Kabeer*. The dialogue between them lasts for 1.29 minutes with a total of 188 words (116 for *Hadeyya* and 72 for *Al-Kabeer*).

Extract (13)

Hadeyya: Please, *Kabeer*, tune to *dawama* (Lit. 'whirl', but she means *neel* 'Nile') Drama channel.

Al-Kabeer: What? Can't you see me watch T.V.?

Hadeyya: Please forgive me. I beg you, boss, the series must be on by now.

Al-Kabeer: What series?

Hadeyya: Mr. *Gumaa El-Shawwan* series.

Al-Kabeer: The one dealing with spies?

Hadeyya: Yes, it is, *Kabeer*.

Al-Kabeer: Damn it, girl! You've already watched it 300 times before.

هدية: والنبى يا كبير هاتلنا جناة الدوامه دراما. **الكبير:** واه! مشايفانيش عمال اتفرج عالتيلفزيون ولا أياه؟

هدية: معهلش والنبى يا كبير زمان التمثليه جات. **الكبير:** تمثيليه أياه دى؟

هدية: تمثيليه سى جمعه الشوان.

الكبير: بتاعه الجواسيس؟

هدية: أيوه هيا دى يا كبير.

الكبير: يا بت انتى شايفاهها بجى ٣٠٠ مره جبل اكده!

Extract (14)

Al-Kabeer: Hey, Hey. I don't need such nuisance while watching this program.

Hadeyya: This is a cooking program, boss. Do you enter the kitchen in the first place?

Al-Kabeer: Today, he will reveal the croissant paste secret.

Hadeyya: OK, please, I beg you, Kabeer, this episode and no more.

الكبير: أش أش مش ناجص خوته انا باتابع البرنامج ده.

هدية: ديه برنامج طيخ ياكبير. هو انت بتخش المطبخ من اساسه؟

الكبير: النهارده هيكشف سر عجينه الكرواسون.

هدية: طب معهلشوالنبى ياكبير الحلجه دى وخلص

Extract (15)

Al-Kabeer: Oh, my goodness! Don't you damn know every bit of the episode? So, why do you want to watch it?

Hadeyya: I like it so much, *Kabeer*.

Al-Kabeer: No, no series means no series.

Hadeyya: This is absolutely unfair.

Al-Kabeer: Subject is damn closed. Get lost! Get lost! Prepare something for us to damn eat.

Hadeyya: OK.

الكبير: لا الله الا الله! مانتى متثيله حافظه الحلجه عايزه تشوفيا ليه؟

هدية: أصلى بحبها جوى يا كبير.

الكبير: لع مفيش تمثيليه يعنى مفيش تمثيليه.

هدية: والله دا ظلم.

الكبير: جزره وجطمها جحش ياللاتجلبى يالا تجلبى. حضر بلنا حاجه نطفحوها

هدية: ماشى

In this scene, as in previous ones, *Al-Kabeer* does not address *Hadeyya* in her name; rather, he gives her the name بت (lit. 'girl', but here more of a 'broad') with the degrading deletion of the medial consonant 'ن' (/n/) (originally should be بنت) (Extract 13). In contrast, she addresses him with his name يا كبير (Oh, *Kabeer*) (8) times three of which were accompanied by the word 'please', or والنبى يا كبير shown in extracts (13 & 14). *Al-Kabeer*, on the other hand, dismisses her with phrases like خوتهناجمشاشأش ('Hey, Hey. I don't need such nuisance.) in (14) and ياللاتجلبى يالا ('Get lost! Get lost!') in (15).

Like other scenes, this scene reflects and inculcates the ideology of accepted masculine hegemony. *Al-Kabeer* is the decision maker and he is the one who puts an end to the conversation, as shown in extract (15). His use of the phrases جزره وجطمها جحش ('subject is damn closed.') and لع مفيش تمثيليه يعنى مفيش تمثيليه ('No. no series means no series.'). He also uses words with negative connotations when addressing her such as متثيله ('damned'), خوته ('nuisance'), تجلبى ('get lost!'), واه ('What!'), أش أش ('Hey, Hey'), بت ('broad') and لع ('No').

There is another mention of other females when *Al-Kabeer* refers to the singer *Hayfa* using the word تتلى ('dancing' voluptuously) in (16). Here, the singer is not seen in light of her voice but of her body, presented as a sex object.

Extract (16)

AI-Kabeer: Ms. killjoy, *Hadeyya*. I was happy watching *Hayfa* while she was dancing till you flicked to *Hany Shaker* with his song "I'm falling apart."

الكبير: الله يجل مزاجك يا هديه الواحد كان مفرفش وهو بيتفرج على هايفا وهي عم تتلوى رجع لى هانى شاكر عم ينهار.

4.3.2 Scene (8)

This scene lasts for 3.18 minutes (starting 2.22 till 5.40). This is one of the scenes in which *Hadeyya* talks longer in her dialogue with *AI-Kabeer*. Of the (199) words exchanged by the two, *Hadeyya* utters (152 words) as compared to *AI-Kabeer's* (47 words). *Hadeyya's* endeavor to convince *AI-Kabeer* that Thomas, the American friend of his brother Johnny, is a spy accounts for the larger number of words uttered by her. The scene opens with *AI-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya* having dinner while Thomas enters to ask *AI-Kabeer* some questions about the conditions of workers in his estate. When Thomas leaves, *Hadeyya* convinces *AI-Kabeer* that Thomas is a spy, quoting the famous '*Gomaa Al-Shawwan*' and '*Ra'fat Al-Hagan*', yet another iconic Arabic-language espionage series.

