A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IDENTITIES VIA ABUSIVE LANGUAGE

TAHIR SALOOM JUMA AL-HARTHI

BA (SULTAN QABOOS UNIVERSITY, OMAN)

MA (UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA)

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis or report submitted to this University or to any institution for a degree, diploma, or other qualification.

Tahir Al-Harthi   Signed:

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

This thesis investigates the discursive construction of gender identities through the use of abusive language in YouTube comments sections. The study attempts to answer the following overarching research question: How is abusive language used in the construction of gendered identities by Arabic-speaking posters on YouTube?

A corpus of more than 2 million words of YouTube comments is constructed to study discourses involving terms of abuse and abusive swearing targeted at males and females. These discourses are analysed by utilising a combination of tools. Target descriptors and activation/passivation are used to examine the roles constructed for men and for women. Differential usage of abusive language is investigated by looking at the (non)existence of corresponding masculine and feminine terms of abuse, the behaviour of gendered terms of abuse in different domains, and contrastive collocation of masculine/feminine-marked words. The pragmatic functions of abusive language are studied by examining cultural scripts of abusive language against men and women.

The main method used in this thesis is a qualitative analysis of concordance lines where the terms of abuse occur. However, frequency analysis is also employed, to produce a wordlist of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse and to compare the frequencies of terms of abuse in my corpus.

The results show that men and women are represented as having different identities. Men are mainly constructed as the social actors who *have* and *abuse* power (especially in relation to politics and religion). On the other hand, sexual morality is discursively constructed as the most integral component of female gender identity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Overview

This thesis is an investigation of the relationship between abusive language and gender in Arabic, focusing particularly on the construction of gendered identities through the use of this form of taboo language. I analyse gendered discourses as they are articulated through the use of abusive language in a corpus of YouTube comments.

In this chapter, I will outline the aim of the study and its research questions. Some introductory comments on discourse analysis will also be given. This is followed by a brief discussion of the Arabic-speaking world and the discourse community under study and an overview of Arabic grammatical gender. At the end, an outline of the structure of the entire thesis is provided.

1.2 Statement of purpose and research questions

One reason for studying abusive language in Arabic is the almost nonexistent literature on the topic. Researchers such as Al-Khatib (1995), Abd el-Jawad (2000), and Qanbar (2011), who highlight the need to study taboo language and swearing in Arabic, have dealt with Arabic abusive language only to a very limited extent. This is because studying conversational abusive language can be an extremely sensitive issue; "many people [see swearing as] socially not tolerated in any form" (Montagu, 1967/2001:1). Moreover, investigating conversational swearing in the Arabic context has been seen as "quite impossible and in fact impractical" due to difficulties in obtaining representative and controlled samples of recorded conversations (Abd el-Jawad, 2000:240). Recent work has

demonstrated that "impossible" is an overstatement; Al-Abdullah (2015) examines the use of Kuwaiti Arabic swearwords in the conversation of same-sex groups of men and women. She does, however, note the difficulties involved in sampling, pointing out that her study is "based on a relatively small sample of participants (65 men and women; 33 and 32, respectively)" (Al-Abdullah, 2015:338). Why attitudes against studying abusive language exist in the Arabic speaking world will be discussed in the next chapter. As I show later, *online* discussions can be a rich source of data for investigating Arabic abusive language compared to face-to-face communication (see for instance Section 3.7).

There are, to the best of my knowledge, no general studies of swearing like Montagu's (1967/2001), Hughes' (1991, 2006) or McEnery's (2006) that trace the history of swearing in Arabic. Swearing reflects, among other things, a culture's construction of gender identity (Jay, 2000:165); no research that addresses the construction of gender identity via any type of "bad language", whether swearing, abuse, taboo language, or of any other type, in the Arabic context.

Specifically, research on the relationship between gender and abusive language in Western contexts (where gender equality is relatively better than in patriarchal societies) has shown differences (and similarities) regarding the construction of gender identity (see James, 1998). Similar research is needed in the Arabic context because, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, literature on abusive Arabic language in general and on how this form of language is used to construct gender identity in particular is scarce (see also 2.9). Therefore, there is a need to study the ways in which men and women are referred to through the use of abusive language – especially in light of the fact that gender roles in Arab patriarchal societies privilege men (cf. AHDR, 2015).

Thus, I propose that a study of gender and abusive language in Arabic will add a new dimension to our understanding of the construction of male and female identities. If we understand how gender identities are constructed via abusive language among Arabic speakers this should 1) help us understand the values and taboos of the society, and 2) shed light on the social customs, religious and political beliefs of the community (Qanbar, 2011:87), specifically those related to gender. (Note that by society/community I refer to a specific community; in this thesis I treat Arabic language commenters on YouTube as a *discourse community*, see Section 3.8). The results will show whether abusive Arabic language is applied to construct a negative gender identity at the expense of another gender identity. The negative aspects of the constructed gender identities should then provide insights in relation to gender in society.

In my thesis, then, I aim to build a picture of gendered identities as constructed via abusive language among Arabic speakers and, thereby, help remedy the lack of research into abuse and other types of bad language in Arabic linguistics. Hence, my overarching research question is: *How is abusive language used in the construction of gendered identities by Arabic-speaking posters on YouTube?* I also aim to test whether a common finding on abusive language in English, that terms of abuse used primarily to label men or primarily to label women "reflect and, in turn, enforce very different prescriptions as to the 'ideal woman' and the 'ideal man'" (James, 1998:413), applies to Arabic. Specifically, I investigate the construction of gender identities in discourse involving the use of abusive language by looking exclusively at the discourses about gender constructed via the abusive language *targeted at* men as opposed to the abusive language *targeted at* women; as I will note later (in 3.7), my use of anonymous data means it is not possible to look at differences between women's *use* of abusive language vs. men's *use* of abusive language, and any such differences are not a part of my research questions (see Section 2.9.4).

In order to address the overarching question, I will address three specific research questions:

1) *What roles are constructed for men and women via discourses involving the use of abusive language?*

2) *How is the phenomenon of grammatical gender-marking of terms of abuse deployed in the discursive construction of gender identity?*

3) *What cultural scripts (see 6.3) are differentially involved in the construction of male identity vs. the construction of female identity via gendered discourses involving abusive language?*

Note that the term *cultural scripts*, used in the research questions, refers to a method for spelling out cultural norms, values, and practices in a language which is clear and accessible to both cultural insiders and cultural oustiders (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2004:153) see 6.3 for a detailed introduction.

It also bears note that these research questions are all intensed to focus on the use of language by one person (the writer of any particular part of my data) to construct the gender of another person (an addressee or person under discussion). In consequence, my work here concerns the phenomenon of the gendering of the *other*, not the gendering of the *self*, as in some other research on the construction of gender.

Moreover, in my thesis I aim to describe *gendered discourses*. Gendered discourses refer to particular ways in which men and women, boys and girls are represented and/or expected to behave (Sunderland, 2004:21); thus, these discourses are regulated by gender ideologies in society. For instance, "a magazine text about cooking is gendered if it suggests that women, or men, tend to cook in distinct ways" (Sunderland, 2004:21). Gendered discourses can be identified (and named) through linguistic traces (Sunderland, 2004:21, 28)

and a close reading of texts (and their contexts) (Baker & Ellece, 2011:35). This is because it is difficult for people to recognise a discourse

> even provisionally, in any straightforward way. Not only it is not identified or named, and is not self-evident or visible as a discrete chunk of a given text, it can never be 'there' in its entirety. What is there are certain linguistic features: 'marks on the page', words spoken, or even people's memories of previous conversations ... which - if sufficient and coherent - may suggest that they are 'traces' of a particular discourse (Sunderland, 2004:28).

Examples of common gendered discourses identified in the fairytales that Sunderland discusses include: *some day my prince will come*; *women as domestic*; *active man/passive woman*; and *women as beautiful or ugly* (Sunderland, 2004:144).

The reader will also notice that, in the analysis chapters of this thesis, the discussion will become increasingly critical. This is in line with the accepted view that a "modest amount of reflection" by researchers on their findings is "welcome" (Baker, 2014:201). But it is also because of the nature of certain issues that emerge repeatedly in different parts of my analysis, e.g. a women-as-prostitutes discourse (see for instance 5.2.16, 5.3.2.3, 6.2.4.3, 6.3.5), which I consider to deserve some critique.

1.3 Discourse analysis

Fairclough (2003) proposes that a discourse is "a particular way of representing some part of the (physical, social, psychological) world" (Fairclough, 2003:17). Fairclough adds that discourses differ in 1) how social events are represented, 2) what is included or excluded, 3) how abstractly or concretely events are represented, and 4) "how more specifically the

processes and relations, social actors, time and place of events are represented" (Fairclough, 2003:17).

Similarly, for Foucault discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972:49). Likewise, Jaworski and Coupland (1999) define discourse as "language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society" (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999:3). We see that all these researchers are basically in agreement about the nature of discourse, whether they are linguists like Fairclough or non-linguists like Foucault. That is, a discourse is a "system of statements which constructs an object" (Parker, 1992:5).

For the present study, however, the Foucault definition, as clarified by Parker, is more relevant than the others mentioned above, i.e. a discourse as a set of language practices that structure not only how we talk about a thing/idea/group of people, but also how we think about that thing/idea/group of people. It is in this way that I operationalise the concept of a discourse *forming/constructing an object*; and it is this fundamental idea that I use when I refer, later on in the thesis, to abusive language as "constructing" discourses of what it is to be a *good/bad* man, a *good/bad* woman. In other words, when I speak of gendered discourses in this study, I refer to practices of abusive language that systematically form the objects [men as a group, women as a group] of which they speak, that is, the objects that the abusive language is directed at.

Van Dijk (1985) proposes several factors relevant to discourse analysis. The first factor is that studying actual language as used in its social context "provides insight into the forms and mechanisms of human communication and verbal interaction" (van Dijk, 1985:4). By analysing discourse, we learn more about various features of the social context such as

status, gender, power, ethnicity, roles, or the cognitive interpretation of text and talk (van Dijk, 1985:4-5). For example, discourse analysis helps us understand how (groups of) people (e.g. men, women; judges, lawyers, policemen; white people, African-American people; Jews, Muslims) differ in their speech and style of talk in different contexts (van Dijk, 1985:5). The same holds for studying the style of writing of newspaper discourse, parliamentary debates, TV programmes, and other types of text (van Dijk, 1985:5).

Analysis of language in texts can help uncover traces of discourse because language is one critical way in which discourse is constructed. The analysis of discourse can be more revealing if we relate it to contextual constraints such as roles, dominance, power, status, and ethnocentrism; and to the kinds of "personal problems people may have in the adequate participation in such talk, what kind of individual pathologies may surface by such discourse, or what conflicts can be at stake in such interactions" (van Dijk, 1985:5).

One method which has been applied in discourse analysis is looking at the representation of social actors. Van Leeuwen's (1996/2008) approach to this issue looks at how social actors are included and excluded in English discourse in 21 ways (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1 Van Leeuwen's social actor network

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Exclusion ──2──► Suppression
                 Backgrounding

           ──3──► Activation
                  Passivation ──5── Subjection
                                    Beneficialization

           ──4──► Participation
                  Circumstantialization
                  Possessivation

Inclusion
           Personalization ──10──► Determination ──13──► Categorization ──14── Functionalization ──15──► Classification
                                                                               Identification              Relational identification
                                                                               Appraisement               Physical identification

                                                         Nomination ──16── Formalization
                                                                           Semiformalization
                                                                           Informalization
                                                                    ──17── Titulation ──18──► Honorification
                                                                           Detitulation            Affiliation

                                   Determination ──19──► Single determination
                                   Indetermination        Overdetermination ──20──► Inversion ──21──► Anachronism
                                                                                     Symbolization          Deviation
                                                                                     Connotation
                                                                                     Distillation

           ──6──► Genericization
                  Specification ──8──► Individualization
                                       Assimilation ──9──► Collectivization
                                                            Aggregation

           Impersonalization ──22── Abstraction
                                    Objectivation

Association
Dissociation
Differentiation
Indifferentiation
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Van Leeuwen draws up a sociosemantic inventory of the ways in which social actors are represented and establishes the sociological and critical relevance of his categories and how they are realised linguistically (van Leeuwen, 2008:23). He provides two reasons for producing this inventory. The first is "the lack of bi-uniqueness of language", where a sociological concept such as agency is not necessarily represented through linguistic agency, that is, the grammatical role of "agent"; instead agency can be realised by, for instance, possessive pronouns, as in *our intake of migrants* (van Leeuwen, 2008:23). The second reason is the assumption that meanings "belong to culture rather than to language" (van Leeuwen, 2008:24-25), i.e. meanings are dependent on cultural (and historical) linguistic change.

Van Leeuwen proposes "role allocation" as a way of representing social actors as either *active* or *passive*. That is, *activation* is about who is presented as the active, dynamic force with respect to a given action while *passivation* deals with who is presented as "undergoing" the activity(van Leeuwen, 2008:32-33). This concept will be important to my

own analyses later in the thesis (see 5.3). According to van Leeuwen, representations can endow social actors with either active or passive roles as follows:

1- Activation is realized by:

a) Participation: i.e. subject roles; the active role of the social actor in question is most clearly foregrounded as in *The **kids** use [television] subversively against the rule-bound culture and institution of the school.*

b) Circumstantialization: by prepositional circumstantials with *by* or *from*, as in *People of Asian descent suddenly received a cold-shoulder from **neighbours** and **co-workers**.*

c) Premodification or postmodification of nominalizations or process nouns through possessivation, i.e. the use of a possessive pronoun to activate a social actor as in *He thinks **our** current intake [of migrants] is about right.*

2- Passivation: passivated social actors can be *subjected* or *beneficialized*:

a) Subjected social actors: those treated as objects in the representation. Similar to activation, subjection can be realised by (i) *participation* "when the passivated social actor is goal in a material process, phenomenon in a mental process, or carrier in an effective attributive process" (van Leeuwen, 2008:34),e.g. *Eighty young white thugs attacked **African street vendors***; (ii) *circumstantialization* through a prepositional phrase with, for example, *against*, as in *A racist backlash against **ethnic Asians** has been unleashed by those who resent the prominence of centrist candidate Alberto Fujimoro;* and (iii) *possessivation,* which is usually in the form of a prepositional phrase with *of* postmodifying a nominalization or process noun as in *An intake **of some 54,000 skilled immigrants** is expected this year.*

b) Beneficialized social actors: those who positively or negatively benefit from the action. The beneficiary is recipient or client in relation to a material process, or receiver in relation to a verbal process. Beneficialization is realised by *participation,* e.g. *Australia was bringing in **about 70,000 migrants** a year.*

Van Leeuwen suggests that the question of "who is represented as 'agent' ('actor'), who as 'patient' ('goal') with respect to a given action?" remains important(van Leeuwen, 2008:32). This is because there need not be congruence between the roles social actors play in real life and the grammatical roles given in texts (van Leeuwen, 2008:32). In texts, the active and passive roles given to social actors may be essential if we want to investigate, for instance, which linguistic options are chosen in which social contexts, why people choose these options, what interests are served by such choices, and what purposes are achieved (van Leeuwen, 2008:32). What actions are or are not attributed to which actors, i.e. the presence (i.e. foregrounding) or absence (i.e. backgrounding) of different types of actors in a text (or a discourse), can have consequences related to the focus of that text, as well as the way in which the agency of the actors involved is represented (Baker, 2006:162).

1.4 The Arabic-speaking world and the discourse community under study

Arabic is a widely-spoken language. It is one of the top ten spoken languages in the world with over 400 million speakers (United Nations, 2016). The native speakers of Arabic reside in 25 countries that have declared Arabic as an official language. These countries are located in the northern and north-eastern part of Africa and southwest Asia; Algeria, Bahrain, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

Figure 1.2 Arabic as official language (source ChartsBin website, 2016)
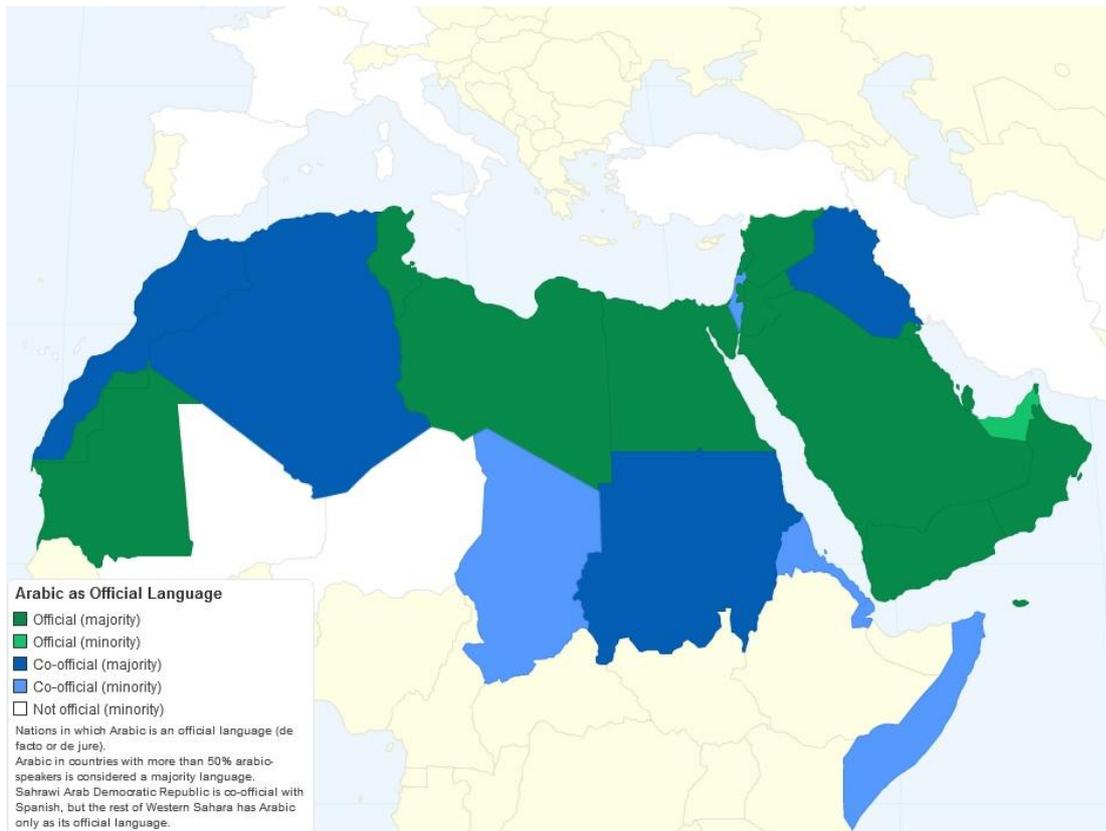
Islam is the faith of most Arabs; other religions include Christianity and Judaism. Of the countries where Arabic is spoken as the sole or majority official language, only Lebanon is not an officially Muslim country. However, there are also many countries where Islam is the official or most popular religion (e.g. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brunei, Malaysia, Pakistan), but Arabic is neither an official language nor widely spoken as a first language. Indeed, Arabic native speakers represent roughly 23.5% of the world's 1.7 billion Muslims.

The Arabic language is "prominent" in shaping the ideology of "the Arab nation" (Bassiouney, 2009:209). Although other factors—such as religion, economy, culture, and history—are important for the concept of *nation*, Arabic seems to be the "safest haven for nationalists" (Bassiouney, 2009:209). In fact, the Arab League defines itself as "an association of countries whose peoples are Arabic speaking" (Bassiouney, 2009:209). Since the various Arabic dialects co-exist with the transnational prestige varieties of Classical

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Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Arab countries can be regarded as diglossic speech communities, i.e. communities where two varieties of a language exist side by side (for a discussion of diglossia and dialects in the Arab world see Bassiouney, 2009:9-27). Mesthrie et al. (2011:38) argue that Arabic is "the paradigm example of diglossia".

CA is the language of pre-Islamic writings and of the Qur'an, and is very rarely used productively nowadays. MSA is an official language in all 25 Arabic-speaking countries. It is a language used as the medium of instruction and in formal communications and printed publications, e.g. in newspapers, books, news broadcasts, governmental and political speeches, and religious texts. The spoken varieties of Arabic are numerous and, unlike MSA, are not always fully comprehensible to native speakers of other varieties. For instance, speakers of Arabic in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco frequently use French words borrowed as an effect of the colonial era.

The Arabic-speaking countries naturally have differences with regard to different aspects of life, e.g. economy, political systems, cultural and religious values, which all affect language and, therefore, create differences in language use on top of the differences of regional variety. We can therefore see the Arabic-speaking world as a collection of *discourse communities*, large and small, in the sense I will introduce in section 3.8. This thesis focuses on online communication. Online communication in Arabic (or at least, that used in public fora) appears to adopt a form of the language that is comprehensible more widely than the home country of the speaker – that is, online Arabic approaches the transnational standard variety, MSA. It can therefore be treated as the language of a particular discourse community. I will expand on the reasons why online Arabic-speakers can be regarded as a discourse community in Section 3.8.

1.5 Arabic grammatical gender

In Arabic, nouns and adjectives are marked by grammatical gender, in contrast to the English system of natural gender. Natural gender is the assignment of "gender (masculine and feminine) to words according to the biological distinction of humans and animals as males and females" (Alhawary, 2011:38). Grammatical gender is "the assignment of gender [masculine or feminine] to words whose referents may not exhibit any apparent reason for the distinction" (Alhawary, 2011:38). Nouns in Arabic are either masculine or feminine; there is no neuter gender, e.g. *qamar*[1] "moon (masculine)", *shams* "sun (feminine)", *kursy* "chair (m)", and *ṭawilah* "table (f)".

The feminine form is often marked by the suffix *–ah*, written with the Arabic letter *tā' marbwṭah*, whose underlying phonetic form is usually argued to be [-at]. At the end of a word, it is usually realised as [-a] or [-ah] (Alhawary, 2011:19). When followed by a case suffix, it is produced as [-at] (Alhawary, 2011:19). In some other contexts, the suffix is pronounced as [-aah] or [-aat].

The feminine suffix has two primary functions. First, it derives a feminine noun from a masculine noun (e.g. *mu'alim* "teacher(m)", *mu'alimah* "teacher(f)"). However, feminine nouns are not always derived from a masculine noun, even if they end in the feminine suffix, e.g. *rajul* "man", *imra'ah* "woman", *jamal* "he-camel", *naqah* "she-camel". Second, on adjectives *–ah* is an inflectional suffix indicating gender agreement with a feminine noun (e.g. *bint saghirah* "little girl", where the adjective *saghir* is marked for agreement).

Additionally, there are subclasses of nouns that follow natural gender for agreement regardless of their formal gender (Alhawary, 2009:5). The grammatical behaviour of nouns for animate entities can be dictated by their natural gender rather than their grammatical

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[1] See Appendix A for system of Arabic transliteration used in this thesis.

gender; examples include *ḥayyah* "snake" and and *faras* "horse", formally feminine and masculine respectively, but potentially treated as having either gender based on the sex of the referent.

Some grammatically masculine proper nouns are used as female names; some other personal names end with the feminine suffix but are used as male names (Alhawary, 2009:6). Examples include respectively *zaynab* and *suʿad* (formally masculine female names) and *ḥamzah* or *qutaybah* (formally feminine male names). For all such names, agreement follows natural gender.

Arabic adjectives must agree with the nouns they modify (Haywood & Nahmad, 1965:28). An exception is adjectives that are restrictively female in meaning, which are not always explicitly marked as feminine (Alhawary, 2011:45), for instance *ḥamil* "pregnant", *ḥaʾiḍ* "menstruating", and *murḍiʿ* "nursing (mother)".

This overview of gender has been provided as a point of reference; in future chapters we will see how these points of grammatical gender interact with socio-cultural gender in my analysis.

1.6 Outline of the thesis

In Chapter 2 I review definitions of abusive language, its historical use and perception in society; review work on abusive language in Arabic; and highlight the relationship between abusive language and gender. Chapter 3 introduces the data used in this study and the methods of analysis. Next, in Chapter 4 I provide a brief background of culture-specific aspects relevant to Arabic abusive language. In Chapter 5, research question 1 is addressed: roles constructed for men and women via discourses involving the use of abusive language are examined through the analysis of descriptors and activation/passivation strategies.

Chapter 6 is devoted to RQ2 and RQ3. Section 6.2 addresses the second research question—the deployment of grammatical gender-marking of terms of abuse in the discursive construction of gender identity—by way of cross-domain analysis of frequency and contrastive collocation of masculine-marked and feminine-marked words. The final research question is explored in Section 6.3, via analysis of cultural scripts of themes, contexts, and meanings which motivate abuse against men and women. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis and suggests possible directions for further research.

1.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the purpose of the study and my central research questions. I provided introductory comments on discourse analysis. This was followed by a brief account of the Arabic-speaking world and the discourse community under study and of Arabic grammatical gender.

With these preliminaries in place, I now move on to a review of relevant literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with how bad language (including not only abusive language but also the related phenomena of swearing and taboo language) has been dealt with in previous research. Specifically, I aim to present a review of literature which investigates factors that affect how abusive language is used and perceived in society. This chapter also aims to highlight the dearth of research to date on abusive language in Arabic and, importantly, the relationship between abusive language and gender.

Researchers have tackled abusive language from different viewpoints using different methodologies (ranging from historical accounts to corpus studies of electronic communication) to build a picture of how abusive language is related to gender in different social contexts, i.e. the context of situation and the context of culture.

In this chapter I will first consider relevant definitions and terminology, surveying typologies of bad language that have been proposed. I will then lay out a working definition of abusive language as a point of departure for my investigation. Next, a brief history of abusive language is provided. The offensiveness of abusive language will also be discussed. Additionally, I will briefly consider abusive language in the media in general and flaming in particular. A review of prior research on abusive language in Arabic will be given. Next, I provide a brief account of popular theories of gender and language, with a special focus on the framework which I adopt for this thesis, i.e. the discourse approach, also referred to as the discursive construction of gender identities. Finally, I will discuss at length studies that have examined the relationship between gender and abusive language specifically.

2.2 Defining abusive language

Bad language is defined variously in the literature. This section looks at how researchers have classified bad language – including not only abuse but also swearing and taboos. I explain these definitions to approach my own working definition of abusive language relative to those terms.

Swearing is a generic term which has been used over a long period of time to refer to taboo, offensive, and abusive language (Graves, 1927; Montagu, 1967; Harris, 1987; Hughes, 1991; McEnery, 2006; Ljung, 2011; Fägersten, 2012) .

General dictionaries provide different definitions of swearing as a form of "bad" language, i.e. the form of language which "when used in what one might call polite conversation, is likely to cause offense" (McEnery, 2006:2). For example, the corpus-based *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*(2006:1677) defines the verb *to swear* as "to use rude and offensive language: *Don't swear in front of children*".

By contrast, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *to swear* as to "[t]o utter a form of oath lightly or irreverently, as a mere intensive, or an expression of anger, vexation, or other strong feeling; to use the Divine or other sacred name, or some phrase implying it, profanely in affirmation or imprecation; to utter a profane oath, or use profane language habitually; more widely, to use bad language" (OED, 2004:367).

The differences between these two dictionaries reflect disagreement as to the appropriate definition for swearing. For instance, while the *Longman Dictionary* confines its definition to the rudeness and offensiveness of swearing, the *OED* provides a more comprehensive definition which addresses issues related to the form, theme, and functions of swearing.

Not only lexicographers but also researchers often differ in their interpretation of what they consider swearing to be (Ljung, 2011:4). Similarly, researchers have not agreed on one definition for swearing and have used different terms to refer to the same concept, e.g. *swearing* (Hughes, 1991), *expletives* (Wajnryb, 2005), *cursing* (Jay, 1992, 2000), or *forbidden words* (Allan and Burridge, 2006).

Jay (2000:10) suggests that among the reasons for the lack of proper terminology for offensive speech is the limited literature on bad language. This lack of literature may be due to the taboo surrounding bad language, which has stigmatized the subject to the extent that "academics are hesitant to soil their hands even by association" (Wajnryb, 2005:3-4).

Wajnryb (2005:15) argues that there are two points of confusion on the definition of the term swearing. One has to do with the words which constitute swearing, and the other is concerned with how to refer to swearing. Regarding the first point, Wajnryb suggests that there are more swearing functions than actual swearwords, which means that a single swearword may be used in different contexts for different purposes such as *Damn it!* versus *Damn you!* Semantically *damn* is similar in these two examples but pragmatically it is different. In the first example it is used as an expletive of anger or frustration (with no specific target) and in the second example *damn* is an explicit expletive of anger or annoyance (with a particular target, i.e. *you*).

The second point of confusion is about the metalanguage of swearing. Certain terms can sometimes be used interchangeably to talk about swearing and other types of bad language but sometimes they cannot (Wajnryb, 2005:16). For instance, Hughes (1991, 2006) uses *swearing* and Jay (1992, 2000) uses *cursing* as generic terms to refer to the same concept. Nevertheless, they both agree that *to curse* means to call upon a supernatural or divine power to inflict harm or send injury on someone or something (Hughes, 2006:114, Jay,

1992:2). This disagreement about which terminology to use, together with the need for a precise and consistent metalanguage, has led some researchers to set up classifications of swearing. I discuss this below in Section 2.3.

Jay (2000:10) uses the terms *cursing, dirty words, taboo words, offensive speech, swearing,* and *emotional speech* interchangeably. He defines cursing, a term commonly used in American English as a synonym for swearing (Hughes, 2006:115), as the utterance of a) emotionally powerful offensive words (e.g. *fuck, shit*), or b) emotionally harmful expressions (e.g. *kiss my ass*, *piss off, up yours*) that people (often but not always) understand as insults. According to Jay, swearing allows a speaker to express strong emotions and/or produce a positive or negative emotional impact on a listener. Jay's definition appears to be based on pragmatic criteria. He emphasizes the point that curse words are powerful and harmful (Jay, 2000:9). However, as I shall discuss later in this section, he agrees with Dewaele (2004) and Wajnryb (2005) that these two characteristics are not always present and differ according to context.

Veltman (1998:302) suggests that "[i]t is indeed a peculiarity of the area that there is a plethora of terms that could apply in one way or another to designate this area of language, but none, including 'swearing' itself, is adequate". Veltman lists some of the terms that are available to designate the domain: *swearing, swearwords, bad language, rude words/language, coarse words/language, taboo words/language, filthy words/language, foul words/language, dirty words/language, crudities, pornographic words/language, uncouth words/language, strong language, obscenity, obscene words/language, profanity, profane words/language, offensive words/language, (verbal) abuse, flyting, smut, scatology, lavatorial word play,* etc. This long list of the terms is, at least, suggestive of "the academic neglect of this domain of language" (Ghassempur, 2009:28), because of which, when people

try to define swearing, they do so with extreme lack of confidence, or they indulge in overgeneralization or overspecification (Veltman,1998:302).

Hughes (1991, 2006) and Abd el-Jawad (2000) specify two senses of swearing, i.e. the formal sense[2], and the informal. In this study I am concerned with the informal sense, which is "the act of using the tabooed, profane, bad, etc. language forms for cursing and insulting others or in the expression of anger" (Abd el-Jawad, 2000:217), because this is the sense where "swearing" (in these scholars' terminology) intersects with my focus topic of abusive language. Informal swearing also includes the transgression and violation of society's codes "ranging from the merely impolite to the criminal" (Hughes, 2006:vx). Hughes suggests that swearing is a violation of taboos (for a definition of taboo, see 2.4) which he divides into two kinds:

1- The high and the sacred varieties, which violate the taboo of invoking the name of a deity, and

2- The low and the profane varieties, which are often violations of sexual taboos, especially those about copulation and incest.

This relation between swearing and taboo (which I will address more extensively in 2.4) is also evident in the ways in which other researchers define swearing. For instance, Dewaele (2004) combines the study of swearwords and taboo words, calling them S-T words. He defines S-T words as:

> multifunctional, pragmatic units which assume, in addition to the expression of emotional attitudes, various discourse functions. [S-T words are used to] affirm in-group membership and establish boundaries and social norms for language use…

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[2] For example, to make a public official promise, especially in a court of law.

Usage of S-T words varies both diaphasically (i.e. stylistic variation) and diatopically (i.e. geographic variation). (Dewaele,2004:205)

Unlike previous definitions, Dewaele's definition of swearing adds the dimension of why people swear. By doing so he agrees with Jay's (2000) pragmatic approach. Both researchers argue that swearwords are not used arbitrarily but to serve specific discourse functions. For instance, if swearing will lead to a cost (e.g. loss of job, physical fighting, punishment, social banishment), the swearer will suppress it, but if swearing will lead to a benefit (e.g. praise, attention, humor), it is likely to be used (Jay, 2000:148).

Like Dewaele and Hughes, Taylor (1976) emphasizes the link between swearing and taboo. He sees swearing as "the inclusion in a speech act of one or more of a restricted set of lexical items, 'swearwords', which have a certain loading of taboo" (Taylor, 1976:43). The taboo loading here stems from the fact that most swearwords denote sexual activities, elimination or parts of the body and substances associated with these activities. While some are used in their "literal" senses, Taylor (1976:43) suggests that a large proportion of swearwords are used as nonliteral terms of abuse. A notable difference between Taylor's (and also McEnery's, 2006; and Pinker's, 2007) view of swearing and some other researchers' definitions, e.g. Ljung's (2011), is that Taylor regards words like *fuck* and *shit* as swearwords even when they are used literally. Ljung (2011:13) rejects this view because these words used literally, e.g. *fuck* in *They used to fuck on the kitchen floor!*, do not reflect the state of mind of the speaker, which he proposes as a criterion for what constitutes swearing.

Similar to Ljung's criterion, Andersson and Trudgill (1990:53) define swearing as a type of language which 1) refers to something that is taboo and/or stigmatized in the culture, 2) should not be interpreted literally, and 3) can be used to express strong emotions and attitudes. We thus see how, once again, definitions of swearing intersect with those of taboo

and abuse within the general phenomenon of "bad language". However, Ljung (2011:4) adds a fourth criterion, i.e. swearing 4) is formulaic language, because swearwords are subject to severe lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints. For instance, *Go to hell!* cannot be changed into *Don't go to hell!* or *Go to hell tomorrow!*

Andersson and Trudgill's (1990) and Ljung's (2011) argument that "taboo words used with literal meaning cannot be regarded as swearing" (Ljung, 2011:12) is a matter of some debate. Researchers who oppose this view include McEnery (2006), Hughes (2006), and Pinker (2007). For instance, Hughes argues that taboo words generally describe something that is "unmentionable" because it is "ineffably sacred" or "unspeakably vile" (Hughes, 2006:462), i.e. these words have emotional charge even when used literally. Al-Abdullah (2015) says that taboo words with literal meaning

> [reflect] speakers' motivation for using taboo words, i.e. to communicate about taboo subjects. As such usage denotes taboo referents … i.e. intended to refer to taboo, offensive and/or rude words and expressions that are, in general, totally or partly prohibited (Al-Abdullah, 2015:97)

Thus, a word such as *fuck* used literally may not be considered to be a swearword by some researchers (e.g. Ljung) because it does not meet their other criteria to be considered as such. However, researchers who focus on the taboo content of swearing and bad language are arguably justified in considering *fuck* as a swearword when used literally, precisely because *fuck* refers to a taboo subject (sex) (Al-Abdullah, 2015:97). Moreover, even used literally, *fuck* can be abusive (e.g. by imputing negative qualities to either its subject or its object or both). Parallel arguments could be made for other "bad language" terms with literal uses. Because literal usage is no bar to being used in abusive swearing, in my study I will consider literal usage of taboo words in this way to constitute valid examples of abusive swearing.

We can conclude from the above that defining swearing and/or abusive language, and distinguishing the latter type of bad language from the former, is not unproblematic. At least two fundamental issues seem to contribute to the disagreement over what counts as bad language. First, the stigma attached to it has made bad lanuage undervalued as an academic topic and, consequently, the literature on bad language and on its terminology is very limited. Second, the imprecision of metalanguage and the interchangeability of terms have led researchers to adopt different definitions with different criteria. This, however, has not discouraged researchers from acknowledging the need for serious study of bad language and for the classification of bad words as a crucial step for such study. In the next section I discuss some of these classifications/typologies.

2.3 Typologies of bad language

The substantial disagreement over which of the words described as bad, foul, profane, vulgar, and so on actually count as abusive or swearwords, along with the open-endedness of the category of bad language (because bad language is not defined in terms of a finite set of words), may explain why researchers tend to categorize this form of language instead of providing one specific definition for it (Fägersten, 2012:4).

The literature generally agrees that in order to study bad language seriously and use metalanguage that is precise and consistent, a glossary of terms, i.e. a typology of bad language, should be set out beforehand (Wajnryb, 2005:16). Hughes (1991), Jay (1992), McEnery et al. (2000a, 2000b), McEnery (2006), and Ljung (2011) are examples of researchers who have attempted different kinds of classification or categorization of bad language.

For instance, Hughes (1991:31) categorizes eight different types of swearing. Table 2.1 summarizes these categories with examples:

Table 2.1: Hughes' categories of swearing

Category	Examples
Personal	*You fuck/cunt/shit/fart/bugger/bastard/arse/asshole!*
Personal by reference	*The cunt/shit/fart/bugger/bastard/arse/asshole!*
Destinational	*Fuck/Piss/Bugger off!*
Cursing	*Damn/Fuck/Bugger you!*
General expletive of anger, annoyance, frustration	*Damn! Fuck! Shit! Bugger!*
Explicit expletive of anger, annoyance, frustration	*Damn/Fuck/Bugger it!*
Capacity for adjectival extension	*Fucking/Buggery….!*
Verbal usage	*To fuck/fart/bugger/arse about.*

However, McEnery et al. (2000a) demonstrate that Hughes' categorization is incomplete and also involves some superfluous distinctions. For instance, they find that *personal* and *personal by reference* "are only differentiated on the grounds of the person of the target" (McEnery et al., 2000a:49). Their corpus also provides instances of people aiming abuse at themselves, and cases of swearwords being used literally to describe physical acts and objects. Such instances are not covered in Hughes' categories.

In consequence, McEnery et al. (2000a) and McEnery (2006) categorize sixteen types of swearing differentiated by grammatical, pragmatic, and semantic features.

Table 2.2: McEnery's categorization of swearing

Category	Examples
Predicative negative adjective	*The film is shit!*
Adverbial booster	*Fucking marvelous/awful!*
Cursing expletive	*Fuck you/me/him/it!*
Destinational usage	*He fucked off!*
Emphatic adverb/adjective	*He fucking did it! in the fucking car!*
Figurative extension of literal meaning	*To fuck about.*
General expletive	*(Oh) Fuck!*
Idiomatic "set phrase"	*Fuck all/ give a fuck.*
Literal usage denoting taboo referent	*We fucked!*
Imagery based on literal meaning	*Kick shit out of ...*
Premodifying intensifying negative adjective	*The fucking idiot!*
"Pronominal" form with undefined referent	*Got shit to do.*
Personal insult referring to defined entity	*You/That fuck!*
"Reclaimed" usage with no negative intent	*Niggers/Niggaz* (as used by African Americans)
Religious oath used for emphasis	*By God!*

These categories do not make reference to taboo themes as a basis for distinguishing different types of swearing. This contrasts with Jay (1992) whose categorisation of swearing is based on taboo themes such as *religion, sex, and scatology,* rather than the functions of swearing. Jay's categories also encompass types of bad language which are not strictly swearing but are bad language more generally, i.e. abusive or taboo, rather than swearing in the narrow sense. Jay (1992:1-3) states that his classification allows researchers to distinguish between the different types of reference or meaning that "dirty words" employ. Jay's categories include other categories of "dirty" and offensive language but Mercury (1995:31) suggests that the types which I summarise below may be the most common among native speakers:

Cursing: calling upon a divine or supernatural power to send injury or harm upon someone/something. These words are empowered by religion (*goddamn you*) or social demarcation. Jay (1992:2) argues that cursing "could also be non-religious but still wish harm

to the target" as in *eat shit and die* (although it is not clear how this cursing involves a supernatural/divine power).

Profanity: These expressions employ religious terminology in a profane, secular, or indifferent manner (*For the love of Christ, get off the phone!*).

Blasphemy: Unlike profanity, these expressions deliberately show (direct) disrespect for the deity, religious icons, and religious institutions (*Shit on what it says in the Bible!*).

Taboo: A prohibition instituted for the protection of a cultural group against supernatural reprisal. These prohibitions operate to suppress or inhibit certain speech (*dick* [body part]*, piss* [body process]*, screw* [sex]).

Obscenity: Obscene words (such as *fuck, motherfucker, cocksucker, cunt*) are the most offensive, gain universal restriction, are disgusting to the senses, abhorrent to morality or virtue, and designed to incite lust and depravity (Jay, 1992:5).

Vulgarity: These expressions (e.g., *bloody, up yours, slut, kiss my ass*) are not necessarily obscene or taboo but instead reflect the crudeness of street language (Jay, 1992:6). They are used by "the person in the street", or the unsophisticated, unsocialized, or undereducated (Jay, 1992:6).

Epithets: Disparaging or abusive expressions which are used to describe a person or thing (*son of a bitch*).

Insults: Insults are used to treat someone/something with insolence, indignity, or contempt: to make little of them. Some insults use animal imagery (e.g. *pig, dog, bitch*), and some are based on physical, psychological, or social characteristics (*fatty, dumb, fag*).

Slurs: Casting aspersion on/disparaging someone. Slurs may be racial, ethnic, or social in nature and may indicate stereotyping or prejudice on the part of the speaker (e.g. *nigger, kike*).

Scatology: These expressions refer to human waste products and processes (*turd, crap, shit, piss, piss off, fart*).

Jay's categories are not mutually exclusive. For instance, *ass* fits under scatology as well as sex. Functional distinctions are made between his categories where usage of each category "fulfills specific types of needs and intentions of the speaker and listener" (Jay, 1992:2).