Though this scene does not have a point of difference or argument between *AI-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya*, it still contains forms of linguistic abuse when *AI-Kabeer* addresses *Hadeyya*. *AI-Kabeer* uses the derogatory form of the word 'girl' with the deletion of 'n' when addressing *Hadeyya*. So, 'يا بت' ('you, girl') is used two times and 'يا وليه' ('you, broad') once. He never calls her by her first name even though she calls him 'يا كبير' (*Kabeer*, meaning 'boss') 4 times. Moreover, the scene opens with a statement that reflects the expected type of interaction between a man and his wife as he orders her to pass the salad to him with phrase 'يا بتسلاطه حبت يا بت' ('fetch me some salad, girl') with a commanding tone and no use of any form of politeness (See extract 17 below).

Extract (17)

AI-Kabeer: Fetch me some salad, girl.

AI-Kabeer: Series are an obsession to you, broad. Detective Korombo, and the like.

AI-Kabeer: a viewpoint after all, girl.

الكبير: هاتيلي حبت سلاطه يا بت
الكبير: يا وليه انتى المسلسلات واكله دماغك.
المفتش كوربو والحاجات ديه.
الكبير: وجهة نظر برضك يا بت

4.3.3 Scene (9)

This 2.28-minute scene (starting at 8.52 till 11.20) marks another discursive change in the relation between *Hadeyya* and *AI-Kabeer*. The scene starts with *AI-Kabeer* watching a sexy singer and, on seeing *Hadeyya* coming, he switches the channel, cursing his luck. *Hadeyya* shows him pictures taken by Thomas whom she is convinced is a spy. *Hadeyya* argues with *AI-Kabeer* on the necessity of reporting this to the Egyptian intelligence. Reluctant, *AI-Kabeer* fears the involvement of his brother, Johnny, who is a friend of Thomas - another mock imitation of scenes in the espionage series '*Gomaa Al-Shawwan*'.

The dialogue between *Hadeyya* and *AI-Kabeer* is made up of (207) words, (114) of which were uttered by *AI-Kabeer* and (93) by *Hadeyya*. This scene differs from other scenes in that it is the only scene *AI-Kabeer* calls *Hadeyya* by her name twice (Extract 18 below) and uses a phrase that marks his appreciation of her opinion 'يا بتحجمعا كنه' ('seems you're right after all, girl'), 'أيه رأيك?' ('What do you think?') and 'هنعملو أيهدلوك?' ('What should we do now?') (Extracts 18&19). Only in this scene does *Hadeyya* guide, corrects and defies *AI-Kabeer*. She says to him 'متخافش يا كبير' ('Don't be afraid, *Kabeer*') (Extract 18), tells him 'غلط' ('Wrong') and accuses him of not being patriotic 'ولا أيه؟ وطنمشان تنوتو لا' ('Aren't you patriotic, or what?') (Extract 19). She also stresses her right opinion by saying 'يا بتكلمش كبير يا' (*Kabeer*, haven't I told you?) (Extract 18). This is meant, in a comic way, to be the only case in which the wife might defy her husband when it comes to state security matters. In spite of such detected discursive differences in this scene, *Hadeyya's* habit of calling her husband *kabeer* ('boss') remains unchanged.

This scene, however, contains phrases of verbal abuse against *Hadeyya*. *AI-Kabeer* uses the derogatory form 'بت' ('girl') two times and accuses her of talking nonsense 'تجنيتنا بت' ('Girl, have you flipped?'), (Extract 18) – a jibe to which she does not show any sign of objection.

Extract (18)

Hadeyya: I found that he left them on the table downstairs. I took them and saw them. I found out that he took a photo of every part of the town: lands, mosques, houses, etc.

Al-Kabeer: Seems you're right after all, girl. This boy, Thomas, will turn out to be a spy or what.

Hadeyya: Haven't I told you, Kabeer?

Al-Kabeer: What should we do now?

Hadeyya: We should tip him off.

Al-Kabeer: To whom?

Hadeyya: The Egyptian Intelligence Service.

Al-Kabeer: Have you flipped, girl?

Hadeyya: Don't be afraid, Kabeer. You go and tell them everything, and they'll handle it.

هدية: لجيته سايبهم على الترابيزه تحت، ختهم وشفتهم لجيته مصور كل حته فى البلد أراضى جوامع بيوت، الخ، الخ، الخ.

الكبير: كنه معاكى حج يابيت. الواد توماس ده هيطلع جاسوس ولا ايه.

هدية: مشجالتكياكبير.

الكبير: هنعملو ايه دلوك؟

هدية: نروح نبليغ عليه.

نبليغ عليه مين؟: الكبير

هدية: المخابرات المصرية

الكبير: إنتى اتجنيتييايت؟

هدية: متخافش ياكبير إنت تروح تجولهم على كل حاجه وهما هيتصرفوا بمعرفتهم.