A more recent, comprehensive, and cross-cultural linguistic typology of swearing is set up by Ljung (2011). Unlike previous classifications, Ljung's model distinguishes between functions and themes of swearing. I summarize Ljung's typology as follows:

(1) Functions: these fall into three subgroups:

1- *Stand-alone functions*: swearing constructions which function as utterances of their own. They include:

    a- Expletive interjections: are cathartic (not addressing anyone specifically) and serve as outlets for the speaker's reactions, e.g. *Fucking hell!*

    b- Oaths: are used to give added emphasis to utterances. Oaths have the form of religious names following *by*, e.g. *By Almighty God.*

    c- Curses: are used to invoke a divine or supernatural power to send injury or harm upon someone/something, e.g. *Damn you!*

    d- Affirmation and contradiction: are used to contradict or affirm preceding utterances as in *A: The lock's broken! B: The hell it is.*

e- Unfriendly suggestions: are used to express aggression directed at somebody, possibly in reaction to a prior utterance, e.g. *Go fuck yourself.*

f- Ritual insults: are formulaic expressions used to refer to alleged sexual exploits involving, for instance, someone's mother or sister, e.g. *Your mother's!*

g- Name-calling: consists of three distinct constructions; 1) direct addresses insulting the addressee (*You son of a bitch! You traitor!*), 2) references to a third party (*John refuses to pay for the meal. The bastard!*), and 3) descriptions of either the addressee or a third party (*You are a real bastard!*).

2- *Slot fillers*: are the anaphoric use of epithets within a slot in a larger construction (*John borrowed my car but the son of a bitch never told me about it*) and the use of epithets as noun supports (*Have you met Basil? Yes, he's a clever bastard*). These include:

a- Adverbial/adjectival intensifiers: express high degree of the following adjective or adverb (*It's bloody marvelous! They drove damn fast*).

b- Adjectives of dislike: indicate that the speaker dislikes the referent of the following noun (*The bloody punters knew what they were doing*).

c- Emphasis: place emphasis on the following noun (*You don't have to tell me every damned time*), after an interrogative pronoun or adverb (*Why the fuck do you hate her? Where in God's name is my mobile phone?*), or as infixation in a word (*Absobloodylutely, Infuckingcredible*) or in a phrase (*Henry the fucking Eighth, Shut the fuck up*).

d- Modal adverbials: attitudinal disjuncts which express the speaker's attitude (*They fucking bought one drink between them*).

e- Anaphoric use of epithets: swearwords used as nouns such as *motherfucker, son of a bitch* in the same way as anaphoric pronouns *(What am I going to tell Steve? Tell the motherfucker to mind his own business!).*

f- Noun supports: epithets which have their negative charge and are used as a kind of filler on which to hang an adjective (*John is a hardworking son of a bitch*).

3- *Replacive swearing:* is popular in French and Russian. Swearwords express more than one nonliteral meaning and it is up to the addressee to supply the most suitable interpretation. For instance, French *foutre,* "fuck", may be used as a replacive for *do, give,* and *put*, with the actual interpretation dependent on the context.

(2) Themes: Ljung identifies major and minor themes as follows:

A) Major themes:

1- *The religious theme*: related to religion and the supernatural. A distinction is made between *celestial swearing* (*By God, By Jesus*) and *diabolic swearing* (*The Devil! Hell!*).

2- *The scatological theme*: terms such as *crap, fart, piss, shit, turd* that refer to human waste products and processes.

3- *The sex organ theme*: terms for the sex organs (such as *prick, dick, cunt*).

4- *Sexual activities*: words for sexual intercourse (such as *fuck, fucking cocksucker, bugger, wanker*)

5- *The mother theme*: swearing that refers to mothers (or sisters) of the target person (such as *motherfucker, son of a bitch*).

B) Minor themes:

1- Ancestors.

2- Animals.

3- Death.

4- Disease.

5- The prostitution theme: the figurative or metaphorical use of words such as *whore, pimp* where these are used as vehicles for the speaker's attitudes/feelings.

Regardless of what labels are assigned to the different types of bad language, there is a great overlap between the above typologies and even within each typology in terms of themes and functions of bad language. For instance, the sex theme is present in all Hughes' categories (with different functions). This is also the case with McEnery et al.'s categorization, where *fuck* can be used in almost all categories. Similarly, *shit* fits within Jay's categories of cursing, blasphemy, and scatology. Likewise, Ljung's themes overlap with each other. For instance, the religious theme overlaps with the death theme (e.g. *By God* and *God's nails*), and the mother theme overlaps with both the prostitution theme and the animal theme (e.g. *son of a bitch*). In terms of functions, the classifications of bad language also have similarities. For instance, Hughes' *personal* overlaps with both Ljung's *name-calling* and Jay's *epithets* e.g. *You bastard! You son of a bitch* (both these also overlap with, but do not correspond exactly to, the category of what I have been describing generally as *abuse*).

Likewise, my own definition of *terms of abuse* – which will be spelt out in the following section – includes not only abusive terms which are swearwords in the traditional sense, i.e. words which have their own taboo independent of what they refer to, such as *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)", *khanyth* "effeminate gay", but also terms of abuse based on words which become insults only when they are used to refer to people, e.g. animal terms like *ḥimar* "donkey(m)" and *kalb* "dog", and religious slurs such as *kafir* "infidel(m)"; these non-

swearword terms of abuse draw, of course, on the same taboo themes as do swearwords in the traditional sense. This being the case, a typology based on taboo themes is of vital importance for this study as it will constitute a response to my research question 3 (see 1.2). Moreover, I will use this typology to annotate *terms of abuse* in my corpus (see Chapter 3).

2.4 A working definition of abusive language

Because, as we have seen, *taboo, swearing* and *abuse* are related concepts, I will first distinguish the three.

A taboo is something considered unmentionable by a culture. Hughes (2006:462) suggests that something may be taboo in culture because a) it is extremely sacred (e.g. the name of God in Western cultures), or b) unspeakably vile (e.g. incest). Taboo is linguistically rooted in word magic (Hughes, 2006:462). That is, words are believed to have "the power to unlock mysterious powers in nature and to affect human beings and their relationships" (Hughes, 2006:512). Therefore, certain forces and creatures must not be named (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:55; Jay, 1992:4; Hughes, 2006:462). Common taboos include 1) bodies and their effluvia; 2) organs and acts of sex; 3) diseases, death, and killing; 4) naming, addressing, touching, and viewing persons and sacred beings, objects, and places; and 5) food gathering, preparation, and consumption (Allan & Burridge, 2006:1).

Andersson and Trudgill (1990) explain the difference between taboo words and swearwords. Taboo words refer to taboo concepts. But not all words that refer to a taboo concept are taboo. Thus, because incest is taboo, so is the word *motherfucker.* According to Andersson and Trudgill, taboos—and taboo words—are not altogether forbidden; instead they are regulated by rules about the right time, place, person and motivation (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:56). For instance, bodily functions are undoubtedly not forbidden, but there

are "certain appropriate hidden places for them" (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:56). If speakers are compelled to refer to taboo entities then they must obey the rules and choose the proper words, e.g. *faeces* rather than *shit* (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:56-57).

On the other hand, according to these authors, swearwords are words which 1) refer to something taboo; 2) should not be interpreted literally; and 3) can be used to express emotions and attitudes (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:53). When swearwords such as *shit* or *fuck* are used the literal taboo meaning is lost or very distant, and what remains is a nonliteral meaning that expresses anger, surprise, shock, or agreement (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:59). For instance, *Go to hell!*, and *Fuck off!* share the meaning of "Leave!", but their "literal meaning does not take us very far" (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:59).

All in all, the various views on what counts as *taboo, swearing* and/or *abuse*, and on the overlaps among these concepts (as discussed above and in Section 2.3) suggest several factors that may be included in an operationalisable definition of *abusive language*.

First, offensiveness. Researchers like Montagu (1967:1-2), Andersson and Trudgill (1990:53), and McEnery (2006:2) suggest that society sees swearing as a form of bad language that can cause offense (for religious, moral, social, and aesthetic reasons). Indeed, even researchers apologize for their use of swearwords in their studies, e.g. Berger (1970 [cited in Fägersten, 2007:15]) in the opening of his paper directly apologizes "for his forthcoming use of language"; and Taylor (1975:18) claims that swearwords "have no accepted orthographic forms" and therefore employs a system of phonemic transcription throughout his article. The offensiveness of swearing is strongly related to cultural taboos, such as religion, sex, excrement, etc. Indeed, the only reason swearwords are offensive is because their use breaks a taboo.

Second, the pragmatics of swearing. Researchers like Montagu (1967), Hughes (1992), Jay (2000), Rassin and Muris (2005), Jay and Janschewitz (2008), Esbensen (2009), Murphy (2009), and others have shown that people do not swear without some reason. People swear to let off steam, to strengthen an argument, to shock, to insult, and so on (Rassin and Muris, 2005:1670). That said, the functions of swearing are sensitive to context. Speakers make judgments about when to swear based on their "model of appropriateness, which specifies the "who, what, where, and when" of [abusive] language" (Jay, 2000:148).

As was noted in section 2.2, a common practice in the literature of swearing and abusive language is the use of the term *swearing* to refer to everything that is abusive. However, some terms of abuse (e.g. *cow, bitch, dog*) become offensive when used derogatorily to insult people. For instance, *bitch* when used to refer to a female dog is not abusive. However, *bitch* is abusive when used to refer to a human being who the speaker dislikes. The following figure (P. Baker, & A. Hardie, personal communiction, August 28, 2014) shows how these concepts (i.e. taboo, swearing, and abuse) overlap. This overlap means that abusive language is not a unitary phenomenon.

Figure 2.1 Overlapping concepts: swearing, taboo, and abuse
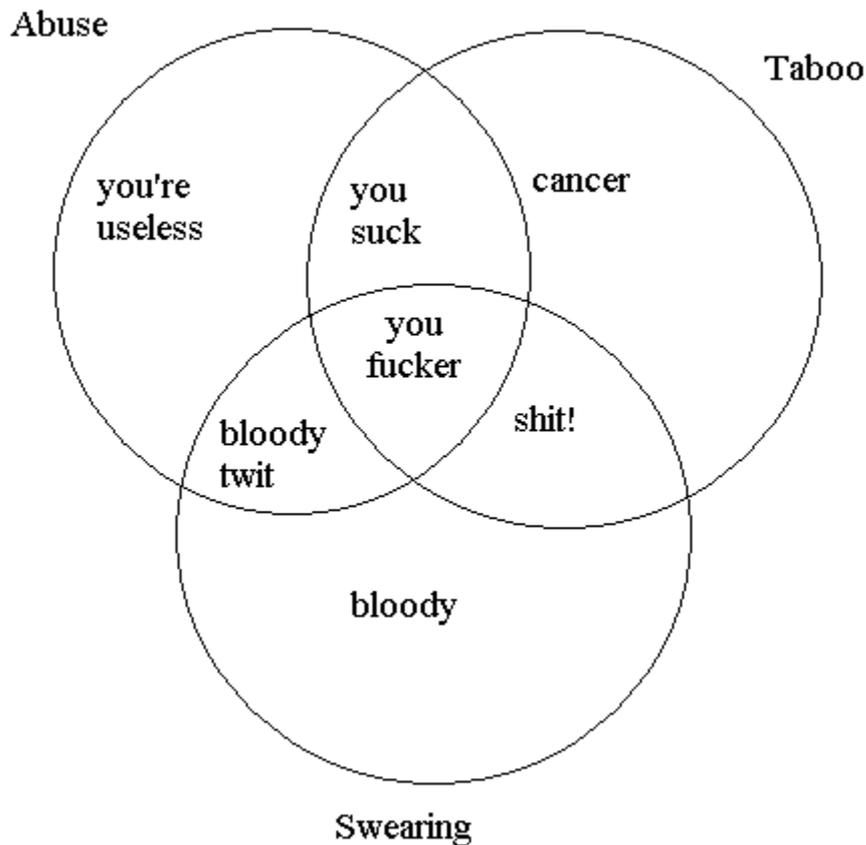
For the purposes of this thesis (and because, as we will see, there are more terms of abuse than just swearwords and taboo words that are relevant to this study), from this point onwards, my working definition for the term *abusive language/terms of abuse* is that it refers to any instance of a word that meets the following three criteria: (a) the function of the word in context is to express abuse or a derogatory characterization of a human being, the target (though it is not necessary that all instances of the given word type should have this function); (b) the derogatory or abusive function of the word is rooted in its reference to some aspect of a taboo theme, as discussed above; (c) the expression of abuse using the word is itself subject to social taboo and/or legal or moral censure. Thus, for my purposes, a given word may or may not count as abusive depending on its particular usage in context.

Humour is known to be one function of bad language in general and abuse in particular, and humorous bad language is known to be used in Arabic (Al-Abdullah, 2015:285). The humorous use with bad language (such as banter and friendly swearing) "is very sensitive to context" (Jay, 2000:186). For instance, studies (including Al-Abdullah's) have shown that bad language "has a social effect in the sense that it differentiates the in-group from the out-group and functions to create and reinforce solidarity and rapport between group members who engage in such linguistic behaviour" (Al-Abdullah, 2015:111). However, the kind of data that this thesis is based on does not permit ready identification or consistent analysis of humour in the use of abuse and other types of bad language. Because they lack contextual/verbal cues, YouTube comments do not allow the reader to recognize whether an instance of bad language is used in a friendly manner. Therefore, banter, friendly swearing and other kinds of humour in abuse are not included as factors in my working definition of abusive language, because of this difficulty in identifying these aspects in YouTube comments (see 7.3 for further discussion of this limitation of my study).

My focusing on the abusive function of bad language means that the terms that my thesis centres on are either nouns or adjectives, not verbs or interjections. Though verbal bad language terms do exist in Arabic, their derogatory meaning towards a human target is less direct than is the case with nouns or adjectives. To put it another way, verbal bad language words are not abusive epithets, and are thus outside the scope of my study.

Having addressed terminology related to my study, I will now provide a review of previous studies on swearing and abusive language.

2.5 A brief history of swearing and abusive language

The first two recorded instances of swearing come from Ancient Egypt (Ljung, 2011:45). These take the form of cursing and swearing by higher powers (in the non-swearing-related sense). One instance, inscribed on a stela, states that Harentbia was requested by his dead father to donate a daily offering of five loaves. The official responsible for the execution of the offering will enjoy the protection of Amon-Re (an ancient Egypt god) but if he fails to execute his duty "a donkey shall copulate with him, he shall copulate with a donkey, his wife shall copulate with his children" (Ljung, 2011:45). This instance of cursing is suggestive of taboos that existed at that time and continue to exist in the present, i.e. incest and bestiality.

In Ancient Greece, although swearing appears to have been banned except for mild oaths to express anger, shock, or surprise, expletives were abundant (Montagu, 1967/2001:23-24). Also firmly established was swearing by higher powers/beings, e.g. *by Zeus, Pollux, Apollo,* and *Hercules* (Ljung, 2011:49). Like Ancient Egyptians, Ancient Greeks also swore by mundane things, e.g. *by the dog, by the goose, by the garlic, by the leek, by the onion,* etc. (Ljung, 2011:50).

Similarly, the Romans swore mainly by the gods and swore plentifully (Montagu, 1967/2001:31). Interestingly, their oaths and curses were determined by the sex of the swearer, for instance, as a rule men swore by Pollux and women swore by Castor (Montagu, 1967/2001:31). *By Hercules!* was the Roman male's favorite oath (Montagu, 1967/2001:32).

In these three ancient civilizations (which are presented as central to the history of swearing in Montagu's 1967/2001 and Ljung's 2011 studies), several interesting features of swearing are evident. First, cursing and self-cursing was the most popular form of swearing, i.e. to call down harm or evil on another person, oneself, or an object (Ljung, 2011:46).

Second, people swore by things that appear to have been of significance to their societies, principally by the gods and the gods' powers, but also by mundane things like food. Third, although sex was a taboo theme in swearing (as in the donkey example above), the scatological theme, the sex theme, and the sex organ theme may have not been as important taboo themes in swearing in those ancient societies as in later times (see 2.3 and Chapter 4 for more discussion of taboo themes utilized in swearing). This is no coincidence at least for the speakers of classical Greek for whom, Ljung suggests, there is no indication that they used swearing based on sex and scatology.

Another reason for lack of swearing in ancient times is found in Harris' (1987) study of "embargos" on the use and mention of swearwords. He suggests that the "condemnation of bad language has been a minor but recurrent theme of social history in the Western tradition" (1987:175). Harris' thesis is supported by Plato's *Laws* (trans. 1970), a philosophical dialogue depicting a Utopia in which, despite the ample swearing and curses in ancient times, swearing was not uncondemned. Plato regards verbal abuse as a kind of "madness" caused by natural irritability and poor discipline. He writes:

> [N]o one is to defame anybody. If you are having an argument you should listen … without making any defamatory remarks at all. When men take to damning and cursing each other and to calling one another other rude names in the shrill tones of women, these mere words … soon lead to real hatreds and quarrels of the most serious kind. (Plato, trans. 1970:482)

He continues,

> [Damning and cursing drives the speaker] back into primitive savagery a side of his character that was once civilized by education, and such a splenetic life makes him no better than a wild beast (Plato, trans. 1970:482)

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Plato's account includes features that are believed to be present in later Western societies (Harris, 1987). According to Plato, bad language is to be condemned because it a) is anti-social, b) causes a breach of peace, c) is bad for the swearer because it changes their "acceptable" human behavior to be "no better than a wild beast", and d), gender-wise, is socially humiliating because it is linked to an "inferior class", i.e. women (Harris, 1987:176).

After classical antiquity (Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome) and with the introduction of Christianity, swearing by the gods did not end but changed to swearing by one God (this includes Jesus and/or Christ, Mary and the Holy Ghost) (Ljung, 2011:51). This later developed to include combining the name of God with numerous objects, events, and experiences such as "his death, his body parts, the cross,… etc." (Ljung, 2011:51-52). Hughes argues that religion was the great and obvious force behind medieval swearing, which had "astounding volume of religious asseveration, ejaculation, blasphemy, anathema and cursing" (Hughes, 1991:55).

Hughes traces the linguistic history of swearing in English from Anglo-Saxon times to what he calls the modern explosion of swearing. For each historical period he investigates how various forms of "bad language" were used, abused, and viewed by members of society and by its institutions. For example, he discusses swearing in Great Britain between the 8th and 10th centuries, when society regarded swearing as unacceptable and legally punishable behavior (Hughes, 1991:43). Hughes also gives examples of different forms of swearing such as *flyting*, a ritual with an element of competition or contest, where insults are deliberately provocative and the language used "is often gross, even grotesque and astonishingly scatological" (Hughes, 1991:47), and *ethnic slurs/insults*, which are a "linguistic manifestation of xenophobia and prejudice against out-groups" (Hughes, 2006:146). These different types of swearing, in a society where reticence and modesty were highly valued virtues (Hughes, 1991:47), indicate that swearing may often persist in a society in spite of

whatever restrictions are formally placed on it (Montagu, 1967/2001:2). Moreover, such restrictions may in fact help preserve the value and social functions of swearing.

On the other hand, what distinguishes the modern history of swearing, according to Hughes (1991:185), is censorship and self-censorship in the first half of the 20th century. During this period there was a debate concerning whether swearing should be allowed in the media and in the theatre or not. An example he provides is the case of Eliza Doolittle's ejaculation "*Not bloody likely*" in Shaw's *Pygmalion. Bloody* was alluded to in the press as "'SHAW'S WORD, BAD WORD,' 'the Unprintable Swearword', 'THE "LANGWIDGE" OF THE FLOWER GIRL', 'the Word' etc." (Hughes, 1991:186). The Bishop of Woolwich suggested that *bloody* "should be banned" (Hughes, 1991:186). However, the second half of the 20th century has witnessed relaxed censorship, and swearing and foul language have "thriv[ed] with positively indecent health"(Hughes, 1991:187) in public discourse and in the media.

This change in attitude towards swearing between the first and the second halves of the 20th century is not a new phenomenon (Hughes, 2006). For instance, in Britain during the medieval period, people used religious oaths in an extraordinarily free manner, while in the Renaissance authorities tried to reduce and inhibit religious oaths by imposing legal constrains and fines. This clearly illustrates a history of "oscillations between periods of repression and counterbalancing reactions of license and excess" (Hughes, 2006:xxi).

McEnery (2006) suggests that changes in attitudes towards swearing may be analysed by two sociological theories. First, Stanley Cohen's theory of moral panic, "where the media and society at large fasten on a particular problem and generate an alarmist debate that, in return, leads to action against the perceived problem" (McEnery, 2006:5). Second, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of distinction, where "features of culture are used to discriminate between

groups in society, establishing a social hierarchy based on a series of social shibboleths" (McEnery, 2006:10).

In discussing these theories in relation to the history of swearing, McEnery (2006) is mainly concerned with state-sponsored or widespread systematic attempts to suppress bad language in England. In seventeenth-century England, swearing was seen 1) by religious movements as "the perceived problem" that needed prevention and prosecution (theory of moral panic) (McEnery, 2006:94-104); and 2) by the middle class as a marker of distinction from the lower classes (theory of distinction) (McEnery, 2006:84).

McEnery proposes that groups of British people, e.g. religious groups, the middle class, and their government, through the ages have forged a censorious attitude toward swearing which still exists in current British society (McEnery, 2006:3). For example, when obscene language was allowed on the Restoration stage, this shocked certain members of society and it "was in this confrontation with bad language on the stage that criticism of public use of bad language started to develop" (McEnery, 2006:81). Specifically, it was religious societies formed by the middle class that started a discourse of elimination of bad language. These were the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. The SRMs were a religious movement formed by groups in the seventeenth century middle class to distinguish themselves from lower classes by adopting a role of moral leadership in eliminating immoral practices such as swearing in everyday life (McEnery, 2006:84). The SRMs thus used a moral panic to generate distinctions in speech. The SRMs believed there was a) an out-group which swore, was of low social class, and endangered the nation, and b) an in-group which did not swear, was of higher social class, and defended the nation (McEnery, 2006:187-188). This discourse and this set of distinctions around bad language in English persist to this day, McEnery argues.

Fine and Johnson (1984) suggest that in the USA before the 1960s, swearing a) was linguistically taboo, b) was reserved for "the dim quarters of the pool hall, the pub, and the locker room", and, c) was thought of as belonging to the lower classes (McEnery's out-group) and to men (Fine & Johnson, 1984:59). However, Fine and Johnson believe that obscenity is now widespread, and that both young and old people swear in various settings. They attribute the changes in both the users and situations of obscenity to broader social change. The anti-Vietnam war movement of the 1960s and the women's movement of the 1970s seem to have played a major role in changes in the mores and norms about swearing. Youthful college students used swearing as a linguistic tool to draw attention to their protests against the war, bringing it "from behind closed doors to a public who could not escape the chants of 'One, two, three, four, we don't want your fuckin' war!'" (Fine & Johnson,1984:60). Later, women's use of swearing was seen as a symbol of liberation from sexist language proscriptions; women used obscenity against men and society as an act of power (Fine & Johnson, 1984:60).

We thus see that, religion, social pressures and social change, and differences in taboos all have effects on how societies have differently utilized and perceived swearing and other forms of bad language throughout history. We may summarise the preceding historical account of bad language in the following points:

1- Bad language is not a modern trend but rather an ancient linguistic phenomenon.

2- Bad language utilizes what is taboo, potent, and of significance to a society.

3- Religion plays a role in condemnation of bad language.

4- Bad language has always been condemned but also has always survived.

5- Bad language has connections with broader social changes, which affect attitudes towards it.

2.6 The offensiveness of swearing and abusive language

One function of swearwords and other types of bad language is to insult or cause offence. Studies based on rating tasks have found that swearwords are considered offensive and socially inappropriate (Fägersten, 2012:9). However, it has been suggested that the level of offensiveness is determined by the context, i.e. "both the immediate communication context and general beliefs from the culture at large" (Jay, 2000:147-148).

Jay (1981) conducts two experiments to examine how people interpret swearing focusing on swearwords which are formally adjectives. The first experiment assesses the impressions formed from swearwords and non-swearwords when the order of adjectives is varied along with their semantic interpretation. The second experiment assesses the effect of swearword descriptions on the perception of a person described by either a friend or an enemy, to determine how the relationship between the speaker and the listener affects understanding. Jay (1981:29) finds that how people interpret and react to swearwords is significantly influenced by three factors. First, the semantic interpretation, i.e. connotation vs. denotation: in swearing connotative meaning is dominant over denotative meaning, e.g. *bastard* as a swearword does not necessarily question the legitimacy of the person sworn at (denotation) but rather expresses dislike (connotation). Second, the intrinsicalness of the adjective to the person described (prenominal adjective order): "the adjective ordered closest to the referent influences the overall impression [and] [w]hen the dirty word is closer to the noun *person* [e.g. the sincere shitty person]*,* the person is liked less than when the non-dirty word appears closest to *person* [e.g. the shitty sincere person]" (Jay, 1981:33). Third, the contextual relation between the speaker and the listener: Jay found that if an "enemy" swears at another person, the target person is liked more by the listener than when a friend utters the same swearword. This is because the "enemy's word may be less valuable, credible or believable than the friend's" (Jay, 1981:37). Here Jay (1981) focuses on the relation between

the speaker and listener. However, there are also other contextual variables that may affect how swearing is used and perceived, such as the social-physical setting, the topic of discussion, the intended meaning of the message, and the gender of the interlocutors. Jay (2009) concludes that research on public swearing reveals that no harm is caused by swearing as a common conversational practice, and that harm is contextually determined; what is considered harmful depends on variables such as the interlocutors' reactions or the assumed intent of the message.

Fägersten (2007) examines the relationship between swearword offensiveness and social context using offensiveness rating tasks. One task is based on a list of swearwords, *ass, bastard, bitch, cunt, damn, dick, fuck, hell, shit* and their derivatives, e.g. *bullshit* or *Goddamn* (Fägersten, 2007:18). The other task features transcribed dialogues involving swearing, complemented by contextual information such as setting and interlocutor details (Fägersten, 2007:27). In both tasks, participants were required to rate swearwords on an offensiveness scale from 1 being *Not offensive* to 10 being *Very offensive*. Fägersten's findings not only confirm what an earlier-established result that females are more sensitive than males to the offensiveness of swearwords (Fägersten, 2007:23), but also indicate variation in the evaluation of swearwords according to race (Fägersten, 2007:32). It is also revealed that swearwords used denotatively or injuriously are considered most offensive, at least among the students involved in the study; "while the metaphorical use of swear words in in-group, social interaction tend to be judged as least or not at all offensive" (Fägersten, 2007:33).

While Fägersten's (2007) study indirectly points to an effect of family upbringing in swearing behavior in the form of racial diversity, it does not seem to consider fluency in English, i.e. whether these students are native speakers of English or of another language, as a factor that may influence the perception of the emotional force of swearwords and therefore

affects their findings. This force, as Dewaele (2004:219) concludes, "is higher in the first language of speakers and is gradually lower in languages learned subsequently". Dewaele also finds that participants who learned a language in an instructed setting, give lower ratings to the emotional force of swearwords in that language than do participants who learned the language in a mixed or naturalistic context.

From a different perspective, Leach studies the relation between animal categories and verbal obscenities "in which a human being is equated with an animal of another species" (Leach, 1966:28). Leach suggests that such animal categories such as *bitch* and *swine* in expressions like *you son of a bitch* or *you swine* indicate that the name itself is credited with potency and the animal category is taboo and sacred (Leach, 1966:29). He relates the use of animal categories to refer to human beings to issues of edibility, dirt and closeness (i.e. domestic vs. wild animals). Jay (1992:82) adds that animal names (some of which are also genitalia words) used as insults such as *pig, cock, pussy, bitch,* and *cow* appear to be based on the idea that the target person either looks like the animal or behaves like the animal. However, purely linguistic taboos do affect the offensiveness of animal terms. For example, people feel more comfortable with the word *donkey* than with *ass* because the latter is phonetically similar to the swearword *ass/arse* (Andersson & Trudgill, 1990:57).

A general point that we must bear in mind is that we cannot uncritically accept the results of these offensiveness studies as definitive. One serious problem is that the methods used to elicit offensiveness judgements may cause the participants to give an inflated account of how offensive they actually find the words under study. Regardless of such problems, however, it seems clear that the offensiveness of abusive language is very context-dependent. In terms of linguistic properties, the connotative meaning of abusive language is more offensive and is dominant over denotative meaning. It has also been suggested that the relationship between the speaker and the listener affects how offensive abusive language is

perceived to be. Moreover, studies have found that females are more offended by abusive language than males and that both family upbringing and fluency in language play a role in the perception of offensiveness of abusive language.

2.7 Abusive language in mediated contexts

Bad language in general and abusive language in particular has also been discussed in relation to communication studies. Coyne et al. (2011) examine the relationship between adolescents' exposure to profanity in media (television and video games) and their behavior in real life. Their findings support the general learning model that when adolescents are exposed to profanity they "internalize and solidify mental scripts and schemas in support of profanity use [and these schemas] might lead to increased profanity use in real life" (Coyne et al., 2011:870). In consequence, "[m]uch of the blame for the growth in cursing has been directed at the mass media" (Sapolsky & Kaye, 2005:293). However, there appear to be other factors which may play a role in adolescents' use of profanity. For instance, Stenström et al. (2002) suggest that teenagers, boys in particular, love to perform by using swearing and "dirty words" when they know they are being recorded (Stenström et al., 2002:77) as a kind of showing off. Therefore, Coyne et al.'s study, which is based on self-reported exposure to profanity, may not be very reliable.

Bostrom et al. (1973) study the effect of three thematic classes of profane language in persuasive messages. They find that including profanity in a persuasive communication does not produce greater receiver attitude change than not including profanity. Their results also confirm their hypothesis that females are more persuasive than males when they swear. A possible explanation for this is the unexpected public use of profanity by females (Bostrom et al., 1973:73). Additionally, their investigation shows that "sources using religious profanity

were perceived as significantly more credible [trustworthy and safe] than … when they used either excretory or sexual profanity" (Bostrom et al., 1973:471). Regardless of what type of profanity is used in communication, this 1) highlights affirmation and intensification as functions of profanity (Ljung, 2011:32-33), and 2) indicates differences between the taboo themes utilized in profanity. The religious theme, the sex theme, and the scatology theme may not be similar in terms of their effects on listeners and on the persuasiveness of communication (Fägersten, 2007:19).

A relatively recent concern in communication studies is the Internet (see also 3.5). Discussions of the language used in the Internet have focused on its "negative" aspects such as flaming (Moor et al., 2010:1536), which may include abuse and/or swearing.

In this respect, Suler (2004) discusses a "pervasive" phenomenon on the Internet; the *online disinhibition effect*. Suler defines this effect as the way in which "people say and do things in cyberspace that they wouldn't ordinarily say and do in the face-to-face world", where people "loosen up, feel less restrained, and express themselves more openly" (Suler, 2004:321). This disinhibition works in at least two opposing directions. First, there is *benign disinhibition* which refers to sharing, revealing, and showing, for instance, personal things, secret emotions, fears, wishes, and acts of kindness and generosity (Suler, 2004:321). Second, there is also *toxic disinhibition* which includes using rude language, harsh criticisms, and threats, and showing anger and hatred.

Suler (2004) suggests six factors that create the online disinhibition effect. Martin (2013) summarises these factors as follows:

- Dissociative anonymity: "my actions can't be attributed to my person"

- Invisibility: "nobody can tell what I look like, or judge my tone"

- Asynchronicity: "my actions do not occur in real-time"

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- Solipsistic introjection: "I can't see these people, I have to guess at who they are and their intent"

- Dissociative imagination: "this is not the real world, these are not real people"

- Minimization of status and authority: "there are no authority figures here, I can act freely"

Suler (2004:324) adds individual differences and predispositions as a seventh factor that plays a role in determining "how much people self-disclose or act out in cyberspace". All these factors contribute to the spread of bad language use (such as flaming) on the Internet.

Moor et al. (2010:1536) study flaming in the online world, which they define as "displaying hostility by insulting, swearing or using otherwise offensive language". They suggest that computer-mediated communication (CMC) appears to be more hostile and offensive and that flaming is more apparent in CMC (especially on the high-traffic video upload website YouTube) than in face-to-face interaction (Moor et al., 2010:1536). Their results suggest that YouTube users believe that flaming is annoying and represents a negative side effect of freedom of speech, and that this is why some users refrain from uploading personal videos. Moor et al. propose the following reasons for flaming on this particular site: a) conformation to perceived norms, b) reduced awareness of other people's feelings, b) intentional behavior (for entertainment), c) expressing disagreement/opinion, d) feeling disappointed by a video or offended by either a video or another commenter, and e) miscommunication (due to lack of non-verbal cues) (Moor et al., 2010:1544).

Alonzo and Aiken (2004) study motives for flaming in electronic communication. Unlike face-to-face abuse, flaming, which is associated with deviant or antisocial behavior, may occur because of a lack of social cues (anonymity), deindividuation, depersonalization and attentional focus (Alonzo & Aiken, 2004:206). Alonzo and Aiken's results suggest that

disinhibition causes people to engage in flaming as a pastime and for entertainment (Alonzo and Aiken, 2004:206). On the other hand, individuals who experience anxiety and stress engage in flaming for escape and relaxation. Competitive individuals who desire success and power may flame "to have control and dominance over others. Thus, one might exert control over others through flames" (Alonzo & Aiken, 2004:211). The study also suggests that males tend to flame more than females.

Thelwall (2008) analyses swearing applied in a youth-orientated social networking site (MySpace). Thelwall says that in this website (British and American) teenagers "express their identity with relative freedom" (Thelwall, 2008:83). On this website, unless users set their profile to private, anyone can read what is written in their "friends' comments" section and the replies on their friends' pages (Thelwall, 2008:91). The results of the study show that swearing is an important activity on MySpace. Swearing does not only occur in the "friends' comments" section, but also on a) the member's name, b) the self-description and free-text parts of the home page, and c) the MySpace blog (Thelwall, 2008:92). (I will discuss some other aspects of Thelwall's 2008 study in section 2.10).

This brief account of flaming highlights some fundamental issues regarding the use of bad language in general and abusive language in particular on the Internet. Compared to a face-to-face situation, abusive language in CMC is far more hostile because of online freedom, and it serves more functions.

2.8 Abuse in Arabic

Despite its spread, especially on the Internet (Aiad, 2007), abusive Arabic "has been unduly neglected to the extent that it has rarely been studied as a linguistic phenomenon" (Abd el-Jawad, 2000:220). There is, to the best of my knowledge, no study comparable to

Montagu's (1967/2001) or Hughes' (1991, 2006) or McEnery's (2006) that traces the history of swearing in Arabic. Bad language, swearing and abuse in Arabic are mainly discussed from the religious point of view – which means the Islamic point of view, given that the Arabic-speaking world is majority-Muslim (see 1.6). The advent of Islam and the revelation of the Qur'an starting from the year 609 AD have had effects on societal condemnation of abusive language, in that religious authorities prohibit Muslims from swearing and define abusive language as a vice. This condemnation is clear in the Hadiths and other stories about the Prophet Mohammed. For instance,

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr: Allah's Apostle said "It is one of the greatest sins that a man should curse his parents." It was asked (by the people), "O Allah's Apostle! How does a man curse his parents?" The Prophet said "The man abuses the father of another man and the latter abuses the father of the former and abuses his mother". (Al-Bukhari, 1979:3)

Anas bin Malik narrated that "the Prophet was not one who would abuse others, say obscene words, or curse others, and that if he wanted to admonish anyone of us, he used to say": "What is wrong with him, his forehead be dusted!" (Al-Bukhari, 1979:36).

The Prophet's wife Aisha reported that Jews came to the Prophet and they said: "Death overtake you!", the Muslim salutation *as'salamu alaikum* means *peace be to you* but the Jews in this incident mischievously corrupted the salutation into *as'samu alaikum* which means *death overtake you*. Aisha replied to them "And you, and you may Allah curse you and may Allah's wrath descend on you!", The Prophet said "Gently, O Aisha! Be courteous, and keep thyself away from roughness". (Ali, 1944:386)

These examples from the Islamic sacred literature underscore at least two issues. First, abusive language is considered among the major sins in Islam. Second, abusing others is discouraged and it is recommended to use "gentle" words instead of abusive language, even with non-Muslims.

Al-Ghazali[3] (1993) lists many examples of what he calls *a'fat al lisan* (i.e. *vices of the tongue*). Among these are obscenity and cursing. The examples he provides are largely based on swearing and cursing being "evil" because they are "impurities". Thus, they are religiously prohibited, for instance in the Hadith of the Prophet Mohammed when he ordered his companions to "[g]ive up obscene talks, as [Allah] does not love obscene and excessive talks" and when he said to his wife Aisha "O [Aisha], if obscene talk could have taken the figure of a man, its figure would have been ugly" (Al-Ghazali, 1993:98-99).

Abul Quasem (1975), commenting on Al-Ghazali's ethical theories of Islam, suggests that cursing is a vice and an evil act of the tongue that the speaker utters in the hope "to drive [the cursed thing] away from [Allah's] mercy, to remove it from Him" (Abul Quasem, 1975:112). Cursing is also seen as interference in divine affairs. This is because it is unknown whether the wish of harm has been or will be fulfilled, i.e. whether Allah has inflicted harm on the person cursed (Abul Quasem, 1975:113).

Unlike the situation in some other societies, where the potency and seriousness of cursing have steadily diminished because of widespread secularization (Hughes, 2006:115), cursing in the Arab context is still effective and dreaded. Montagu proposes that in some Arab societies, in the process of swearing "the words employed are generally of notably high

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[3] Abu Hamid Mohammed bin Mohammed Al-Ghazali was a Muslim theologian, jurist, philosopher, and mystical thinker (1058-1111).

affective value and are preeminently used as implements wherewith to belabor their object"
(Montagu, 1967/2001:8).

Despite the seriousness of cursing and swearing (in the non-swearword sense) in
Arabic contexts, Abul Quasem (1975:113) reports that Al-Ghazali suggests it is lawful to
curse people who are guilty of infidelity, heresy, and wickedness. There are three grades in
cursing such people. First, to curse them generally, e.g. *may Allah curse the infidels, the
heretics, and the wicked.* Second, to curse in a less general way, e.g. *may Allah curse the fire
worshippers and the adulterers.* Third, to curse them individually, e.g. *may Allah curse this
infidel, this heretic, and this wicked man!* However, it is also suggested that cursing an
individual whose fate is unknown is wrong and people in general are urged "to avoid
[cursing] even in the right situation" (Abul Quasem, 1975:113). This is because of the belief
that on Judgment Day people will not be asked why they did not curse and therefore will not
be punished for not cursing (Al-Qardawi, 2007). Along similar lines, the Prophet Mohammed
prohibited his companions from cursing the slain in the battle of Badr. He said "Don't
[curse/swear at] those dead unbelievers, as these [words] do not reach them, but give trouble
to those who are alive" (Al-Ghazali, 1993:98).

Taken together, the above seems to suggest that Muslims are allowed to curse people
if they are guilty of certain wrongdoings such that their fate is believed to be known.
However, Muslims are at the same time discouraged from cursing each other and from
cursing non-Muslims. The examples above also serve to highlight the nature of the act of
cursing, i.e. wishing that Allah will inflict harm upon the target of the curse. As was the case
for cursing in ancient civilizations (see Section 2.5), these curses do not seem to draw on the
other taboo themes, such as scatology and sex, that are prominent in abusive language in
modern society.

In the modern Arabic context, Al-Khatib (1995) investigates linguistic taboo in Jordanian Arabic in terms of its relationship to the social context and the socio-cultural factors affecting it. Although he seems to be reluctant to give many examples of swearwords and provides only *sharmwṭah* (prostitute) and *qawad* (pimp) (which are, by my definition, terms of abuse), Al-Khatib emphasizes that linguistic taboos relating to sex and sexuality "have enriched the corpus of swear-words in a significant way" (Al-Khatib, 1995:450). He claims that swearwords relating to religion and sacred places can be considered as hateful as those relating to sex and body parts. He adds that swearwords associated with unpleasant matters, e.g. scatology, or those used as epithets, have less effect on the target person than sexual swearwords (Al-Khatib, 1995, 450-451). However, Al-Khatib does not provide any empirical evidence to support this claim about the level of offensiveness in context.

Nevertheless, Al-Khatib proposes that the use of swearwords in Jordanian society, which may very well be similar to their use in other Arab societies, is subject to socio-cultural factors which include:

1) education: "non-educated" people have less access to technical, prestigious standard Arabic and therefore use a colloquial variety which does not enjoy the "large number of euphemistic equivalents" that exist in the standard variety (Al-Khatib, 1995:453),

2) age: an example is the deliberate violations of linguistic taboos related to excretory functions where adults talking to children use simple taboo forms like *you want to spill water* (you want to urinate) in order to diminish the confusion which can be created by complicated euphemisms (Al-Khatib, 1995:454),

3) topic and setting: linguistic taboos can be approachable topics provided that they are discussed in relation to science or religion and the speaker's aim is either to teach or to preach (Al-Khatib, 1995:455).

However, the suggestion that the "educated" swear less and the "non-educated" swear more could only be empirically supported by a proper, carefully sampled study of two populations that were the same in all ways except their education, which Al-Khatib has not undertaken. In fact, Jay (2000:79) emphasizes that psychological analysis of swearing is necessary to describe how each speaker uses swearing based on their psychological makeup (e.g. level of anxiety) and social learning history (e.g. being raised by religious parents). Moreover, Al-Khatib does not consider the speaker's judgment of how offensive and appropriate swearing is for a specific setting (Jay, 2000:148). Thus, methodology-wise, the researcher's intuitions on these questions, the primary source of data in studies like Al-Khatib's, may well be a poor guide (cf. Hunston, 2002:20). This is especially the case with the study of taboo and abusive language.

Al-Khatib (1995) emphasizes that linguistic taboos connected with sex or sexual behavior, which are strongly interconnected with the study of language and gender (Baker, 2014:105), are among the most offensive kinds of linguistic taboos in Jordanian society. This would suggest that similar attitudes could exist in other Arabic speaking societies. He proposes an explanation for these attitudes towards linguistic taboos in general and abusive language in particular: "because [taboo expressions] are viewed by the speech community members as vulgar, obscene, shameful and immoral [and irreligious]… [Arab societies] impose a great sanction over the deliberate use of words associated with sex and sexual behaviour" (Al-Khatib, 1995:445-447).

Al-Khatib also neglects the important issue of how women and men, as members of the speech community, perceive and use Arabic swearwords. It is probable that, in an Arab community where men are more powerful socially than women, they would use different swearwords in different contexts. In her study of women, gender and language in Morocco,

Sadiqi proposes that women might swear less because "they strive to give the impression that they are 'well brought up' and express this through polite language" (Sadiqi, 2003:156).

Al-Khatib (1995) posits that further study of linguistic taboo, especially swearing in the Arab world, is needed for three reasons; a) the lack of an adequate literature on this area of linguistics, b) the need for a better understanding of the overlapping relationship between language and culture, and c) the need to "know more about the socio-psychological functions of linguistic taboos, the socio-cultural constraints governing their use, and the motivations underlying them" (Al-Khatib, 1995:443).

The only example of recent, empirical work on swearing in Arabic—in contrast to the rest of the work cited in this section, which is either about the morality of swearing from the Islamic perspective, or descriptive but empirically lacking—is Al-Abdullah (2015). Al-Abdullah's study represents a start in addressing the lack of empirical linguistic research (albeit her focus is one highly specific topic).

Al-Abdullah (2015) examines the use of Kuwaiti Arabic swearwords in the conversation of single-sex friendship groups of women and men. Using the "cultural difference" interpretive approach (see 1.4.3), the study "looks both at gender similarities and gender differential tendencies in intra-sex swearing" between groups of Kuwaiti women and men (Abdullah, 2015:II). The analyses of the data (conversations of 65 Kuwaiti men and women as well as semi-structured interviews) show that:

1- there is a tendency for the men and women to differ in their use of swearwords in some respects, in terms of frequency, categories of swearwords, strength, and functions

2- there are however some similarities; for example, both men and women used *kus* (cunt) and *zib* (dick) a similar number of times in conversation and both tended to

prefer swearwords relating to sex to the other semantic categories of body defection, animal abuse, religion, and dirt

3- within the context of these friendship groups, swearing is acceptable and judged inoffensive, and has a positive function of expressing solidarity.

To sum up, in this section I have demonstrated a paucity of literature of abusive language in Arabic. Most of the available literature discusses abusive language from the Islamic point of view where (condemnation of) cursing is the main topic of discussion in ancient as well as in modern times. Recent linguistic studies seem to shy away from looking at abusive Arabic language (with the exception of Al-Abdullah 2015). Scholars who have addressed this issue underscore the need for serious investigation of swearing, and suggest that factors such as education, age, topic of discussion, and setting have an effect on the use of terms of abuse. However, older studies, e.g. Al-Khatib (1995), generally lacked empirical evidence to support these suggestions; Al-Abdullah's (2015) study, which has begun to explore the area empirically, has findings that do not fit well with what Al-Khatib claims.

2.9 Theories of gender and language

Gender and language, best regarded as a topic or field (Harrington et al, 2008:1), is a subdivision of sociolinguistics. This field arose in academic research in the late 1960s and early 1970s, i.e. before the second wave of the Women's Movement (Sunderland, 2006:2). Key studies into language and gender include Key (1975), Butler (1976), Philips et al. (1987), Tannen (1990), Cameron (1992), Bergvall et al. (1996), Coates (1998), and Sunderland (2004), to cite but a few. Early studies of gender and language often assumed that gender should be studied where it is most salient (McElhinny, 2003:21) "in cross-sex interaction between potentially sexually accessible interlocutors, or same-sex interaction in gender-

specific tasks" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:53). These early studies of gender-language relationships focused on topics such as "linguistic gender", verbal ability in girls and boys, female and male language learners, and gendered language use by parents with children (Sunderland, 2006:9). These studies provided a standpoint from which more dynamic conceptualisations of gender and language later developed (Sunderland, 2006:9). Thus, there have been several theoretical approaches to the gender and language study.

In this section, I briefly review the "3 Ds" (Baker, 2008:29), that is the three prominent approaches to the study of language and gender usually labelled as the Deficit, Dominance, and Difference models. A longer discussion is then devoted to the discursive construction of gender identities.

2.9.1 The Deficit theory

This theory first materialized in a chapter entitled "The Women" in Jespersen's (1922) book *The Grammar of English*; early works expressing this theory in detail include, most prominently, Lakoff (1973, 1975). In this view, the language that men use is "the norm that women don't match up to" (Talbot, 2010/2013: 98). Jespersen argues that men's language is superior to women's because a) men do work (warfare, hunting, etc.) that requires intense displays of energy and deep thinking; and b) women have domestic occupations (childcare, cooking, etc.) which demand "no deep thought" (Jespersen, 1922:254).

Lakoff (1973, 1975) puts forward a more modern Deficit theory. Lakoff considers women's language as basically 'deficient' (in other words, imperfect or deviant) in relation to men's language. According to Lakoff, women's language is deficient because of the marginalization and powerlessness of women in society (Lakoff, 1973:45). This weak

position in society is reflected in a) the ways women are expected to speak: for instance, strong expression of feeling is avoided (e.g. swearing), and expression of uncertainty is favoured (e.g. tag-questions); and b) the ways women are spoken of: speech about women that implies an object whose sexual nature requires euphemism, and whose social roles are derivative and dependent in relation to men (Lakoff, 1973:45).

This Deficit theory has been extensively criticized (Litosseliti, 2006; Baker, 2008; Bassiouney, 2009; McHugh & Hambaugh, 2010; Talbot, 2010/2013). Jespersen's remarks have been labelled as "too generalising and stereotyping", representing "a sexist 'male superiority' viewpoint" that was typical in the first half of the 20th century (Baker, 2008:30). Other criticisms include reliance on anecdotal evidence and fiction rather than empirical evidence (Baker, 2008:30). Furthermore, Lakoff's work is "blind" to both linguistic differentiation and social differentiation (Litosseliti, 2006:29). For instance, Lakoff claims that women are different in their use of lexical items (e.g. vocabulary, colour terms, affective adjectives, superpolite forms) and discourse particles and patterns of intonation (e.g. hedges, the intensifier *so,* tag questions, rising intonation, hypercorrect grammar, emphatic stress) (Talbot, 2010/2013:36-38). However, Lakoff's work does not take into account that a particular linguistic feature may have different functions (in different contexts), or that differences in terms of race, age, social class, and so on may affect one's use of language (Litosseliti, 2006:29).

2.9.2 The Dominance theory

This theory (which focused on issues of patriarchy) was first presented by Thorne and Henley (1975) (Freed, 2003:701). Spender (1980) is, according to Talbot (2010/2013:42), the best-known proponent of Dominance theory. According to this theory, just like other norms

of society, language practices are formed by men (Bassiouney, 2009:131). This means that Deficit and Dominance agree in regarding men's language as the model that women (should) follow. In this framework, "[l]anguage differences were identified as part of a structure of unequal access and influence" (Freed, 2003:701), i.e. patterns in men's and women's use of language are seen as a manifestation of the social dominance of men over women. In other words, the way men and women speak reflects a social reality and that, as a result of patriarchy, "any differences between women's and men's language are indicative of women being dominated [by men] in interaction" (Litosseliti, 2006:32). This framework concentrates especially on aspects of interaction such as questions, hedges, back-channelling, interruptions, topic initiation and topic control (Litosseliti, 2006:32).

One drawback of the Dominance theory is that male dominance is often regarded as if it is pan-contextual (Talbot, 2010/2013:101). That is, it is assumed that "all men in all cultures are in a position to dominate women" (Litosseliti, 2006:37). In other words, the notion of power is oversimplified (Litosseliti, 2006:40) as not all men are in a position to dominate all women. Dominance theorists also do not attend to factors such as conversational contexts, topics, objectives, and styles when examining aspects of interaction (Litosseliti, 2006:37). For instance, some men may innocently dominate an interaction and some women may choose not to interrupt (Litosseliti, 2006:37). Moreover, in Dominance studies, there is a noted bias towards the examination of language as used by white, middle-class, heterosexual couples (Litosseliti, 2006:37).

2.9.3 The Difference theory

This model, formulated by Maltz and Borker (1982) (see Bassiouney, 2009:132), has its origins in the work of John Gumperz (Talbot, 2010:99) and has been popularised by

Tannen (1991). It attributes differences in male and female language to "the different socialization of women/girls and men/boys" (Litosseliti, 2006:37). That is, men and women tend to belong to two linguistically different subcultures due to 1) their sex-separate childhood, and 2) social expectations about gender roles and, consequently, gender-appropriate use of language (Litosseliti, 2006:37). Such socialization may happen, for instance, when children are provided with different linguistic models by parents/adults. For example, Snow et al. (1990:293) find that mothers use more polite speech than fathers when to talking to children.

This (cultural) Difference approach has received criticism from gender and language researchers. For instance, Difference advocates claim that gender, which they do not distinguish from a person's biological sex, is a factor that influences the use of language (Litosseliti, 2006:37). Tannen starts her book with the claim that "[t]here *are* gender [meaning the sex of a person] differences in ways of speaking" (Tannen, 1991:17) although men and women do speak in similar as well as in different ways in varying contexts (Kendall and Tannen, 2001:560). Moreover, examples provided by Difference advocates in their studies are often based on "personal, anecdotal and fictional evidence" (Mellor, 2011:3). For example, Tannen's book uses examples of the language produced by her ex- and current husbands (Tannen, 1991:23).

Litosseliti (2006) and Talbot (2010:102-107) contend that Difference theorists 1) ignore the importance of the power dimension in the interaction; 2) make claims about the existence of separate sub-cultures without trying to explain their existence (it has been argued that boys and girls are, in fact, socialized together through childhood; Thorne, 1993, cited in Talbot, 2010:104); 3) neglect the reasons why children are socialized into gender roles; and 4) emphasize miscommunication, i.e. "[m]en and women happen to have different

interactional styles and misunderstandings occur because they are not aware of them" (Talbot, 2010:106).

In sum, the Deficit, Dominance, and Difference approaches have the following features in common: they are about differences in the way men and women talk (in both single- and mixed-sex groups); they downplay similarities between men and women; they downplay differences among men and among women; they pay less attention to the importance of context and the possibility of conscious language choices; and they do not consider change, i.e. the gender and language relationship as on-going and subject to changes in society. These approaches also emphasize male- and female-embodied individuals and see language use as reflecting gender.

Approaches which use the category of gender as an identity that someone *has* may be useful, but are also insufficient for a study of gender and language where "social structures are paramount" (Litosseliti, 2006:55). Such a study would require investigating social inequality and the power people activate when they produce meaning, factors which from this perspective are more important than *who* produces the language. Thus, a "valuable alternative" approach (Talbot, 2010:112) and a progression upon the "gender differences paradigm" (Baker, 2014:2)was introduced: the discursive construction of gender identity.

2.9.4 The discursive construction of gender identity

Gender and language study "has now largely moved on from a drive to identify gender differences in all sorts of contexts" (Sunderland, 2006:22). New understandings of "gender as identity, and identity as multiple, fluctuating and continually being constructed, have made 'difference' and 'dominance' appear crude and inadequate" (Sunderland, 2006:22). From this perspective, the sex of the speaker/writer may be "of little or no interest"

(Sunderland, 2006:22). Indeed, one conceptual split between past approaches and the discursive approach is that between the notions of biological sex and sociocultural constructs of gender (Kendall & Tannen, 2001:548).

The field is now more concerned with how gender is performed (that is, constructed and displayed) in (written or spoken) texts (Sunderland, 2006:22). Hence, the discourse approach puts more stress on what is said or written about gender than on who says it. It also sees language use as constructive, looking at how men and women are being "*made*" by discourse practices (Talbot, 2010:100). The construction of gender identities in texts may reflect reality (to an extent), but the constructed identities may also be interpreted as "influencing reality, or they may be biased in numerous ways" (Baker, 2010:143). In this approach, "the social identities and relationships of women and men are assumed not to be homogeneous, but to be differently constructed in different discourse practices" (Talbot, 2010:100).

Discourse in the sense explained in Section 1.3 is the cornerstone of this approach. The discursive approach "is grounded in the assumption that subjectivity is constituted in discourse" (Talbot, 2010:113). This means that when they talk about others, people construct them in various ways, under the influence of, for example, personal opinions or common stereotypes. Thus, "[i]n discourse, individuals are positioned as social subjects who are gendered in specific ways" (Talbot, 2010:113). Men and women may be constructed according to existing cultural stereotypes, for example "the gossipy woman", which may be incorrect and/or unfair to the people talked about.

Litosseliti (2006:48-50) discusses five characteristics that make investigating discourses particularly useful to language and gender studies. First, *discourses are recognizable and meaningful*. That is, a "range of discourses are … available to people (in

both a historical and systematic sense)", i.e. these discourses "pre-exist their users" (Litosseliti, 2006:48). Second, *discourses can be supporting as well as competing and conflicting*. This means that some discourses agree with and/or support other discourses while other discourses disagree with and conflict opposing discourses. Third, *discourses represent and constitute ways of thinking and doing*, i.e. discourses construct or give meaning to how we see the world. Fourth, *discourses are ideological and social power is acted out through them*, meaning that discourses put forward certain viewpoints and values at the expense of others. Fifth, *discourses exist in relation to other discourses*, for example, feminist discourses exist in relation to discourses of men's domination of public life.

Kendall and Tannen (2001) argue that the discursive approach may be a better approach for gender and language studies than the earlier approaches because of diversity in speaking and writing styles where, for instance,

> many women and men do not speak in ways associated with their sex; they use language patterns associated with the other sex; there is variation within as well as between sex groups; gender interacts with other socially constructed categories, such as race and social class; individuals create multiple—and sometimes contradictory—versions of femininity and masculinity; and women and men may transgress, subvert, and challenge, as well as reproduce, societal norms. (Kendall & Tannen, 2001:560)

Litosseliti (2006) suggests that the idea of "gender differences" is important. However, it should not be a priority. Rather, current frameworks, such as the discursive framework, engage with what she calls "a feminist critique" of the differences that gender makes (Litosseliti, 2006:68). This critique raises questions such as a) in what ways do we draw on discourses around gender differences, and what are the significance and consequences of this?; b) what linguistic and social practices are appropriate and legitimate

for men and women to participate in?; and c) who benefits and who is disadvantaged by this? (Litosseliti, 2006:68). In turn, these questions require an analysis at two levels: 1) the micro-level of how gender is enacted through everyday interaction; and 2) the macro-level of "the gender ideologies that frame these interactions and practices, and render them sensible within social contexts" (Litosseliti, 2006:68).

On the basis of the above, in this study I adopt the discursive approach to investigate the construction of gender identities via discourse involving the use of abusive language, within one specific discourse community (see Section 3.8). For reasons explained in Chapter 3, my study focuses on the macro-level of gender ideology rather than the micro-level of individual interactions.

2.10 Gender and abusive language

Many studies have found a strong relationship between bad language, and more specifically abusive language, and gender (Thelwall, 2008:89). Swearing has frequently been credited with serving to distinguish males and females (de Klerk, 1991:157). For example, Thorne and Henley postulate that "[s]wearing often functions to exclude women, and is used as a justification for such exclusion – 'We'd like to hire you, but there's too much foul language' " (Thorne & Henley, 1975:24). Researchers have investigated the relation between gender and swearing in terms of, for instance, 1) gender-linked swearwords, 2) choice of swearwords, 3) perception of swearing, 4) frequency of swearing, 5) reasons for swearing, and 6) swearing in same-sex and mixed-sex interactions (Fine and Johnson, 1984; Risch, 1987; de Klerk, 1991; James, 1998, Stenström et al., 2002; Daly et al., 2004; McEnery, 2006; Fägersten, 2012).

Davis (1989:2) posits that the use of particular lexical items, like swearwords, is correlated in a systematic way with social indices such as the sex of the interlocutors. According to Davis, previous sociolinguistic studies have concluded that men swear more than women; a possible explanation for these conclusions is that "women, being more conscious of propriety and upward mobility, try harder to avoid using such terms" (Davis, 1989:3). However, as explained below, recent studies suggest that the claim that males swear more than females *is no longer true,* at least in some societies.

James (1998) studies gender-linked derogatory terms used to refer exclusively or primarily to one sex rather than the other. The results of her questionnaire, which was submitted to 125 native English-speaking students at the University of Toronto, provide evidence for gender-linked associations for 15 derogatory terms. Terms which evoke a female image include *(old) hag, bitch, slut, airhead, douchebag, dog* (meaning ugly) and terms which evoke a male image include *slimeball, asshole, dog* (meaning promiscuous)*, jerk, geek, wuss, pipsqueak, loser, idiot.* James categorised the derogatory terms based on their semantic features. She finds that primarily female-referential terms fell under the following categories: 1) promiscuous/prostitute/sexually aggressive, 2) terms perceived by women as demeaning, 3) unattractive, 4) mistreats others, 5) brainless, 6) masculine/lesbian, and 7) sexually cold/unavailable. Primarily male-referential terms indicated 1) mistreating others, 2) stupidity, 3) weak in character/like a woman/homosexual, 4) sexual behavior offensive to women, 5) socially inept, 6) lack of accomplishment, especially ability to earn a living, and 7) physically weak. This list suggests at least two differences. First, men the speaker wishes to insult are constructed as being incompetent, either in character or in mental or physical abilities (which suggests the idea that men are expected to be strong, confident, successful). Second, women the speaker wishes to insult are constructed as a) weak in character compared to men, and b) involved in sexuality (the ideal woman is expected to

meet male needs, especially with respect to sexual attributes and behavior) (James, 1998:403, 413).

James' findings may help in understanding how swearwords reflect the construction of gender identities in society. Specifically, most of her categories are directly related to sexual identity, in which human sexuality is represented in two ways: a) body parts are a materiality, and b) "a set of sexual ideas or sexual language is developed about that materiality" (Jay, 2000:85). Thus, sexuality-related swearwords such as *queer, slut, homo, whore, faggot,* or *pimp,* make reference to supposed differences between the speaker and other people on the basis of the aspects of sexuality that are valued in the mainstream culture (Jay, 2000:126).

Stapleton (2003) finds that, contrary to the sociocultural conceptions of swearing as symbolic of masculine qualities, both females and males report habitually deploying strong language. She adopts a community of practice framework to contextualize swearing as a linguistic practice and to explore the meanings of swearing in a group of male and female undergraduate drinking friends. However, despite the deployment of swearwords by both males and females in this group, she admits that a number of subtle gender differences reflect participants' dual location within this community and the wider sociocultural context. Thus, women in this study appropriate certain swearwords, e.g. *shit, bollocks, shag, prick, wanker,* and reject and resist the use of others, e.g. *cunt, fanny, tits* (Stapleton, 2003:32).

Similarly, in her investigation of taboo words in the Bergen Corpus of London Teenager Language, Stenström (1995) found "[n]o gender differences… in choice and frequency of swearwords among the teenagers but adult women were found to use more but 'weaker' taboo words than adult men" (quoted in Dewaele 2004:206). Dewaele (2004:219-220)finds that "female participants tended to give higher scores to perceived emotional force

of [swearwords]". Stenström and Dewaele's findings that females are more sensitive to swearing than males are supported by McEnery and Xiao's (2004) study (which I return to below). McEnery and Xiao find not only that in the spoken section of the British National Corpus (BNC) males use *fuck* more than twice as frequently as females (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:240), but also that in the written section of the BNC, male authors use *fuck* more than their female counterparts (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:248).

Sapolsky and Kaye's (2005) investigation reveals that in prime time television entertainment, not only do men more often initiate swearing and cursing, but they are also "featured more often as the speakers and targets of offensive language" (Sapolsky and Kaye, 2005:300). Other findings by Sapolsky and Kayeshow how males and females perceive swearing differently when they interact with each other. For example, "[s]exual and excretory words were less likely to be spoken in women-to-men interactions than in any other type of interaction… [M]en and women tend to express stronger words to same-sex characters" (Sapolsky and Kaye, 2005:300).

Jay (1992:169) reports that "[m]ales use different [swearwords] than do females. Males and females both use more offensive language around members of the same sex, than around members of the opposite sex". Likewise, Fägersten(2007:23) reports that previous studies have established women as more sensitive than men to the offensiveness of swearwords. Her findings also confirm this. She adds that men's "greatest variation is revealed by the ratings for *bitch, cunt,* and *fuck*, but the greatest variation among the females' ratings is represented by the words *asshole* and *bastard*" (2007:24). Her study suggests that gender (and cultural) backgrounds may also affect the use and perception of swearwords, e.g. white females find swearing in some contexts less offensive than white males.

Hughes (1992) investigates how swearing is used and perceived in a group of working-class women in an inner-city area. She suggests that women are stereotyped "as swearing less, using less slang, and as aiming for more standard speech style" (Hughes, 1992:291). She proposes that these characteristics attributed to women are overgeneralized because for some groups of women "it is the maintenance of class group identity rather than so-called correct female behavior that is important" (Hughes, 1992:295). This is especially the case with her informants, who regard swearing as a part of their "female speech" that is "perfectly in keeping with their class, economic situation, and social network structure" (Hughes, 1992:300). The use of swearwords by this group of women is an essential part of their language, to the extent it does not seem to have any emotional charge unless the women "[apply swearwords] with venom and/or as an insult" (Hughes, 1992:297). Hughes suggests that the women in her study are not violating any language rules that prescribe that females use more standard speech, more euphemisms and less swearing than men, because they are simply using their language and their norm (Hughes, 1992:300). Furthermore, according to Hughes, in contrast to the theory that men swear more than women, these lower working-class women "use strong expletives that many MC [middle class] males avoid during the major part of their language use" (Hughes, 1992:301). Risch (1987) and de Klerk (1992), who conduct studies in North America and South Africa respectively, support Hughes' findings. These three studies suggest that women's linguistic behavior in terms of bad language habits do not always match the generally held perceptions, of women as more "polite" in their speech, and therefore as using less swearing, than men.

Corpora have been used to assess claims made by non-corpus informed studies about bad language in general and the relationship between swearing and gender in particular.

Hughes ([1991]1998:208) claims that the distribution of swearwords between genders is very different and strict. For instance, *cow, bitch,* and *fucker* are only used to target females

while swearwords such as *prick, cunt, twat, pillock, tit, arsehole,* and *shit* target males. However, McEnery et al. (2000a:52) find that Hughes' findings—based upon intuition—are "by and large, false". McEnery et al.'s (2000a:52) corpus shows that even swearwords which "have been traditionally associated with sexist abuse (e.g. *cow, bitch*) can be applied to males". Their corpus also illustrates that, although the same terms of abuse can be used to target men and women, there is still a preference for some words to have a female target rather than a male one, e.g. *bitch* is used 6 times for a male target and 37 times for a female target (McEnery et al., 2000a:53) in the Lancaster Corpus of Abuse.

Similarly, McEnery et al. (2000b:42) report that the target of *gay* is "almost always male" and most of these cases are attributional in a third person construct (*X is gay*) with no examples of first person attributions of being gay. McEnery et al. (2000b) find that *fuck* differs quantitatively with regard to the gender of the user although no qualitative difference is found. In most cases, *fuck* is also aimed towards females by females and towards males by males (McEnery et al. 2000b:46), meaning that people target their own gender more than the other gender (compare Sapolsky and Kaye's findings discussed above). A possible explanation for this phenomenon is provided by Fägersten (2012). Her male informants see their behaviour of decreased swearing with female interlocutors as "accommodation, convergence motivated by their perception of females as users of more standard language features" (Fägersten, 2012:140). She adds that men swear less in the presence of women because men want to impose a standard upon women (Fägersten, 2012:140), whereas women swear less in the presence of men because women "converge to the standard attributed to and imposed upon them by males" (Fägersten, 2012:141).

Murphy (2009:103) argues that "masculinity is constructed through the high frequency of [*fuck*]". In her corpus, *fuck* is noticeably more frequent in her male data; 184 occurrences for males compared with 72 occurrences for the females (Murphy, 2009:94).

This may indicate that *fuck* is "a marker of maleness" especially among males in their 20s and 40s (Murphy, 2009:94). In contrast, women in their 20s swear more frequently than women in their 40s. This is because the latter group of women think that "too frequent use of [*fuck*] gave a negative impression of a woman", i.e. appearing "uneducated" or belonging to a lower social class (Murphy, 2009:99). Murphy adds religion as a factor that affects the swearing behavior of her older informants. Unlike younger speakers, religious piety seems to be a reason why some informants, especially women in their 70s and 80s, avoid swearing: because it is against their Catholic beliefs (Murphy, 2009:99, 104).

McEnery and Xiao (2004) examine the use of *fuck* in the spoken and written sections of the BNC. They find that when all forms of *fuck,* i.e. *fuck, fucked, fucks, fucking, fucker(s)*, are taken as a whole, male speakers use this swearword more than twice as frequently as females (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:240). Despite the quantitative difference, the use of *fuck* does not differ qualitatively between genders; "the rank and proportion of different word forms show a very similar distribution pattern" (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:241). Only in social class DE (semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers) do the two sexes use *fuck* very frequently (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:245).

Similarly, in the written section of the BNC "male authors use all forms of *fuck* more than twice as frequently as female authors" (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:248). Also, writing intended for females contains significantly fewer instances of *fuck* than writings intended for male audience (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:249). However, writings intended for a mixed audience of males and females are similar to writings intended for males (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:250). Comparing the distributions of usage categories (see Section 2.3), McEnery and Xiao find that in speech the categories of *fuck* distribute in a similar pattern for both sexes. However, males and females differ in their use of *fuck;* males use *fuck* as G (general expletive), P (personal insult referring to defined entity) and O (pronominal form) more

frequently whereas females use C (cursing expletive) and I (idiomatic set phrase) more frequently (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:260). In writing, both men and women use *fuck* more often as E (emphatic intensifier), I, and L (literal usage denoting taboo referent) respectively (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:260). However, male authors apply *fuck* for emphasis more frequently than female authors, while females use *fuck* to refer to copulation or as a general expletive more than men (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:261).

Thelwall (2008) analyses swearing in a corpus of computer-mediated communication (UK and US MySpace pages). In contrast to the studies cited above, he reports "no significant gender difference in the UK for strong swearing" especially for users aged 16 to 19 years old (Thelwall, 2008:83). On the other hand, the US male data reveals significantly more swearing than the US female data (Thelwall, 2008:83). The difference between the two countries in gendered swearing is "significant because it is indicative of a fundamental, underlying difference in gender roles or expectations" (Thelwall, 2008:102). A suggested reason for the widespread swearing among women in the United Kingdom (but not in the United States) is the phenomenon of "ladette" culture (Thelwall, 2008:102), where women engage in behaviour stereotyped as masculine (e.g. drinking a lot of alcohol, and talking about sex and sport).

2.11 Concluding remarks

This chapter has provided an overview of relevant literature on bad language, variously manifested and referred to in the literature as swearing and/or abusive language, as a linguistic phenomenon. The brief account of abusive language through history has shown that abusive language is clearly related to a society's belief system and taboo themes, so that for example religion and sex are utilised in terms of abuse; and that abusive language is not

static, that is, social changes (e.g. those brought about by the women's movement in the USA or the SRMs in the UK) affect how people use and perceive terms of abuse.

It has been suggested that the offensiveness of abusive language is a relative concept (Jay, 2000; Fägersten, 2007). How people are offended by terms of abuse depends on how people interpret these words in relation to contextual variables such as the social-physical setting, the topic of discussion, the intended meaning of the message, and the sex of the speakers.

Additionally, this chapter has briefly reviewed how abusive language is approached in communication studies. The media has been accused of playing a role in the spread of taboo language (Hughes, 1991; Jay, 2000) (I will return to this point in Section 3.4). Questions which have been researched in this area include the extent to which abusive language in the media affects linguistic behavior in real life; the persuasiveness of communication that contains instances of abusive language; and the motives for flaming (mostly by males) in computer-mediated communication.

This chapter has highlighted the dearth of literature on abuse in Arabic. It has been shown that in the Arabic context, abusive language and other forms of of bad language are mostly discussed (and condemned) from the Islamic point of view. With the sole exception of Al-Abdullah (2015), there has not been a single linguistic study that examines the subject in terms of, for instance, the taboo themes utilised in abusive language, the pragmatic or discourse functions that it serves, the effects of contextual variables, the construction of identities, or the relationship between gender and abusive language. However, there is ample evidence that abusive language is a widespread phenomenon in Arabic especially on the Internet (Aiad, 2007), which is where I will collect data for this study.

Then, I reviewed four theories of language and gender studies with special reference to the discursive construction of gender identity. The theories of Deficit, Dominance, and Difference essentially focused on differences between men and women; women's language as ineffective in comparison to men's, male power and dominance, and men's and women's languages are different as a result of being socialised into separate (linguistic) subcultures. On the hand, the discursive construction of gender identity (the discourse approach to language and gender) focuses on how we *perform* gender in language, where the point of interest is how the patterns of *everyone's* language use construct gender irrespective of the gender of the speaker, rather than on the language features of one gender versus the other. The discourse approach is adopted in this thesis, in line with the nature of the the research questions, which hinge on the construction of gender via abusive language.

Finally in this chapter, I have reviewed research on the relationship between gender and bad language including swearing and abusive language, which has mainly focused on differences between males and females related to frequency of abusive language, the terms of abuse used, perceptions of abusive language, and (to an extent) how identities are constructed through the use of abuse terms.

A description of the data and the classification system which I use to analyze it will be the focus of Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Overview

This chapter introduces the data used for this thesis and outlines the quantitative and qualitative methodological procedures used to address the research questions of this study. This chapter is therefore a step towards a response to my three research questions.

In this chapter I will first provide a summary of the use of a corpus-based approach to linguistics followed by a brief discussion of the use of corpora to analyse discourse and gender. Then I will briefly consider the importance of the media for linguistic studies and censorship as an obstacle to these studies. I will then discuss the Internet as a rich source of data for language investigation. Next, I will provide a description of the YouTube website, my rationale for collecting data for this study from YouTube comment sections, and characterise YouTube as a subset of the broader Arabic discourse community. This is followed by a description of my corpus and how it was constructed. Moving from data to methods, I outline a thematic classification of terms of abuse: this will help in the identification of themes linked to gender-marked terms of abuse, and thus, the explanation of connections between the sexes and different taboo themes. I also present the techniques that I employ to analyse discourses around grammatically gender-marked terms of abuse in my corpus.

3.2 Corpus linguistics: a cursory review

In linguistics, a corpus is a collection of machine-readable texts (typically containing many thousands or millions of words) (Baker et al., 2006:48). Corpus linguistics is the study of language by means of the analysis of such corpora.

The analysis of texts with the help of computers does not mean abandoning traditional methods such as intuition and hand-and-eye analysis. Indeed, corpus-based approaches do not completely reject intuition (McEnery et al., 2006:7). However, linguists cannot depend uncritically on their intuitions or on anecdotal evidence. This is because "humans tend to notice unusual occurrences more than typical occurrences, and therefore conclusions based on intuition can be unreliable" (Biber et al., 1998/2006:3). Although native speakers may have more experience of their language than is contained in the largest corpus, their intuition is a poor guide, at least when it comes to frequency and phraseology (Hunston, 2002/2010:20).

McEnery et al. (2006:6) propose three reasons why intuition is often not the best guide to language study:

1- The possibility that a researcher may be influenced by their dialect, i.e. what appears acceptable to one speaker may not necessarily be so to another.

2- In the process of inventing examples to support or disprove an argument, one is consciously monitoring one's language production; therefore, even if one's intuition is correct, the language produced may not be the typical use of language.

3- The impossibility of observing another person's introspection makes results based on introspection alone difficult to verify.

In studies of language use, analysts typically try to at least: a) assess the extent to which a pattern is found, and b) analyze the contextual factors that influence variability

(Biber et al., 1998/2006:3). However, in a corpus of tens of thousands or millions of words, finding patterns of use and analyzing contextual factors by hand-and-eye methods can be extremely tedious and time-consuming. McEnery and Hardie (2012:1-2) note that the usual size of a corpus "defies analysis by hand and eye alone within any reasonable timeframe". Without the use of computers, reading, searching, and manipulating large datasets is not feasible because of the long time needed and because searching large corpora by hand is prone to error (McEnery & Hardie, 2012:2). Corpus-based approaches provide ways of handling massive amounts of language that hand-and-eye approaches cannot handle (McEnery et al., 2006:7).

Characteristics of corpus-based analysis include 1) empirical analysis of patterns of naturally occurring language, 2) use of large collections of texts that have been constructed on a principled basis as the basis for analysis, 3) extensive use of computers, and 4) reliance on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques (Biber et al., 1998/2006:4).

McEnery et al. (2006:6) suggest that many of the linguistic studies undertaken in the past twenty years would not have been possible without the use of computerized corpora. It has become "difficult to find an area of linguistics where a corpus approach has *not* been taken fruitfully" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012:26). This is because corpus methods allow researchers to arrive at conclusions which have empirical and quantifiable bases (Biber et al., 1998/2006:4; McEnery et al., 2006:52).

McEnery et al. (2006:6) propose that computerized corpora have at least four advantages unavailable to traditional approaches. First, practically speaking, computers are much faster than humans in searching, selecting, sorting, and processing data at minimal cost. Second, computers process electronic texts in a very accurate and consistent manner. Third, computers avoid human bias and, consequently, make the results more reliable. Finally,

"machine-readability allows further automatic processing to be performed on the corpus so that corpus texts can be enriched with various metadata and linguistic analysis" (McEnery et al., 2006:6). This is especially useful, for instance, in the case of studying terms of abuse. Terms of abuse can be annotated with analytical categories as well as information about interlocutors which enable researchers, for example, to compare males' and females' use of these words (see McEnery et al., 2000b).

Corpus methods will be used in this thesis to help build a picture of how abusive language is used in the construction and/or reflection of gender identities in Arabic discourse. To accomplish this, the corpus approach to language will be integrated with the analysis of discourse. Specialized corpora, like the one used in this thesis (see Section 3.9), are particularly useful for analysing discourse. In fact, most recent linguistic studies of culture and ideology have been based on specialized corpora (McEnery et al., 2006:111), e.g. Thelwall (2008) and Murphy (2009), which were reviewed in Chapter 2 (2.10).

3.3 Corpus methods in discourse analysis

The methodology of corpus linguistics has been applied in discourse analysis (McEnery & Wilson, 1996/2011:114; Biber et al, 1998/2006:106; Fairclough, 2003:6; McEnery et al., 2006:111; Baker, 2006/2011:1). In particular, Baker has written two influential books on corpus methods and discourse analysis; *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*(2006/2011) about discourse analysis generally, and *Using Corpora to Analyze Gender* (2014) about gender discourses in particular. Baker (2006/2011) suggests a number of methodological procedures for using corpora to analyse discourses. Among these procedures are frequency, concordances, and collocates. In the remainder of this section, I briefly discuss these procedures in relation to the analysis of abusive language specifically.

The first methodological procedure is *frequency*. Frequency is among the most central concepts underpinning analytical work in corpus linguistics (Baker et al., 2006:75). The importance of frequency for analysing discourse stems from the fact that "language is not a random affair" (Baker, 2006/2011:47). That is, the frequency of certain words in a corpus may differ across different text domains. For instance, McEnery and Xiao (2004:238-239) find that *fuck* is significantly more frequent in the *business domain* in the written BNC than in other domains such as *education* and *leisure* because arguments and disputes are more common in the business context.

The frequency, high or low, of words under study is useful for uncovering typical or atypical uses and for providing "information about the sorts of concepts that are privileged in society" (Baker, 2014:75). Indeed, the main use of frequency counts is in

> directing the reader towards aspects of a corpus or text which occur often and therefore may or may not show evidence of the author making a specific lexical choice over others, which could relate to the presentation of a particular discourse or attempts to construct identity in some way. (Baker, 2006/2011:68)

However, it is difficult to analyse a discourse by just looking at the frequency of words in isolation. Looking at concordance lines, i.e. instances in their original context, allows the analyst to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data (Baker, 2006/2011:71).

That being the case, *concordances* are the second procedure suggested by Baker. A concordance is "a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context in which they occur – usually a few words to the left and right of the search term" (Baker et al., 2006:42-43). The value of concordances is that they give the researcher an opportunity to examine many examples of a specific word simultaneously and

in context. Because it is both quantitative and qualitative, concordance analysis is among the most effective techniques for close examination of texts (Baker, 2006/2011:71). Scanning concordance lines by looking at words and phrases to the right and left of a search term helps in picking out similarities/differences and, consequently, noting the discourses around that search term.

The third procedure is *collocation.* A collocate is a word that regularly appears in the neighbourhood of another word (Baker, 2006/2011:95-96). Collocation is defined as "one of the binding forces in language, organizing LEXIS according to which words typically occur together and showing networks of word associations" (Johnson & Johnson, 1998/2004:57). That is, there is a tendency for words to occur together with other words in specific contexts; when people make one linguistic choice over another regarding use of collocates, this may reveal something about their intentions or ideological positions (Baker, 2006/2011:47-48). The importance of collocates in corpus analysis is that they are able 1) to summarize the most significant relationships between words, and 2) to spell out mainstream discourses, i.e. typical discourses around a subject, as well as resistant discourses, i.e. atypical discourses around a subject (Baker, 2006/2011:115).

Baker (2006/2011:119-120) suggests that, in collocation analysis (as well as in concordance analysis), the first step is deciding on the search terms. After generating collocation lists for the search terms, a set of collocates may be grouped semantically, thematically or grammatically for further analysis; obtaining concordances of the collocates and studying these words in context may help in uncovering discourses surrounding the search terms.

When looking at gender specifically, Baker's (2014) main focus is not on how men and women use language; instead, he mostly examines how the two sexes are represented

through language (see Section 2.9.4; this is typical of the discourse approach to language and gender). Baker (2014) adopts the same corpus techniques suggested in his earlier book. However, Baker (2014:17) also considers the advantages of examining *expanded concordance lines,* "which enable the identification of features that can run over multiple sentences".

Baker (2014:17, 177) adds looking at *descriptors* (words or expressions used to describe someone) as another procedure of collocation analysis. Looking at the words/phrases that are used to describe social actors in discourse is one way of examining the construction of social gender roles (Söylemez, 2010). This can be done in two steps. First, automatically— by obtaining frequency lists of descriptors, or manually by scanning and identifying all single words/phrases that describe social actors (I follow the manual procedure in this study). Second, by collapsing descriptors into similar traits and examining combinations of descriptors (which share related grammatical or semantic properties). For instance, adjectives such as *professional, educated,* and *intelligent* can be summed together to make a category (in this case *Intellect/Profession*) (Baker, 2014:179). Baker finds that collocational networks, i.e. webs of "interlocking conceptual clusters realised in the form of words linked through the process of collocation" (Williams, 1998:156), show that certain adjectives reinforce one another, e.g. lists of adjectives linked to an attractive body (*fit, slim*) (Baker, 2014:186), and thus contribute to the construction of a certain discourse.

I adopt Baker's (2006/2011, 2014) procedures in my thesis. Baker's (2006/2011, 2014) methods are applicable within my study for several reasons. First, frequencies of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse (or other linguistic forms that I will investigate) will allow me to compare their typicality of occurrence in different contexts or with different functions. Second, concordance analysis forms an essential part of my study, as I will use it to identify, for instance, descriptors used to label male and female targets of

abusive language (see 5.2), as well as the cultural scripts of specific instances of abusive language (see 6.3). Third, collocation analysis will be used for, for example, "demonstrating the existence of bias" (Baker et al., 2006:38) in the use of masculine- or feminine-marked terms of abuse (see 6.2). This analysis will uncover the abusive terms' associations and the assumptions they embody (Stubbs, 1996:172).

Linked to the analysis of co-occurring descriptors and collocation is the concept of *semantic prosody/discourse prosody*. This concept concerns relationships between words and the contexts in which these words are embedded (Baker & Ellece, 2011:35). Stubbs (2001) defines discourse prosody as "a feature which extends over more than one unit in a linear string" (2001:65). Semantic prosodies are "evaluative or attitudinal" and are used to express the speaker's approval/disapproval (good prosody/bad prosody) of "whatever topic is momentarily the object of discourse" (Sinclair, 1996:87). That is, the relationship between a word and a related set of words or phrases that it collocates with i.e. the context, often reveal (hidden) attitudes (Baker et al., 2006:58). Therefore, semantic prosody is a form of evaluative meaning (Mautner, 2009:37) which may indicate that something is "good or bad" (Hunston, 2004:157). For instance, in the British National Corpus, Baker et al. find that *happen* has a discourse prosody for unpleasant things such as (2006:58-59) In other words

> meaning, and in particular evaluative meaning, cannot be limited to the lexeme. Meaning is rather a phrasal phenomenon and it makes more sense to work on the basis of extended units of meaning. Within a model of extended units of meaning it is at the level of semantic prosody that we find evaluation. (Zethsen, 2006:280)

My detailed analysis of examples in context investigates the same set of phenomena as semantic prosody and discourse prosody, although I do not directly adopt the terminology/methods of these phenomena.

I will next consider the media as a rich source of data for language studies, and censorship as an obstacle to the study of taboo language.

3.4 Media data and censorship

Written media texts in general and computer-mediated communication (CMC) in particular have become the subject of "a growing body of quantitative and qualitative descriptive linguistic analyses by corpus linguists" (O'Keeffe, 2011:69).

The media has long been a rich source of data for linguistic studies, since language, communication, and the making of meaning are at the core of media texts (O'Keeffe, 2011:67). Fairclough (1995:2) proposes that the substantively linguistic and discoursal nature of the power of the media is one strong argument for analysing the media linguistically. The importance of written media for language studies also stems from the fact that, for instance, newspapers "are socially stratified [and] this has an implication for the type of reality they construct for their respective readers" (O'Keeffe, 2011:69). Because texts encode representations of the world where social reality is constructed, analysis of texts is therefore seen as a standpoint from which linguists can observe society (Stubbs, 1996:130).

However, the media are not always free to represent social reality. Durant and Lambrou (2009:6) suggest that media technologies (including their financing, distribution, and availability to different sections of a society) both facilitate and constrain or censor specific kinds of communication and patterns of language use. Therefore, different

kinds of media language … (under specific conditions that vary from medium to medium and between countries and periods) are subject to *restriction* or *exclusion.* Such 'taboo' media language includes kinds of swearing, insults and racial epithets,

defamatory statements, verbal utterances that might incite crime or hatred, … and –
increasingly significantly – internet hate speech. (Durant & Lambrou, 2009:43)

Consequently, censorship of media discourse can be an obstacle for linguistic studies in general and studies of taboo language, such as swearing, in particular. In the remainder of this section I will discuss the censorship of language in the media, with specific reference to swearing and taboo and/or abusive language and censored media in Arab countries.