Extract (19)

Al-Kabeer: Don't know, *Hadeyya*. I'm concerned about such tip-off.

Hadeyya: Should we know that he's a spy and leave'em? Hey, *Kabeer*, aren't you patriotic or what?

Al-Kabeer: Of course, I am. But, frankly, I'm afraid that my brother, Johnny, is involved with this Thomas. I have an idea. What do you think if I ask him first? I tell Johnny, are you involved with Thomas or not? What do you think?

Hadeyya: Wrong, Kabeer. If you do this, you will be forewarning them that you know everything. Then they will conceal all evidence and run away. You go and tip them off, and then we'll see your brother Johnny's issue.

الكبير: معرفش ياهديه أنا جلى مامطنش لموضوع البلاغ ديه.

هدية: يعنى هنعرف انه جاسوس ونسيبوه اكديه؟ ايه يا كبير انت مش وطنى ولا ايه؟

الكبير: لاه وطنى بس بصراحة اكديه أنا خايف يكون اخوى جوني متورط مع توماس ديه. بجولك عندى فكره. ايه رأيك اسأله الاول. اجوله جوني خد تعالى اهنيه انت متورط مع توماس ولا ايه؟ ايه رأيك؟

هدية: غلط ياكبير اكديه كانك بتحذرهم انك تعرف كل حاجه وساعتها هيخفوا كل الادله وهيهربوا بعمالهم. انت تروح تبليغ وبعدين نجى نشوف موضوع اخوك جوني ديه.

4.4 Episode I (Season III)

The third season of *Al-KabeerAwy* was aired in 2013. It marked the introduction of another long-lost brother of *Al-Kabeer*, *Hazi'oum*. In episode (1) of this season, there are (4) scenes that involve *Hadeyya* and *Al-Kabeer* along with other characters (Scenes 10, 11, 12 & 13). The episode marks the first time there are hints of the type of dialogue that takes place between *Hadeyya* and *Al-Kabeer* concerning their intimate relation. This occurs in scenes (10, 12 & 13) that will be discussed below.

4.4.1 Scene (10)

Scene (10) lasts 2.38 minutes (starts at 4.28 min. till 7.06 min.). It opens with *Al-Kabeer* shouting for *Hadeyya* as their two crying toddlers whom he failed to calm down in the previous scene. *Hadeyya* is crying as she is watching a Turkish soap opera, very popular in Egypt at this time. The dialogue between *Al-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya* is composed of (322) words, (200) for *Al-Kabeer* and (122) for *Hadeyya*.

In this scene, *Al-Kabeer* continues to insult *Hadeyya* and she continues to accept it as normal. Thus, we find him, at the opening of the scene, calling her بجره ('a cow') and she answers by 'What's wrong, *Kabeer*?', using the apologetic word معهلش ('please forgive me') pleading with him to let her watch a T.V. episode (Extract 20). He also uses phrases denoting violence such as تتكسر مفاصلك (Lit. 'may your joints get broken', or 'may you burn in hell') and فزى ('move it!') (Extract 21).

He mocks her when she asks about the reason the kids are crying by saying *احنا خسروا فلوسهم كلاتها فى البورصة*. *احنا خسروا فلوسهم كلاتها فى البورصة*. (Extract 21). Even when he is flirting with her hinting to a prospective intimate meeting between them, he still refers to her as *بت* ('girl') (4 times in the scene). His verbal flirtation is no more than likening her to a time-wasting activity, which is *جزجزة لب* (Roughly 'as delicious as nibbling nuts', or 'luscious') (Extract 22). *Hadeyya* uses words denoting obedience and submission *ماشى* ('OK', said disapprovingly) (2 times). Once again, she uses his name that shows superiority *يا كبير* ('Oh, *Kabeer*' or 'boss') (3 times). It is worth noting that only in this flirtatious mode that *Al-Kabeer* apologizes to *Hadeyya* for any action he does, as he uses the phrase *لامواخذة* ('I'm sorry') to apologize for using the phone when they are supposed to go up to their room (Extract 22).

Extract (20)

Al-Kabeer: Hey, you, *Cow*.

Hadeyya: Yes, *Kabeer*, What is it?

Al-Kabeer: Hey, Hey, Hey. Are you weeping?

Hadeyya: Your kids are weeping, too.

Al-Kabeer: Are we in the weeping season or what?

Hadeyya: Forgive me, *Kabeer*, I'm just watching the series.

الكبير: إنتى يا بجره.

هدية: أيوه ياكبير فيه أيه؟

الكبير: وه وه إنتى عم تبيكى؟

هدية: وعيالك عم يبكو هنيكه. **الكبير:** احنا فى موسم البكى ولا أيه؟

هدية: معلشيا كبير أصلى متابعه المسلسل.

Extract (21)

Al-Kabeer: Oh, You're neglecting your kids crying upstairs and you're watching Turkish series!

Hadeyya: Why are they crying?

Al-Kabeer: Normal, like all kids in the world. They've lost their money in the Stock Market. Are we kidding, girl? They've wetted their pants.

Hadeyya: What? Number 1 or Number 2?

Al-Kabeer: Number 1 and Number 2.

Hadeyya: OK. I'll go up to them during the break.

Al-Kabeer: May you burn in hell. How incredibly indifferent you are! Come on, move it!

Hadeyya (disapprovingly): OK.

الكبير: أه إنتى مهمله عيالك فوج عنن يبكو وجاعده تتفرجى على مسلسلات تركى.

هدية: وأيه اللي مبكيهم؟

الكبير: عادى كيف كل أطفال العالم خسروا فلوسهم كلاتها فى البورصة. احنا هنهزروا يا بت. العيال عاملين على روحهم ومزروطين الدنيا.

number 1 ولا number 2؟ **هدية:** أيه

عاملين ميه على طينه number 2 و number 1 **الكبير:**

هدية: ماشى هبجى اطلع لهم فى الفاصل

الكبير: تتكسر مفاصلك أيه يا بتالسجوعيه اللي انتى فيها دى!

جوى فرى

هدية: ماشى

Extract (22)

Hadeyya: Hey, *Kabeer*, ever since he came, we've not been able to talk together, have a nice dinner, and speak nice words.

Al-Kabeer: (laughs) You're right, you naughty girl, you're so luscious.

Hadeyya: I've said nothing, *Kabeer*.

Al-Kabeer: I want to say something, come on.

Hadeyya: Here I am.

Al-Kabeer: Come here to tell you something, *girl*.

Hadeyya: Here I am, *Kabeer*.

Al-Kabeer: Come closer to me.

Hadeyya: OK.

Al-Kabeer: What do I have here? Is it a cyst or abscess, or what?

Hadeyya: What is that?

Al-Kabeer: *Girl*, I'm just kidding with you. What I want to tell you cannot be said here. Must be said upstairs.

Hadeyya: OK.

Al-Kabeer: Come on. That's untimely! (Answering the phone). I'm sorry.

هدية: يا كبير ده من ساعه لما جه واحنا مش عارفين نلتموا على بعضينا. نتعشى عشوه زينه نجول لتا كلمتين حلوين.

الكبير: (يضحك) على جولتك يا شجاوه يا جزجزة لب.

هدية: وانا جلت حاجه يا كبير.

الكبير: أنا اللي عايز أجول حاجه، تعالى.

هدية: أهه.

الكبير: يابت تعالى أجولك.

هدية: أها يا كبير.

الكبير: جربى جارى اهنه

هدية: أهه.

الكبير: إيه اللي عندى هنيه ديه حبايه ولا فسفوسه؟

هدية: أيه ديه؟

الكبير: يابت عم هازر معاكى. اللي عايز أجولهاوك

ماينفحش يتجال اهنيه يابت لازم يتجال فوج.

هدية: ماشى

الكبير: بالآ وده وجته (يرد على التليفون). لا مؤاخذه.

4.4.2 Scene (11)

This is a scene that involves five characters; *Al-Kabeer*, *Hadeyya*, *Hazl'oum* (*Al-Kabeer's* brother), a police officer, and *Ashraf* (*Al-Kabeer's* Assisstant). The police officer comes to investigate the robbery that occurred in *Al-Kabeer's* storehouse. *Hadeyya* answers on behalf of *Al-Kabeer* creating a comic effect and *Hazl'oum* smashes the police officer's car to add to the comedy of the situation.

This scene reflects how *Hadeyya* is referred to by *Al-Kabeer* as الجماعة ('my wife'; lit.'the group', a nomenclature used by ultra-conservative, low-educated husbands to hide their wives' names), by the police officer معالي الحاجه ('ma'am'; Lit. 'Her excellency *Haja*', or 'pilgrim', again used more to hide a wife's name than to show respect for her)(Extract 23) and by *Hazl'oum* as('Ms. *Hadeyya*') (Extract 24).*Hadeyya* interferes in the dialogue between *Al-Kabeer* and the police officer more than once, preventing *Al-Kabeer* from answering in (23) and giving opposite answers than those of his. So, when he answers with a 'yes' she says 'no' in (24). She also tells the police officer how to proceed with the investigation. *Al-Kabeer's* only reaction is to introduce her in (24) as الجماعة (Lit. 'the group', or 'my wife') and asks the police officer not to heed her in (24) as خليك معايا وفكك منها ('Be with me and ignore her.'). This implicit reproach is an attenuation of his explicit verbal insults of her in other scenes. This may be culturally due to the police officer, a stranger, in whose presence *Al-Kabeer* shows respect to his wife. The fact that a woman in Upper Egypt would interrupt a police investigation to answer on behalf of her husband is meant to create the comic effect.

Extract (23)

Police officer: Tell me, *Kabeer*. Don't you suspect a certain person that stole the silo?

Al-Kabeer: Maybe.

Hadeyya: Who will he suspect, sir?

Police officer: The whole town is our folk.

Al-Kabeer: My wife.

Police officer: OK. How do you do, *ma'am*?

الضابط: قولى يا كبير متكونش شاكك فى حد معين هو
اللى سرق الشونه؟

الكبير: يمكن

هديه: هيشك فى مين يا حضرت الضابط. البلد كولها أهلنا
وناسنا.

الكبير: الجماعة

الضابط: أهلاً معالي الحاجه.