Communication studies scholars define censorship as "the suppression or prohibition of speech or writing that is condemned as subversive of the common good" (Allan & Burridge, 2006/2009:13). Writing in 1978, Eysenck and Nias suggest that in the thirty years prior to that date the media came under increased criticism because of a suspicion that their increasing liberty to portray taboo material, for instance, scenes of sex and violence, was responsible for an increase "in violence, in vandalism, in pre- and extramarital sex, in perversions, in rape and in the sexual exploitation of minors" (Eysenck & Nias, 1978:9). Fitch (1974:15) proposes that in Western culture morality is among the main reasons for media censorship. He adds that no question about the effects of the media causing an increase in immorality, violence, and pornography can be formulated or answered with scientific precision (Fitch, 1974:15). Such questions, Fitch argues, require the exercise of good judgment based on responsible decision-making where the outcome should be generalizations which appeal to our common sense (Fitch, 1974:15).

However, claims about the media having a role in causing an increase in immorality and violence in Western societies may be outdated and cannot be taken for granted and, more importantly, are not supported by recent statistics. For instance, overall crime statistics for England and Wales show a steady decrease especially between 1995 (19,109 crimes) and 2012 (9,500 crimes) (the Guardian, 2013). This is despite the fact that, in the UK as in many

other Western societies, censorship of language in the media is more relaxed than in the past (Hughes, 1991:203). For instance, swearing is now very common in radio, television, newspapers, comic strips (Hughes, 1991:189; Jay, 2000:191), and on the Internet (Durant & Lambrou, 2009:47). But the spread of swearing in the media has been subject to limitations which vary by country. Jay (2000:7, 192) claims that censorship shapes the usage of swearwords. That is, if sanctions against the use of taboo language disappear, swearing will be more frequently heard. For instance, Hughes argues that newspapers in the UK and the USA are becoming bolder in printing swearing, whereas in India, Australia, Canada, and South Africa newspapers will print swearing only when quoting somebody and often in asterisked forms (Hughes, 2006:361).

In contrast to the Anglophone world, censorship of the media is very common and strict in the Arab world (Amin, 2011:126). Historically, Arab governments have controlled the media agenda; the media have been used to promote governments' political, religious, cultural, and economic programmes (Kamalipour & Mowlana, 1994, cited in Amin, 2011:126). Censorship is practiced on the grounds of protecting national security against anything that is considered threatening. Protection of national security involves censoring negative statements about "religions or beliefs, Arab nationalism and its struggle, values, and national traditions" (Amin, 2011:128). Thus, censored traditional media, for instance magazines or newspapers, are unlikely to be a good source of data for a study of taboo language. However, an unprecedented and huge flow of uncensored language from the Arab world is now disseminated via the Internet.

In Arab countries, the Internet, which has been growing rapidly, has served to provide a way to circumvent censorship. Arab governments continue to impose "technical filtering in addition to legal and physical controls to ensure that the Internet community does not access or publish any objectionable or unlawful material" (Alqudsi-ghabra et al., 2011:51).

However, despite heavy investment by Arab governments in these censorship technologies, the Internet is still used to discuss issues (e.g. sex, religion, and politics) that cannot normally be debated in the traditional media, which are run, controlled, or monitored by governments (Alqudsi-ghabra et al., 2011:48). The uncensored nature of these debates may represent one reason why abusive Arabic is widespread on the Internet (Aiad, 2007).

Indeed, the Internet, as an expansive sphere for freedom of expression for people around the world in general, and for Arabs in particular (Hroub, 2009:267), has become an immensely huge and diverse source of data for linguistic studies.

3.5 The Internet as a source of corpus data

Bergh and Zanchetta (2008) maintain that the Internet is important for language studies because 1) it has caused a general cultural revolution; 2) it offers a tremendous increase in accessibility to global digital information; 3) it represents a unique and powerful alternative for different forms of empirical language research; 4) it enjoys extensive coverage, variability, freshness, and open-endedness (meaning that the Internet is the largest store of texts in existence, covering numerous domains, and continuously updated and added to); and 5) it has the status of a language corpus with great momentum for further advances in the field of corpus linguistics, "a treasure-trove of possibilities for linguists to explore" (Bergh & Zanchetta, 2008:310).

Corpus linguists have discussed and investigated the opportunities and challenges of corpora derived from the Internet (Bianchi, 2011:92). For instance, web corpora have been used in lexicography, translation, and language-teaching (Kilgarriff & Grefenstette, 2003:336). In this connection, McEnery and Hardie (2012) argue that the

massive expansion of the World Wide Web in the mid-to-late 1990s presented both opportunities and problems for corpus builders … [I]t has become extremely straightforward to simply download and save large quantities of text from the web to create a corpus – either manually, or for a larger corpus using an automated program called a web crawler (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, 57-58).

Hoffmann (2007:151-152) suggests that corpus linguists using data from the Internet can pursue one of three options. First, they may consider the World Wide Web as a single corpus that can be accessed through search engines such as Google. Second, they may restrict the investigation to a clearly defined subsection of the Internet, e.g. online British newspaper language. Third, they may create a local copy of data required for their study. The third approach will be followed in this thesis; building a specialized corpus, i.e. a corpus designed for a specific research project (Baker et al, 2006:147), in my case one automatically downloaded from YouTube comment sections.

3.6 A description of YouTube

Founded in February 2005,YouTube is a video-sharing website now owned by Google. The website's value is created by its corporate owners, the users who upload content, and the audiences who engage around the content (Burgess & Green, 2009:vii). YouTube contributors are a diverse group of participants, ranging:

from large media producers and rights-owners such as television stations, sports companies, and major advertisers, to small-to-medium enterprises looking for cheap distribution or alternatives to mainstream broadcast systems, cultural institutions, artists, activists, media literate fans, non-professional and amateur media producers. Each of these participants approaches YouTube with their own purposes and aims and

collectively shape YouTube as a dynamic cultural system: YouTube is a site of participatory culture. (Burgess & Green, 2009:vii).

YouTube is immensely popular. Viewership statistics show that more than 1 billion unique users visit YouTube each month, over 4 billion hours of video are watched each month, 72 hours of video are uploaded every minute, and YouTube had more than 1 trillion views in 2011 (YouTube, 2013). In 2012, Saudi Arabia (with a population of 28.29 million) ranked first in the number of viewers, especially those who use smart phones; Saudis contributed more than 90 million views every day (Al Arabiya, 2012; Ayed, 2013). This massive number of views per day makes it reasonable to think that many YouTube users in Saudi Arabia probably also post comments.

YouTube is available in more than 60 languages. Since August 2008 users in different countries have been able to choose the language in which they want to view YouTube (Burgess & Green, 2009:84). However, this only changes the interface, not text entered by users. In order to post a comment, users must be signed in. Text is entered to YouTube video comment sections underneath each video. Each comment has a 500 character limit. Posters can post as many comments as they wish and can also remove their comments.

3.7 Why YouTube?

My decision to collect data from YouTube comment sections, as opposed to other media websites, was not arbitrary. Other media websites, such as newspaper websites and TV websites, reflect what is written in newspapers or broadcast on TV channels, i.e. via the censored media. Thus, because these types of website rely heavily on the censored media, they are not the best source of data for a study of gender discourse using taboo language.

Many online discussion forums are not very different from the media websites mentioned above. For instance the Saudi www.sa3ooodi.com, the Jordanian www.mahjoob.com, and the Omani www.s-oman.net all make it very clear that in order to post and participate users must first accept their *terms of use*. Critically, users must not use the websites to "[u]pload, post or otherwise transmit any Content that is unlawful, harmful, threatening, abusive, harassing, tortuous, defamatory, vulgar, obscene, libelous, invasive of another's privacy, hateful, or racially, ethnically or otherwise objectionable" (mahjoob.com, 2013). If users fail to adhere to the terms of use, the websites have the right to "terminate [their] password, … remove and discard any Content within the Service, for any reason, including, without limitation, for lack of use or if [the website] believes that [the users] have violated or acted inconsistently with the letter or spirit of the TOS" (mahjoob.com, 2013). The content of these websites illustrates that the rules are enforced.

In contrast, Internet users take advantage of the "freedom" available on YouTube to post whatever they want, regardless of the rules laid down on the website. These rules are not dissimilar to the kind of terms-of-use cited above. For instance, YouTube comment posters are encouraged not to use offensive language and are reminded to "to keep [their] comments respectful and relevant, so they can be enjoyed by the full YouTube community!" (Jarboe, 2012). However, not all users adhere to this advice and enforcement of the rules seems to be weak, in contrast to the websites discussed above. In fact, YouTube is notorious for the low-quality, high-obtrusiveness nature of its comment section.

Moreover, a comparison between YouTube and other social media sites makes YouTube the more attractive source of data for my study for several reasons. First, YouTube is ranked first among video-sharing websites by TopTenREVIEWS.com (a website that provides detailed product reviews and comparisons between software, electronics, web services, etc.), ahead of services such as Break, Metacafe, and Google Video. Their statistics

show that YouTube is the best video-sharing website, scoring 10 out of 10 in all their rating criteria; these include audience features, producer features, content, ease of use, and help and support (TopTenREVIEWS, 2013). YouTube "naturally comes to mind" when people think of video-sharing websites due to a "clever mix of functionality and community" (TopTenREVIEWS, 2013). YouTube is also now one of the biggest video libraries in the world (TopTenREVIEWS, 2013) (see Section 3.6). Its popularity makes it preferable to any video-sharing site as a source of data.

Second, compared to other forms of social media such as Facebook or Twitter, YouTube is preferred as a source of data for my study for several reasons. Most importantly, users with YouTube accounts can comment on any video they watch (provided that commenting is not disabled) and they do not have to be "friends" or "followers" as is the case for Facebook users. Furthermore, my personal observation of these three websites suggests that Arabic speakers use abusive language least on Facebook; we may speculate that they suppress their abusive language because of who would see it, i.e. their Facebook "friends" or Twitter "followers", also in many cases real-life acquaintances who may include people in front of whom they do not usually swear, for instance, family members or children. On the other hand, people seem to use abusive language heavily in YouTube comment sections, presumably because of lack of social context cues and anonymity (Moor et al., 2010:1537).

As hinted earlier, the Arabic used in the media and in formal writing, and thus in most of the widely used corpora of Arabic, is still the subject of strict censorship of abusive language. This may explain why abusive language is scarce in most available corpora of Arabic. For instance, a search for the abusive swearword *sharmwṭah* "prostitute(f)" in arabiCorpus (http://arabicorpus.byu.edu) (see Parkinson, in press) (a 173,600,000 word corpus of texts from newspapers, literature, religion, philosophy, colloquial Egyptian Arabic,

etc.) returned only 4 occurrences. On the other hand, 42 instances of *sharmwṭah* were found in a single YouTube video comment thread.

Table 3.1 shows some other search results for selected abusive epithets in arabiCorpus and in the comments in response to a single video (a video uploaded by YouTube user rotanmasriya on September 3, 2012 titled, *nas bwk - laḥaẓat infiʿal wa bukaʾ ilham shahyn baʿda sabha* "Nas book – Ilham Shahin gets emotional and cries after being insulted").

Table 3.1 Frequencies of terms of abuse in arabiCoprus and comments on one YouTube video

Swearword	ArabiCorpus 173,600,000 words	Comments on rotanmasriya's video (11,031 words)
qaḥbah "prostitute(f)"	27	15
sharmwṭah "prostitute(f)"	4	42
sharamyṭ "prostitutes[4]"	3	7
sharmwṭ "prostitute(m)"	0	2
mitnakah "fucked(f)"	0	27
mitnak "fucked(m)"	0	5

We therefore see that the Arabic used in YouTube is unhindered by censorship, which means that abusive language is potentially very prevalent.

Flaming, i.e. the display of hostility by swearing (see 2.8), insulting, and using otherwise offensive language, is very prevalent in CMC in general and on YouTube in particular (Moore et al., 2010:1536). This prevalence of taboo language in CMC may be dependent upon "the topic of discussion, participants' proximity, familiarity with the group members, and confidence in the provision of anonymity" (Alonzo & Aiken, 2004:205-206). But in YouTube comment sections, clearly one reason is the lack of censorship. For instance,

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[4]*sharamyṭ* is formally feminine but it could semantically be either feminine or masculine and is very likely to apply to women.

Al Omran of Riyadh Bureau[5] told CBC (the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) in an e-mail:

> YouTube offers Saudi's young population entertainment choices not available on mainstream television, including locally produced content made by young Saudis who know how to speak to that audience, and who have more freedom to tackle their issues compared to mainstream TV where the field is full of red lines. (Al Omran of Riyadh Bureau, quoted in Ayed, 2013)

This freedom may be one reason why posters in YouTube comments do not suppress their abusive language. This could also be due to the fact that "CMC lacks many social context cues that are used in [face-to-face] communications" (Moor et al, 2010:1537). This may make CMC more hostile and offensive and therefore produce more abusive language.

Another factor which renders YouTube comment sections a fertile source of data on abusive language in Arabic is that the discussions cover many topics (religion, politics, celebrity scandals, news, crimes,…) and thus may trigger different types of abusive language. Cursory observation of various video comment sections suggests that there are numerous examples of YouTube comments which have several types of terms of abuse within a single posting. For instance, a single post in response to the rotanamasriya video mentioned above includes several different types of abusive language:

> *uskuti ya 'ajwz annar istaghfiry rabak twby ya fajirah ya 'ajwzat annar tfuuuuuuuuuuuu 'alyky ya zaqah ya 'ajazat nar jahnnam in sha' allah ya 'ajwz shamṭṭa' ya 'ahirah* "Shut up old woman of hell, repent to your god, you prostitute,

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you old woman, fie on you old woman of hell, you piece of shit, you old woman, may you enter hellfire, you old crone, you prostitute".

This posting includes themes such as sex (*prostitute*) and scatology (*piece of shit*), and functions including name-calling which targets physical appearance (*old crone*) and cursing (*may you enter hellfire*). This one comment also includes several points that would be of interest from the perspective of gendered discourses, namely prostitution and appearance.

Thus, 1) the popularity of YouTube, 2) the freedom its users enjoy despite the official rules, and 3) the massive amount and diversity of abusive language available even in single postings, make YouTube fascinating to explore from the perspective of gender and discourse. Moreover, the various genres of videos and the enormous number of comments that include abusive language render YouTube a rich source of data for investigating the use of abusive language in the construction of gendered identities. Therefore, a corpus of YouTube comments will be built to provide the data required for my study of abusive language and gender. These comments can be considered as consisting a discourse community which is a subset of the broader Arabic-speaking discourse community.

3.8 The YouTube Arabic discourse community

Guiberanu (2007:11) suggests that in order for a group of people to be called a "nation", certain (psychological, cultural, territorial, historical, and political) criteria should be met. Guiberanu defines a nation as "a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future, and claiming the right to rule itself" (Guiberanu, 2007:11). Bassiouney (2009) argues that Arabs see themselves as "one nation" because "they have a common colonial history, they occupy a specific geographical space, they share

nostalgia for a glorious past and they speak 'Arabic'" (Bassiouney, 2009:208). This perceived "nation" corresponds closely to the Arabic-speaking world as introduced in Chapter 1.

The Arab "nation" can also be regarded as an *imagined community* according to Anderson's (1983/2006) definition of a nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006:6). Anderson (2006) suggests that a nation is *imagined* because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006:6). So, if the Arabic-speaking world is an imagined community we may ask is it also a *discourse community*?

Swales (1990) proposes six characteristics necessary for identifying a group of people as a *discourse community*. A *discourse community* 1) has a broadly agreed set of common goals, 2) has mechanisms of intercommunication among members, 3) uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback, 4) utilises and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims, 5) has acquired specific lexis, and 6) has a number of members who have a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise (Swales, 1990:24-27). Also, members of a discourse community adopt a register of language and understand and utilise concepts and expectations which are set up with a particular community (Baker & Ellece, 2011:33). Given this definition and the considerations discussed above, arguably the Arab world can be seen as an overarching discourse community within which we can also identify a multitude of more specific discourse communities (see 1.4).

Just like physical communities, online communities can be referred to as *discourse communities* (Baker & Ellece, 2011:33). Although people online interact "without physical presence and without clear or rigid roles", it is impossible to totally separate online and

offline activity (Barton & Lee, 2013:34). For instance, online networking sites "may constitute an extended social context in which to express one's actual personality characteristics, thus fostering accurate interpersonal perceptions" (Back et al., 2010:372). Because it is not possible to completely separate online and offline worlds, interactions on YouTube can be considered as constituting a *discourse community* which is a subset of the broader Arabic-speaking discourse community. This specific community's discourse is the object of my study.

One potential issue with studying YouTube/online commenting is that it is difficult to know the comment posters' real identities, including their gender. This is because on YouTube (and on other online public spaces) users use nicknames or screen-names instead of their real names, and it is entirely possible and not unlikely that at least some males use female nicknames and vice versa. One reason for not using one's real name is that "people do not already know each other and there may be safety issues if authentic information is given" (Barton & Lee, 2013:69). Therefore, little can be said about gendered *usage* of abuse; in light of this, my study is on gender-*targeted* abuse and it does not take the gender of the author into account. Nonetheless, not showing aspects of their real identities does not necessarily mean that YouTube users want to deceive others; the anonymous nature of YouTube comments sections may encourage users to be playful and creative in their language use (cf. Barton & Lee, 2013:69). For instance, we will see in this thesis many examples of comments that include several types of bad language within one YouTube comment. This may be due to a phenomenon of reciprocity, that is, a situation where as soon as one person starts to make use of abuse, this seems to function as an invitation for other people to not only abuse as well but to intensify their language by adding more (and maybe stronger) terms (see 6.3.4). As a native speaker, I know that the practice of, for instance, applying a long string of abusive swearwords against a target would be unlikely to be done to a person's face. Therefore, abuse

online is different to face-to-face contexts, which in turn implies that findings on online data will be ungeneralisable to face-to-face communication.

3.9 A corpus of YouTube comments

Corpora can be divided into two broad types in terms of the range of text categories included in them: *general* and *specific-purpose* corpora (McEnery et al., 2006:15). A *general corpus* is one supposed to represent a language or language variety as a whole. In contrast, *specific-purpose corpora* are domain- (e.g. politics or science) or genre- (e.g. academic prose or computer-mediated communication) specific and are designed for a particular study or research project. I will follow the second approach in this study, i.e. I will design and build a specific-purpose corpus to study abusive language in Arabic.

Even in a specific-purpose corpus it is impossible to exhaustively study every utterance or sentence of a language or language variety (in my case CMC data available on YouTube). This makes sampling unavoidable (McEnery et al., 2006:13). Sampling decisions about the overall design of a corpus are linked to considerations of, for instance, "the kinds of texts included, the number of texts, the selection of particular texts, the selection of text samples from within texts, and the length of text samples" (Biber, 1993:243). Also, corpus creators sample texts in order to make their corpus as *balanced* and *representative* (of the language or language variety in question) as practically possible (McEnery et al., 2006:19).

In this section, I discuss ethical issues in building my corpus; I also review balance and representativeness in corpus design, and then demonstrate how this applies to my corpus.

3.9.1 Ethical issues in building my corpus

Discussing ethical concerns surrounding the gathering of data from the Internet, McEnery and Hardie (2012:59) suggest three ways of addressing copyright issues. First, corpus builders could contact copyright holders and request permission to use the data. Second, they could collect data from websites that allow the reuse of texts. Third, they could collect data without seeking permission. I follow the third approach in building my corpus, for several reasons.

If a corpus is not intended to be redistributed, no objections can be made to someone downloading a single copy of a document from the Internet onto one computer for their own use, because "such copying happens every time a web browser visits a page" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012:58). Moreover, Baker (2006/2011:38) acknowledges that obtaining permission is not always a possibility especially in (critical) studies that may show the text or the producer of text in an undesirable light. Baker (2014) also suggests that there may be no need to request anyone's permission to use texts that are already in the public domain(Baker, 2014:10).

My corpus consists of comments posted on YouTube. Since the original commenters have not, so far as I know, disclaimed their copyright in the comments, they presumably retain it, and thus I use material whose copyright belongs to someone else. However, as the comments constitute speech in a public environment, I consider that there should be no ethical problem with analysing the comments (especially since I am not going to distribute copies to any other parties). Ethical approval to use YouTube comments in my study has been granted by Lancaster University (see Appendix B).

3.9.2 Theoretical considerations

A *balanced* corpus is one which "contains texts from a wide range of different language genres and text domains" (Baker et al., 2006:18). In order for a corpus to be considered *balanced*, the texts it includes are supposed to be quantitatively representative of the language or language variety in question (McEnery et al., 2006:16). Corpus balance is "largely an act of faith rather than a statement of fact" because there is no scientific measure of corpus balance and, therefore, balance relies on intuition and estimates (McEnery et al., 2006:16). However, corpus builders often adopt an existing corpus model when constructing their corpora because by doing so they assume balance will be achieved (McEnery et al., 2006:17). Explicit documenting of corpus design criteria is also important for balanced corpora, so that corpus users can make appropriate claims on the basis of these corpora (McEnery et al., 2006:18).

On the other hand, the *representativeness* of a corpus "refers to the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population" (Biber, 1993:243). According to Biber, variability can be considered from situational (or external) and from linguistic (or internal) perspectives. Situational criteria refer to the range of text types in a corpus; whereas linguistic criteria relate to the range of linguistic distribution in the corpus (Biber, 1993:243).

The first aspect of representativeness, according to Biber (1993:243), is the range of text types included in a corpus. This requires, first, a full definition of the population that the sample is intended to represent, and, second, the techniques used to select the sample from the population. The definition of a population has at least two parts. The first is the boundaries of the population (what texts are included and excluded). The second is the hierarchical organization of texts within the population (what text categories are included in the population, and what are their definitions).

The second aspect that determines the representativeness of a corpus according to Biber (1993), is the range of linguistic distributions. This means that linguistic features are differently distributed (within texts, across texts, across text types) and a "representative corpus must enable analysis of these various distributions" (Biber, 1993:243). Linguistic representativeness depends on two parts. First, the range of text types, i.e. if the corpus "does not represent the range of text types in a population, it will not represent the range of linguistic distributions" (Biber, 1993:243). This has already been discussed above. Second, the number of words within each text sample, the number of samples per text, and the number of texts within each text type.

3.9.3 Implementation

The definition of the population of texts is that it consists of all comments on YouTube that are written in the Arabic language and that include abusive language. My sample is a subset of such comment threads, selected in such a way as to get as large a collection of these comments as possible. Therefore, my sample is the texts included in my corpus of YouTube comments that I downloaded[6], all of which I believe to have been posted between July, 2006 (the date when the oldest video within my sample was uploaded) and July, 2013 (the date when I finished downloading the comments). Hierarchically, ten major text domains and various subgenre distinctions within these domains are defined. The domains are *celebrities, commerce and economy, entertainment and leisure, law, poetry, politics, religion, science and technology, sex,* and *sports.* I created this list of domains and assigned each video a domain in the process of collection. Part of the process by which I

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[6]The comments were automatically downloaded using a PHP script written by Andrew Hardie.

came up with the list of domains is that these domains reflect dominant TV programme themes in the Arab world (many of the videos were actually recorded from TV channels).

The decision to devise my own set of domains was informed by several factors. First, YouTube does not have its own domain structure. When they upload videos, YouTube users have to assign a category for their video, choosing one out of 16 categories, viz *cars & vehicles, comedy, education, entertainment, film & animation, gaming, howto & style, music, news & politics, non-profit & activism, people & blogs, pets & animals, public, science & technology, sport,* and *travel & events*[7]. However, these categories are not very precise. For instance, *news* can cover numerous topics including other categories on the list above. The categories *cars & vehicles* and *sport* overlap, as motor racing is a kind of sport. The list of categories lacks genres such as religion and literature, which are the real domains of a large number of videos. Moreover, even if video uploaders assign a category to their videos, the audience cannot see the assigned category because there is nothing on the video webpage to show it. Therefore, it would be impossible to collect texts and classify them according to the 16 categories built into YouTube.

Second, as a YouTube user I observe the videos linked to the domains on my list to be among the most watched videos that trigger the use of abusive language. This does not mean other videos are watched less, but, for instance, videos intended for children, although their viewership statistics are high, do not seem to trigger abusive language. To test this, I downloaded comments in response to three videos that are intended for children. The three videos have been watched 17,692,443 times and yet received only 907 comments, within which no terms of abuse occur at all.

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[7]As a matter of fact, users who upload videos can choose any category for their videos regardless of whether the selected category corresponds to the *real* category/genre of the video.

Furthermore, because the notion of balance depends heavily on the researcher's intuition and best estimates (McEnery et al., 2006:16), I have intuitively selected subdomains to ensure that each domain has at least a minimum number of different topics. This diversity of domains and subdomains is important, for instance, to identify the full range of masculine/feminine terms of abuse in different contexts.

To ensure that each thread is linked to its respective domain, and because it is not enough to just rely on the titles of the videos to determine the domain, I decided to watch the videos. Based on watching all short videos and having a quick look at the longer videos, I define the text domains as follows:

1- Celebrities: comments in response to videos featuring celebrities (actresses, actors, singers, sports people, religious leaders, politicians, billionaires, journalists, etc.).

2- Commerce and economy: comments in response to videos about issues related to finance, money, goods, markets, trade, corruption, etc.

3- Entertainment and leisure: comments to videos linked to films, performances, series, etc. that are intended to amuse or interest people when they are not working or studying.

4- Law: comments in response to videos concerned with or relating to laws.

5- Poetry: comments in response to videos of poetry recited.

6- Politics: comments in response to videos about politics and politicians.

7- Religion: comments in response to videos linked to belief in god and religious ceremonies, duties, etc.

8- Science and technology: comments in response to videos about science, scientific discoveries, technologies, etc.

9- Sex: comments in response videos on various sex-related issues.

10- Sports: comments in response to videos on issues about sports and games.

Table 3.2 shows the hierarchical organization of text domains in my corpus.

Table 3.2 Hierarchical organization of text domains in my corpus

No.	Domains	Subdomains
1	Celebrities	Interviews, scandals, reports
2	Commerce and economy	Islamic economy, loan interests, inflation, bankruptcy, e-commerce, industry, projects, state budgets, prices, salaries, monopoly, unemployment, mortgages, poverty, boycott, corruption,
3	Entertainment and leisure	Series, films, plays, Big Brother, candid camera, quiz shows, music,
4	Law	Tribunals, sentences, executions, arrests, prisons, torture, mafias, human rights, legislations, murder
5	Poetry	Classical, modern standard Arabic, and colloquial poetry (love, satire, political, laments, praise,)
6	Politics	Interviews, speeches, reports, debates,
7	Religion	Fatwas, debates, commentaries
8	Science and technology	Mobile phones, computers, hacking, interviews, medicine (viruses, diseases, etc), astronomy, discoveries, documentaries,
9	Sex	Prostitution, homosexuality, gay rights, jokes, rape, hot scenes
10	Sports	Games/matches, sports people, car racing, match analysis, fights, interviews

Ideally, a balanced and representative corpus of Internet comments would contain the same number of 1) word tokens per comment, 2) comments per thread, 3) comments per subdomain, 4) comments per domain, 5) subdomains, 6) threads, and 7) tokens per domain. However, McEnery and Hardie stress that having an ideal corpus for a given (living) language "simply will never be … [and construction of corpora] must sometimes be determined by pragmatic considerations" (McEnery & Hardie, 2012:12-13). In the case of my corpus, several factors prevent the ideal scenario from being realised.

First, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, each YouTube comment has a 500 character limit. But YouTube comments vary in their length ranging from one word to tens of words. Second, in my corpus the number of comments per thread range from 30 to 11,403 (I

only included threads with 30+ comments in my corpus). This huge difference exists because videos differ in their popularity and number of views (in my corpus ranging from tens to millions of views). Consequently, the number of threads downloaded will also vary across domains.

However, despite inevitable differences in the numbers of threads and comments, every effort was made to strike a balance between the domains in terms of the final number of words. Biber et al. suggest that having an equal number of words in each sample is crucial for "providing a reliable count of features in a text" (Biber et al., 1998/2006:249). I therefore decided to download at least 200,000 words for each domain. The final number of words was roughly the same across all domains (ranging from 200,496 to 200,860 words) making the size of the corpus slightly more than two million words. Table 3.3 illustrates details of my corpus.

Table 3.3 A corpus of YouTube comments

No.	Domain	No. of threads	No. of comments	No. of words
1	Commerce & economy	51	12,438	200,795
2	Celebrities	20	22,761	200,623
3	Entertainment & Leisure	39	27,490	200,657
4	Law	33	10,582	200,777
5	Poetry	26	18,227	200,736
6	Politics	20	11,380	200,496
7	Religion	9	8,966	200,728
8	Sex	24	22,782	200,754
9	Science & Technology	42	17,550	200,860
10	Sports	39	14,291	200,620
	TOTAL	**303**	**166,467**	**2,007,046**

It is notable that the religion category contains fewer threads than the others (half as many as the celebrities and politics categories, for instance), and fewer comments overall.

This may mean that the data within the religion category is less broadly distributed than the data in the other categories, in two senses. Since it contains fewer, longer individual comments, this category potentially represents the language of fewer speakers than do the other categories. Moreover, since fewer threads are sampled, the range of subject matter in the sampled text is likely to be more limited than in the other categories. This has implications for interpreting results from this category. That is, because of these points, the results from the religion category may not represent as common a discourse as the results from the other categories. It will be worth bearing these implications in mind when thinking about the data from the religion category in comparison to the data from the other categories.

3.10 A description of the data and the transliteration scheme used

The data used in this study is in the Arabic language, and the overwhelming majority was originally posted to YouTube written in Arabic script. While Arabic in online contexts has sometimes been represented using the Latin script, due in part to hardware/software limitations, the data I collected from YouTube contains only a very few examples of Arabic words written in the Latin script.

Codeswitching and writing in English are not a common practice in my YouTube corpus. A possible reason for this phenomenon is that all my videos are in Arabic (i.e. intended for Arabic speakers, without any code switching) which, naturally, invite responses in the Arabic language (cf. Barton & Lee, 2013:57). In general, when web users write they "often consider who is going to view the written content they create" (Barton & Lee, 2013:56). Arabic comment posters thus may write their comments in Arabic without code switching, even though it is not unlikely that many of them do speak English, because the

prompt of the Arabic-language video focuses them on an imagined audience that is monolingually Arabic-speaking.

Arabic written in non-Arabic scripts is very rare in my data. I suspect that the use of non-Arabic script is not very common in my corpus because YouTube is available in Arabic (see 3.6).

Figure 3.1 illustrates the original graphical layout of a sample YouTube thread.

Figure 3.1 A screenshot of a YouTube thread
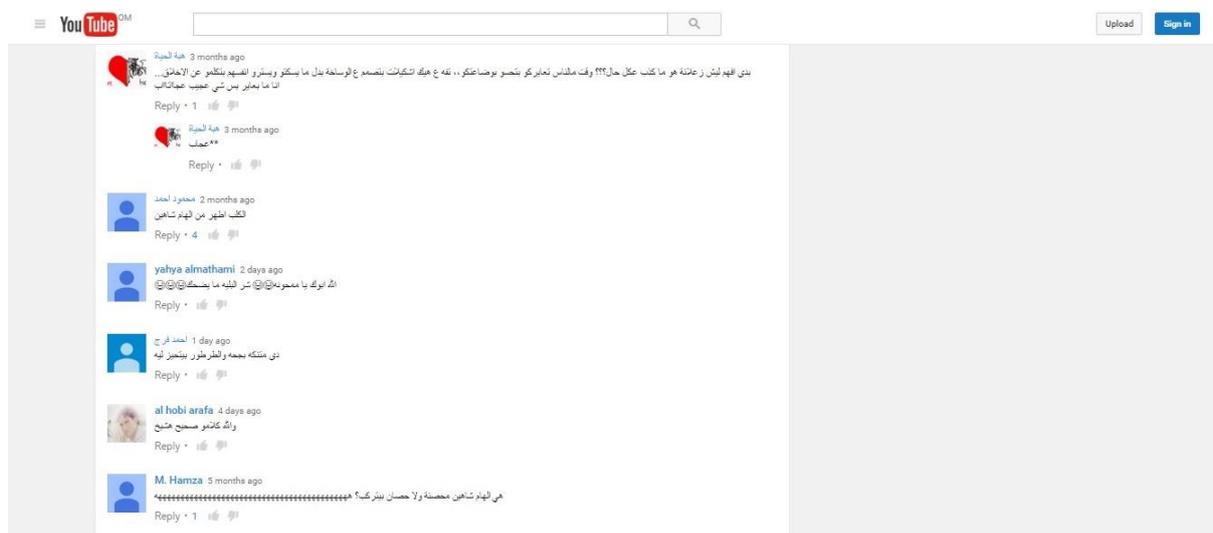
Following the usual practice for studies on Arabic linguistics that are published in English, in my thesis I transliterate all Arabic examples. I follow the transliteration scheme used in one of the most widely known and used translations of the Qur'an, that of Abdullah Yusuf Ali (2009 [1934]) (see Appendix A).

3.11 Classification of abusive language

This section is concerned with the words selected for analysis and their classification for this study. The selected words will be classified as belonging to their taboo themes mentioned in Section 2.3, e.g. *sex, religion, animal terms of abuse*. I will first provide justifications for looking at a limited set of words and for the use of wordlists to produce a list of terms of abuse. The list of selected words is then presented with their classifications.

Due to the paucity of prior studies on abusive Arabic and, consequently, the unavailability of any existing list of terms of abuse to start with for this study, I have resorted to WordSmith Tools 6.0[8] (Scott, 2013) to produce a list of all the words in my corpus. The wordlist produced contains 210,910 word types. Most of these words are low frequency. In order to identify all terms of abuse, I have had to read the whole wordlist. Although this was a time-consuming approach, this way I made sure that the chance of missing any terms of abuse was minimal. It was especially necessary because of the numerous (unconventional) ways in which words are written in YouTube comment sections. Thus, each word may have different possible (mis)spellings. Alternate spellings may arise from regional phonetic variation; for example *alqaḥbah* "prostitute(f)" is pronounced *alkaḥbah* in countries like Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine. This is because uvular *q* shifts to velar *k* in these dialects of Arabic, and this may be reflected in the spelling of speakers from these countries. Also, the "exaggerated use of spelling" typical of online writing (Crystal, 2006:37) may result in variant spellings, e.g. spellings may include repeated letters as in *ḥayawaaaaaan* meaning *ḥayawan* "animal(m)". Examination of the full frequency list allowed all variant forms to be

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[8] WordSmith Tools is a software package designed for analysing how words behave in texts and corpora (Baker et al., 2006:169). Because these tools work with Arabic texts and because of my own familiarity with these tools, I use WordSmith to produce wordlists, word frequency, and concordance lines.

detected (I count variant forms along with their standardised equivalents for the purposes of frequency counts).

The initial list of terms of abuse included 329 types (10,326 tokens). I discarded some of these words for several reasons. First, terms of abuse which have one form that can refer to both sexes are discarded, e.g. *bihymah* "animal", *ḥasharah* "insect", *rakhmah* "Egyptian vulture [coward]". Second, plurals are discarded because the masculine plural in Arabic can refer to both sexes. Third, because the wordlist contains only single words, compound terms of abuse, such as *ibn alḥaram* "son of sin [i.e. bastard]" are not included on my final list. This is because *ibn* "son" and *alḥaram* "sin" when separated are not terms of abuse (or bad language in any way). All in all, while acknowledging their possible contribution to the findings of this study, the decision to discard these three categories of item is a pragmatic one. After having discarded the above, the final list contained 281 types which are all singular masculine/feminine marked terms of abuse (nouns or adjectives).

After these exclusions, I decided that it would be useful to group the terms of abuse according to the taboo themes discussed in Section 2.3 (this forms a response to RQ3). Thus, 11 taboo themes were identified. Table 3.4 illustrates the themes and terms of abuse identified.

Table 3.4 Taboo themes and terms of abuse

	Taboo theme	Terms of abuse
1	Animal and insect terms (51 types)	*baghl* "mule(m)", *baqarah* "cow", *timsaḥ* "crocodile(m)", *tays* "he-goat", *thuʿban* "serpent(m)", *thawr* "bull", *jamws* "buffalo(m)", *jamwsah* "buffalo(f)", *jaḥsh* "young donkey(m)", *jaḥshah* "young donkey(f)", *jarbwʿ* "jerboa(m)", *jarbwʿah* "jerboa(f)", *jurdh* "rat", *jurdhah* "rat(f)", *jarw* "puppy", *ḥimar* "donkey(m)", *ḥimarah* "donkey(f)", *ḥayawan* "animal(m)", *ḥayawanah* "animal(f)", *khirtyt* "rhinoceros(m)", *kharwf* "sheep(m)", *khufaash* "bat(m)", *khinzyr* "pig(m)", *khinzyrah* "sow(f)", *dub* "bear(m)", *dubah* "bear(f)", *dynaṣwr* "dinosaur(m)", *zaḥif* "reptile(m)", *shambanzy* "chimpanzee(m)", *ṣwṣ* "chick(m)", *ḍabʿ* "hyena(m)", *ḍabʿah* "hyena(f)", *ḍifdaʿ* "frog(m)", *ḍifdaʿah* "frog(f)", *ʿijl* "calf(m)", *ʿanz* "he-goat", *ʿanzah* "she-goat", *ghurab* "crow(m)", *ghanamah* "sheep(f)", *faʾr* "mouse(m)", *faʾrah* "mouse(f)", *qird* "monkey(m)", *qirdah* "monkey(f)", *qiṭ* "cat(m)", *qiṭah* "cat(f)", *kabsh* "sheep(m)", *kalb* "dog(m)", *kalbah* "bitch", *labwah* "lioness", *naʿjah* "sheep(f)", *ṣarṣwr* "cockroach(m)"
2	Sex and sexuality (58 types)	*baghiyah* "prostitute(f)", *balaʿ* "[penis] swallower(m)", *balaʿah* "[penis] swallower(f)", *bwyah* "masculine lesbian", *khuntha* "hermaphrodite", *khrwnq* "effeminate gay", *khakry* "effeminate gay", *khanyth* "effeminate gay", *khanythah* "prostitute(f)", *khawal* "effeminate gay", *daʿir* "prostitute(m)", *daʿirah* "prostitute(f)", *rakib* "rider(m)", *zaghib* "fucker(m)", *mazghwb* "fucked(m)", *mazghwbah* "fucked(f)", *zamil* "homosexual(m)", *zany* "adulterer", *zanyah* "adulteress", *siḥaqiyah* "lesbian", *shadh* "homosexual(m)", *shadhah* "homosexual(f)", *sharmwṭ* "prostitute(m)", *sharmwṭah* "prostitute(f)", *ḍurwṭ* "prostitute(f)", *ʿahir* "prostitute(m)", *ʿahirah* "prostitute(f)", *qaḥib* "prostitute(m)", *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)", *laḥas* "licker(m)", *lizbyan* "lesbian", *laqyṭ* "foundling(m)", *laqyṭah* "foundling(f)", *lwṭy* "homosexual(m)", *maʾbwn* "catamite", *makhṣy* "castrated", *mustaʾnith* "womanish", *mustarjil* "mannish(m)", *mustarjilah* "mannish(f)", *maṣaṣ* "sucker(m)", *maṣaṣah* "sucker(f)", *mamḥwn* "sex-crazed(m)", *mamḥwnah* "sex-crazed(f)", *munḥarif* "pervert(m)", *munḥarifah* "pervert(f)", *mankwḥ* "fucked(m)", *mankwḥah* "fucked(f)", *mwmis* "prostitute(f)", *manywk/mitnak* "fucked(m)", *manywkah/mitnakah* "fucked(f)", *nayak/nayik* "fucker(m)", *nakiḥ* "fucker(m)", *niswanjy* "womanizer", *naghal* "bastard(m)", *ʿarṣ* "pimp(m)", *ʿarṣah* "pimp(f)", *qawad* "pimp(m)", *qawadah* "pimp(f)"
3	Religious Slur (36 types)	*bakri* "Bakri(m) [derogatory for Sunni Muslim]", *rafiḍy* "Refuser(m)", *rafiḍyah* "Refuser(f)", *ṣafawy* "Savaid(m)", *ṣalybyah* "crusader(f)", *ṣalyby* "crusader(m)", *ṣihywny* "Zionist(m)", *ʿilj* "infidel(m)", *kafir* "infidel(m)", *kafirah* "infidel(f)", *mujasim* "Embodier(m)", *majwsy* "Magi(m)",

		majwsyah "Magi(f)", *murtad* "apostate(m)", *murtadah* "apostate(f)", *masyḥy* "Christian(m)", *masyḥyah* "Christian(f)", *mulḥid* "atheist(m)", *mulḥidah* "atheist(f)", *mal'wn* "damned/cursed(m)", *mal'wnah* "damned/cursed(f)", *naṣiby* "Nasibi(m) [derogatory for Sunni Muslim]", *naṣibyah* "Nasibi(f), *naṣrany* "Christian(m)", *naṣranyah* "Christian(f)", *nuṣayry* "Nusayri(m) [derogatory for Shiite Muslim]", *nuṣayryah* "Nusayri(f), *hindwsy* "Hindu(m)", *'iblys* "Satan(m)", *shayṭan* "Satan(m)", *shayṭanah* "she-devil", *wathny* "pagan(m)", *wahaby* "Wahhabi(m)", *wahabyah* "Wahabi(f)", *yahwdy* "Jew(m)", *yahwdyah* "Jew(f)"
4	Stupidity and mental illness (31 types)	*'blah* "stupid(m)", *balha'* "stupid(f)", *'thwal* "stupid(m)", *'ḥmaq* "stupid(m)", *ḥamqa'* "stupid(f)", *'khraq* "foolish(m)", *kharqa'* "foolish(f)", *'hbal* "idiot(m)", *habylah/habla'* "idiot(f)", *jahil* "illiterate(m)", *jahilah* "illiterate(f)", *dalkh* "stupid(m)", *dalkhah* "stupid(f)", *safyh* "foolish(m)", *safyhah* "foolish(f)", *'abyṭ* "dumb(m)", *'abyṭah* "dumb(f)", *ghaby* "stupid(m)", *ghabyah* "stupid(f)", *ghashym* "stupid(m)", *ma'fwn* "moron(m)", *mutakhalif* "retard(m)", *mutakhalifah* "retard(f)", *majnwn* "insane(m)", *majnwnah* "insane(f)", *makhbwl* "insane(m)", *makhbwlah* "insane(f)", *mukharif* "senile(m)", *mukharifah* "senile(f)", *ma'twh* "imbecile(m)", *mughafal* "dumb(m)",
5	Immorality (25 types)	*ḥaqir* "low(m)", *ḥaqirah* "low(f)", *daywth* "cuckold(m)", *daywthah* "cuckold(f)", *zindyq* "libertine(m)", *zindyqah* "libertine(f)", *safil* "immoral(m)", *safilah* "immoral(f)", *saqiṭ* "immoral(m)", *saqiṭah* "immoral(f)", *ḍay'* "immoral(m)", *'ary* "naked(m) [=immoral]", *'aryah* "naked(f)", *'irbyd* "libertine androisterer(m)", *'irbydha* "libertine androisterer(f)", *fajir* "dissolute(m)", *fajirah* "dissolute(f)", *fasiq* "dissolute(m)", *fasiqah* "dissolute(f)", *munḥaṭ* "immoral(m)", *munḥaṭah* "immoral(f)", *waṭy* "immoral(m)", *waṭyah* "immoral(f)", *waḍy'* "low(m)", *waḍy'ah* "low(f)",
6	Unpleasant personality (23 types)	*tafihah* "absurd(f)", *jaban* "coward(m)", *jabanah* "coward(f)", *khabyth* "mean(m)", *khabythah* "mean(f)", *khasys* "mean(m)", *khasysah* "mean(f)", *rakhyṣ* "cheap(m)", *rakhyṣah* "cheap(f)", *shaḥat* "beggar(m)", *shaḥatah* "beggar(f)", *shamṭaā* "hag(f)", *ṣu'lwk* "pauper(m)", *ṣu'lwkah* "pauper(f)", *ṭarṭwr* "weak and worthless(m)", *fashil* "loser(m)", *fashilah* "loser(f)", *muḥashish/ḥashash* "alcoholic/drug addict(m)", *munbatiḥ* "recumbent[coward](m)", *nadhil* "villain(m)", *nadhilah* "villain(f)", *waqiḥ* "impudent(m)", *waqiḥah* "impudent(f)",
7	Illness and physical disability (10 types)	*'jrab* "mangy(m)", *'ṣla'* "bald(m)", *'ṭrash* "deaf(m)", *''raj* "lame(m)", *''ma* "blind(m)", *''war* "blind(m)", *'qra'* "bald(m)", *maryḍ* "sick(m)", *maryḍah* "sick(f)", *mu'aq* "handicapped(m)",
8	Dirt and rottenness (20 types)	*khayys* "rotten(m)", *khayysah* "rotten(f)", *rijsah* "filthy(f)", *zift* "pitch(m)", *fasid* "rotten/corrupt(m)", *fasidah* "rotten/corrupt(f)", *qadhir* "filthy(m)", *qadhirah* "filthy(f)", *ma'fin* "rotten(m)", *ma'finah* "rotten(f)", *muqrif*

		"disgusting(m)", *muqrifah* "disgusting(f)", *muqazzizah* "disgusting(f)", *nitn*"smelly(m)", *nitnah* "smelly(f)", *najis* "filthy(m)", *najisah* "filthy(f)", *wiskh* "dirty(m)", *wiskhah* "dirty(f)", *ṭaqaʿ* "farter(m)",
9	Racial slur (11 types)	*ʾʿjamy* "Persian(m) [derogatory]", *ʾʿjamyah* "Persian(f), *ʾʿraby* "Bedouin(m) [derogatory]", *bidwy* "Bedouin(m)", *khal*"balck person (m)", *zaty*"Zat?(m)", *zinjy* "Negro", *zinjyah* "Negress", *ṣaʿydy* "Sa'idi(m) [Upper Egyptian]", *ghajary* "gypsy(m)", *ghajaryah* "gypsy(f)"
10	Crime and violence (9 types)	*barbary* "barbaric(m)", *barbaryah* "barbaric(f)", *balṭajy* "thug(m)", *balṭajyah* "thug(f)", *shibyḥ* "thug(m)", *shibyḥah* "thug(f)", *firʿwn* "Pharaoh(m)", *hamaji* "savage(m)", *hamajiyah* "savage(f)",
11	Political slur (7 types)	*ʾikhwanjy* "Muslim Brother [derogatory]", *baʿthy* "Ba'athist(m)", *ʿamyl*"hireling(m)", *ʿamylah* "hireling(f)", *maswny* "Freemason(m)", *murtazaq* "mercenary(m)", *murtazaqah* "mercenary(f)",

This large number of words makes investigating all instances of all the terms of abuse simply beyond the space limits of my study. In such situations with too much data for full manual concordance analysis, researchers like Sinclair (1999) recommend selecting random 30 concordance lines, then selecting another 30 and so on until nothing new is found. I follow a similar procedure to address research question 1. That is, I will look at 30 concordance lines, and then another 30 and so on, for selected terms of abuse and, then, categorize target descriptors until no new descriptor category emerges (for details of this procedure, see 5.2.1). RQ2 will be addressed by considering all the words in Table 3.4 above in terms of frequency and whether they have the other gender form; only the most frequent words will be subject to further analysis (see 6.2). RQ3 will be addressed by examining the cultural scripts (see 6.3) of abusive language targeted at men and women in a sample of 300 concordance lines for male targets and 300 for female targets (see 6.3.2).

Some of the words in Table 3.4, for instance *kalb* "dog", *ḥimar* "donkey", *mutakhalif* "retard", *ḥayawan* "animal", *alqadhir* "filthy", and *wiskh* "dirty", have non-abusive meanings, including their most basic literal meanings. To check whether these words are

being used with their literal meaning, I looked at the first 100 concordance lines of each word. *kalb, ḥimar, alqadhir, wiskh* were all used abusively in all cases, targeting people. Meanwhile, only 4% and 12% of instances respectively of *mutakhalif* and *ḥayawan* had the literal meaning. All in all, each word type in the table above has at least one abusive meaning targeted at people. I assume that any terms of abuse which are not in my corpus may occur in Arabic discourse generally but will be rare (see 6.2.2.1).

3.12 Method of analysis

3.12.1 Analysing the discourse

My aim here is to outline the procedures which will be applied to analysing gendered discourses surrounding the target of abusive language within my corpus. As mentioned earlier, I follow Baker's (2006, 2014) methodology for using corpora to analyse discourse and gender.

My main method for all research questions is qualitative analysis of concordance lines around examples of terms of abuse in my corpus. However, frequency wordlists are used for at least two purposes. First, as mentioned earlier, a wordlist was used to compile a list of all terms of abuse in the corpus.

Also, the frequencies of the selected terms of abuse across the different domains will be compared. This comparison, which will show whether terms of abuse occur more in (a) specific domain(s) and less in other domains, will help in addressing research question 3, by looking at frequency links between particular domains and male/female gender identities. Examples of terms of abuse which are especially frequent in a specific domain will be subject to investigation in further detail.

The next step will be to identify patterns of language use on the basis of repetition. This will be done by scanning the concordance lines, looking at the words and phrases that occur on the right and left hand side of the terms of abuse in an attempt to pick out similarities and differences and, consequently, note discourses.

In order to address RQ1: *What roles are constructed for men and women via discourses involving the use of abusive language?*, I will first look for descriptors, i.e. any nouns/adjectives or nominal/adjectival phrases used to label the target (see 3.3, 5.2). This method is particularly useful in examining how social actors relate to gender (Baker, 2014:177). For instance, in the following example *bint 'arṣ* "daughter of a pimp" and *bint almitnakah* "daughter of a fucked woman" are counted as descriptors in this analysis because they are used to label the woman targeted by the term-of-abuse node word *wiskhah* "dirty":

- *wiskhah da 'inti bint 'ars ya bint almitnakah...* "**Dirty** girl! You're a daughter of a pimp(m), daughter of a fucked woman… ".

However, *bahaym* "animals" in the following example is not counted as a descriptor, because it is not used to label *almudhy'ah* "the TV presenter(f)", the target of *wiskhah* "dirty"

- *wa allah alkul bahaym law almudhy'ah wiskhah ybqa kul ashsha'b almaṣry biytnak ya mitnakyn.* "I swear by Allah everyone is an animal! [Does it mean] if the TV presenter is a **dirty** woman, all Egyptians are fucked! You fucked [people]".

After identifying the descriptors, I group them into categories with semantic commonalities (this process is inevitably subjective). Some words/phrases can validly be grouped under more than one category. In these cases I will select the category which I consider semantically most clearly associated with the words/phrases. For instance, *qawad* "pimp" can be linked to at least two of categories I establish: sex and sexuality, and jobs.

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However, on the basis of my understanding as a native speaker, I decided that the most salient association in Arabic is with sex and sexuality (see 5.2.1).

RQ1 will also be addressed by investigating activation and passivation of the targets of abusive language, by scanning the concordance lines to identify instances where the targets of abusive language are represented as active or passive (5.3). The instances thus identified will be analysed in relation to who is represented as active/passive in the performance of what act.

RQ2: *How is the phenomenon of grammatical gender-marking of terms of abuse deployed in the discursive construction of gender identity?* will be addressed by examining:

1) whether the selected terms of abuse occur in both masculine and feminine forms and whether both forms are used abusively (6.2.2),

2) cross-domain analysis of frequency—as mentioned above, this will show whether one form of a term of abuse occurs more than the other in specific domain(s) (6.2.3) and,

3) contrastive collocation of masculine/feminine-marked words (6.2.4). The sets of collocates may be grouped semantically, thematically, or grammatically for further analysis. For instance, the collocates of *alqaḥbah* "prostitute" or *kalb* "dog" can be grouped and studied to see, for example, how the target of these terms of abuse is discursively constructed.

In addressing RQ2 and RQ3, I consider one term of abuse at a time, whereas in addressing RQ1 I disregard the precise terms of abuse used (see 6.1).

RQ3: *What cultural scripts are differentially involved in the construction of male identity vs. the construction of female identity via discourses involving abusive language?* will be addressed by thematic analysis of taboos exploited and *cultural scripts* of abusive language via looking at the motivation for use of grammatically gender-marked terms of

abuse in context (see 6.3); this is a form of pragmatic analysis. This interpretation is produced by examination of the entire comment around each concordance example (where necessary I refer to the whole thread of comments around that comment).

In addressing RQ3, context is used to work out the cultural scripts that motivate the use of abusive language against the target. For instance, *sharmwṭah,* although it means "prostitute(f)", is not always used because the target is believed literally to be a prostitute; it may be applied against a target believed to be a traitor, for instance. This has implications for the relationship between grammatical gender marking and actual, pragmatic, in-context meaning. Masculine/feminine-marked terms of abuse can reflect perceptions of sociolinguistic gender and, therefore, construct men/women in specific ways by constituting "sanctions against behaviour that violates gender roles" (James, 1998:399). This will indicate ways in which differences between the sexes are discursively constructed.

3.13 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the use of the corpus approach to linguistic studies and its advantages which are not available within other approaches. The integration of the corpus approach with the analysis of discourse has also been considered, with a focus on the techniques put forward by Baker (2006/2011, 2014). I have reviewed the media as a source of data and tried to show how censorship, especially in the Arab world, hinders studies of taboo language. I briefly discussed the potential the Internet has for language studies in general and for corpus-based studies in particular. A description of YouTube was given followed by the rationale for selecting YouTube comment sections for my data collection and a consideration of YouTube as an Arabic discourse community.

Next, I moved to discuss ethical issues related to my corpus, theoretical matters regarding corpus construction, and how these informed my corpus. This was followed by a brief description of the data and the transliteration scheme used. Then, the selection of terms of abuse to be analysed in this study was described, along with a thematic classification scheme. Finally, a method of analysis was outlined. This included an outline of the methodological procedures to be employed to analyse the discourses surrounding gendered abusive language in order to address the research questions of this study.

I now move on to provide some background on relevant issues of culture, which will inform much of what I say in the analyses that result from the investigations described in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Cultural context

4.1 Overview

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief summary of aspects of the cultural background of the Arab world that are relevant to abusive language; this will underpin parts of the discussion in the following chapters, because the cultural reasons "responsible for the semantics of offense" are not always obvious in a straightforward manner (Jay, 2000:153).

I will limit the discussion to themes that will be mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6; providing an extensive background explanation for every single term of abuse listed in Section 3.10 is simply beyond the scope of this thesis. Only terms of abuse with culture-specific connotations will be discussed. That is, "universal" terms of abuse such as *ghaby* "stupid", *jahil* "ignorant", *fashil* "loser", *khabyth* "mean", or *ḥaqir* "low"will not be explored here, because of their cross-cultural meaning. However, terms of abuse such as *kalb* "dog", *khinzyr* "pig", *khanyth* "effeminate gay", or *rafiḍy* "Refuser" will be discussed because of their culture-specific connotations.

Section 4.2 provides an account of issues related to the theme of sex and sexuality. In Section 4.3, some background on relevant religious slurs is given, followed in Section 4.4 by a consideration of the theme of dirt and rottenness. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the use of animal terms in abusive language (4.5).

4.2 Sex and sexuality

Sex is among the most taboo topics in Arab culture. This is because sex is closely related to the concept of honour and to religious beliefs on sexual morality. Honour is a highly prominent issue in Arab (and Muslim) cultures. Two types are recognised: *sharaf* and *'ird*. *Sharaf* is linked to a social unit (e.g. a tribe or family) as well as individuals (Feldner, 2000). *Sharaf* signifies social status related to model behaviour such as hospitality, generosity, courage in battle; it can be seen as the equivalent of "dignity" in Western cultures (Feldner, 2000). *'ird* is also linked to the reputation of a social unit, but it is about the accepted sexual conduct of females (Feldner, 2000). *'ird* translates approximately as "chastity" or "purity" in the West (Feldner, 2000). *'ird* can be gravely damaged when a woman misbehaves morally or when her "chastity is violated or when her reputation is tainted" (Feldner, 2000). In Arab culture, honour and especially *'ird* "is a critical theme for explaining status, power, and gender" (Venema and Bakker, 2004:51). This is especially true for women, who "feel the consequences of this as their reputation is of the utmost importance in upholding family honor. Virginity and chastity are central elements of this honor" (Venema and Bakker, 2004:51). Antoun (1968) suggests that, in Arab societies, to shout at a man "your mother's genitals" is the worst possible insult (Antoun, 1968:680). All this may help us understand why the following words are sexual terms of abuse.

Being described as ***qaḥbah/'ahirah/sharmwṭah*"prostitute"**[9] or ***zanyah* "adulteress"**[10] is a grave insult for women in Arab tradition. This is because an Arab woman's "femininity and modesty are determined by her ethical behavior" (Antoun, 1968:680) and women represent their families in their aspect as a moral corporation through

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[9] Henceforth, terms of abuse that will be investigated in the following chapters are bold.

[10] Adultery in Arab and/or Muslim cultures refers to extramarital sexual intercourse regardless of whether either or both participants are married to someone else.

women's reputation for modesty (Pitt-Rivers, 1954, cited in Antoun, 1968:680). To be a "prostitute" or "adulteress" involves a violation of modesty. "[T]he act of illicit sexual relations, including fornication and adultery … [is] regarded as a sin by the Quran" (Antoun, 1968:673); verse (17:32) in the Qur'an says "Nor come nigh to unlawful sex [i.e. adultery]: for it is a shameful (deed) and an evil, opening the road (to other evils)"[11]. Moreover, these beliefs about the modesty of women are closely related to the beliefs about the honour of men; we will see in the following chapters that many of my examples of, for instance *qaḥbah*, are, in fact, in the form of *ibn/wald alqaḥbah* "son of a prostitute", *bint alqaḥbah* "daughter of a prostitute", and *'akhw alqaḥbah* "brother of a prostitute".

This phraseology highlights the importance of kinship as an organizing factor. In the Arab world, kinship relations are a more prominent part of individual definitions than they are in other cultures such as Western cultures. For instance, very often people are referred to by patronymics; even though people in the Arab world have surnames, these are often left unused in favour of patronymics. There are also some parts of the Arab world where people are given names based on their (male) children. That is, once a person has children, others will stop calling him/her by given name and instead he/she will be called, for example, *'abu ḥamad* "the father of Hamad". The prevalence of kinship constructions (such as the aforementioned *ibn/wald alqaḥbah* "son of a prostitute") in abusive language, which will be evidenced in Chapters 5 and 6, is not only a feature of such abusive contexts. Rather, it is a specific use in abusive language of a very prominent theme, in terms of how the individual is characterised within society in the Arab world. There are also common terms of praise based on these kinship constructions, such as the idiom *hadha alshibl min dhaka al'asad* "this cub is from [i.e. son of] that lion [a chip off the old block]" and *ibn/wald 'abwh* "[He is] the son

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[11] Ali's (2009) translation of the meanings of the Holy Qur'an.

of his father"[12]. All these practices are part of the same ideological complex, that is, the prominence of kinship relations in defining someone's position in society in the Arab world. This links back to the point made in the previous paragraph that *family honour matters*, because family relationships are a part of how the individual is defined. By contrast, in other cultures, specifically Western culture, honour rests more on what the individual does or does not do, and less on what their family does or does not do.

A related concept to sex and honour is illegitimacy (see also 5.2.4, 5.2.16).Being an illegitimate child is a very serious issue in Arab cultures. This is because of issues related to family, the unit of social organization that "creates", "fosters", and "perpetuates" a) rituals, b) the codes of honour and morality, and c) the concept of collective self[13] (Sadiqi, 2003:53-54). These three designata are meant to control gender roles in society so as "to guarantee the structure and functioning of society" (Sadiqi, 2003:53). An Arab family, which is normally headed by the father and his male lineage, is "legally founded on blood relations" (Sadiqi, 2003:54). Therefore, adoption is illegal in both Sharia and secular law in most Arab countries, with the exception being Tunisia (Atighetchi, 2008:139). In order "to protect *an-nasab* 'descent' [i.e. blood relations], which is in the male line" (Sadiqi, 2003:56), children must be an outcome of marriage, not acquired through adoption nor begotten through forms of partnership other than marriage. These facts give us an additional insight into the use of kinship phraseology alongside terms for prostitution in Arabic terms of abuse.

Just as attitudes to prostitution are formed by more general ideologies concerning sex and honour, so are attitudes towards pimping. A man/woman who is called ***'arṣ/'arṣah*** **"pimp"** is seen as worthless and dishonourable because of the "job" he/she does arranging

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[12] Note that *ibn/wald 'umah* "[He is] a son of his mother" is considered an insult because it implies that "he" is spoiled or acts like a woman.

[13] See 6.2.4.3 for a brief discussion of *collective self* vs. personhood.

clients for prostitutes. Pimping is among the most socially frowned upon jobs; the money earned from this kind of illegal/irreligious job is considered *ḥaram* "prohibited" by religious and secular law.

Similar to calling a woman a "prostitute", labelling a man as **_khanyth_** **"effeminate"** or ***manywk*** **"fucked [penetrated]"** or a woman as ***bwyah*[14]** **"masculine lesbian"** (or *siḥaqyah* "lesbian") is extremely insulting. In Islam, homosexuality in the form of *liwaṭ* (anal intercourse between men) and *siḥaq* (lesbian intercourse) is among the *kaba'ir*, i.e. major sins or enormities. *liwaṭ* "is derived from the name of the Prophet Lot; most Qur'anic discussion of same-sex acts between men refer to the attempt by male townsfolk to molest Lot's angelic visitors" (Ali, 2006:76). The relevant passage in the Qur'an is as follows:

> We also (sent) Lwṭ: he said to his people: Do ye commit lewdness such as no people in creation (ever) committed before you? For ye practice your lusts on men in preference to women: ye are indeed a people transgressing beyond bounds. And his people gave no answer but: they said, Drive them out of your city: these are indeed men who want to be clean and pure!
>
> The Qur'an (7:80-82)

Allah's punishment against the people of the towns in questions, namely Sodom and Gomorrah, is subsequently stated in verse 7:84: "And we rained down on them a shower (of brimstone): then see what was the end of those who indulged in sin and crime!"

It has been suggested that homosexuality is forbidden because gays and lesbians "go against the natural disposition (fitrah) which Allaah has created in mankind" (Al-Munajjid, 2015). It is believed that homosexuality causes diseases and family break-up (Al-Munajjid,

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[14] In colloquial Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabic, *bwyah* refers to a masculine lesbian; it is an Arabized derivative of English *boy*.

2015). According to Sharia law, both the active and passive partners in anal sex shall be executed (this sentence applies to lesbians as well). However, although both partners in male homosexual sex are condemned according to religious and state law, to be the passive partner is socially seen as the bad role (see 5.2.16). The Sharia law punishment is not carried out in most Muslim countries, however. For example, Article 223 of the Omani Penal Code provides that

> Anyone who commits erotic acts with a person of the same sex shall be sentenced to imprisonment from six months to three years. The suspects of homosexual or lesbian intercourse shall be prosecuted without a prior complaint, if the act results in a public scandal. (Oman Penal Code, pp. 32)

Ali (2006) suggests that licit same-sex relationships are for "the vast majority of Muslims […] a categorical impossibility" (Ali, 2006:78) in any circumstance.

In this context, we understand the use of terms mentioned above as terms of abuse.

4.3 Religious slurs

Besides Islam as the religion of the majority of Arabs, Christianity and Judaism are also practiced in the Arab world. There are also multiple divisions within these religions. This makes the religious landscape "an extremely complex one" (Bassiouney, 2009:103) with continual clashes between different religious groups. Interreligious and intra-religious conflicts form the grounds for the invention and use of religious slurs (Hughes, 2006:265).

rafiḍy **"Refuser"** is an example of the kinds of religious slurs that are used by Muslims against Muslims. *arrawafiḍ* "the Refusers" (also called the *rafiḍah* and alternatively translated "the Rejectors") is a name with derogatory connotations, mostly used by Sunni

Muslims to refer to Twelve Shia Muslims in particular and to Shia Muslims in general. Momen (1985:73) suggests that *arrawafiḍ* is most likely to be used to refer to Shia Muslims because they deny the authority of Abu Baker, Omar and most other companions of the Prophet Mohammed. This refusal is of fundamental importance because it implies "a rejection of the whole body of [*Hadith*], transmitted by these companions, on which the structure of what was gradually evolving to be Sunni Islam was based" (Momen, 1985:73). Consequently, *arrawafiḍ* is used as an insult against Shiites. Thus, *rafiḍy* is a slur generated on the basis of an actual doctrinal difference between Sunni and Shiite Muslims.

An example of a religious slur prototypically directed at non-Muslims is **kafir "infidel"**. Hughes (1991) suggests that *kafir*, sometimes translated as "unbeliever", is a word loaded with religious as well as racist connotations, that it is used by Muslims of non-Muslims, and that use of the word *kafir* was curtailed by legal restraints and by awareness that the word should be taboo (Hughes, 1991/1998:179). Denotationally, a *kafir* is someone who does not believe in Allah, nor in the prophethood of Mohammed, nor in the revelation which he brought (Lewis, 1988:4). However, there is evidence that *kafir* is used by Muslims of Muslims (see 6.3.1 and 6.3.4.9). It is thus another clear example of a term with abusive or swearword nature at least in part separated from its denotational meaning.

4.4 Dirt and rottenness

Dirt is among the universal themes that abusive language draws upon (Hughes, 2006:xviii). Disgust "operates on the assumption that a substance (e.g., food) is contaminated because it is associated with or has had contact with 'dirt' or 'filth'" (Jay, 2000:199). Hence *wiskh* **"dirty"** and *qadhir* **"filthy"** are terms of abuse in Arabic.

Although a universal theme, dirt receives particular treatment in the Arab cultural context; Islam places a great emphasis on *ṭaharah,* i.e. spiritual and physical cleanliness. *ṭaharah* in Islam is the foundation-stone of faith in Allah; thus the purification of the soul requires the cleanliness of the body as the most elementary stage. It is believed that by

> enjoining cleanliness of body upon man Islam awakens him to the realisation of the fact that when impurities on the body of a man produce such unhealthy effects on his physical being and corrode his mental health, how miserable his life would be when his soul is polluted with impurities. (Al-Hajjaj, 1978:147)

In Islam, the topics of urination and excretion are considered *khabyth*, i.e. wicked and harmful (Dien, 2000:124, 185). A Muslim cannot perform religious rituals such as daily prayers and reading or touching the Qur'an unless their body is clean, because bodily cleanliness "enlightens the soul, for when the soul is aware of this cleanliness, purification is produced in it through the interaction of body and mind" (Abul Quasem, 1975:199). Therefore, to call a person "dirty" or "filthy" is to attribute both physical and spiritual uncleanliness to them. In 6.3.4.4, we will see that the dirt theme is also linked to several more abstract concepts, e.g. oppression, corruption, sexuality, immorality; the strength of Arab/Islamic association of literal cleanliness with spiritual purity may well play a part in the establishment and maintenance of these links.

4.5 Animal terms

Animal (and insect) terms figure remarkably in the history of abusive language (Hughes, 2006:11). This is because various connotations are linked to different animals and "[t]o call a person an animal's name [is] to evoke the negative animal traits in the victim" (Jay, 2000:196). Thus, when used to attack human beings, animal terms carry the cultural

connotations attached to that particular animal (see also 2.6 for a discussion of the offensiveness of animal terms). Used literally, the general term *ḥayawan* **"animal"** is a non-taboo label, but it functions as an insult when used to refer to human beings.

Islam "offers the view that other animals have an integrity or inherent value of their own" (Waldau, 2005:361). For instance, the Prophet Mohammed said "[w]hoever is kind to the creatures of Allah, is kind to himself" (Waldau, 2005:361). The Prophet also compared the doing of good or bad deeds to animals to similar acts done to human beings (Waldau, 2005:361). However, "among Muslims, as in any human culture, attitudes towards animals vary greatly and, indeed, encompass all possibilities, from animal-loving revisionists, to hardcore anthropocentrists" (Foltz, 2006:7), and indeed, there are culture-specific attitudes towards animals within the Arab world that depart notably from this general attitude.

For instance, various Islamic sects believe that "infidels after death become other animals or that hell is full of noxious nonhuman animals" (Waldau, 2005:361). Thus, in Arab societies, to compare someone with an abhorrent animal "is to wound his dignity deeply" (Masliyah, 2001:294). But what counts as *abhorrent* animal in this sense? Animal names in Arab culture can be grouped into at least two types; 1) insults (e.g. *ḥimar* "donkey" for stupidity) and 2) praise (e.g. *'asad* "lion" for bravery) (Foltz, 2006:66). With reference to gender, wild animals, like *'asad,* tend to be masculine words and tend to be used as terms of admiration rather than abuse. By contrast, we see that a domestic animal like *kalb* "dog", even though it is not highly thought of (see below), has two gender forms. Unlike *kalb,* which allows the derivation *kalbah* "bitch", *dh'ib* "wolf" does not license **dh'ibah*; specifying "she-wolf" instead requires adding the word *'untha* "female", as in *'untha aldh'ib* "female wolf/she-wolf" (see also 6.2.2.1).

Abou El Fadl (2005) gives an account of the range of tensions that *kalb* **"dog"** represents in Arabic and Islamic discourses, which may explain its use as a term of abuse. Much Islamic discourse around dogs focuses on a Hadith of the Prophet Mohammed which instructs that, if a dog licks a container, that container must be washed seven times with dust in one of the washings (Abou El Fadl, 2005:499). On account of this, dogs are seen as impure animals which void a Muslim's ritual purity (Abou El Fadl, 2004:499). Similarly, "angels, as God's agents of mercy and absolution, will not enter a home that has a dog" (Abou El Fadl, 2005:498-500). In Arabic literature, dogs are often portrayed as a cruel instrument in the hands of unjust rulers (Abou El Fadl, 2005:500). In the pre-modern Middle East, dogs were buried with the corpses of dissidents and rebels as a sign of contempt; and in modern times owners of dogs are socially frowned upon (Abou El Fadl, 2005:500). Thus, although in English, for example, it is an insult to say "You dog!", this is not a terribly severe insult; whereas in Arab culture, because attitudes towards dogs are consistently negative, *kalb* is a much stronger term of abuse.

In Arabic, *ḥimar* **"donkey"** is "[a synonym] for stupidity and foolishness" (Masliyah, 2001:293). In the Middle Ages (between about 1100 and 1500 AD), a knight might be punished by telling him to ride donkeys or by placing him on a donkey facing its tail (Masliyah, 2001:304). This theory of "stupidity" has support in the Qur'an. Verse 5:62 of the Qur'an says "The similitude of those who were charged with the (obligations of the) Mosaic law, but who subsequently failed in those (obligations), is that of a donkey which carries huge tomes (but understands them not)". This Qur'anic image of the donkey is referenced using the exact words from the verse in at least five instances in my corpus.

Like dogs, pigs are shunned by Muslims because pigs are considered unclean (Foltz, 2006:129). In Western cultures, to call a person a *pig* is to imply that they are dirty, fat, and eat filth (Jay, 2000:196). When a person is insulted as ***khinzyr*** **"pig"** in Muslim cultures,

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however, as well as the evocation of a pig's filthiness, there is an additional religious aspect, namely that it is *ḥaram* (forbidden) to eat pork, as given in verse 6:145 of the Qur'an:

> I find not in the Message received by me by inspiration any (meat) forbidden to be eaten by one who wishes to eat it, unless it be dead meat, or blood poured forth, or the flesh of swine—for it is an abomination—or what is impious, (meat) on which a name has been invoked other than Allah's.
>
> The Qur'an (6:145)

The Qur'an also says that people whom Allah cursed were transformed into pigs and monkeys:

> Say (O Muhammad to the people of the Scripture): Shall I inform you of something worse than that, regarding the recompense from Allah: those (Jews) who incurred the Curse of Allah and His Wrath, those of whom (some) He transformed into monkeys and swines, those who worshipped Taghut (false deities); such are worse in rank (on the Day of Resurrection in the Hell-fire), and far more astray from the Right Path (in the life of this world).
>
> The Qur'an (5:60)

For these reasons, Muslims generally not only do not have dogs or pigs as pets, but will moreover not touch these animals (Foltz, 2006:129). Just as Arab culture has a more roundly negative view of dogs than does Western culture, it similarly has a more consistently negative view of pigs and, thus, *khinzyr* "pig" is a very clear term of abuse.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined some important cultural background for the results that follow. In particular, I have considered the importance of attitudes regarding sex and its relation to the role of family and honour in Arab culture. Differences in religious beliefs have also been discussed as a reason for religious slurs. Other themes discussed in this chapter include dirt and rottenness and the use of animal terms to insult others. Although these are all generally universal themes relevant to abusive language in many different cultures, we have seen that they also have Arab culture-specific connotations, often based on religious factors.

Chapter 5: Findings and discussion I: Roles constructed for men and women

5.1 Introduction

This chapter responds to research question 1: *What roles are constructed for men and women via discourses involving the use of abusive language?* By this means, the analysis and discussion in this chapter contribute to answering the overarching research question: *How is abusive language used in the construction of gendered identities by Arabic-speaking posters on YouTube?*

The chapter is divided into two main parts. Section 5.2 looks at specific words and phrases that describe the targets of abusive language, applying a form of semantic analysis. Section 5.3 examines activation and passivation of the targets of abusive language. Thus, the analysis in this chapter can be characterised as moving "sideways" from the terms of abuse to look at their co-text, where I disregard the precise term of abuse used and, instead, I look at: a) specific words/phrases other than the actual terms of abuse that describe the targets of abusive language; and b) contextual characterization of the targets of abusive language.

Thus, the analyses in Sections 5.2 and 5.3 approach RQ1 in two ways. Examining combinations of target descriptors is particularly useful in indicating particular discourses around gender and, therefore, reveals what roles are constructed for men/women. Analysis of activation and passivation is also valuable in uncovering the construction of gender identities; it shows who is active/passive in the doing of what action (see Section 3.11).

5.2 Target descriptors

In this section, I limit my investigation to discourses involving eighteen selected terms of abuse along with their morphological and spelling variants (see Section 3.10); nine masculine- and nine feminine-marked words. These were selected because they are among the most frequent, and because of their link to a range of taboo themes: sex, morality, dirt, religion, stupidity, and animal terms of abuse.

5.2.1 Quantitative overview

Table 5.1 shows the selected words and their frequencies in my corpus.

Table 5.1 Selected terms of abuse[15] and their frequencies

Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency (of all variants)
ghaby "stupid"	641
ḥaqyr "low"	344
himar "donkey"	711
kafir "infidel"	291
kalb "dog"	1986
Khabyth "mean"	296
khanyth "effeminate"	395
manywk "fucked"	179
wiskh "dirty"	382
Feminine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency
'ahirah "prostitute"	440
fajirah "dissolute"	138
ḥaqyrah "low"	150
kafirah "infidel"	90
kalbah "bitch"	155
manywkah "fucked"	295
qaḥbah "prostitute"	760
saqiṭah "vile"	124
wiskhah "dirty"	360

Using WordSmith, I looked at a set of random concordance lines for each term of abuse, and categorized the descriptors as illustrated in Table 5.2 below (see Section 3.11). This was done by looking at 30 concordance lines and, subsequently, another 30 for each word in turn. For every word, it turned out that I found nothing new in the second set of 30 and, therefore, by Sinclair's (1999) criterion I was able to stop there, meaning I examined 60 examples per word in total. Note that a difference between Sinclair's and my procedure is that Sinclair's "nothing new" refers to collocation/colligation patterns, whereas I mean that no new major descriptor category emerged. There were some new minor categories which I included in Miscellaneous, but these were not deemed populated enough to consider in their

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[15] Some of these are masculine and feminine equivalents of one another and some are not. This is because this chapter is not concerned with looking at the precise term of abuse that is used (I only investigative target descriptors and instances of activation/passivation). Examining the deployment of gendered abusive terms and the cultural scripts around their use is a theme of Chapter 6.

own right. For instance, *cowardice* is the biggest minor category. However, *cowardice* has 5 grammatically-masculine descriptors; three of these descriptors are used once, one descriptor is used twice, and one descriptor is used 19 times. *Cowardice* is not found among the female descriptors, not even as a minor category. Thus, there was insufficient data to motivate establishing Cowardice as a major category. But although *cowardice* is not counted as a category, I do not completely discard it from consideration (see 5.2.16 for a brief discussion of this point). Since I examined 60 examples per term of abuse, in all I examined 1080 concordance lines. Ultimately, I identified 303 grammatically-masculine and 221 grammatically-feminine descriptors (see Appendixes C and D for a full list of descriptors and their frequency). So, although I have found only a sample of descriptors, we may reasonably expect that most or all categories should be represented by virtue of Sinclair's method.

Table 5.2 lists the categories of descriptors that I identified in the concordances of the terms of abuse and their frequency. "MT/FT" abbreviate "male/female target of abusive language". The difference between MTs/FTs (sex of the target) and grammatical gender (gender of a noun/adjective) is crucial, because a masculine term of abuse or descriptor may be used with a female target or a feminine word with a male target, as in for instance *bint kafir* "daughter of an infidel(m)", *ibn sharmwṭah* "son of a prostitute(f)", respectively.

Table 5.2 Co-occurring descriptor categories/concepts and their frequency in abusive language

Categories	MTs		FTs		Overlapping types
	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	
Appearance	0	0	49	19	0
Crime, violence and extremism	39	15	14	7	5
Family	214	48	104	24	12
Handicap and illness	56	11	51	10	6
Disgust and dirt	114	11	117	13	10
Illegitimacy	124	11	41	5	4
Job	16	6	10	4	3
Manhood/womanhood	49	12	3	2	0
Politics and government	68	11	8	3	2
Religion	225	41	123	23	17
Sex and sexuality	204	27	483	30	17
Stupidity and ignorance	188	27	61	11	10
Worthlessness	74	32	52	19	10
Miscellaneous other	377	51	389	51	22
TOTAL	1748	303	1505	221	118

Table 5.2 demonstrates quantitative differences between the words that describe MTs and FTs. A closer look shows that

1- Only FTs are labelled by descriptors related to appearance.

2- Only slight quantitative differences exist (though there may still be qualitative differences, see below) between MTs and FTs exist in relation to the categories of handicap and illness, dirt and disgust, and miscellaneous other.

3- Huge differences between MTs and FTs exist in relation to illegitimacy, crime, violence and extremism, family, manhood/womanhood, politics and government, religion, sex and sexuality, and stupidity and ignorance.

4- Out of the 524 descriptors considered, only about a quarter (23%) are involved in overlaps, i.e. the same descriptor is used frequently alongside both MTs and FTs.

I have not attempted to test the quantitative differences that I identified for statistical significance. This is because the categories in Table 5.2 are interrelated, so that it is not appropriate to treat them as definitely disjunct (which is what significance testing does). Rather, there are fuzzy edges or grey areas on the edges of the categories. For instance, the "sex and sexuality" descriptor *qawad* "pimp" and the "religious" descriptor *ḥafyd almajws* "grandson of the Magi"[16] could easily have been argued to fit in a different category ("job" and "family" respectively) but I added them to "sex and sexuality" and "religion" because I felt they are alluding more strongly to these categories (see Section 3.11). Therefore, these figures are presented to give a descriptive overview and not to make claims of significance (see also 5.2.6).

In the remainder of this section, I detail the categories in more detail; present the qualities and specific descriptors attributed to MTs and to FTs; and provide possible explanations where differences/similarities exist. Due to space limits, I provide just two examples, sometimes containing more than one term of abuse, for each category of descriptor, one with an MT, one with an FT. I then move to a discussion of what this analysis of co-occurring descriptors suggests in terms of gender and discourse.

Much of the data which follows incorporates examples of *self-echoic swearing behaviour*, a phenomenon defined as "a speaker's utterance of more than one swear word

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[16] *almajws* "Magi", like *alrawafiḍ* "the Refusers", is used offensively by Sunni Muslims to refer to Shia Muslims, especially those who come from Iran. *almajws* is mentioned in the Quran in verse (17:22) "Those who believe (in the Qur'an), those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), and the Sabians, Christians, Magians, and Polytheists – Allah will judge them on the Day of Judgement". Ali (1989/2009:825) says *almajws* was a very ancient religious group (B.C. 600) who lived in the Persian and Median uplands and in the Mesopotamian valleys. It seems that contemporary Shia Muslims of Iran are derogatorily called *almajws* simply because their ancestors were believers in Magianism, i.e. in Zoroastrianism named after the prophet Zoroaster.

within one speaking turn" (Fägersten, 2012:121). This behaviour results in what we might call a *pile-up* of terms of abuse within one example. It is important for this to be borne in mind since it means that – for instance – one abuse term will frequently "count" as a descriptor for another abuse term in my analysis.

In the following presentation of results, I do not discuss any of the surrounding cultural issues while presenting the examples. The cultural background has been explored in Chapter 4, and will be revisited in Section 5.2.16, my discussion of the results, where relevant.

5.2.2 Appearance

There are 49 negative descriptors used to label FTs in terms of a socially undesirable physical appearance: *qirdah* "monkey(f) [=ugly]", *qabyḥah* "ugly", *mushawahah* "deformed", *mutabarijah* "wanton flaunter", *'aryah* "naked", and *'ajwz* "crone". For example[17]:

- *'ahirah ya <u>'ajwz</u> annar alkalb aṭhar minha, tas'al ḥalha **alḥaqyrah** annajisah laysh iḥna alislam ma binjyb syrat 'ysa aw binnzil ṣwrah musy'ah lah…* "Prostitute, <u>crone</u>! A dog is cleaner than her. Let her ask herself, this **low** filthy [woman], why we as Muslims don't talk unfavourably about Jesus and don't draw insulting pictures of him".

There are no examples associating the quality of unpleasant appearance to an MT in the concordance lines examined.

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[17] In the presentation of all examples in this section, swearwords are bold and descriptors are underlined.

5.2.3 Manhood/womanhood

The concept of manhood includes stereotypical qualities such as strength, virility and sexual power that it is traditionally believed a man should have. Many MTs are assigned descriptions that assert the target is not a *real* man, e.g. *ḥurmah* "woman", *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)", *law inak rajil/rijjal* "if you're a man", *ma fih dharat rujwlah* "he has no manhood", *mw rajal* "not a man", *shibh rajul* "semi-man", *khuntha* "hermaphrodite". The following example shows how *ḥurmah* and *law 'inta rajil* are used to denigrate an MT by explicitly calling him a woman:

- *ya **kalb** ya ḥqayr yaally ma tiswa ẓufrumar raḍiya allahu 'anh law inak rijjal trud ya ḥqayr w allah inak khinzyr wa ḥurmah.* "You **dog**, you low man who isn't worth a nail of Omar's finger, may Allah be pleased with him, if you're a man answer [me], you low man, I swear by Allah you're a pig and a woman".

By contrast, there are only two descriptors (*zalamah* "man", *mutashabihah balrijal* "mannish") used to label FTs as not being stereotypical women, as in the following example:

- *shams **fajirah** qalylat iḥtiram [...] inty mw bas fanak shany', shiklik wa ṭab'ik'shna', wa allah 'ḥsik zalamah mswy 'amalyat!* "Shams you **dissolute**, disrespectful, impolite [...] it is not only your singing that's bad, it's also the way you look and your behaviour that's repulsive. I swear by Allah I feel that you're a man who has done plastic surgeries".

5.2.4 Illegitimacy

This concept is realised by words which refer to someone born to unknown parents, or to parents who were not married or married according to some unrecognized type of

marriage. In my data, MTs are targeted 124 times via 11 words/phrases of this kind: *ibn almutʿah* "son of a marriage of enjoyment", *ibn misfar* "son of a travel marriage", *ibn misyar* "son of a Misyar marriage" *ibn [alzawaj] alʿurfy* "son of an Orfy marriage"[18], *ibn alkhaṭiʾah/ḥaram* "son of sin [i.e. adultery]",*ibn/walad/salylzina* "son of adultery", *naghal* "bastard", *walad/ibn ẓalmah* "son of darkness [bastard]", *walad/ibn layl* "son of night [bastard]", and *laqyṭ* "foundling". For example:

- *ḥasby allah ʿla kul shyʾy najis* **manywk** <u>ibn mutʿah</u> *lakum ywm ya rawafiḍ ya* <u>abnaʾ</u> <u>alharam wa almutʿah</u>. "Allah is sufficient [to punish] every filthy **fucked** Shiite <u>son of a marriage of enjoyment</u>. You will have your day you Refuser <u>sons of sin and of marriages of enjoyment</u>".