Extract (24)

Police officer: Don't you have enemies or was there somebody you had a problem with before?

Al-Kabeer: Yes, three years ago.

Hadeyya: No, there wasn't. Do we still have to doubt or not? In all cases, you will take the DNA of the whole town and match it with the DNA you will find in the silo. Then, you will catch the perpetrators.

Police officer: What is this DNT, *Kabeer*?

Al-Kabeer: Such talk is in *CNmazareeta* (name of *Al-Kabeer's* town). Are we kidding? *Be with me and ignore her*.

.....

Hadeyya: Most welcome, *Hazl'oum*.

Hazal'oum: Thanks, *Ms. Hadeyya*. Any Lunch?

الضابط: ملكش أعداء أو حد حصل بينك وبينه
مشكله زمان؟

الكبير: أيوه من تلت سنين كان فيه.
هديه: لا مفيش. إحنا لِسْه هتشك ومنشكوشى.
أنتو أكديه أكديه هترفعوا الذى إن أبيه بتاع أهل
البلد وطابقوه بالذى إن أبيه اللى هتلقوه فى
الشونه وبعدين تجبضوا على الجناه.

الضابط: أبيه الذى ان تى ده يا كبير؟

الكبير: الكلام ده فى السى إن المزريطه. إحنا
هنهزروا فكك منيها وخليك امعاى.

.....

هديه: منور يا حزلقوم.

حزلقوم: تسلمى يا أبله هديه. فيه غدا؟

4.4.3 Scenes (12 & 13)

These two scenes show *Al-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya* eating and flirting in the privacy of their bedroom. In scene (12), both *Al-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya* are seen openly flirting, singing and dancing. It is one of the rare scenes in which *Al-Kabeer* makes advances to *Hadeyya*, uttering explicit flirtatious words. *Al-Kabeer* uses the masculine form of the second person pronoun and verb إنت ('you' in the masculine form) as well as the masculine, rather than the feminine, internal vowel of the verb تعجب (Lit. 'win the admiration of') when addressing *Hadeyya*, إنت تعجب الباشا ('You're so sexy') in (25).

Replacing feminine pronouns and internal vowelings with masculine pronouns and internal vowelings is a common linguistic practice in Arab-speaking cultures, especially used in flirtatious modes of discourse. Even in this flirtatious discourse, *Al-Kabeer* uses the derogatory nominals ('girl') بت (2 times) and ولية ('broad') (2 times) in addressing *Hadeyya*, and only once does he use her first name. In this scene, *Hadeyya* praises *Al-Kabeer's* virility إنت سيد الرجال ('You're the man!') (in 26). It is worth noting that *Al-Kabeer* switches mode the minute he hears *Hazl'oum* calling him. He uses the nominal بت ('girl') and the verb إسترى نفسك ('cover yourself') with the commanding word إمشي ('go') in (26).

Extract (25)

Hadeyya: Please, *Kabeer*, close the subject. We shouldn't waste the night talking about this pathetic *Hazl'oum*!

Al-Kabeer: Can't agree more. But what wonderful makeup you're wearing?

Hadeyya: What do you think of the 'décor' I'm making?

Al-Kabeer: You, Broad. Haven't I told you before to stop watching *Amina Shelbaya's* (fashion) program?

Hadeyya: Don't you like it?

Al-Kabeer: How do I not like it? You're so sexy!

Hadeyya: (Singing) "and come and talk to me...", *Kabeer*, "and come and talk to me.

هدية: معهلشياكبير فضها سيره عاد احنا هنضيعو الليله عل الحازين ديه حز لجوم وماحز لجومش! الكبير: على جونتك. إنما أیه يا بت اللعطه اللي إنتی عملاها ديه؟

هدية: أیه رأيك ياكبير في الديكور اللي أنا عملاه؟ الكبير: ياويليه مش جلنا نبطل نشوف البرنامج بتاع أمينه شلبايه؟

هدية: وه معجباكش يعنى؟

الكبير: معجبانيش كيف؟ ده أنتتتعجب بالباشا!

هدية: (تغنى) وتعالى جولى ياكبير وتعالى جولى.

Extract (26)

Hadeyya: Come on, dig in. I've prepared delicious food for you.

Al-Kabeer: What's all these loads of food, broad?

Hadeyya: This is roasted shrimp, and these are a couple of pigeons. This is oxtail, and this is soup...

Al-Kabeer (Interrupting her angrily): *Hadeyya*, am I failing you in something? What's left for you to do is to pass two blue pills (i.e. Viagra) on to me.

Hadeyya: Oh, Perish the thought! I never meant it, I swear. You're the man!

Al-Kabeer: if this is the case, it's OK.

.....

Al-Kabeer: (Singing)

Hadeyya: (Clapping)

Hazal'oum: I'm you brother.

Al-Kabeer: (Sharply) Go, girl, go, hide and cover yourself (jabbing her in the shoulder).

هدية: بالا مد ايدك عملاك وكل ملوكى يستاهل خشمك.

الكبير: ايه ياويليه الوكل ده كله!

هدية: ديه جمبرى مشوى ودول جوزين حمام وديه طاجن عكاوي وديه شوربة...