By contrast, only five words/phrases (four of which are also used to label MTs) describe FTs 41 times as illegitimate: *bint almutʿah* "daughter of a marriage of enjoyment", *bint zina* "daughter of adultery", *bint ḥarām* "daughter of sin", *la aṣl [laha]* "daughter of unknown origin", and *laqyṭah* "foundling". For example:

- *naḥnu nadws ʿla rasik w ʿla ras ally jabwky ya* <u>bint alḥarām</u> *ya* **kafirah** *allah ylʿnk imraʾa munḥaṭah.* "We step on your head and on the head of [your parents], you <u>daughter of sin</u>, you **infidel**, may Allah damn you, low woman".

5.2.5 Crime, violence, and extremism

MTs are described as criminals, violent, and extremists (39 times), more often than FTs (14 times). MTs are called *mughṭaṣib* "rapist", *barbary* "barbaric", *hamaji* "savage",

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[18] *almutʿah:* a temporary marriage practised by Shia Muslims. *misfar*: a temporary marriage for travellers. *misyar*: a marriage where the couple do not live together but meet for sex. *alʿurfy*: a secret marriage entered into by people who cannot afford to marry according to mainstream Islamic marriage.

irhaby "terrorist", *mutaʿaṣib* "fanatic", *mafya* "mafioso", *mujrim* "criminal", *liṣ* "thief", *qatil* "murderer", *shibyḥ* "thug", *firʿwn* "Pharaoh [=violent/criminal]", *nimrwd* "Nimrod [=violent/criminal]", *ma fyh raḥmah* "merciless", and *waḥsh* "monster". For example:

- *ifhamw 'yuha almuslimyn inha tarbiyat **alkalb** ibn 16 kalb muḥamad alirhaby hal taʿlam dhabaḥa muḥamad biyadih ma yuqarib 600 'w 700 shakhṣ.* "O Muslims understand this, it is the upbringing of the **dog** son of 16 dogs Mohammed the terrorist. Do you know that Mohammed slaughtered with his own hands around 600 to 700 people!"

FTs are described as *mujrimah* "criminal", *qatilah* "murderer", *hamajiyah* "savage", *shibyḥah* "thug", *mutaṭarifah* "extremist", *irhabyah* "terrorist", and *qasyah* "cruel":

- *myn 'nty 'shan titkalimy 'la almuslmyn? 'nty insanah hamajiyha **kafirah daʿirah*** "Who are you to talk about Muslims? [You're nothing but] a savage, an **infidel**, and a **prostitute**".

5.2.6 Family

The family concept (cf. Section 4.2) is realised by kinship terms (e.g. "mother", "father"). Two issues are of relevance to this category. First, a notable phenomenon in this category is the use of idiomatic kinship constructions such as *ibn …* "son of … ", *bint …* "daughter of …", and *'ukht…*"sister of ….". This productive idiom is used to label the target in relation to an undesirable quality attached to a family member, suggesting that both the target and family member share the same quality. This idiom is also used in non-offensive constructions. For instance, it is a part of the traditional Arabic naming scheme, as in *muḥamad bin 'abdullah* "Mohammed son of Abdulah". This construction is an example of the genitive construct linking a possessor to a possessed. Second, some examples we have

already seen in previous categories, such as *ibn almutʿah* "son of a marriage of enjoyment", are not included in this (family) category. This is because *almutʿah* "marriage of enjoyment" is a concept rather than a human being and, therefore, I classified it under "illegitimacy". By contrast, for instance, *zany* "adulterer" is included in the "family" category because it refers to a human being (in *bint zany* "daughter of an adulterer"). However, there also exist examples, such as *ḥafyd almajws* "grandson of the Magi", which, although they refer to family members, I felt to be more strongly alluding to religious affiliation than to the concrete grandparents of the target and, therefore, I classified it as a religious descriptor (see also Section 3.11).

MTs are talked about in relation to family 214 times via 48 words/phrases. These can be grouped into at least four categories. First, connection to both parents: *ibn alkhadam* "son of servants", *ibn almitnakyn* "son of fucked parents", *ibn azzawany* "son of adulterers", *tarbyat sharamyṭ* "raised by prostitutes", *ibn makhanyth* "son of effeminates". Second, connection to the mother: *ibn alfajirah* "son of a dissolute woman", *ibn alwiskhah* "son of a dirty woman", *ibn manywkah/mitnakah* "son of a fucked woman", *ibn zanyah/zanwah* "son of an adulteress", *ibn/walad qaḥbah/sharmwṭah/ʿahirah/mwmis/albaghy/albaghyah* "son of a prostitute(f)", *ibn ʿarṣah/mʿraṣah* "son of a pimp(f)", *ibn arraqaṣah* "son of a belly dancer", *ibn assaqiṭah/safilah* "son of a vile woman", *ibn albihimah* "son of a female animal", *ibn alhablah* "son of an idiot(f)", *ibn aththwalah* "son of a stupid woman", *ibn alghabyah* "son of a stupid woman", *ibn um alrukab alswda'* "son of a black-knee woman", *ibn alrafiḍyah* "son of a Refuser(f)", *ṭaliʿ min baṭn ʿanz* "born by a she-goat", *ibn waqiḥah* "son of a shameless woman", *ibn khinzyrah* "son of a sow", and *ibn labwah* "son of a lioness [=broodmare]" (see footnote in 5.2.10). Third, connection to the father: *ibn alḥaqyr* "son of a low man", *ibn saqiṭ* "son of a vile man", *ibn kalb* "son of a dog", *ibn almitnak* "son of a fucked man", *ibn khanyth* "son of an effeminate man", *ibn sharmwṭ* "son of a prostitute(m)", *ibn ʿarṣ/mʿraṣ* "son of a

pimp(m)", *ibn jahil* "son of an ignorant father", *ibn ḥimar* "son of a donkey", *ibn ahbal* "son of an idiot(m)", *ibn alghaby* "son of a stupid man", *ibn liṣ* "son of a thief", and *ibn mujrim* "son of a criminal(m)". Fourth, connection to a sister: *akhw qaḥbah/sharmwṭah* "brother of a prostitute" and *akhw kalbah* "brother of a bitch". For example:

- ***wiskh*** *ibn wiskhah* [*...] wa allah n'l 'umar ibn alkhaṭṭab aṭhar min kul 'ashyrtak ya ibn assaqiṭah yasyr alkhanythibn al'iranyah almitnakah.* "**Dirty** son of a dirty woman […] I swear by Allah that Omar ibn Al-Khatab's shoes are cleaner than you and your whole tribe, you son of a low woman, Yassir the effeminate gay son of a fucked Iranian woman".

In contrast, FTs are described in connection to family 104 times via 24 words/phrases. First, connection to the mother: *bint alwiskhah* "daughter of a dirty woman", *bint manywkah/mitnakah* "daughter of a fucked woman", *bint zanyah/zanwah* "daughter of an adulteress", *bint qaḥbah/'ahirah* "daughter of a prostitute(f)", *bint saqiṭah* "daughter of a vile woman", *bint alfajirah* "daughter of a dissolute woman". Second, connection to the father: *bint kalb* "daughter of a dog", *bint alsalwqy* "daughter of a greyhound", *bint sharmwṭ* "daughter of a prostitute(m)", *bint khawal* "daughter of an effeminate man", *bint qawad/'arṣ* "daughter of a pimp", *bint zany* "daughter of an adulterer", *bint zindyq* "daughter of a libertine". Third, connection to a sister: *ukht sharmwṭah* "sister of a prostitute". Fourth, connection to both parents: *bint 'anjas* "daughter of dirty parents", *tarbyat shawari'* "raised on the streets", *min byt da'arah* "woman brought up in a brothel", *tarbyat zawany* "woman brought up by adulterer parents". Fifth, unlike MTs, FTs are connected to husbands: *zawjat 'arṣ* "wife of a pimp" and *zawjat mukhanath/khanyth* "wife of an effeminate man". For example:

- *mithal ashsharaf 'ay sharaf ally yjyb ḥizam almas wa malayyn aldwlarat sharf jay min 'araq kussaha* **almitnakah** *bint alma'araszawjat alma'aras*. "A model for honour! What kind of honour earns you a diamond necklace and millions of dollars! It is the honour that comes out of the sweat of her cunt, **fucked** woman daughter of a pimp, wife of a pimp".

Interestingly, 27 of the MT words/phrases relate to *female* family members (mothers/sisters) while only 13 link to a male family member, i.e. father (also noted here is the absence of *brothers* for both MTs and FTs); I will return to this point in 5.2.16 below. FTs are labelled in relation to male and female family members roughly equally (7 and 8 times respectively).

5.2.7 Disgust and dirt

This concept (4.4) is realised by words/phrases concerned with being contaminated because of association with "dirt" or "filth". MTs' perceived dirt is described through 11 words/phrases. MTs are described as *ḥuthalah* "scum", *ma'fin/'afn* "rotten", *khayys* "rotten/stinky", *nitn* "smelly", *muqrif* "disgusting", *najis/qadhir* "filthy", *wiskh* "dirty", *zift* "pitch", *zibalah* "rubbish", and *qadhwrah* "a piece of rubbish"; for example:

- *ḥizb allat aqfala aldḥudwd m' swriya bi 500 min rijalah wa tarak 'sra'yl fy aljihah almuqabilah mu'awaq allisan hadha daywth* **manywk** *ahbal mujrim ghadar fasiq qadhir wiskh...* "Hezbollat[19] [derogatory term for Hezbollah] closed the borders with Syria with the help of 500 of its men and left Israel in the other front. This tongue-handicapped man [Hassan Nasrallah, leader of Hezbollah] is a cuckold, **fucked**, idiotic, criminal, treacherous, dissolute, filthy, dirty… ".

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[19] *Allat*, literally "the goddess", is the name/title of a divinity in the polytheistic religion of pre-Islamic Arabia.

FTs are labelled via a similar number of words/phrases (13): *by'ah* "environment [=dirty]", *ḥuthalah* "scum", *muqrifah/muthirah lil'ishmi'zaz* "disgusting", *najisah/qadhirah* "filthy", *nitnah* "smelly", *wiskhah* "dirty", *zibalah/qumamah* "rubbish", *ziftah* "pitch", *khayysah/ma'finah/'afn* "rotten/stinky". For instance:

- - *muslimah wa 'aftakhir 'anty* **'ahirah** *wa bint 'ahirah shw ḥasah nafsik la'anaki allah ya saqiṭah ḥasah nafsik malikat jamal ya* <u>huthalah</u> "I'm a Muslim woman and proud [of being a Muslim]. You're a **prostitute** daughter of a prostitute. Who do you think you are? May Allah damn you, you low woman! You think you're a beauty icon! You <u>scum</u>!"

5.2.8 Politics and government

Another difference between the qualities attributed to MTs and FTs lies in words/phrases linked to politics and government. Only 3 words (8 tokens) are used to describe FTs, compared to 11 used to describe MTs (68 tokens, with *raj'y* "reactionary", *kha'in* "traitor", and *amyl* "secret agent" accounting for the most of tokens, i.e. 15, 15 and 21 respectively). A MT may be described as *raj'y* "reactionary", *khufash* "bat [=secret agent]", *'amyl* "secret agent", *bwq* "mouthpiece/trumpeter", *ikhwanjy* "[derogatory term for a] Muslim Brother", *kha'in* "traitor", *mukhabaraty* "intelligence agent", *walad ṭahran* "son of Tehran [secret agent]", *dhanab faris* "tail of Persia [secret agent]", *ṭaghyah/ṭaghwt* "tyrant", *ba'' waṭanah* "seller of his country [traitor]". For example:

- *wa allah ma alwiskh 'illa 'int ya* <u>'amyl</u> *alrawafiḍ ya* **kafir** "I swear by Allah it is you who is the dirty one. You <u>secret agent</u> of the Refusers, you **infidel**!"

On the other hand, FTs are called <u>kha'inah</u> "traitor", *ma'jwrah* "mercenary", *maswnyyah* "Freemason", *ṭaghyah* "tyrant", for example:

- *muḍṭaribah nafsiyan ḥaqirah[…] raghdah ’ṣbaḥat shibyḥah [...] wa qasiyah ‘la alsha‘b asswry ’idhan hiya kha’inah.*"[She is] psychologically unstable, a **low** woman […] Raghdah has become a thug […] She is tough on the people of Syria and so she's become a traitor".

5.2.9 Religion

As with politics, MTs are labelled with descriptors related to religion (cf. Section 4.3) more than FTs. There are 225 examples of religious terms labelling MTs (41 types): *’iblys* "the Devil", *‘abd ’iblys* "slave of Satan", *ḥafyd alshayaṭyn* "grandson of Satan", *ibn ’iblys* "son of the Devil", *shayṭan* "Satan", *‘adw allah* "enemy of Allah", *abu jahl* "Abu Jahl[20]", *ḥafyd abu jahl* "grandson of Abu Jahl", *khinzyr* "pig [=non-Muslim especially Jew]", *masyḥy/naṣrany* "Christian", *ṣalyby* "crusader", *yahwdy* "Jew", *ḥafyd alyahwd* "grandson of the Jews", *ṣihywny* "Zionist", *shy‘y* "Shiite", *nuṣayry* "Nusayri [=Shiite]", *rafiḍy* "Refuser [=Shiite]", *ṣafawy* "Safavid [=Shiite]", *ḥafyd alrawafiḍ* "grandson of the Refusers", *‘abd alkhumyny* "servant of Khomeini [=Shiite]", *majwsy* "Magi", *ḥafyd almajws* "grandson of the Magi", *naṣiby* "Nasibi [=Sunni]", *wahaby* "Wahabi", *ḍal* "misled", *kafir* "infidel", *la dyn lah/mulḥid* "atheist", *mal‘wn/rajym* "damned", *muḍil* "misleader", *murtad* "apostate", *mushrik* "polytheist", *zindyq* "libertine", *‘abid ṣanam* "pagan", *ma fyh dyn* "irreligious", *min ’ṣḥab alnar* "companion of the Hellfire", *‘abid alqubwr* "worshipper of graves", *laysa muslim* "non-Muslim", *bwdhy* "Buddhist"; for example:

- *kus umak ya shy‘y ya rafiḍy ya qadhir [...]**kalb** ibn kalb* "The cunt of your mother, you Shiite, Refuser, filthy [man] […] You **dog** son of a dog!"

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[20] Uncle and vicious enemy of the Prophet Mohammed.

On the other hand, there are 23 religious terms labelling FTs (123 tokens): *shayṭanah* "she-devil", *khinzyrah* "sow", *ḥafydat alkhanazyr* "granddaughter of pigs", *ṣalybiyah* "crusader", *masyḥyah* "Christian", *'abidat alṣalyb* "worshipper of the Cross [=Christian]", *yahwdyah* "Jew", *shy'yah* "Shiite", *nuṣayriyah* "Nusayri", *rafiḍiyah* "Refuser", *naṣibiyah* "Nasibi", *wahabyah* "Wahabi", *kafirah* "infidel", *mal'wnah* "damned", *mulḥidah* "atheist", *murtadah* "apostate", *mushrikah* "polytheist", *zindyqah* "libertine", *kharijah 'an aldyn* "apostate", *laysat muslimah*/*mush muslimah* "non-Muslim", *qalylat dyn* "irreligious". For example:

- *almuslim yakhaf min 'aqlah hal hadhihi 'alawiya nuṣayriyah mushrikah **kafirah** min atba' bashshar aljaḥsh aw madha?* "So a Muslim fears his thinking! Is she an Alawite, Nusayri, polytheist, **infidel** and follower of Bashar the donkey or what?"

5.2.10 Sex and sexuality

30 words/phrases connected to sex and sexuality are used to describe FTs, compared to 27 for MTs (483 and 204 tokens respectively).

An MT may be described as *'ahir/sharmwṭ* "prostitute(m)", *qaḥbah* "female prostitute", *shadh/lwṭy* "homosexual", *jins thalith* "third sex [=homosexual]", *mukhanath/khanyth/khakry/khawal/khrwnq* "effeminate", *maftwḥ* "opened [=penetrated]", *mahtwk al'irḍ/manywk/mazghwb* "fucked", *mughtaṣab* "raped", *um al'aywrah* "mother of penises", *bala' 'yr* "swallower of penises", *mamḥwn* "sex-crazed", *zany* "adulterer",

fajir/fasiq/majin "dissolute", *faḥish* "obscene", *qawad/jarar/'arṣ/m'raṣ* "pimp", and *daywth* "cuckold"[21]. For instance:

- *yl'n 'bwk ya khuntha ya mukhanath klamak mardwd 'layk ya mushrik ya **kafir***. "May your father be damned you <u>hermaphrodite</u>, you <u>effeminate</u>! What you're saying is nonsense, you polytheist, you **infidel**".

An FT may be referred to as *'ashyqah* "mistress", *zanyah* "adulteress", *bala'it 'yr/rijal* "swallower of penis/men", *um al'aywrah* "mother of penises", *makhrwmah* "penetrated", *manywkah/mitnakah* "fucked", *bint shawari* "'street girl [=prostitute]", *bint da'arah* "daughter of prostitution [=prostitute]", *'ahirah/sharmwṭah/mwmis/qaḥbah/khanythah* "prostitute", *fajirah/fasiqah* "dissolute/lustful", *min hal alfaḥishah* "one of the people of bawdiness", *ṣay'ah/da'irah/faltanah* "wanton", *bwyah/siḥaqyyah* "lesbian", *shadhah* "homosexual", *jins thalith* "third sex [=homosexual]", *labwah* "lioness"[22], *shibh almukhanathyn* "like effeminate men", *daywthah* "cuckold", *m'raṣah/qawadah/jararah* "pimp". An example is:

- *'as'l allah 'an yuhlik hadhihi assaqiṭah alqadhirah, wa allah 'inna atturab ally 'lyh atta'ib akhwna faḍl shakir ashraf mlywn mrah min hadhihi **alfajirah** alfasiqah* "I ask Allah to curse this filthy low woman! I swear by Allah that the soil which our repentant brother Fadhl Shakir walks on has more dignity than this **dissolute** <u>lustful</u> woman".

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[21] *daywth* in Arabic refers to a man whose wife, mother, sister, daughter or any other female relative has illegal sex with men, with the man knowing but doing nothing to prevent it.

[22] *labwah*: a woman worthless for anything other than sex and childbearing (see also subsection 5.2.14 below). *Broodmare* might be a broad English equivalent.

5.2.11 Handicap and illness

10 mental/physical disabilities are attributed to MTs, compared to 9 to FTs (55 and 48 tokens respectively). MTs are described as *majnwn/malqwf/maʻtwh* "insane", *mukhtal* "deranged", *mutakhalif* "retard", *maryḍ* "sick", *mukharif* "senile", *maryḍ ʻaqlyan* "mentally sick", *maryḍ nafsy* "psychopath", *jarban* "mangy", *muʻawaq allisan* "tongue handicapped", and *muʻaq* "handicapped"; for example:

- *'inta waḥid zibalah wiskh mutakhalif ʻyb ʻlayk yʻny lazim yʻmilw layk wala tsub ʻlayhum?* "You're rubbish, **dirty**, and retard! Shame on you! Do they have to like [the video] so you don't swear at them?"

FTs are labelled *majnwnah/makhbwlah* "insane", *maslwbat alʻaql* "brainless", *mutakhalif* "retard", *mukhtalah* "deranged", *maryḍah ʻaqlyan* "mentally sick", *maryḍah* "sick", *muḍṭaribah nafsyyan* "psychologically unstable", *maryḍah nafsyan* "psychopath", and *waba'* "epidemic"; for example:

- *albit dy majnwnah wala ayh 'inti hablah ya jazmah […] ylʻn 'hlak fy al'arḍ ya kafirah*. "Is this girl insane or what? You idiot, you shoe […] May your family be damned on earth you **infidel**".

There is a continuum between this category and the next category. This is because many descriptors which refer to a disability, such as *majnwn* "insane", also refer to stupidity. Note the co-occurrence of *almahbwlah* "idiotic" (stupidity and ignorance) and *maryḍah fy ʻaqlk* "mentally sick" (handicap and illness) in the second example of the next category.

5.2.12 Stupidity and ignorance

28 descriptors (189 tokens) label MTs in terms of stupidity and ignorance. FTs are described as stupid or ignorant by 11 descriptors (61 tokens).

MTs are called *baghal* "mule", *bihymah* "animal", *baqarah* "cow", *tays* "he-goat", *thwr* "bull", *timsaḥ* "crocodile", *ḥimar/zamāl* "donkey", *jaḥsh* "young donkey", *ba'yr* "he-camel", *khirtyt* "rhinoceros" (all these animal terms implying "stupid"), *jahil* "ignorant", *'abyṭ* "dumb", *ahbal* "idiotic", *aḥmaq* "fool", *ghaby/dalkh* "stupid", *mughafal* "dumb", *safyh* "foolish", *khibl/makhbwl* "idiotic", *mush muta'alim* "uneducated/ignorant", *balyd* "slow-witted", *baṭah* "duck [=childish]", *'blah* "imbecile", *saṭl* "bucket [=stupid]", *bidwn thaqafah* "uneducated", *bidwn 'aql* "brainless"; for example:

- *la tataḥadath'n 'a'ishah wa 'bw bakr raḍiya allahu 'anhum 'fḍal alkhalq ba'd arraswl ya 'abd alkhumyny ya jahil ya mughafal [...] yasir* **alkhbyth** *'ana akrahuk akrahuk ya ḥaqyr 'nta ḥimar.* "Do not talk about Aisha and Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with them. They are the best people after the Prophet, you slave of Khomeini, you ignorant dumb […] Yasir the **mean**, I hate you I hate you, you low man, you donkey".

FTs are called *baqarah* "cow", *bihymah* "female animal", *ḥimarah* "female donkey", *baghalah* "mule",   *jahilah* "ignorant", *hablah/mahbwlah* "idiotic", *ghabyyah* "stupid", *safyhah* "foolish", *kharqa'* "foolish", *mughafalah/'abyṭah* "dumb"; for example:

- *ya almahbwlah, 'nti maryḍah fy 'aqlk [...] mata 'ṣbaḥa addyn wa aliltiḥa' nifaq wa kadhb wa fitnah ya ḥimarah? [...] ya* **wiskhah** "You are idiotic, you must be mentally sick […] when did religion and growing a beard become hypocrisy, lying, and disorder, you donkey? […] you **dirty** woman".

5.2.13 Job

This refers to paid jobs that are socially frowned upon. MTs are linked to 6 such jobs (16 tokens). FTs are also labelled with 4 such jobs but with a frequency of 10. Undesirable jobs linked to MTs are *'abd* "servant", *bahlawan* "acrobat", *muharij* "clown", and *murtazaq* "mercenary":

- *shy'y **manywk** [...] ṣaraḥah yṣlaḥ yakwn muharij aw bahlawan.* "[He is] a **fucked** Shiite […] actually he's [good to work as] a clown or acrobat".

Jobs linked to FTs are *raqaṣah* "belly dancer", *khadimah* "housemaid/servant", *murtazaqah* "mercenary", and *ma'jwrah* "hireling":

- *ya **kafirah** [...] rabna yantaqim min amthalik hadhihi qaḥbah min khanazyr aṣṣalyb annajis rayḥyn nd's 'la ṣalybk annajis ya khadm bany ṣuhywn* "You **infidel** women […] May our God revenge from people like you! She's a prostitute, belongs to the pigs of the filthy cross. We're going to step on your filthy cross and on you servants of Zionists".

5.2.14 Worthlessness

The words/phrases assigned to this category refer to people regarded as having no value, importance, or use[23]. Most are metaphorical in some way, e.g. based on terms for vermin. MTs are labelled as worthless by 32 terms, as opposed to 19 for FTs (74 and 52

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[23] "Sex and sexuality" descriptors such as *labwah* "lioness" could equally well have been added to this "worthlessness" category. Also, in this category *fasw* "fart", *zuq, kaka,* and *khara* "shit" could be equally well have been included in the "disgust" category. This exemplifies the point raised regarding the dubious value of any kind of significance testing for category frequencies (see 5.2.1).

tokens respectively). MTs are called *ḥasharah* "insect", *fa'r* "mouse", *jurdh* "rat", *zaḥif* "reptile", *jurthumah* "germ", *rimah* "termite", *rakhyṣ* "cheap"[24], *fasw* "fart", *zuq/kaka/khara* "shit", *ṭyz* "ass", *fashil/kh'ib/khasir* "loser", *qazm* "dwarf", *na'al/jazmah* "shoes"[25], *ibn jazmah/ibn na'al* "son of shoes", *maskharah* "joke", *ka'in hulamy* "gelatinous creature", *'abd* "slave", *'ima'ah* "flunky", *zlabah* "worthless", *ṭyn* "mud", *katkwt/farkh* "chick", *ṭifl* "child", *manbwdh* "outcast", *maḥswb 'la albashariyah* "considered a human being", and *fy hay'at bany 'dam* "in the form of a human being" (both these last examples imply "not actually a human being"); for example:

- *shwf ya alna'al 'inta mw msway rwḥak bilqa'idah wa 'abalak alnas tkhaf minkum [...] law byk khayr ta'aly lil'iraq 'la 'inwany bas 'inta 'akbar **khanyth** jalis bilsa'wdyah wa titkalam min alsa'wdyah* "Look you shoes, don't you pretend to be a member of Al-Qaida and think that people fear you? [...] How about coming to Iraq to my address? But [you don't dare to come because] you are the biggest **effeminate** talking from Saudi Arabia."

FTs are called *bint jazmah* "daughter of a shoe", *jazmah* "shoe", *ma tiswa na'l* "cheaper than a shoe [=worthless]", *jurdhah* "female rat", *ḥasharah* "insect", *jurthumah* "germ", *rimah* "termite", *namwsah* "mosquito", *rakhyṣah* "cheap", *fashilah* "loser", *nakirah* "nobody", *makhlwqah ḥayah* "living creature", *bidwn qymah/la tusawy shay/laysa laha qymah* "worthless", *jaryah* "slave", *maskharah* "joke", *'abdah* "slave", and *ma tiswa ziqah* "cheaper than shit [=worthless]"; for example:

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[24] The Arabic words translated as "cheap" mean low value or low cost; they do not mean stingy or ungenerous.

[25] Shoes in Arab culture are linked to dirt and filth. Showing the sole of the shoe is considered an insult, and when people want to express their anger against, for instance, the politics of a country they use shoes to attack that country's flag.

- *tasubyn sayd 'asyad 'asyadik ya **kalbah** ya <u>jurdhah</u>* "You are insulting the master of your masters [meaning the Prophet Mohammed], you **bitch**, you <u>rat</u>".

5.2.15 Miscellaneous other negative personality traits

This category contains words referring to diverse negative personality traits, e.g. cowardice, malice, hate, and hypocrisy, where there are only a few types (less than 6) or tokens for each quality. Therefore, I did not set up a full category as I did for other negative qualities such as stupidity and criminality.

In this category, MTs are described as having unpleasant personality traits 377 times via 51 descriptors: *ra<u>kh</u>mah* "Egyptian vulture [=coward]"[26], *jaban* "coward", *munbatiḥ* "recumbent [=coward]", *kharwf* "sheep [=coward]", *<u>kh</u>ayf* "scared/coward", *na'amah* "ostrich [=coward]", *dajajah* "chicken [=coward]", *mundas* "hiding [=coward]", *ghadar* "perfidious", *ḥaqid/ḥaqwd* "spiteful", *ḥaswd* "envious", *shamit/mutashamit* "vocally rejoicing at someone's misfortune", *tafiah/samij/sa<u>kh</u>yf* "absurd", *ḍa'yf alsha<u>kh</u>ṣyah* "wishy-washy", *mudalal* "spoiled", *naḍil* "villain", *safil/saqiṭ* "vile", *ḥaqyr* "low", *ma fyh <u>kh</u>uluq* "lacking morals", *mush muḥtaram* "disrespectful", *qalyl adab/waṭy* "impolite", *qalylalḥaya'/waqiḥ* "shameless", *a<u>kh</u>laqh radi'ah* "ill-mannered", *kaḍib/kaḍab/'ffak* "liar", *dajjal* "charlatan", *mutalwin* "fickle", *munafiq* "hypocrite", *min 'ḥfad 'abdualah bin salwl* "grandson of Abdullah bin Salool [=hypocrite]"[27], *khabyth/khasys/munḥaṭ/khas'* "mean", *ma*

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[26] *ra<u>kh</u>mah* "Egyptian vulture" (also known as white scavenger vulture or pharaoh's chicken): refers only to the species and has nothing to do with being an Egyptian person.

[27] Abdullah bin Ubayy bin Salool: became a Muslim during the lifetime of the Prophet Mohammed, but had conflicts with the Prophet; therefore, it is believed that he was not a sincere Muslim. Thus, in Islamic tradition he is referred to as *ra's almunafyqyin* "head of the hypocrites".

'indah nakhwah "without chivalry", *muḥashish/ḥashash* "alcoholic/drug addict", *muta'ajrif* "haughty", *ṣu'lwk* "wretch", *ṭa'an* "insulter", *kalb* "dog", *ḥayawan* "animal", *shaḥadh* "beggar", *qalbah aswad* "cold-hearted", *radi'* "bad", *swqy* "vulgar", and *'ar* "disgrace". For example:

- *kadhib 'shit jaban wa rakhyṣ wa antahyt jaban wa rakhyṣ ya liṣ ya ibn alliṣ ya **ḥaqyr** ya ibn alḥaqyr* "Liar! You've lived as a <u>coward</u> and <u>cheap</u> and now you're a <u>coward</u> and <u>cheap</u>, you thief son of a thief, you **low** son of a low man".

FTs are described 378 times (48 types) as *'adymat/bidwn 'khlaq* "lacking morals", *'adymat tarbyyah/mush mtrabyah/qalylat adab/waṭyah/qalylat tarbyah* "impolite", *muda'yah* "pretentious", *'adymat aliḥsas* "insensitive", *'nanyah* "selfish", *ghayranah* "jealous", *nakirat jamyl* "ungrateful", *ḥaqidah/ḥaqwdah* "spiteful", *waḍy'ah/dany'ah/khabythah/khasysah/munḥaṭah* "mean", *maghrwrah* "arrogant", *muftinah* "seditious", *munafiqah* "hypocrite", *kaḍib/kaḍab* "liar", *muftaryah* "slanderer", *mush muḥtaramah* "disrespectful", *muta'ajrifah* "haughty", *mutbajiḥah* "boastful", *ruwybiḍah* "blowhard", *sakhyfah/tafihah* "absurd", *swqyyah* "vulgar", *thaqylat dam* "unbearable", *ḥayawanah* "animal", *kalbah* "bitch", *jarwah* "young bitch", *bytsh* "bitch", *'f'a* "snake [=untrustworthy]", *ul'wbah* "puppet", *'abdat almal* "slave of money", *say'ah* "bad", *qalylat alḥaya'/waqiḥah* "shameless", *habiṭah/saqiṭah/safilah* "vile", *'ar* "disgrace", *la karamah/'adymat karamah/'adymat sharaf/la sharaf* "honourless"; for example:

- *ḥaqyrah wa **saqiṭah** wa taṣarufat 'insanah sakhyfah wa la tmluk dharat ḥaya'* "[She is] low and **vile**! Her behaviour shows that she's <u>absurd</u> and shameless".

5.2.16 Discussion of co-occurring concepts in the descriptor analysis

I wish to argue that the data I have just outlined gives us a picture of the discourses of what it means to be a *bad* man vs a *bad* woman in Arabic. The italicised terms *bad* and *good* are used in this discussion as generalising labels. That is, when I use *bad* it refers to an overlapping complex of undesirable, negative or condemned traits and qualities; *good* similarly refers to an overlapping complex of desirable, positive or praiseworthy traits and qualities. I argue that abuse by its nature focuses on what is *bad* in a rather crude way. This means that it does in fact make sense to talk about the discourses in terms of a simple *good* vs. *bad* binary opposition which would, in other contexts, be an oversimplification. Therefore, it is natural for discourse involving abusive language to present the discourses of a *bad* man vs a *bad* woman (see further James, 1998:413). The act of abuse calls upon the *bad* man/*bad* woman discourses to furnish the qualities and traits that the abuse imputes to the target. From those discourses, we can infer, by contrast, the discourses of a *good* man/*good* woman. We can then consider this in relation to what sociological researchers who have studied patriarchal societies (like Arab societies) have said about common gender roles, where *good* men "are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success" while *good* women are supposed to be "modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life" (Hofstede, 2001:297).

Let us begin by reconsidering the theme of appearance in relation to gendered discourse. As mentioned above, there are no examples of negative words that describe the appearance of MTs in my data (for a discussion of this asymmetry, see 6.2.2.1). This suggests that women, more than men, are judged by adherence to accepted standards of dress and appearance. Women are under social pressure to be "beautiful" but at the same time are judged if they appear in a way considered untidy or immodest. This is not wholly consistent. For instance, working as a belly dancer (mentioned twice in the family and job categories) is

certainly not a respected job for women in the Arab world (see also a brief discussion about female singers and actresses in 6.2.4.3), but being "beautiful" is a fundamental requirement for belly dancers. From the religious perspective, women failing to adhere to dress code (by wearing *ḥijab*, covering their body), going to extremes of beautification or making a wanton display of themselves (Al-Hashimi, 2005:136) are sometimes seen as attempting "to escape the decree of Allah" (Al-Hashimi, 2005:77). These views reflect the subjectivity in gendered discourses, where people construct others based on, for instance, personal opinions and experiences (see Section 2.9.4). Thus, the discourse of appearance, which is particularly associated with the discourse of a *bad* woman, disadvantages women and helps construct a negative role of *bad* women as wanton displayers (e.g. belly dancers) and at the same time unattractive (e.g. crones). Women thus are condemnable both ways, i.e. if they are ugly, that is *bad*, if they are pretty, that is *bad* as well.

Another aspect of the same attitude towards women is evident in the fact that MTs are evaluated in relation to female family members more than FTs. It has been suggested that codes of honour and morality in Arab-Muslim societies "rest on girls' and women's good conduct: good upbringing, chastity, hard work, obedience, and modesty" (Sadiqi, 2003:60). It is mainly women who are held responsible for maintaining socially accepted public conduct because "[a] woman's sexual purity is related to the honor of her family, especially her male kin" (Sadiqi, 2003:61). Therefore, a breach by a woman of these social norms affects her whole family (see 4.2). Sadiqi also claims that, by contrast, men's sexual purity is theirs personally and not linked to their families or female kin (Sadiqi, 2003:61). However, there is evidence in my data that MTs' perceived sexual purity is in fact constructed in terms of male family members, in such expressions as in *ibn almitnak* "son of a fucked man", *ibn khanyth* "son of an effeminate man", and *ibn sharmwṭ* "son of a prostitute(m)" (but *brother* is not used on such constructions, whereas *sister* is). These examples challenge the usual

stereotypes and indicate that social identities are not homogeneous and can be differently constructed in different contexts (Talbot, 2010:100).

Even so, however, FTs are clearly linked much more to the concept of sex and sexuality than are MTs, and this is very likely because women, as mentioned above, are discoursally made responsible for honour and sexual purity. In consequence, the *bad* woman is often constructed via descriptors that refer to prostitution while the *bad* man is constructed by being labelled as effeminate and/or gay. This illustrates Litosseliti's (2006:50) point regarding the construction and gendering of individuals; women and gay men are here constructed as socially (*bad* and) inferior to (*good*) heterosexual men (cf. Baker, 2014:106).

A related concept is illegitimacy of children (see Section 4.2), which implies adultery/sexual immorality by the parents. An explanation for the seriousness of illegitimacy is that *zina* "adultery" is among the most serious sexual transgressions in Islam (Ali, 2006:57); the stigma attached to *bastards* derives from that transgression. Both *ibn zina* and *bint zina* "son/daughter of adultery" are used to label MTs/FTs in my corpus. Comparing the frequency of *zany* "male adulterer" and *zanyah* "adulteress" in my corpus is telling: 33 versus 156 instances. This shows again that 1) women can be disadvantaged in discourse compared to men in relation to sex and honour, and 2) there exists a double standard: men are judged more than women if they are illegitimate children (to put it another way, by implication mothers are judged more than fathers), and likewise women are condemned more than men if they commit adultery.

Additionally, as we saw, men are valued more than women in relation to manhood/womanhood. Acting (or failing to act) like a *real* woman is not recurrent as a way of describing FTs (although it is implicit in the attitudes underlying the appearance words to some extent). In fact, womanhood is the least common among the FT descriptor categories,

as illustrated in Table 5.2 above (3 tokens, 2 types). By contrast, the Arabic idiom *ukht rijal* "sister of men" (also *mar'a bimit rajul* "woman equal to a hundred men") shows that a *good* woman is admired for possessing stereotypical male qualities, for instance, strength, bravery or courage (Joubin, 2013:198) but never the other way round (as we saw, for a man to have stereotypical female qualities is *always* treated as an insult). Significantly, these idioms suggest that a woman's bravery or courage does not come from her own person but from her relationship to men (Joubin, 2013:198)—note the use here of the kinship idioms using the genitive construct discussed previously. Thus, for either a man or a woman to act like *real* men is good, while for a man to act like *real* women is not. This reflects a social prejudice against women and implies that "there is something bad about being (like) a woman" (Baker, 2014:106); it is a role men should not play. For example, homosexuals are condemned for taking the women's role in sex; therefore, being a *bad* man is being a woman. This preference for *good* men and the male role offers a clear example of discourses putting forward certain values at the expense of others (Litosseliti, 2006:49).

Another example of preferential treatment is evident in the use of political and religious terms, which illustrate discourse operating as both the effect and cause of a real situation in society (see also 6.2.3.1 and 6.2.4.3). That is, it is true that in the Arab-speaking world men dominate politics (Sadiqi, 2003:92). Only those who actually have power can abuse it, and thus, we see a large number of descriptors that label MTs (but not FTs) as abusive of political power; and in fact, the male-dominated political parties of Iraq, Palestine, Tunisia, and Yemen are among the most corrupt in the world (Transparency International, 2014). But while grounded in fact, this discourse, in turn, reinforces and promotes that unequal situation. Therefore, a *bad* man is someone who *has* power and *abuses* it; this, in turn, implies that a *good* man is the one who *has* power and *does not abuse it.* By contrast, women—*good* or *bad*—are almost invisible in both scenarios.

In a similar vein, the big difference in the use of religious vocabulary to label MTs rather than FTs may both reflect and reinforce male institutional domination of religion. In addition, there is a notable contrast in the words used. MTs (and to a lesser extent FTs) are labelled with terms that relate to "sides" in religion-based conflict: between Allah (and Muslims) and Satan (*'iblys* "Devil"; *shayṭan* "Satan"); or between Allah and human beings (*'adw allah* "enemy of Allah"). Thus, because religion traditionally establishes sharp in- vs out-group distinctions, my data suggests that a common abusive discourse involves putting MTs in the out-group as a way of discrediting them. This may indicate that *good* men are expected to be *good* Muslims, or it may reflect a reality that men are more likely to be impious than women (in both situations women are again less visible).

A double standard also exists in connection to worthlessness, a category of descriptor which is more prominent for MTs than FTs. Together with the category of stupidity and ignorance, this constructs the *good* man as both more intelligent/educated and more important/useful than the *good* woman. This discourse again reflects an ideology which is prejudiced against women, constructing the expectation that men are more important and active than women in society (as for politics and religion above). In short, MTs are more likely to be judged in terms of societal value and importance. Being seen as useless is part of what it means to be a *bad* man which, in turn, constructs the opposite, i.e. being useful/valuable as part of what it means to be a *good* man.

The lack of power, being part of the discourse of *bad* men and *bad* women, is also reflected by some job-related terms, such as those meaning "servant" or "mercenary" (person under the power of others). A similar thing can be said about undesirable jobs linked to FTs: *'bdah* "servant", _khadimah_ "housemaid", and *murtazaqah* "mercenary". Thus, we see that both *bad* men and *bad* women are constructed as weak actors in relation to socially undesirable roles. However, if we consider this alongside the discussion of political labels

above, we see that in terms of social power, a *bad* man is constructed as either having power and abusing it or as not having power, whereas a *bad* woman is mainly constructed as not having power.

In terms of miscellaneous qualities, MTs' and FTs' qualities overlap more than in the other areas discussed above. The qualities which exclusively describe MTs are mostly about 1) involvement in the commission of some bad act: *ghadar* "perfidious", *muḥashish/ḥashash* "alcoholic/drug addict", *ṭa'an* "insulter"; and 2) cowardice: *ra<u>kh</u>mah* "Egyptian vulture [=coward]", and *kharwf* "sheep [=coward]". Therefore, a *good* man is brave. Being brave, however, is not part of the image constructed of a *good* woman. The labels used to describe FTs are mainly about feelings: *'adymat aliḥsas* "insensitive", *'nanyah* "selfish", *ghayranah* "jealous", *nakirat jamyl* "ungrateful". Consequently, a *good* woman is constructed as sensitive, selfless, trusting and grateful; a traditional gender role under patriarchy (Hofstede, 2001:297).

In a nutshell, the above analysis of discourse involving the use of terms of abuse has revealed that separate discourses are constructed for what it means to be a *bad*/*good* man vs a *bad*/*good* woman (the *bad* discourses explicitly, and the *good* discourses by implication). Generally, two patterns emerge which construct different roles for men and women. First, the discourse of sexual morality defined in terms of appearance, family, manhood, and effeminacy. These concepts are interconnected, and express bias in how they construct the image of a *bad* women (sexually immoral (especially a prostitute), unattractive or wanton, having sexually immoral female relatives) as opposed to a *bad* man (womanlike, homosexual, having sexually immoral female relatives). Notably, this *bad* man discourse is largely built on an assumed understanding of how *bad* women are.

Second, politics, religion, and worthlessness are linked together, constructing a *bad* man as power abuser, lacker of power, or religious opponent (out-group member), whereas a *bad* woman cannot abuse power because women do not have power. This ideology expresses less direct prejudice against women than the previous discourse but is hardly egalitarian.

The above picture regarding the discourses that I have argued for is my (partial) answer to RQ1. The rest of my answer to this question will emerge from my second analysis below.

5.3 Activation and passivation of targets

In this section, I look at activation and passivation of male and female targets of abusive language. I examine a sample of 300 concordance lines for male targets and 300 concordance lines for female targets to identify whether, in each instance, the target of abusive language is assigned an agent role (activation) or a patient role (passivation) (Table 5.3). This number of concordance lines is reasonable for this type of manual analysis. In fact, I found that in many cases a single concordance line includes several instances of passivation and activation of the target (see Section 5.3.1).

In order to get a total of 300 concordance lines, I could have selected just one or two terms of abuse to examine, but instead I decided to use a variety of terms of abuse. Therefore, I initially resolved to look at five masculine-marked and five feminine-marked terms of abuse that

a) are linked to a range of semantic fields (because that may give dissimilar targets),

b) have a frequency of 60 or above (I look at 5 terms of abuse all in all) and

c) have not been studied in Section 5.2 (so I look at different concordance lines), yielding at least 60 random concordance lines for each word.

While terms of abuse are not necessarily always aimed at a target whose sex corresponds to their grammatical gender, I used concordances of masculine- and feminine-marked words as a heuristic to locate male and female targets.

However, I found that many of my initial sample of concordance lines for feminine-marked terms of abuse were not aimed at female human targets (there were also masculine-marked terms of abuse not aimed at male human targets, although few enough that it did not create problems for the analysis). For instance, *qadhirah* "filthy(f)" is sometimes used to target language use (*'lfaẓ qadhirah* "filthy words"), politics (*lu'bah syasyah qadhirah* "filthy political game"), or families (*'a'ilah qadhirah* "filthy family"). Therefore, I had to use concordances of a wider range of feminine-marked terms of abuse to find sufficient female targets. Thus, altogether I examine the targets of fourteen selected terms of abuse, along with their morphological and spelling variants; five masculine- and nine feminine-marked words. Note that in selecting the second set of terms of abuse I worked to get as many female targets as possible, but then I cut the selection off at round numbers to make for easier comparison (see Table 5.3).

The words in this section are a different set of terms of abuse than the ones selected for descriptor analysis in Section 5.2. Naturally, there could be a virtue in looking at examples of the same words for comparative purposes in this analysis. However, on balance I decided to look at a different set of terms of abuse. This is because examining the same terms of abuse would create the risk of generating multiple findings from analyses of the same concordance lines, which would reduce the overall evidence base of the study. Using a

different set of terms of abuse allows me to be certain that I look at a non-overlapping data set in this part of the analysis.

5.3.1 Quantitative overview

Table 5.3 shows the terms of abuse used as initial query terms and their frequencies in my corpus.

Table 5.3 Selected terms of abuse and their frequencies

Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency (of all variants)	Number of concordance lines examined (with targets of equivalent sex)
ḥayawan "animal"	345	60
qadhir "filthy"	332	60
mutakhalif "retard"	275	60
'arṣ "pimp"	124	60
mal'wn "damned"	188	60
Feminine-marked terms of abuse		
sharmwṭah "prostitute"	662	60
safilah "vile"	67	30
mutakhalifah "retard"	73	20
ḥayawanah "animal"	53	30
ghabyah "stupid"	109	40
maryḍah "sick"	77	40
ma'finah "rotten"	84	20
qadhirah "filthy"	188	30
jahilah "ignorant"	47	30

Table 5.4 gives the numbers of instances of activation and passivation identified in the concordance lines. The grammatical gender of the terms of abuse is, in this analysis, always equivalent to the sex of the target (I discard concordance lines where they do not match), i.e. 300 concordance lines for masculine/feminine terms of abuse equals 300 male/female targets.

Table 5.4 Activation and passivation of MTs and FTs

	Activation	Passivation	No. of concordance lines
MTs	654	417	300
FTs	689	414	300
Total	1343	831	600

In order to identify activation and passivation, I look for instances where an MT or FT appears as an agent-like or patient-like argument of a clause predicate. That is, whenever I find the target of abusive language as an agent or agent-like argument of a predicate I count that as an instance of activation; whenever I find the target of abusive language as a patient or patient-like argument of a predicate I count that as an instance of passivation—regardless of the grammatical role (subject, object, etc.).

An important note here concerns the clauses generally called "nominal sentences", which is the Arabic term for clauses in which a subject is complemented by a noun phrase, adjective phrase, or preposition phrase that expresses a quality or feature of the subject. In English, a subject and a subject complement are always lined by a *copula* or linking verb, i.e. "a verb which has little independent meaning, and whose main function is to relate other elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement" (Crystal, [1980] 2008:116). The verb *be* is the main copula in English (Crystal, 2008:116). Unlike English, but like many other languages of the world, Arabic uses a zero copula in the present tense (the copula *kaana* is used in other tenses). This gives rise to the term *nominal sentences*, because the resulting clause does not contain a verb. Instead, these sentences consist of the subject (a noun (phrase), or pronoun), followed directly by the predicate (a noun (phrase), pronoun, indefinite adjective, or adverbial of place or time), for example *ana ṭalibun* "I (am) a student" (Abu-Chacra, 2007:32). It is critical to emphasise that the two noun phrases in this example are not merely combined within a single designation: this is an actual subject/complement relation

creating a full finite clause, just as in English sentences with copula *be*. This raises the question of whether Arabic nominal predicates, i.e. the zero-copula, should be treated as being activating (of the subject). This is not obviously an activating structure (the subject of a nominal predicate is not obviously an "agent", i.e. the doer of an action, in the classical semantic sense). However, the following examples of English copula (be+N and be+Adj) would normally be treated as a case of activation of their subject in analyses of this type: *John is a student*, *John is serious*. Since zero-copula nominal predicates in Arabic are equivalent to these, the most justifiable approach is to treat the subjects of nominal predicates in Arabic as activated. I will follow this approach in my analysis.

The predicate that I look at in order to assign activated/passivated role does not necessarily have to be in the same clause as the term of abuse. That is, when I say a target is activated or passivated, I am identifying the relation quite pragmatically; the relevant predicate may be in a previous or subsequent clause to the term of abuse. Therefore, in examples where an MT or FT is an argument of more than one verb (maybe the agent of one and the patient of the other), I count this more than once in the example given, as one instance each of passivation and activation. For this reason, each concordance line furnishes multiple "roles". Thus, the numbers in Table 5.4 do not add up to 600. As well as finite verbs, I include participles functioning as nouns/adjectives in my set of "predicates", but not any other nouns/adjectives (see Appendixes E and F for a full list of predicate lemmas found in this analysis).

Here are some examples of activation. In the presentation of all examples in this section, terms of abuse are bold and the predicates for which the target is the agent or patient are underlined:

- *rajil kadhab wa fiʿlan ightaṣabha[...] rajil ʿarṣ wa ibn wiskhah* "This man is a liar and he actually raped her [...] He is a **pimp** son of dirty woman".

- *ya qadhir naḥnu āl muḥamad [...] ʾantum ya makhanyth laʿanyn wa sababyn hadha dynukum* "You **filthy**[man], we are Mohammed's relatives [...] You are effeminates, insulters, insulters. This is your religion".

- *maʿfinah alḥamdu lilah ʿala alʿaql sharmwtahtaʿshaq maṣ alzubr wa bitghany lah [...] wa taʿrid jismaha* "[She is] **rotten**, thank Allah for bestowing a brain on me, she is a prostitute who loves sucking penis and singing for it [...] and displays her body".

- *maryḍah nafsyan wa ghayranah min alʾasilah ʾasalah [...] muqrifah, muthirah lilʾishmiʾzaz* "[She is] **sick** and jealous of good Asalah [...] [Nidal is] disgusting, disgusting".

The targets of *ʿarṣ* "pimp(m)", *qadhir* "filthy(m)", *maʿfinah* "rotten(f)", and *maryḍah* "sick(f)" are presented as active in these examples in two ways. First, the target may be the subject (and thus the agent) of a finite, usually transitive verb. For instance, *ʿarṣ* is the rapist (i.e. the *doer* of rape) in *ightaṣabha* "raped her"; likewise *maʿfinah* is the subject of *love, sing,* and *display*. Second, the target may be the subject of a clause with a subject complement, where the (nominal) complement is an active participle—which in Arabic is an "adjective or noun indicating the doer of an action or doing the action" (Abu-Chacra, 2007:160). *kadhab* "liar", *laʿan/sabab* "insulter", and *sharmwṭah* "prostitute" are examples of such nominalised active participles. The active participle, naturally, implies an agent role.

Conversely, I count examples of the Arabic passive participle as instances of passivation, as they modify the patient entity. The passive participle—which corresponds to the English past participle—is an "adjective or noun which indicates (the result or effect of) a completed action" (Abu-Chacra, 2007:161). Therefore, for instance, *manywkah* "fucked(f)"

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in the example below generates an instance of passivation because it implies a patient role. The following examples illustrate passivation of MTs and FTs:

- *shy'y ya* **qadhir** *wa i'tabir hadha tahdyd miny […] wallah law ruḥt landnwa shiftak la'aqtulak shar qitlah* "[You] **filthy** Shiite, consider this a threat from me. […] I swear by Allah if I went to London and saw you, I would kill you the worst killing".

- *wa allahi 'atamana 'an aslakh jildak 'an jasadak wa 'anta ḥay wa lakina alghalaṭ kula alghalaṭ 'ala alikhwah alkuwaytyyn aladhyn tarakwk takhruj min alkuwayt ḥayan litanhaq bitakharyfak ya* **mal'wn** "I swear by Allah I wish I could strip off your skin from your body while you are alive. The biggest mistake is our Kuwaiti brothers; who let you leave the country alive so you could bray your bullshit, you **damned** [man]".

- *bint ma'finah wa shaklaha ma'fin w shaklaha [unclear]* **ghabyah** *shalaq qaway […] 'ashan kidah khaṭybha ramaha* "A rotten girl, and her look is rotten too [unclear]. She is very **stupid** […] that is why her fiancé threw her aside".

- *raḥ anykik hay hya alḥuryah ya manywkah allahuma 'arina fyah 'aja'ib qudratik [allahuma] ij'alha limn khalfaha āyahla'nat allah 'alyky […]* **jahilah** *la ta'rifyn shay'an 'an aldyn* **jahilah** "I will fuck you, this is freedom, you fucked woman! O Allah show us Your might on her. [O Allah] make her an example for her supporters [to avoid]. You are an **ignorant** [woman] who does not know anything about religion , **ignorant**!"

In these examples, the target is the patient of a finite transitive verb (or, as noted above, a passive participle). That is, the targets of *qadhir* "filthy(m)", *mal'wn* "damned(m)", *ghabyah* "stupid(f)", and *jahilah* "ignorant(f)" are presented as patients of predicates such as *la'ana*

"damn", *taraka* "let"[28], *sala<u>kha</u>* "strip off skin [flay]", *rama* "throw aside", and *naka* "fuck", and are thus in a position of passivation.

In the following subsections, I tabulate the verb lemmas used in the concordance lines; discuss activation and passivation of MTs and FTs in detail; and provide possible explanations where differences/similarities exist. In section 5.3.2.3, I move on to a discussion of what the analysis of passivation and activation suggests in terms of the construction of gender in discourse.

5.3.2 Activation and passivation of the targets of abusive language

Table 5.5 illustrates frequency of tokens and types of activated and passivated MTs and FTs; Table 5.6 breaks the token frequencies down by term of abuse.

Table 5.5 Frequency of tokens and types of activated and passivated MTs and FTs by term of abuse

	MTs		FTs	
	Tokens	Distinct predicate lemmas	Tokens	Distinct predicate lemmas
Activation	654	236	689	220
Passivation	417	130	414	111

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[28] In combinations such as *taraka ya<u>khruj</u>* "let (someone) leave", where the patient of the main verb "let" is the agent of the subordinate verb "leave", I look at the semantic role of the main verb "let" and consider the target of swearing to be a patient overall.

Table 5.6 Frequency of activation and passivation by term of abuse

Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Active MTs (61%), n=654	Passive MTs (39%), n=417
ḥayawan "animal"	102 (57%)	77 (43%)
qadhir "filthy"	119 (55%)	98 (45%)
mutakhalif "retard"	201 (79%)	54 (21%)
'arṣ "pimp"	124 (59%)	86 (41%)
mal'wn "damned"	108 (51%)	102 (49%)
Feminine-marked terms of abuse	Active FTs (62%), n=689	Passive FTs (38%), n=414
sharmwṭah "prostitute"	135 (53%)	120 (47%)
safilah "vile"	77 (64%)	44 (36%)
mutakhalifah "retard"	60 (85%)	11 (15%)
ḥayawanah "animal"	71 (63%)	41 (37%)
ghabyah "stupid"	76 (60%)	50 (40%)
maryḍah "sick"	104 (66%)	53 (34%)
ma'finah "rotten"	37 (61%)	24 (39%)
qadhirah "filthy"	67 (67%)	33 (33%)
jahilah "ignorant"	62 (62%)	38 (38%)

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 show that

- Activation is more common than passivation for both MTs and FTs in general, and for targets of each term of abuse in particular, on a roughly 60:40 ratio.

- FTs are, slightly, represented as active more often than MTs, but this difference is so small that it is unlikely to be meaningful.

Interestingly, the biggest difference in the frequency of passive and active instances is found with *mutakhalif* and *mutakhalifah* "retard"; both MTs and FTs of these words are clearly activated more than any other MTs/FTs of other terms of abuse.

In the following subsections I discuss activation and passivation of MTs and FTs with examples. As in Section 5.2.1 above, no attempt has been made to test the quantitative differences for statistical significance in this section, in this case because my heuristic procedure for sampling MTs and FTs would render such testing invalid.

5.3.2.1 Activation of the targets of abusive language

Tables 5.7 lists all verb lemmas with a frequency higher than 5 in my 600 concordance lines for active targets of abusive language (full lists of lemmas are provided in Appendix E).

Table 5.7 Verb lemmas of activated MTs and FTs

	Active MTs			Active FTs	
	Lemma	Frequency		Lemma	Frequency
1	*qala* "say"	43	1	*kalama* "talk"	56
2	*kalama* "talk"	30	2	*'ahara* "prostitute"	47
3	*saba* "insult"	25	3	*sharmaṭa* "prostitute"	32
4	*qatala* "murder"	16	4	*qaḥaba* "prostitute"	24
5	*shatama* "insult"	14	5	*fajara* "dissolute"	23
6	*kadhaba* "lie"	12	6	*qala* "say"	18
7	*shafa* "see"	10	7	*'arada* "want"	13
=8	*'ajrama* "commit a crime"	9	8	*ḥaka* "talk"	12
=8	*khsa'a* "beat it"	9	=9	*'ajrama* "commit a crime"	10
=10	*'alama* "learn"	8	=9	*'akala* "eat	10
=10	*'abada* "worship"	8	=9	*kadhaba* "lie"	10
=12	*dafa'a* "defend"	7	=9	*mata* "die"	10
=12	*saba[aldyn]* "blaspheme"	7	=13	*ḥaqada* "hate"	8
=12	*fashala* "disgrace"	7	=13	*zana* "commit adultery"	8
=12	*mata* "die"	7	=15	*intaqada* "criticise"	7
=16	*'amala siran* "inform secretly"	6	=15	*saba* "insult"	7
=16	*sami'a* "hear"	6	=17	*ba'a* "sell"	6
=16	*qada* "pimp"	6	=17	*satara* "cover"	6
=19	*'akala* "eat"	5	=17	*mathala* "represent"	6
=19	*shafa* "search"	5	=17	*maṣa* "suck"	6
=19	*shawaha ṣwrat* "defame"	5	=21	*istaḥa* "feel shy"	5
=19	*fattana* "spread sedition"	5	=21	*shatama* "insult"	5
=19	*qara'a* "read"	5	=21	*shawah ṣwrat* "defame"	5
=19	*nafaqa* "hypocrite"	5	=21	*'abada* "worship"	5
=19	*naka* "have sex"	5	=21	*fasaqa* "dissolute"	5
			=21	*nafaqa* "hypocrite"	5

As can be seen from Table 5.7, the number of verb lemmas for MTs and FTs is roughly the same (25 and 26 respectively). The collective frequency of the FT lemmas is higher than the frequency of the MT lemmas (261 and 185). Also, there are big differences between the most and least frequent lemmas for both MTs (43 to 5) and FTs (56 to 5).

Let us now look at some examples and consider these lemmas used with either male or female targets and those which are used with both, asking which of these lemmas are positively, negatively, and neutrally evaluated.

5.3.2.1.1 Overlapping lemmas for active MTs and FTs

11 lemmas activate both MTs and FTs: *qala* "say", *kalama* "talk", *saba* "insult", *shatama* "insult", *kadhaba* "lie", *'ajrama* "commit a crime", *'abada* "worship", *mata* "die", *'akala* "eat", *shawah ṣwrat* "defame", and *nafaqa* "commit hypocrisy".

Despite the overlap, the frequencies of most of these lemmas differ between MTs and FTs (except *shawah ṣwrat* "defame" and *nafaqa* "hypocrite"). MTs are more often presented as active than FTs in connection with *qala* "say", *saba* "insult", and *shatama* "insult", whereas FTs are more activated than MTs with *kalama* "talk" and *'akala* "eat". The remaining verb lemmas can be categorised into two groups: a) a group that seems to tend towards MTs: *kadhaba* "lie" and *'abada* "worship", and b) a group that seems to tend towards FTs: *'ajrama* "commit a crime" and *mata* "die". The following are examples in which MTs and FTs are activated by the same verb lemmas:

- *inta **mutakhalif** dawry 'abṭal 'uruba alsanah dhy lilmalaky in shaa' allah khaly 'ank alhayaṭ wa titkalam 'an dawry 'abṭal 'uruba* "You're a **retard**! European Football Championship this year is for the Royal [Real Madrid Football Club],

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God willing. Stop this nonsense and <u>talking</u> about European   Football Championship".

- <u>*thumaa*</u> *hya* **jahilah** *ila 'aqṣa ḥad.* <u>*tatakalam*</u> *'an ḥuqwq alinsan wa tudafi' 'an alyahwd […] lima<u>dha</u> la tas'al nafsaha kayfa qamat dawlat alṣahayynah alsafaḥyn?* She is completely **ignorant**. She <u>talks</u> about human rights and defends the Jews […]. Why does not she ask herself how the state of the butcher Zionists started?

- *al<u>z</u>ahr yaly ismak ḥasan 'aly 'ana almujrimah*[29] *hya umak 'aw u<u>kh</u>tak […] 'ashan ki<u>dha</u> inta za'lan wa* <u>*tashtum*</u> *[…] ya* **ḥayawan** *i<u>dha</u> kanat muslimah alqaṣaṣ takfyr li<u>dh</u>anbiha* "Hasan Ali, it appears that this criminal is either your mother or your sister […] and that's why you're angry and <u>insulting</u> [others] […]. You **animal**, if she's a Muslim, then this punishment [i.e. execution] is to expiate her crime".

- *niḍal insanah* **qa<u>dh</u>irah** *[…] i<u>dha</u> ma 'andha ḥada tiḥky 'anwn raḥ tabalash* <u>*tasbsib*</u> *biḥalha 'indha maraḍ al<u>thar</u><u>th</u>arah* "Nidal is **filthy** […] If she cannot think of someone to talk about, she'll start <u>insulting</u> herself! She has a disease of gossip".

- <u>*mujrim*</u> *wa muqrif […] ma 'a'rif kyf bintah 'ayshah lilḥyn allah ykwn bi'wnha […] hadha i'dam qalyl fyh […] ya rab ma yṭḥikimsh 'alyk bili'dam 'ashan titnak kul ywm fy alsijn ya* **m'raṣ** "A <u>criminal</u> and disgusting [man]" […] I don't know how could his daughter be alive till now, please help her Allah […] Execution is not enough for him […] O God, I wish [you] won't be sentenced to death so you daily get fucked in prison, you **pimp**!

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[29] "*almujrimah*" is the (definite) active participle of *'ajrama*, i.e. it literally translates to "the committing-a-crime", but in the context of the examples it requires translation by an English noun, "criminal".

- *allah ya<u>kh</u>d<u>h</u>k wa bas ndws 'ala wajhik ya **safilah** […] inty <u>almujrimah</u> allah yshyl wajhik alqaby<u>ḥ</u> takalamy 'la 'ay shy' ila alislam* "May Allah take you! We step on your face, you **vile** [woman] […] You are the <u>criminal</u>, may Allah destroy your ugly face. Talk about anything except Islam!"

5.3.2.1.2 Exclusively MT-activating lemmas

There are 14 exclusive MT verb lemmas in Table 5.7 above. These verb lemmas can be categorised as socially negative (*qatala* "murder", <u>kh</u>*sa'a* "beat it", *saba[aldyn]* "blaspheme", *fashala* "disgrace", *ta'amala siran* "inform secretly", *qada* "pimp", *fattana* "spread sedition", and *naka* "have sex"[30]), positive (*ta'alama* "learn", *dafa'a* "defend", and *qara'a* "read"), or neutral actions (*shafa* "see", *sami'a* "hear", and *shafa* "search"). For example:

- *'usamah bin ladin irhaby **qa<u>dh</u>ir** <u>qatil</u> lialnafs almuḥaramah wa ya'tabir alkul kafarah li'anahum la ywafiqwnah fy alfikr altakfyry* "Usama bin Laden is a **filthy** terrorist, <u>murderer</u> of sacred life. He considers everyone as an infidel because they disagree with him in the takfiri[31] ideology".
- *'alf raḥmah 'ala waldyk bwsh <u>kh</u>alaṣtana min ha<u>dh</u>a <u>alkawad</u> […] alḥamdu lilah ala<u>dh</u>y <u>kh</u>alaṣana min almujirim ṣaddam **almal'wn*** "[May Allah have] a thousand

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[30] *naka* is used in colloquial Arabic to show disapproval/disrespect, as it implies illegal sexual relationships. In polite settings, people use *jama'a* "have sex", a standard Arabic form, to show respect; it normally implies sex between married couples. Moreover, unlike *fuck* in English, which can imply "penetrate" but does not always, *naka* always implies "penetrate". Therefore, when *naka* is used in my analysis I work with the implication that its agent is one who penetrates and its patient is one who is penetrated.

[31] The derived adjective *takfiri* describes a person or group (usually Muslim) who accuses another person of being a *kafir* "infidel". *takfiri* is becoming a religious slur, used by Sunnis against Shiites and vice versa.

mercy on your parents, Bush, for you have gotten rid of this <u>pimp</u> […] Thank Allah Who have gotten rid of **damned** Saddam ".

5.3.2.1.3 Exclusively FT-activating lemmas

These are also 14 exclusive FT verb lemmas. 7 of these lemmas are negatively-evaluated actions (*'ahara* "prostitute", *sharmaṭa* "prostitute", *qaḥaba* "prostitute", *fajara* "dissolute", *ḥaqada* "hate", *zana* "commit adultery", and *fasaqa* "dissolute"). Interestingly, all these lemmas (except *ḥaqada*) are linked to sexual conduct. The other 7 lemmas, which can be described as neutral, are *ḥaka* "talk", *'intaqada* "criticise", *ba'a* "sell", *satara* "cover", *ma<u>th</u>ala* "represent", *maṣa* "suck", and *istaḥa* "feel shy"[32]. For example:

- *allah ya<u>kh</u>d<u>h</u>ik had<u>h</u>a ally aqdar aqwlik allah yantaqim mink ya bint al<u>h</u>aram ya najisah ya <u>zanyah</u> […] ya **ghabyah** ya shams* "May Allah take you [i.e. kill you], this is what I can tell you. May Allah revenge from you, you daughter of sin, filthy, <u>adulteress</u>, **stupid** Shams"

- *inty **maryḍah** allah la yablana ma balaky, wa raja'an la <u>tintaqidyn</u> nas 'ashraf minak l'anak <u>ḥuthalat al<u>kh</u>alyj</u> wa la tumathilyna ila nafsak* "You're **sick**. May Allah not inflict us with what He inflicted you with. Please do not <u>criticise</u> people who are more honourable than you because you're the scum of the Gulf and only represent yourself".

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[32] *istaḥa* can also be positive because in Arab traditions, it is a virtue, especially for women, to be shy.

5.3.2.2 Passivation of the targets of abusive language

As mentioned in the previous section, passivation is not as common as activation. Tables 5.8 lists the verb lemmas with a frequency higher than 5 in the examined concordance lines (full lists of lemmas are provided in Appendix F). As with activation, from Table 5.8 we can see that the numbers of verb lemmas for MTs (11) and FTs (12) are very similar.

Table 5.8 Verb lemmas of passivated MTs and FTs

	Passive MTs			Passive FTs	
	Lemma	Frequency		Lemma	Frequency
1	*la'ana* "damn"	77	1	*naka* "fuck"	65
2	*naka* "fuck"	28	2	*la'ana* "damn"	50
3	*'aqaba* "punish"	13	3	*hada* "guide"	29
4	*intaqama* "revenge"	10	=4	*'aqaba* "punish",	19
5	*ḥashara* "resurrect"	9	=4	*'akhadha* "kill"	19
=6	*'akhadha* "kill"	7	=6	*intaqama* "revenge"	7
=6	*hada* "guide"	7	=6	*kariha* "hate"	7
8	*qatala* "kill"	6	=8	*'ashfaqa* "pity"	5
=9	*bara'a* "disown"	5	=8	*dasa* "step on"	5
=9	*samaḥa* "forgive"	5	=8	*'adhaba* "torture"	5
=9	*qabaḥa* "deform"	5	=8	*faḍaḥa* "expose"	5
			=8	*qabaḥa* "deform"	5

5.3.2.2.1 Overlapping lemmas for passive MTs and FTs

7 lemmas are found with both passivated MTs and FTs: *la'ana* "damn", *naka* "fuck", *'aqaba* "punish", *intaqama* "revenge", *'akhadha* "kill", *hada* "guide", and *qabaḥa* "deform".

la'ana "damn" and *naka* "fuck" are the two most frequent lemmas on both lists. However, interestingly, *la'ana* is the most frequent for MTs and *naka* is the most frequent for FTs, and *naka* is the sexual one of the two. Some examples follow:

- *la tasub alsaʿwdyah ya isra'yly ya kalb ya ḥayawn [...] kul balawykum tarmwnaha ʿala alkhalyj wa ʿala alsaʿwdyah bialdhat rwḥ allah yalʿanak* "Stop insulting Saudi Arabia you Israeli, you dog, you **animal** […] You throw all your problems towards the Gulf especially towards Saudi Arabia, go, may Allah damn you".

- *allahuma allaʿnah 'la wafa' sulṭan alkafirah alqadhirah tsubyn ashraf alkhalq tsubyn dyn allah* "May Allah damn Wafa Sultan the **filthy** infidel woman. [How dare] you insult the best human being [i.e. the Prophet Mohammed] and the religion of Allah!".

- *inta ʿarṣ kafir mitnak tudafiʿ ʿan ally mitnak zayak 2 milywn shaf hadha alfydyw mw li'anahum yaḥbwk ya qaḥbah wa lakin lialshamatah fyk* "You're a **pimp**, infidel, fucked man defending a fucked man like you! 2 million people have seen the video not because they loved you, you prostitute(f), but to rejoice at your misfortune".

- *aflamik wa musalsalatik kulaha sharmaṭah wa siks [...] ya sharmwṭah ya mitnakah fy ṭyzik alkabyrah [...] inty kalbah 'abadan ma iḥtaramnaki* "All your films and series are full of prostitution and pornography […] You **prostitute**, you are fucked in your big ass […] You're a bitch whom we've never respected".

5.3.2.2.2 Exclusively MT-passivating lemmas

These are four verb lemmas; *ḥashara* "resurrect"[33], *qatala* "kill", *bara'a* "disown", and *samaḥa* "forgive". For example:

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[33] *ḥashara* is used negatively to mean the resurrection at the end of the world of those peoplewho are to be sent to Hell.

- *ḥayawan* allah *yahshirak ma' musaylimah alkadhab* "[You're] an **animal**, may Allah <u>resurrect</u> you with Mosailamah the Liar [34]".

- *kulukum ta'rifwn <u>kha'ifwn</u> [...] min almad alshy'y wa aldalyl waḍiḥ 'amama 'a'yunukum huwa tashyu' wa istibṣar mashaykhkum wa <u>tabaru'hum</u> min mu'awyah **mal'wn*** "You all know and you're scared [...] of the Shiite expansion. The clear evidence for this is in front of your eyes; it is in your sheikhs who converted to Shiism, and in their <u>disowning</u> of the **damned** Muawiyah[35]"

5.3.2.2.3 Exclusively FT-passivating lemmas

These are *kariha* "hate", *'ashfaqa* "pity", *dasa* "step on", *'adhaba* "torture", and *faḍaḥa* "expose". For example

- *'ana la uṭyquha la shaklan wa la fanan [...]'ana shakhṣyan <u>ushfiq</u> 'alyha haḍhy waḥdah **maryḍah**, in sha' allah <u>yu'adhibha</u> [fy]nar jahanam* "I cannot stand her, neither I stand the way she looks like nor her acting [...] I personally <u>pity</u> her, she's clearly **sick**, I hope Allah will <u>torture</u> her in Hell".

- *'ama fy aldunya fa'anty tu<u>th</u>bityna 'anaki **jahilah**, ka<u>dh</u>ibah, munafiqah. 'ama fy ala<u>kh</u>irah wa allahi <u>layu'adhabaki</u> allah 'ala ha<u>dh</u>a alkalam '<u>adh</u>aban shadydan* "As for the life in this world, you're proving that you're an **ignorant**, liar, hypocrite [woman]. As for the Hereafter, I swear by Allah that He will severely <u>torture</u> you for what you're saying now".

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[34] Mosailamah the Liar claimed to be a prophet equivalent to the Prophet Mohammed and, therefore, is considered an infidel and thus condemned to Hell.

[35] Muawiyah was the fifth caliph in Islam. He is accused of being a tyrant.

5.3.2.3 Discussion of activation and passivation

Two main points are revealed by the analysis of activation and passivation of the targets of abusive language, contributing towards an overall picture of the roles constructed for men and women.

First, a pattern of similar discourse. Given the power men have in the Arab patriarchal society—a society which is "built on clear role assignment for men and women … [and] on the exclusion of women from spaces of public power" (Sadiqi, 2003:53-54)—one would expect this to be reflected in gender-biased discourses where MTs are placed in more agentive roles and FTs are placed in more patientive roles. It is perhaps surprising that I did not find this. Both quantitatively and qualitatively there is a lot of similarity. This similarity may suggest that activation and passivation analysis may not be the best place to find differences in discourses about the representation of men and women. At the same time, this could be seen as "[a]nother story" about gender differences where "males and females are more alike than they are [different]" (Baker, 2014:24), (see overlapping verb lemmas in 5.3.2.1.1 and 5.3.2.2.1 above).

Actions that have as agents both MTs and FTs include, for instance, several that are related to *speech* (*qala* "say", *kalama* "talk", *saba* "insult", *shatama* "insult", *ka<u>dh</u>aba* "lie"). However, *saba, shatama,* and *ka<u>dh</u>aba* (which are all socially negative) are represented as male more than as female actions. This may reflect a common stereotype of men being more vulgar in their speech than women (Davis, 1989:3). On the other hand, the frequency of *kalama* "talk" with FTs, almost double that with MTs, may be an effect of the "stereotype of the empty-headed chatterer" (Talbot, 2003:469).

However, despite the overlap, the analysis in this section reveals some differences, the most obvious of which is the recurrent sexualisation of the targets of abusive language

(especially FTs). This sexualisation difference can be seen in a couple of different ways. This difference is not as obvious in the passivated examples as it is in the activated examples; many of the FTs are represented as agents of negatively evaluated actions that are in the semantic field of sexuality, which distinguishes them from the MTs. This point was also evident in the previous analysis where I discussed target descriptors (see Section 5.2).

For instance, there is a sexuality discourse represented by the lemma *naka* "fuck"— which presents females as tending to take a submissive, inactive role in sexual intercourse— that portrays women as sex objects (or as prostitutes). However, the same lemma also passivates men but to a much lesser extent; this is one way of presenting MTs as effeminate gays (see also 5.2.16).

MTs are activated via *qada* "pimp" and *naka* "fuck", two lemmas which are not used to activate women. Interestingly, there are only 11 examples of the feminine-marked past tense *nakat* "fucked" and present tense *tanyk* "fucks" compared to 120 occurrences of the masculine-marked *naka* "fucked" and *yanyk* "fucks" in my corpus. The use of *he fucks* shows the assumed passivity of women in sexual intercourse, which finds support in, for instance, religious texts. For example, Ali (2006) suggests that some fatwas allow a husband to have sex "whenever he desires it" in contrast to the "limited and contingent sexual rights of a wife" (Ali, 2006:10). This can also be seen in connection with the code of honour and modesty in Arab traditions. This code, which places tremendous amount of social value upon female purity, sees the expression of female sexual pleasure as "immoral, too modern, and non-Islamic" (Piasecki, 2011:123). In contrast, males are encouraged to express their sexual interest in females and it is sometimes accepted by society that males experience "their manhood by having sexual relations with females"[36] (Sadiqi, 2003:64). These points imply

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[36]In Arab tradition females, but not males, are required to be virgins until marriage.

some kind of control by men over women. Sadiqi argues that a collective imagination exists in Arab society that "women need to be controlled" in order to protect the two codes of honour and morality (which as discussed in Section 4.2are very strongly related to a woman's sexual purity) (Sadiqi, 2003:60-61).

We also find *'ahara/sharmaṭa/qaḥaba* "prostitute" and *fajara* "be dissolute" among the five most frequent verb lemmas for active FTs, enhancing the women-as-prostitutes discourse (which seems to be part and parcel of what it means to be a *bad* woman). Interestingly, none of these lemmas are used to activate/passivate MTs, which may indicate a prejudice against women when involved in prostitution, while men (as customers) remain almost invisible (cf. 5.2.10 and 5.2.16).

The sexualisation discourse may also be linked to the power men exercise over women (see 5.2.3 and 5.2.16 above). This is because the frequent use of sexual words against women, more than against men, may reflect cultural beliefs and "a reality in which men regard [women] as inferior and define [them] above all in terms of [their] sexual attributes" (Cameron, 1992:109). Thus, sexual insults represent a form of social control in the sense that "they constitute linguistic weapons in the hands of men, not women" (Sadiqi, 2003:138).

5.4 Summary

Although the second analysis in this chapter reveals a lesser variety of discourses around gender, the two analyses collectively have generally indicated two discourses: *the bad man discourse* vs *the bad woman discourse* (both of which, necessarily, imply an opposite discourse of what it means to be a *good* man/woman). Both analyses have found differences between the two discourses.

Both analyses revealed that the ideology of *bad* men/women involves sexual purity. That is, *bad* men and *bad* women are constructed as *bad* because they or their relatives are sexually immoral (this is especially evident in the descriptor analysis). A difference between the gender discourses is that *bad* men are *like women* or *homosexual*, while *bad* women are mainly *prostitutes* (the sexually immoral relatives in both discourses are typically female). We have likewise observed the existence of a double standard or "can't win" ideology where *bad* women may be constructed as *ugly*; but if they are sexually attractive (in the wrong way), they are also *bad*; complementing this, being *womanlike* is always *bad* for a man.

Some other differences exist in relation to the exercise of power, which from my analysis appears to be prominent in the construction of male gender identity. *Bad* men are represented as *having* and *abusing* power while power is simply not a visible issue in the construction of *bad* women. In terms of religion, the first analysis finds that *bad* men, more than *bad* women, are constructed as irreligious/impious, while in the second analysis religion is again almost invisible.

The above picture regarding the discourses that I have argued for is my answer to RQ1. In the next chapter, I address RQ2 and RQ3.

Chapter 6: Findings and discussion II:

Grammatical gender and cultural scripts of abusive language

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to addressing research question 2: *How is the phenomenon of grammatical gender-marking of terms of abuse deployed in the discursive construction of gender identity?,* and research question 3: *What cultural scripts are differentially involved in the construction of male identity vs. the construction of female identity via gendered discourses involving abusive language?* Thus, the chapter contains two main sections.

The relationship between grammatical gender and the discursive construction of gender identity will be analysed by examining the differential usage (if any) of paired gender forms. Therefore, Section 6.2 looks at a number of frequent terms of abuse, examining whether these terms of abuse occur in both masculine and feminine forms, and whether both gender forms are used abusively. Cross-domain analysis of frequency and contrastive collocation of masculine/feminine-marked words will also be utilised in addressing RQ2.

The themes, contexts, and meanings involved in the construction of male and female gender identities will be analysed by looking at pragmatic functions and the pragmatic environments where grammatically gendered terms of abuse occur. One way to approach this is to look at *cultural scripts* of abusive language, i.e. the pragmatic side of meaning. In this way, Section 6.3 addresses RQ3 by looking at the quality that the target of abusive language of a grammatically-gendered term of abuse possesses or is believed to possess that motivates the writer to swear at him/her.

Thus, the analysis in this chapter can be characterised as "downwards" (rather than "sideways" as in the previous chapter) because it deals with the term of abuse itself, rather than associated descriptors or predicates: looking at the word's distributional, collocational,

and pragmatic behaviour. Of course, context is still an important factor; for example, in terms of cultural scripts and pragmatic motivations, only a consideration of the context in the concordance line and beyond allows us to work out the cultural scripts that motivate the use of abusive language (see 3.11.1).

6.2 Grammatical gender and abusive language

6.2.1 Overview

This section addresses RQ2 and is divided into three parts. First, I compare the frequency of masculine and feminine terms of abuse, considering also whether they have abusive other-gender counterparts (for a discussion of what counts as abusive see 2.4). Second, I compare the frequencies of selected terms of abuse across the different domains in my corpus, to reveal whether masculine/feminine-marked terms of abuse occur more in certain domains than others. Third, I undertake an investigation of contrastive collocation of frequent masculine/feminine-marked terms of abuse.

6.2.2 Masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse and their other-gender counterparts

In this subsection, I re-list all the terms of abuse I identified in my corpus (i.e. those listed in Table 3.4 according to their taboo themes) and examine to what extent they have other-gender counterparts that are used abusively.

This analysis is essential to an understanding of the construction of gender identity in discourse because of the assumption that language in general and abusive language in particular are "a male-controlled construct exhibiting chauvinist prejudices" (Hughes,

2006:195). This perspective suggests that, because language is produced in a patriarchal and/or phallocratic dispensation, a preponderance of terms that target females has developed (Hughes, 2006:195). Therefore, the analysis in this subsection will examine whether this dynamic, which Schulz (1975) identifies as "the semantic derogation of women", is also found in the discourses about men and women in Arab patriarchal society as reflected in my data. One way this may emerge is in the form of the (non-)existence of grammatically-gendered terms of abuse drawn from terms which are, in their most basic core sense, no more than masculine/feminine forms of one and the same lemma. A disparity in whether the two grammatically gendered forms of a given lemma are used in abusive language would suggest a sexist dynamic that contributes to the construction of (different/similar) male and female identities in discourse. This connection emerges because the masculine/feminine forms of nouns/adjectives used as terms of abuse would typically be used with male/female human referents.

In the next subsection, I list masculine-marked terms of abuse and their other-gender forms (i.e. the feminine form that corresponds exactly to the masculine form in all basic semantic features other than gender). In some cases, the corresponding masculine and feminine forms are part of the same lemma. For example, the pair *jamws* "buffalo(m)" and *jamwsah* "buffalo(f)" are different inflections of the same lemma. However, in other cases, we see a pair of words such <u>*thawr*</u> "bull" and *baqarah* "cow", where the lemma is inherently masculine or inherently feminine; we can justify seeing these as parallel because apart from the semantic feature of sex, their most literal basic meaning is the same (putting aside for now any considerations of meaning in usage). Thus, we can consider the different-lemma pairs to be related to one another in the same way as the same-lemma pairs in terms of basic semantics (only one feature is different). Differences in how the masculine and feminine

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members of each pair are actually used in context, namely as terms of abuse, are then informative regarding the discursive construction of gender.

6.2.2.1 Quantitative overview

In Table 6.1 I list the shared lemmas (which term henceforth will include the different-lemma pairs discussed above) of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show the lemmas which in my corpus are used abusively (as terms of abuse) in exclusively masculine and exclusively feminine forms. Table 6.4 summarises these three large tables. In the legends of these tables, *shared* lemmas are those where both the grammatically masculine form and the grammatically feminine form are used as terms of abuse; an *exclusively masculine* lemma is one where only the masculine form is used as a term of abuse; and, correspondingly, an *exclusively feminine* lemma is one where only the feminine is used as a term of abuse. These claims are based solely on what examples exist in my data. I provide below a brief discussion of examples such as *khal* "black man" and *ṣihywny* "Zionist", which are used abusively in my corpus, while their feminine counterparts are not, but may be according to my knowledge.

Table 6.1 Shared lemmas of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse

Animal and insect
jamws "buffalo(m)" [freq. 6], *jamwsah* "buffalo(f)" [9], *jaḥsh* "young donkey(m)" [156], *jaḥshah* "young donkey(f)" [3], *jarbwʿ* "jerboa(m)" [4], *jarbwʿah* "jerboa(f)" [1], *jurdh* "rat" [108], *jurdhah* "rat(f)" [3], *ḥimar* "donkey(m)" [711], *ḥimarah* "donkey(f)" [44], *ḥayawan* "animal(m)" [345], *ḥayawanah* "animal(f)" [53], *khinzyr* "pig(m)" [311], *khinzyrah* "sow" [48], *dub* "bear(m)" [37], *dubah* "bear(f)" [2], *ḍabʿ* "hyena(m)" [13], *ḍabʿah* "hyena(f)" [3], *ḍifdaʿ* "frog(m)" [6], *ḍifdaʿah* "frog(f)" [1],*tays* "he-goat" [30], *ʿanz* "he-goat" [21], *ʿanzah* "she-goat" [13], *faʾr* "mouse(m)" [64], *faʾrah* "mouse(f)" [3], *qird* "monkey(m)" [96], *qirdah* "monkey(f)" [42], *qiṭ* "cat(m)" [29], *qiṭah* "cat(f)" [2], *kalb* "dog(m)" [1986], *kalbah* "bitch" [155], *thawr* "bull" [72], *baqarah* "cow" [80], *kharwf* "sheep(m)" [212], *kabsh* "sheep(m)" [10], *ghanamah* "sheep(f)" [1],*naʿjah* "sheep(f)" [34].