الكبير (يقاطعها غاضبا): هديه هو أنا مجصر معاكى فى حاجه ناجص تغمزلى بورشامتين زورج.

هدية: وه الشر بره وبعيد انا مجصديش والله ده أنت سيد الرجاله.

الكبير: إذا كان اكديه معهلش

.....

الكبير: (يغنى)

هدية: (تسقف له)

حزلقوم: أنا ولد ابوك.

الكبير: امشيا بتامشى ادارى استرى نفسك (بلهجه حاده) (ويلكزها فى كتفها).

Scene 13 is a continuation of scene (12) after the short interruption by *Hazl'oum*. In this scene, *Al-Kabeer* objects to *Hadeyya* wearing black and complains of being turned off by *Hazl'oum's* interruptions. *Hadeyya* tries to get him back to the mood (eat something and you'll be back to your mood) in (27) below. When he realizes that his stolen money will be back, he dumps her and orders her to sleep (Sleep, girl. Sleep *Hadeyya*), using both the pejorative بت ('girl') and her first name *Hadeyya*. *Al-Kabeer* continues to use بت (2 times) and her first name (2 times) when addressing her. It is worth noting that in these two scenes, in which *Al-Kabeer* flirts with *Hadeyya*, he uses her first name, *Hadeyya*, (4 times), exceeding the total number of times in all other 11 scenes discussed in this study.

Extract (27)

Al-Kabeer: (Singing) Oh, my soul mate ...Hey, Hadeyya, why are you dressed in black?

Hadeyya: What is it, *Kabeer*? Weren't you who told me to cover myself?

Al-Kabeer: I told you to cover yourself, but I never told you that we would visit the graveyard. It's even ominous.

Hadeyya: OK.

Al-Kabeer: This boy's (i.e. *Hazal'oum*) turned me off.

Hadeyya: Never mind, *Kabeer*, come and eat something and you'll be back to your mood. Shall I bring you some soup for a start?

Al-Kabeer: Give me any appetizer.

Hadeyya: OK. Take this pigeon.

Al-Kabeer: (Right before beginning to eat, there's a knock at the door). I'll kill'em, *Hadeyya*, I'll kill'em.

Hazl'oum tells him that the police have located the thieves' whereabouts.

Al-Kabeer: Good news!Sleep, girl, sleep, Hadeyya.

الكبير: (يغنى) يا حبيب الروح ... إيه ياهديه
سودتنيها ليه يا بت!

هديه: إيه ياكبير. مش انت اللي جولتلى استرى
نفسك؟

الكبير: جلتك استرى نفسك مجلتكيش يالا
طالعين الجبانه. ده حتى قال عفش.

هديه: أهه.

الكبير: الواد ديه طلعتني من المود.

هديه: معهلش يا كبير تعالى كولك لجمه وانت
ترجع للمود تانى اجيبلك الشورية لول.

الكبير: هاتى أى ابيتيزر.

هديه: ماشى خد الحماميه دي.

الكبير: يسدم الله ... (الباب يخبط) هجتله يا هديه
هجتله.

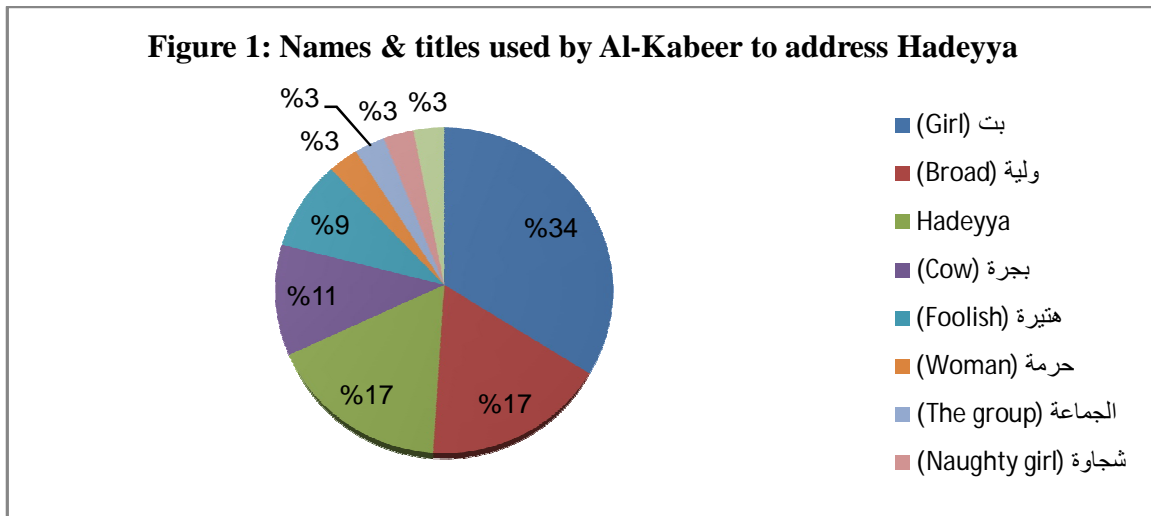
حزلقوم يخبره بأن الشرطة قد وجدت
للصوص.

الكبير: يافرح الله ... نامى يا بت نامى ياهديه.

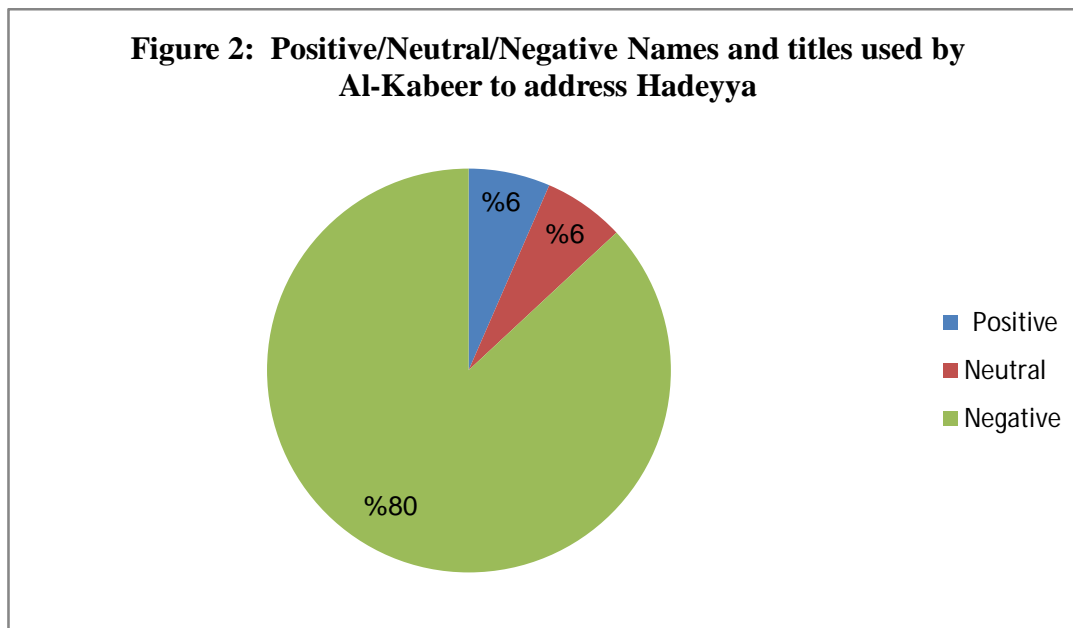
5. Summary of findings

In this section, I will briefly discuss the results of the analysis in four points; namely: The most salient names and titles used by *Al-Kabeer* to address *Hadeyya* (Figure 1); the percentage of Positive/Neutral/Negative Names and titles used by *Al-Kabeer* to address *Hadeyya* (Figure 2); Words used by *Al-Kabeer* Collocating with *Hadeyya* (Table 1) and the types of verbal processes used by *Hadeyya* (Figure 3).

The analysis has shown that as far as names and titles used by *Al-Kabeer* to address *Hadeyya* in the four episodes subject to analysis are concerned, the derogatory word 'بت' with the deletion of the medial consonant /n/ (girl) was the one most commonly used, scoring 34%. *Al-Kabeer* called her by her first name in 17% only of the times. Derogatory words 'وليه بت' ('broad') and 'حرمه' ('woman') accounted for more than half of the names and titles used by *Al-Kabeer* when addressing his wife (54%). Direct insult words such as 'بجره' ('cow') and 'هنتيره' ('foolish') constituted (20%) (See Figure 1 below).



In general, *Al-Kabeer's* mode of address to *Hadeyya* can be categorized in terms of positive (6%), neutral (14%) and negative (80%) (See Figure 2). It has been noticed here that the staggeringly high negative mode of address was detected even though in the 13 scenes under investigation there were only (3) scenes that contained argument between *Al-Kabeer* and *Hadeyya* that could have been a reason behind such negative epithets. This leads us to the conclusion that *Al-Kabeer* addressed his wife negatively even if he was not instigated to do so.

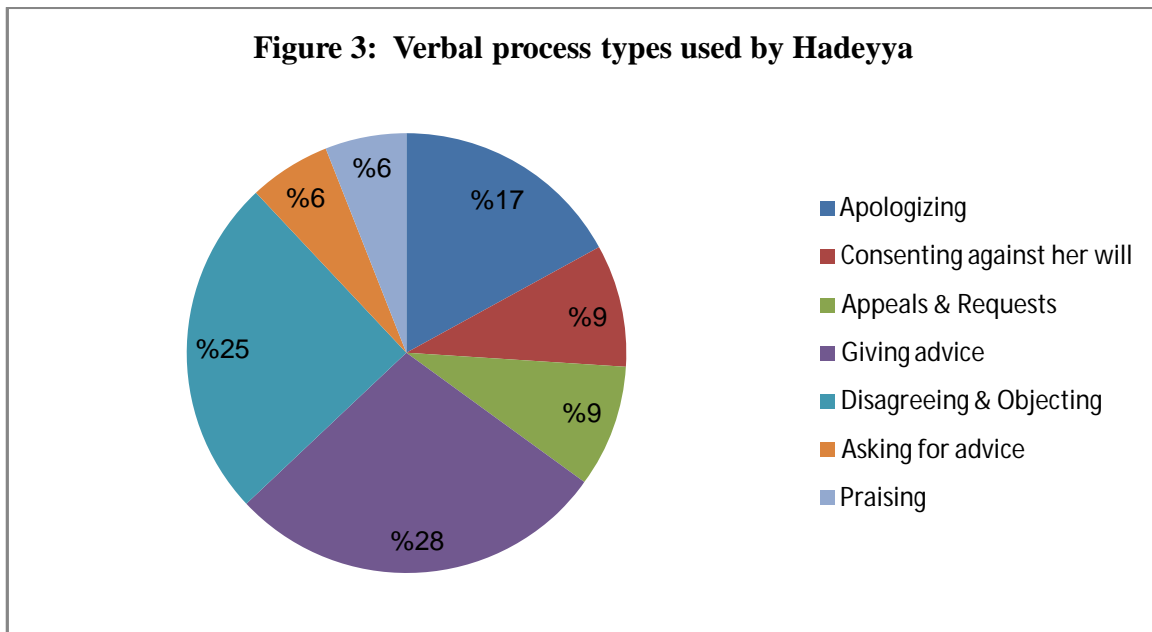


As for the words frequently collocating with *Hadeyya* in *Al-Kabeer's* discourse, it was found that they mostly carry a negative collocation, such as طفح ('damn eat'), غباوة ('stupidity'), سجو عية ('indifference'), مرار ('bitterness'). The positively collocative words were only mentioned in association with her sexy character in flirting scenes لعلطة ('invitingly stylish'), شجاوه ('naughty') (See Table 1 below).

Table 1: Words frequently collocating with Hadeyya

Words with Positive Collocations	Translation	Words with Negative Collocations	Translation
لعلطة	Invitingly stylish	جاموسة	Buffalo
جزيرة لب	Luscious, scrumptious	بهيمة	beast
شجاوة	Naughty girl	غباوه	Stupid
		خوته	nuisance
		سجو عيه	indifferent
		طفح	Damn eat (something)
		مرار	bitterness
		فتى	Meddling cluelessly (in something)
		نيله	damned
		جنان	Crazy

Yet, in spite of *Al-Kabeer's* linguistically abusive style in addressing *Hadeyya*, the data revealed that she, on the other hand, was more opposing than agreeing, more objecting than consenting, more in the giving end of advice than in the receiving end, more rebellious than submissive. Her verbal processes fall more into the categories of giving advice and objecting (53%) than those of apologizing, appealing, asking for advice, praising and consenting (47%) (See Figure 3 below).



6. Conclusion

The paper is one of a series of papers that attempts to shed light on linguistic sexism and the way language is used to disparage women and represent them negatively. For this purpose, the genre of sitcoms and the discursive mode of humor were chosen. I ran a qualitative and quantitative analysis of four episodes (13 scenes) of The Egyptian sitcom *Alkabeer Awy* that represent three seasons that were aired in 2010, 2011 and 2012 respectively. The theoretical framework of feminist CDA was employed with three tools of analysis: naming, lexical choices and titles, transitivity, and collocations.

The four episodes were carefully chosen to reflect diverse situations involving *Hadeyya* and *Al-kabeer*. As was mentioned earlier, the genre of sitcom was chosen to be subject to analysis for two main reasons. First, humor has serious effects on expanding the boundaries of socially appropriate behavior and how it creates social conditions in which discrimination is more easily accepted and rationalized as appropriate (Ford 2000). Second, Television plays an important role as a medium of communication designed to sediment ideologies and establish accepted social norms and behaviors.

The data showed that in the (13) scenes subject to analysis, the use of disparaging words or direct insults to refer to *Hadeyya* was utilized as a source of humor even in situations that included no argument between *Hadeyya* and *Al-Kabeer*. Thus, she was called by her first name in (3) scenes only. This constituted (17%) of the names given to her, the majority of which fall under the category of not only sexist words but direct insults as well. The data also revealed a high percentage of verbal abuse practised by *Al-Kabeer* against *Hadeyya*. Words used in collocation with *Hadeyya* were shown to be largely negative. It was also shown that she was only praised in terms of sexual attributes in the three flirting scenes. On the other hand, the data revealed that *Hadeyya*, the clearly cleverer of the two, accepted direct insults from *Al-Kabeer* and even apologized when insulted even though there was no reason for apology (17%). It was also shown that she was more objecting (26%) than consenting against her will (9%), and more giving advice (28%) than asking for advice (6%).

It has been emphasized that *Hadeyya's* acceptance of verbal abuse, direct insults and disparaging words as the normal way of discourse between a man and his wife combined with the use of such verbal abuse as a source of humor may have serious impact on tolerating and accepting prejudices against women. As it was shown by several studies, sexist humor, such as the one subject to analysis, creates a context in which men with sexist attitudes can defend the gender status quo (Ford 2013).

It was also shown in studies conducted in the fields of psychology and sociology that sexist humor has serious negative effects that may amount to tolerating rape and physical violence against women. Based on all the above, I can conclude that in a patriarchal society such as Egypt, when this level of highly prejudiced language is presented to a variety of audience through the vital medium of television in the humor mode, it is expected to denigrate the image of women and their role in the society, especially in rural areas. Such sitcoms are not a benign source of amusement but rather very harmful one that provides a safe soil to grow sexist prejudices and justify the dogma of masculine superiority.

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