Sex and sexuality
balaʿ "[penis] swallower(m)" [16], *balaʿah* "[penis] swallower(f)" [8], *daʿir* "prostitute(m)" [10], *daʿirah* "prostitute(f)" [24], *baghiyah* "prostitute(f)" [6], *ḍurwṭ* "prostitute(f)" [1], *mwmis* "prostitute(f)" [29], *mazghwb* "fucked(m)" [1], *mazghwbah* "fucked(f)" [1], *zany* "adulterer" [42], *zanyah* "adulteress" [157],], *lwṭy* "homosexual(m)" [133], *zamil* "homosexual(m)" [31], *shadh* "homosexual(m)" [81], *shadhah* "homosexual(f)" [37], *sharmwṭ* "prostitute(m)" [33], *sharmwṭah* "prostitute(f)" [662], *ʿahir* "prostitute(m)" [40], *ʿahirah* "prostitute(f)" [440], *qaḥib* "prostitute(m)" [6], *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)" [760], *laqyṭ* "foundling(m)" [51], *laqyṭah* "foundling(f)" [8], *mustarjil* "mannish(m)" [2], *mustarjilah* "mannish(f)" [29], *mustaʾnith* "womanish" [1], *maṣaṣ* "sucker(m)" [3], *maṣaṣah* "sucker(f)" [3], *mamḥwn* "sex-crazed(m)" [16], *mamḥwnah* "sex-crazed(f)" [37], *munḥarif* "pervert(m)" [15], *munḥarifah* "pervert(f)" [1], *mankwḥ* "fucked(m)" [6], *mankwḥah* "fucked(f)" [5], *manywk/mitnak* "fucked(m)" [179], *manywkah/mitnakah* "fucked(f)" [295], *ʿarṣ* "pimp(m)" [124], *ʿarṣah* "pimp(f)" [25], *qawad* "pimp(m)" [176], *qawadah* "pimp(f)" [34], *khrwnq* "effeminate gay" [5], *khakry* "effeminate gay" [18], *khawal* "effeminate gay" [111], *bwyah* "masculine lesbian" [152], *siḥaqiyah* "lesbian" [12], *lizbyan* "lesbian" [6], *khanyth* "effeminate gay" [395], *khanythah* "prostitute(f)" [7],

Religious slur
rafiḍy "Refuser(m)" [319], *rafiḍyah* "Refuser(f)" [34], *ṣalyby* "crusader(f)" [12], *ṣalybyah* "crusader(m)" [28], *kafir* "infidel(m)" [291], *kafirah* "infidel(f)" [90], *majwsy* "Magi(m)" [106], *majwsyah* "Magi(f)" [1], *murtad* "apostate(m)" [21], *murtadah* "apostate(f)" [1], *masyḥy* "Christian(m)" [31], *masyḥyah* "Christian(f)" [46], *mulḥid* "atheist(m)" [63], *mulḥidah* "atheist(f)" [11], *malʿwn* "damned/cursed(m)" [188], *malʿwnah* "damned/cursed(f)" [43], *naṣiby* "Nasibi(m) [derogatory for Sunni Muslim]" [26], *naṣibyah* "Nasibi(f)" [1], *naṣrany* "Christian(m)" [9], *naṣranyah* "Christian(f)" [18], *nuṣayry* "Nusayri(m) [derogatory for Shiite Muslim]" [19], *nuṣayryah* "Nusayri(f)" [5], *wahaby* "Wahhabi(m)" [80], *wahabyah* "Wahabi(f)" [2], *yahwdy* "Jew(m)" [28], *yahwdyah* "Jew(f)" [13]

Stupidity and mental illness
ʾblah "stupid(m)" [18], *balhaʾ* "stupid(f)" [1], *ʾḥmaq* "stupid(m)" [77], *ḥamqaʾ* "stupid(f)" [7], *ʾkhraq* "foolish(m)" [1], *kharqaʾ* "foolish(f)" [12], *ʾhbal* "idiot(m)" [215], *habylah/hablaʾ* "idiot(f)" [55], *jahil* "illiterate/ignorant(m)" [69], *jahilah* "illiterate/ignorant(f)" [47], *dalkh* "stupid(m)"

[57], *dalkhah* "stupid(f)" [3], *safyh* "foolish(m)" [25], *safyhah* "foolish(f)" [1], *'abyṭ* "dumb(m)" [50], *'abyṭah* "dumb(f)" [10], *ghaby* "stupid(m)" [641], *ghabyah* "stupid(f)" [109], *mutakhalif* "retard(m)" [275], *mutakhalifah* "retard(f)" [73], *majnwn* "insane(m)" [108], *majnwnah* "insane(f)" [37], *makhbwl* "insane(m)" [56], *makhbwlah* "insane(f)" [10], *mukharif* "senile(m)" [29], *mukharifah* "senile(f)" [1]
Immorality
ḥaqir "low(m)" [344], *ḥaqirah* "low(f)" [150], *daywth* "cuckold(m)" [120], *daywthah* "cuckold(f)" [4], *zindyq* "libertine(m)" [103], *zindyqah* "libertine(f)" [8], *safil* "immoral(m)" [91], *safilah* "immoral(f)" [67], *saqiṭ* "immoral(m)" [69], *saqiṭah* "immoral(f)" [124], *'ary* "naked(m) [=immoral]" [10], *'aryah* "naked(f)" [35], *'irbyd* "libertine androisterer(m)" [2], *'irbydha* "libertine androisterer(f)" [1], *fajir* "dissolute(m)" [46], *fajirah* "dissolute(f)" [138], *fasiq* "dissolute(m)" [40], *fasiqah* "dissolute(f)" [21], *munḥaṭ* "immoral(m)" [66], *munḥaṭah* "immoral(f)" [34], *waṭy* "immoral(m)" [160], *waṭyah* "immoral(f)" [50], *waḍy'* "low(m)" [16], *waḍy'ah* "low(f)" [1]
Unpleasant personality
jaban "coward(m)" [1], *jabanah* "coward(f)" [1], *khabyth* "mean(m)" [296], *khabythah* "mean(f)" [39], *khasys* "mean(m)" [81], *khasysah* "mean(f)" [3], *rakhyṣ* "cheap(m)" [62], *rakhyṣah* "cheap(f)" [46], *shaḥat* "beggar(m)" [23], *shaḥatah* "beggar(f)" [2], *ṣu'lwk* "pauper(m)" [2], *ṣu'lwkah* "pauper(f)" [1], *fashil* "loser(m)" [277], *fashilah* "loser(f)" [88], *naḍil* "villain(m)" [52], *naḍilah* "villain(f)" [1], *waqiḥ* "impudent(m)" [23], *waqiḥah* "impudent(f)" [8]
Illness and physical disability
maryḍ "sick(m)" [42], *maryḍah* "sick(f)" [77]
Dirt and rottenness
khayys "rotten(m)" [118], *khayysah* "rotten(f)" [36], *fasid* "rotten/corrupt(m)" [47], *fasidah* "rotten/corrupt(f)" [85], *qadhir* "filthy(m)" [332], *qadhirah* "filthy(f)" [188], *ma'fin* "rotten(m)" [124], *ma'finah* "rotten(f)" [84], *muqrif* "disgusting(m)" [29], *muqrifah* "disgusting(f)" [11], *nitn* "smelly(m)" [19], *nitnah* "smelly(f)" [30], *najis* "filthy(m)" [260], *najisah* "filthy(f)" [61], *wiskh* "dirty(m)" [382], *wiskhah* "dirty(f)" [360]
Racial slur
'jamy "Persian(m) [derogatory]" [31], *'jamyah* "Persian(f)" [1], *zinjy* "Negro" [6], *zinjyah* "Negress" [1], *ghajary* "gypsy(m)" [2], *ghajaryah* "gypsy(f)" [1]
Crime and violence
barbary "barbaric(m)" [16], *barbaryah* "barbaric(f)" [14], *balṭajy* "thug(m)" [16], *balṭajyah* "thug(f)" [1], *shibyḥ* "thug(m)" [35], *shibyḥah* "thug(f)" [2], *shayṭan* "Satan(m)" [300], *shayṭanah* "she-devil" [6], *hamaji* "savage(m)" [48], *hamajiyah* "savage(f)" [6]
Political slur
'amyl "hireling(m)" [23], *'amylah* "hireling(f)" [4], *murtazaq* "mercenary(m)" [23], *murtazaqah* "mercenary(f)" [1]

Table 6.2 Exclusively masculine-marked terms of abuse

Animal and insect terms
baghl "mule(m)" [51], *timsaḥ* "crocodile(m)" [7], *thu'ban* "serpent(m)" [5], *jarw* "puppy" [6], *khirtyt* "rhinoceros(m)" [3], *khufaash* "bat(m)" [2], *dynaṣwr* "dinosaur(m)" [3], *zaḥif* "reptile(m)" [13], *shambanzy* "chimpanzee(m)" [2], *ṣwṣ* "chick(m)" [5], *'ijl* "calf(m)" [1], *ghurab* "crow(m)" [12], *ṣarṣwr* "cockroach(m)" [11]
Sex and sexuality
khuntha "hermaphrodite" [9], *rakib* "rider(m)" [21], *zaghib* "fucker(m)" [5], *laḥas* "licker(m)" [2], *ma'bwn* "catamite" [8], *makhṣy* "castrated" [7], *nayak/nayik* "fucker(m)" [61], *nakiḥ* "fucker(m)" [9], *niswanjy* "womanizer" [4], *naghal* "bastard(m)" [36],
Religious slur
bakri "Bakri(m) [derogatory for Sunni Muslim]" [2], *ṣafawy* "Savaid(m)" [25], *ṣihywny* "Zionist(m)" [89], *'ilj* "infidel(m)" [2], *mujasim* "Embodier(m)" [1], *hindwsy* "Hindu(m)" [2], *wathny* "pagan(m)" [1]
Stupidity and mental illness
'thwal "stupid(m)" [5], *ghashym* "stupid(m)" [11], *ma'fwn* "moron(m)" [3], *ma'twh* "imbecile(m)" [50], *mughafal* "dumb(m)" [25]
Immorality
ḍay' "immoral(m)" [22]
Unpleasant personality
ṭarṭwr "weak and worthless(m)" [14], *muḥashish/ḥashash* "alcoholic/drug addict(m)" [22], *munbatiḥ* "recumbent[coward](m)" [9]
Illness and physical disability
'jrab "mangy(m)" [62], *'ṣla'* "bald(m)" [17], *'ṭrash* "deaf(m)" [2], *''raj* "lame(m)" [8], *''ma* "blind(m)" [37], *''war* "blind(m)" [14], *'qra'* "bald(m)" [1], *mu'aq* "handicapped(m)" [18]
Dirt and rottenness
zift "pitch(m)" [73], *ṭaqa'* "farter(m)" [5]
Racial slur
''raby "Bedouin(m) [derogatory]" [31], *bidwy* "Bedouin(m)" [27], *khal* "black man" [20], *zaṭy* "Zat?(m)" [1], *ṣa'ydy* "Sa'idi(m) [Upper Egyptian]" [5]
Crime and violence
'iblys "Satan(m)" [127], *fir'wn* "Pharaoh(m)" [108]
Political slur
'ikhwanjy "Muslim Brother [derogatory]" [14], *ba'thy* "Ba'athist(m)" [40], *maswny* "Freemason(m)" [12]

Table 6.3 Exclusively feminine-marked terms of abuse

Animal and insect terms
labwah "lioness" [35]
Unpleasant personality
tafihah "absurd(f)" [57], *shamṭaā* "hag(f)" [15]
Dirt and rottenness
rijsah "filthy(f)" [1], *muqazzizah* "disgusting(f)" [8]

Table 6.4 Shared and exclusive term of abuse lemmas

Taboo theme	Shared lemmas		Exclusively masculine lemmas		Exclusively feminine lemmas	
	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens
Animal and insect terms	17	4714	13	121	1	35
Sex and sexuality	13	4234	10	162	0	0
Religious Slur	13	1486	7	122	0	0
Stupidity and mental illness	13	1987	5	94	0	0
Immorality	12	1700	1	22	0	0
Unpleasant personality	9	1006	3	45	2	72
Illness and physical disability	1	119	8	159	0	0
Dirt and rottenness	8	2166	2	78	2	9
Racial slur	3	42	5	84	0	0
Crime and violence	5	444	2	235	0	0
Political slur	2	51	3	66	0	0
TOTAL	96	17949	59	1188	5	116

As can be seen from Table 6.4, there are more shared lemmas than there are exclusively masculine and exclusively feminine lemmas combined. Moreover, there are many more exclusively masculine than exclusively feminine lemmas. Although there is no obvious reason for this *semantic derogation of men*, I suggest the limited visibility of women in Arab society as a possible explanation (I will expand on this point in 6.2.2.2 below). Collectively, the exclusively masculine lemmas are linked to all the taboo themes, while exclusively feminine lemmas are only attached to few taboo themes (animal and insect terms, sex and sexuality, unpleasant personality, and dirt and rottenness).

The other-gender counterparts of some of the exclusively masculine/feminine lemmas are not listed in my tables. This is because the counterpart terms either 1) are not found in my

data, 2) do not exist as words at all, or 3) are not used abusively in my data, though they do occur.

An example of words that to my knowledge can be used abusively, but are not so used in my corpus, are _khalah_ "black woman", _ṣihywnyah_ "Zionist(f)", and _ḍayʿah_ "immoral(f)". By contrast, _khal_ "black man", _ṣihywny_ "Zionist(m)", and _ḍayʿ_ "immoral(m)" are used abusively and there are examples in my data. If forms such as _ṣihywnyah_ "Zionist(f)" had occurred in my corpus, this would have affected how the groups of _shared_ and _exclusively masculine/feminine_ lemmas relate to one another (for instance, I would have moved _ṣihywny_ "Zionist(m)" from the exclusive column to the shared column). This may mean that other-gender forms do exist but the form that is used in my corpus, i.e. the _exclusive_ lemma, has more currency.

In some other cases, the counterpart form would be a word that is marginally, if at all, acceptable as a word of Arabic. For example, _zaghib_ "fucker(m)" or _nayak/nayik_ "fucker(m)" are found in my corpus whereas *_zaghibah_ "fucker(f)" and *_nayakah/nayikah_ "fucker(f)" are not. As a native speaker, I know that *_zaghibah_ and *_nayakah/nayikah_ are not actually words of Arabic, so it would be very odd if either was found. This lexical gap is likely because these words indicate an agent role in sexual intercourse, and, as we have seen in the discussion of _naka_ "have sex" (see 5.3.2.1.2), this role (of penetrator) is reserved for men.

The lexical gaps for *_zaghibah_ and *_nayakah/nayikah_ are examples of gender asymmetry. Stoller and Nielsen (2005) define the phenomenon of asymmetry as a "_political category_" which means that "women, for instance, do not have the _same_ rights as men, that they are treated _unequally_. _In comparison_ to men they are at a disadvantage, discriminated against, and oppressed" (Stoller and Nielsen, 2005:8). For instance, the structure of the lexicon of many languages reflects the "male as norm" principle through the absence of

words to denote women in various roles, professions, and occupations (Pauwels, :553), which can reflect social realities, i.e. the absence of women in these roles (see 6.2.3.1). The notion of asymmetry is a political one, because equal standing, equal rights, and equal treatment are factors through which symmetry is supposed to be realised (Stoller and Nielsen, 2005:8).

In the literature on gender and language research, various examples of asymmetry are discussed, including: more address terms for women than men (Lei, 2006:90), suggesting that women's marital status is socially significant; positive words for men's sexual prowess but not for women's (Miller and Swift, 1976/2000:127); or more derogatory terms for women than men (Wajnryb, 2005:154). However, in my data it seems the opposite is true. For instance, there is a much greater amount and variety of derogatory terms for men (terms of abuse and insults) than for women. However, perhaps counterintuitively, this imbalance on the side of men has an effect similar to that observed in studies which found more derogatory terms against women. That is, the greater variety of terms for men—in the context of the particular discourse from which my data emerged, a point I will return to below—both reflects and establishes, I argue, their greater visibility and their social significance. Put baldly, there are more abusive/insulting terms for men because they are more socially salient (e.g. in relation to religion and politics) whereas we have seen previously that, by contrast, there are more appearance descriptors for women (because women are judged by adherence to Islamic dress code) (see 5.2.16).

In the third type of missing counterpart, the other-gender form does exist as a word, but is very unlikely to be used abusively. For instance, *'asad* "lion" is the literal counterpart of the term of abuse *labwah* "lioness (or broodmare)". However, *'asad* is used in Arabic (and in my corpus) not as a term of abuse but as an expression of admiration, approval, and praise,

because the lion in Arab culture is a symbol of power and masculinity. In fact, Asad is a proper name for Arab men[37], e.g. President Bashar Al Asad (see 4.5).

The frequency of all types and tokens of all terms of abuse—shared or exclusively masculine/feminine—is broken down across the different taboo themes in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Types and tokens of masculine and feminine lemmas

Taboo theme	Masculine		Feminine	
	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens
Animal and insect terms	40 (69%)	4338 (89%)	18 (31%)	532 (11%)
Sex and sexuality	23 (64%)	1657 (38%)	13 (36%)	2739 (62%)
Religious Slur	20 (61%)	1315 (82%)	13 (39%)	293 (18%)
Stupidity and mental illness	18 (58%)	2008 (85%)	13 (42%)	366 (15%)
Immorality	13 (52%)	1089 (63%)	12 (48%)	633 (37%)
Unpleasant personality	12 (52%)	862 (77%)	11 (48%)	261 (23%)
Illness and physical disability	9 (90%)	201 (72%)	1 (10%)	77 (18%)
Dirt and rottenness	10 (50%)	1389 (62%)	10 (50%)	864 (38%)
Racial slur	8 (73%)	123 (98%)	3 (27%)	3 (2%)
Crime and violence	5 (42%)	650 (98%)	7 (58%)	29 (2%)
Political slur	5 (71%)	112 (98%)	2 (29%)	5 (2%)
TOTAL	166 (59%)	13744 (70%)	115 (41%)	5802 (30%)

Table 6.5 shows that the difference between the number of masculine and feminine types is not as big as the difference in tokens (in both cases the total for the masculine outnumbers that of the feminine considerably).

In terms of tokens, we find higher percentages of the numbers of masculine lemmas with "immorality" and "dirt and rottenness" ranging from 62 to 63%, and the rest of the taboo themes ranging from 72 to 98%. "Sex and sexuality" is the only theme with regard to which we see more frequent use of feminine-marked terms of abuse, with a number of tokens slightly less than two thirds of the total (see 5.2.1 for a discussion of why significance testing and complex statistics are not appropriate for this study).

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[37] The same logic applies to Saqr "falcon", Oqab "eagle", and Thaib "wolf".

6.2.2.2 Discussion of gender-marked terms of abuse and their other-gender counterparts

We see from this quantitative analysis that Schulz's (1975) dynamic of *the semantic derogation of women* does not find support in my data. Rather, it is men who seem to be more derogated than women in Arabic discourses (at least quantitatively). These findings raise questions about online discourses. For instance, could there be more male commenters than female ones? This is a legitimate question since even relatively recently the Internet in the Arab world was still "predominantly a male domain" (Wheeler, 2004:160). Wheeler (2004) also reports that in her study the Internet was only used by educated, rich women while less educated and poor women did not have access to the Internet because of "the cost of Internet use and lack of training" (Wheeler, 2004:161). Compared to men, and as a result of segregation, women are sometimes not allowed to use the Internet in Internet cafes or public places (Aldhaheri, 2012:4). My dataset begins in 2006, that is, not long after Wheeler's research, and ends at around the same time as the date of Aldhaheri's. Although there is no way to confirm the supposition of men using the Internet more than women, investigating this issue is worth considering as further research. If it *is* true that YouTube comments are, to adopt Wheeler's wording, "predominantly a male domain", then most of the observed abuse would be by men, targeting other men, which would fully explain the disproportionate derogation of men. The finding of men being more derogated than women may *alternatively* be due, however, to the fact that a quantitative study of terms of abuse necessarily looks only at derogations and cannot consider the contrasting level of non-derogatory treatment. (I carry out a qualitative examination of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse in Section 6.3).

In terms of frequency, men are labelled as negative social actors more often than women. This frequency of the masculine forms seems clearly to be reflective of the greater

social visibility of men compared to women in Arab society (Said-Foqahaa, 2011:249-250). *Social visibility* is defined as "the position an individual occupies within a group as it is perceived by the other members of the group […] achieved through the competencies (skills and attributes), or lack of them" (Clifford, 1963:799-800). We can build on this concept to posit that since men are (constructed as) more socially visible in a whole range of roles, it is not surprising that they get sworn at in various ways and, therefore, that we see them being more prominently derogated. Therefore, although we have found no actual support for the unequal derogation of women, we also cannot take this data as disproving the notion. The point could still be valid but not evident in the quantitative information because of female social invisibility. The frequencies indicate that this is true for all themes except "sex and sexuality".

Evidence of women's social invisibility in Arab society can be found in the United Nations' 2005 Arab Human Development Report titled *Towards the Rise of Women in the Arab World*. The report found that 1) in public life "cultural, legal, social, economic and political factors impede women's equal access to education, health, job opportunities, citizenship rights and representation", and 2) in private life "traditional patterns of upbringing and discriminatory family and personal status laws perpetuate inequality and subordination" (AHDR, 2015:24). This real social invisibility of women is, then, as we unsurprisingly observe, reflected in language use. Sadiqi (2003) mentions two possible explanations for invisibility in language. First, language is used, consciously or unconsciously, to exclude women as a result of male prejudices; in fact, Sadiqi suggests that women feel proud to describe themselves as "appendages of males" because in this way the women gain immediate social esteem (Sadiqi, 2003:274-275). Second, because women do not have (physical, political, economic) power and, therefore, do not feature in society in as prominent a way as men do, women are (automatically) not visible in language. Thus, men's visibility

(and power) and women's invisibility (and lack of power) are reinforced and perpetuated not only in society but also in language. Any attempt to challenge the assigned gender roles "often results in social exclusion and social taxation", since the person who fails to play their expected role is seen as "deviant" or "abnormal" (Sadiqi, 2003:275).

6.2.3 The use of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse in different domains

In this section, I examine the distribution of the most frequent gender-marked terms of abuse across the ten domains in my corpus (see 3.9.3). In general, people use language differently when they talk/write on different subjects, and, specifically, they swear differently in relation to different subject matters (McEnery & Xiao, 2004:238). Thus, this analysis will explore which gender-marked terms of abuse occur more in which domain and, therefore, indicate which gender is linked to which domain more than other domains as part of their constructed gender identity.

Bearing in mind that each sub-corpus, i.e. each domain, contains slightly more than 200,000 tokens, in all the figures and tables in this section I have given the actual number of terms of abuse; there is no need to use relative frequencies to make the domains comparable.

Before I go into further discussion about how masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse behave across the domains, consider Tables 6.6 and 6.7 (in each row the yellow shaded cells are the highest four frequencies and the aqua shaded cells are the lowest four).

Table 6.6 The frequencies of the 15 most frequent masculine-marked terms of abuse across ten domains

Terms of abuse	Celebrities	Commerce and economy	Entertainment and leisure	Law	Poetry	Politics	Religion	Science and technology	Sex	Sports
kalb "dog"	346	64	158	366	351	408	345	72	232	166
ḥimar "donkey"	146	35	62	58	138	104	126	28	56	111
ghaby "stupid"	100	24	166	54	61	93	58	62	60	120
khanyth "effeminate gay"	85	7	41	48	41	55	89	11	79	64
wiskh "dirty"	73	14	25	67	85	35	47	24	59	61
ḥayawan "animal"	62	14	22	44	46	57	59	13	53	38
ḥaqyr "low"	70	11	17	59	52	74	47	5	51	39
qadhir "filthy"	57	9	9	55	46	73	84	7	50	28
rafidy "Refuser"	51	12	22	45	59	83	114	10	13	44
khinzyr "pig"	41	3	6	53	30	101	88	5	28	26
shayṭan "Satan"	75	5	8	39	28	41	62	42	56	5
khabyth "mean"	15	6	9	5	5	25	346	2	12	5
kafir "infidel"	47	6	11	30	64	51	124	13	22	4
fashil "loser"	32	24	32	18	64	7	4	40	25	89
mutakhalif "retard"	57	11	24	34	34	32	25	21	49	48
Total	1257	245	612	975	1104	1239	1618	355	845	848

Table 6.7 The frequencies of the 15 most frequent feminine-marked terms of abuse across ten domains

Terms of abuse	Celebrities	Commerce and economy	Entertainment and leisure	Law	Poetry	Politics	Religion	Science and technology	Sex	Sports
qaḥbah "prostitute"	220	23	99	122	72	78	102	13	154	72
sharmwṭah "prostitute"	197	8	60	46	37	58	128	5	147	21
'ahirah "prostitute"	183	8	23	30	14	33	92	3	87	17
wiskhah "dirty"	61	6	59	50	45	14	49	6	93	36
manywkah "fucked"	72	3	15	45	12	16	43	0	81	37
qadhirah "filthy"	46	4	8	28	12	29	28	22	32	6
zanyah "adulteress"	42	3	2	15	8	19	57	0	29	4
kalbah "bitch"	55	3	8	6	5	7	55	3	29	7
bwyah "masculine lesbian"	24	1	1	0	3	0	0	4	117	2
ḥaqyrah "low"	48	2	2	17	11	12	32	0	24	8
fajirah "dissolute"	50	1	3	5	5	0	39	1	40	1
saqiṭah "vile"	55	0	4	4	11	6	24	0	32	1
ghabyah "stupid"	30	12	18	8	14	6	12	21	16	12
kafirah "infidel"	7	1	1	4	3	6	73	1	3	0
fashilah "loser"	6	13	16	18	8	3	3	22	7	11
Total	1096	88	319	398	260	287	737	101	891	235

As can be seen from the tables, "celebrities" is one of the domains where most masculine/feminine terms of abuse occur. However, we can discard "celebrities" from this analysis because it includes videos about people linked to many different areas of public life, including religion, sports, and politics, which are themselves domains in my corpus (see 3.9.3). Consequently, the three domains where the highest frequency of masculine-marked terms of abuse occur are religion, politics, and poetry, compared to sex, religion, and law as the three domains where the highest frequency of feminine-marked terms of abuse.

The three domains where the fewest masculine terms of abuse appear are commerce and economy, science and technology, and entertainment and leisure. Commerce and economy, science and technology, and sports are the domains with the fewest instances of feminine-marked terms of abuse. Therefore, we see that commerce and economy and science and technology have low numbers of terms of abuse regardless of the target's gender. This does not mean that the language used in these two domains does not construct gender discursively. Rather, it is abusive language that is not prominent in the two domains.

Terms of abuse with taboo themes that are linked to particular domains are naturally more frequent in these domains than in other domains. For instance, the masculine *rafiḍy* "Refuser" and *kafir* "infidel" are linked to the theme of, and are most frequently used in the domain of, religion (4.3). The same applies to sex-related words such as the feminine *qaḥbah, sharmwṭah, 'ahirah* "prostitute", and *bwyah* "masculine lesbian", which are most frequent in the sex domain.

However, the reasons for other terms of abuse appearing more frequently in some domains than in others, such as *kalb* "dog" in the domain of politics, are not always clear-cut (see also 7.4).

6.2.3.1 Overall behavior of abusive language across domains

Before turning to the topic of this section, a note is in order about the number of words examined for this analysis (which also applies for other analyses in this thesis, see 6.2.4.1). The arguments in this section are based on the data from the top 15 most frequent terms of abuse. It could be argued that a larger number of words may lead to different findings. However, the necessity of cutting the list somewhere cannot be avoided. This issue arises in any corpus-based analysis which generates a statistically ranked list; for example, in keyword analyses "there is no popular consensus about cutoff points" (Baker, 2004:351). It is also unlikely that researchers will reach a consensus over cutoff points due to the fact that they work with different types of corpora and different research questions (Baker, 2004:352). Therefore, we have to cut the list somewhere, and since there is no widely agreed procedure for principled selection of a cutoff point, the only way to proceed is to select a point in a more or less arbitrary fashion, but ensuring nevertheless that (a) the number of items to be examined remains manageable, and (b) the frequency of the lowest item above the cutoff is still high enough to enable meaningful analysis. With regard to the latter consideration, it may be noted that some corpus-based studies in the literature have found that, to enable qualitative analysis or categorisation of a concordance, looking at samples of 100 concordance lines is sufficient, e.g. Baker & McEnery (2015:249). Among the words selected for my analysis, the least frequent masculine words

occurred three hundred and thirty five times (*fashil* "loser", *mutakhalif* "retard") and the least frequent feminine (*kafirah* "infidel") occurred ninety nine times. This suggests that 15 is an acceptable place at which to cut the list in this particular instance.

Let us consider Table 6.8, which summarises the previous two tables.

Table 6.8 A summary of the frequencies of the 15 most frequent masculine terms of abuse and 15 most frequent feminine terms of abuse across the ten domains

Domain	Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Feminine-marked terms of abuse	Total
Celebrities	1257 (53%)	1096 (47%)	2353
Commerce and economy	245 (74%)	88 (26%)	333
Entertainment and leisure	612 (67%)	319 (33%)	931
Law	975 (71%)	398 (29%)	1373
Poetry	1104 (81%)	260 (19%)	1364
Politics	1239 (81%)	287 (19%)	1526
Religion	1618 (69%)	737 (31%)	2355
Science and technology	355 (78%)	101 (22%)	456
Sex	845 (49%)	891 (51%)	1736
Sports	848 (78%)	235 (22%)	1083

If we ignore celebrities for the reason mentioned above, most uses of these 30 terms of abuse (against males and females) take place in the three domains of religion, sex, and politics (42%). In contrast, only 13% of use of these words appears in the domains of commerce and economy, entertainment and leisure, and science and technology. It may be that the first three domains are a popular locus of abusive language because of their link to personal beliefs, where people may have strong differences of opinion and therefore tend to insult each other. On the other hand, the three domains with low frequencies of the these words overall are often either connected to news reports or to drama and movies.

However, if we consider the frequencies of the masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse separately, we find subtle differences in their behaviour across the domains. For example, masculine terms of abuse appear more often than their feminine counterparts in all domains except in the domain of sex (where, moreover, the difference is very small). This may reinforce the argument in the previous subsection about men's social visibility as opposed to women's social invisibility.

Religion, "a matter of family and group affiliation" for Arabs (Bassiouney, 2009:105), is the domain where most masculine terms of abuse appear. Similarly to what we saw in the previous chapter where male targets are labelled with descriptors related to religion more than female targets (5.2.9), this may reflect the more visible role men play in religious institutions. This, naturally, does not necessarily imply that men are more devout than women. In fact, we will see (in 6.3.5) another picture where women are linked to religion *more* than men. A proviso to bear in mind here is that the religion domain, as we have seen in 6.2.3.1, has fewer but longer comments (i.e. fewer comment posters) compared to other domains and, therefore, the results here may reflect a common discourse about gender but not necessarily *as* common a discourse as other domains with more comments and more speakers.

In contrast, the domain of sex is the domain which is attached through abusive language to females more than any other. Although women are less visible in the other domains, sex seems to be part and parcel of the constructed female identity, as we have seen already (see also 6.3.5). Out of the 15 most frequent feminine-marked terms of abuse in Table 6.7, at least six are directly[38] linked to the taboo theme of sex

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[38] In Section 6.3, we will see that other feminine terms of abuse such as *wiskhah* "dirty", *qadhirah* "filthy", *kalbah* "bitch", *ḥaqyrah* "low", *fajirah* "dissolute", *saqiṭah* "vile", and *ghabyah* "stupid" are

(*qaḥbah, sharmwṭah* and *'ahirah* "prostitute", *manywkah* "fucked", *zanyah* "adulteress", and *bwyah* "masculine lesbian") compared to only one masculine-marked sexual term of abuse in Table 6.6, i.e. <u>*khanyth*</u> "effeminate gay" (see 5.2.16).

While the domains of commerce and economy, entertainment and leisure, law, science and technology, and sports (where these 15 words are less used) may not seem to be the best sources to study how abusive language represents men and women, these domains may well still contribute to the construction of different male and female identities. However, a note of caution is necessary here. While these domains have few instances of the 15 most frequent terms of abuse, conceivably some or all of them might instead make use of many different terms of abuse that are individually less frequent. If this were the case, the methods I have employed here could not detect it. This is an inevitable methodological limitation of focusing on highly frequent items: the analysis cannot assess the impact of individually infrequent items even if they are collectively frequent. In this alternative scenario, then these domains would not contain *less abuse*, but rather *abuse that is less stereotyped in form*: in that case, all the figures on the prominence of the 15 top words would index the level of repetitiveness of abuse, rather than the quantity of abuse. Based on my first-hand experience of reading examples from different parts of the data, this alternative explanation seems unlikely. However, it cannot be ruled out entirely.

In the domains in question, we find huge frequency differences between masculine and feminine terms of abuse. In all of them, the masculine forms are about twice as common as the feminine forms. I claim this to be a reflection of the real situation in Arab societies, where men are not only more visible in the domains with

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also used abusively to target women who are believed to be involved in inappropriate sexual conduct, and thus relate to sex indirectly.

much abusive language (such as politics and religion), but also dominant in those fields where less abusive language seems to occur. For instance, unlike women, men are dominant in sports and there are no restrictions that stop them from participating in any kind of sport nationally and internationally. However, although Islam "promotes good health and fitness and encourages both men and women to engage in physical activity to maintain healthy lifestyles", religious teachings and cultural traditions related to dress code play a role in limiting women's sports participation (AbdulRazak et al., 2010:369). This is because some sports require sportswear that is seen as immodest for females and contrary to traditional dress code (Amara, 2012:273).

Therefore, we can conclude that the above analysis shows differences (more than similarities) in the behaviour of masculine vs. feminine terms of abuse across domains which indicate different degrees of male/female social visibility. This visibility contributes to our understanding of how each gender is represented in Arab society. Male gender identity is more attached to religion and politics, which can be seen as a reflection of actual male domination of these fields. In contrast, female gender identity is seen in relation to sex, which may reinforce the established notion that women are mainly judged in terms of sexual behaviour.

6.2.4 Contrastive collocation of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse

In this section I examine the collocates of a group of the most frequent gender-marked terms of abuse, i.e. words that regularly appear near the selected terms of abuse. This analysis will look at the relationships between the examined words, the associations they have and the assumptions they embody, and, thereby, identify the

typical discourses that surround the masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse. By doing so, this analysis will provide a picture of how males and females are represented in discourse.

6.2.4.1 The procedure

In this collocational analysis of terms of abuse I look at 5 of the most frequent masculine-marked terms of abuse and their counterparts, which are themselves among the most frequent feminine-marked terms of abuse. In order to get a maximum variety of collocates, the masculine and feminine forms of these terms of abuse (together with their various spellings) are also selected because they have a frequency of 150+. These terms of abuse are as shown in the table below.

Table 6.9 The selected frequent masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse for collocational analysis

	Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency	Feminine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency
1	*kalb* "dog"	1986	*kalbah* "bitch"	155
3	*wis<u>kh</u>* "dirty"	382	*wis<u>kh</u>ah* "dirty"	360
4	*ḥaqyr* "low"	344	*ḥaqyrah* "low"	150
5	*qa<u>dh</u>ir* "filthy"	332	*qa<u>dh</u>irah* "filthy"	188
6	*manywk* "fucked"	179	*manywkah* "fucked"	295
Total		3223		1148

I next had to determine the span to use for the calculation of collocates, i.e. the number of words to the left and the right of the terms of abuse in question. I experimented informally with different spans between +/-1 and +/-5, and found the results with a span of +/-3 to be most readily interpretable. In the literature on collocation, there is no complete agreement on what is the best span to use. However,

Baker (2006:103) found that the span of -3 and +3 is most likely to catch words that are in the same noun phrase as the search-word. As all the terms of abuse considered for this analysis are either nouns or adjectives, focusing on other words likely to be part of the same noun phrase would seem a suitable strategy. Also, although Baker's (2006) findings on the +/-3 span relate to noun phrases in English, we will also see (in 6.2.4.3) that the analysis of Arabic collocates within this span actually reveals similar findings about the construction of gender identity to those in previous and subsequent sections. This successful triangulation may provide some post hoc evidence that the -3 and +3 span is appropriate here.

I looked at the top 10 collocates of each term of abuse (for a discussion of cutoff points, see 6.2.3.1), provided that the collocates were lexical words (also referred to as *content words*). The statistical ranking of the collocates is based on a simple count of lexical words. Considering only lexical words (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, lexical adverbs) gives a better idea of the discourses than looking at function words (Baker, 2006:54). Therefore, words such *min* "from", *ila* "to", and *'anta* "you" were passed over. Collocation of a search term with itself, such as *ya ghaby ya ghaby* "you stupid, you stupid" was also discarded. When a collocate such as *ibn* "son" has another spelling (*bin*) on the collocates list I counted both as one collocate. I also discarded examples where the collocates clearly arise from repeated reference to a target that is not a singular human being, for instance *miṣr wiskhah* "Egypt is dirty" or *sha'b wiskh* "a dirty people".

I then grouped the sets of collocates thematically as a basis for my analysis related to the construction of gender in discourse. For instance, *ibn* "son", *'um* "mother", *'ab* "father", and *'ukht* "sister" were grouped under the category of "family".

6.2.4.2 Quantitative overview

Table 6.10 lists the most frequent collocates of the selected terms of abuse according to frequency from highest to lowest (for details of frequency per term of abuse see Appendix G).

Table 6.10 Collocates of 5 masculine-marked terms of abuse and 5 feminine-marked terms of abuse

Collocates of masculine-marked terms of abuse No. of types = 47 No. of tokens = 1194
ibn "son" [freq. 438], *bint* "daughter" [129], *bashar* "Bashar" [85], *shyʻy* "Shiite" [69], *ṣaddam* "Saddam" [52], *'ab* "father" [42], *kalb* "dog" [30], *sityn* "sixty" [30], *kilab* "dogs" [28], *'ayal* "children" [26], *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)" [23], *aqdhar* "filthier" [22], *ḥimar* "donkey" [21], *awsakh* "dirtier" [15], *qadhir* "filthy" [13], *najis* "filthy" [13], *khinzyr* "pig" [11], *wiskh* "dirty" [9], *muḥamad* "Mohammed" [8], *shakhṣ* "person" [7], *ṣaḥaby* "companion of the Prophet Mohammed" [6], *'abad* "worshippers" [6], *insan* "human being" [6], *miṣry* "Egyptian" [6], *faḍal* "prefer" [6], *andhal* "villain" [6], *irhaby* "terrorist" [6], *shadh* "homosexual" [6], *rafiḍy* "Refuser" [5], *rab* "god" [5], *yasir* "Yasir" [5], *'awlad* "children" [4], *kha'in* "traitor" [4], *al'aryfy* "Alarify" [4], *ḥaqyr* "low" [4], *milywn* "million" [4], *'aqwl* "say" [4], *yal'an* "damn" [4], *yahuz* "shake" [4], *ra's* "head" [4], *mut'ah* "enjoyment" [4], *'arsh* "throne" [4], *mutakhalif* "retard" [4], *'um* "mother" [3], *'abdullah* "Abdullah" [3], *alḍaḥyah* "victim" [3], *khanyth* "effeminate gay" [3].
Collocates of feminine-marked terms of abuse No. of types = 70 No. of tokens = 698
ibn "son" [151], *bint* "daughter" [102], *'awlad* "children" [64], *ilham* "Ilham" [38], *'umak* "mother" [25], *sharmwṭah* "prostitute" [25], *malabnah* "filled with sperm" [23], *kabyrah* "big" [21], *kalb* "dog" [20], *'afinah* "rotten" [18], *marah* "woman" [15], *baskal* "Pascale" [12], *ṭyzah* "his ass" [12], *shakhṣyah* "person" [7], *zibalah* "rubbish" [7], *yal'an* "damn" [6], *mudhy'ah* "TV presenter(f)" [6], *khawal* "effeminate gay" [6], *maryam* "Maryam" [5], *safilah* "immoral" [5], *'awsakh* "dirtier" [5], *mughtaṣabah* "raped(f)" [5], *'ayal* "children" [4], *ḥaqyrah* "low(f)" [4], *kalbah* "bitch" [4], *alkhyanah* "treachery" [4], *alsharmyṭ* "prostitutes" [4], *'ahirah* "prostitute (f)" [4], *ṣihywny* "Zionist(m)" [3], *sarah* "Sarah" [3], *turkyah* "Turkish(f)" [3], *sa'wdy* "Saudi(m)" [3], *rwsyah* "Russian(f)" [3], *miṣr* "Egypt" [3], *rwḥ* "go" [3], *tuṣadir* "export" [3], *raw'ah* "brilliant" [3], *'ayb* "shame" [3], *ḥarakatuha* "her movements" [3], *mitnakah* "fucked" [3], *kafirah* "infidel" [2], *la'nah* "damnation" [2], *alnawaṣib* "Nasibis=Sunnis" [2], *almuslim* "Muslim(m)" [2], *mal'wn* "damned(m)" [2], *ṭaifyah* "sectarian" [2], *'ayshah* "Aisha" [2], *'uthman* "Othman" [2], *shams* "Shams" [2], *shahrazad* "Shahrazad" [2], *hayfa'* "Hayfa" [2], *waṭyah* "immoral" [2], *khanazyr* "pigs" [2], *ḥayawanah* "animal" [2], *kilab* "dogs" [2], *insanah* "human being(f)" [2], *qaṭar* "Qatar" [2], *'urban* "Bedouins" [2], *'aqwl* "say" [2], *najisah* "filthy" [2], *khayys* "rotten(m)" [2], *tafiah* "abusrd(m)" [2], *muḥibyhim* "lovers" [2], *shahadah* "certificate" [2], *ma'rwfah* "known" [2], *shawari'* "streets" [2], *ḥaqyqatak* "truth about you" [2], *ru'wsakum* "your heads" [2], *khalf* "back" [2], *da'irah* "prostitute" [2].

Based on taking the top 10 collocates for each list, the above table shows that there

are more collocate types that appear with the feminine terms of abuse, although their

token frequency is less than the frequency of the masculine abuse terms' collocates. Obviously, *ibn* "son" and *bint* "daughter" top the two lists (for a discussion of family and kinship terms see 4.2, 5.2.6). A closer look at the table indicates that many collocates can be grouped together as in Tables 6.11 and 6.12 below.

Table 6.11 Categories of masculine term of abuse collocates

	Collocates	Total
Family	*ibn* "son", *bint* "daughter", *'ab* "father", *'ayal* "children", *'um* "mother", *'awlad* "children"	642
Religion*	*shy'y* "Shiite", *rafiḍy* "Refuser", *ṣaḥaby* "companion of the Prophet Mohammed", *'abad* "worshippers", *rab* "god"	91
Proper names	*bashar* "Bashar", *ṣaddam* "Saddam", *yasir* "Yasir", *muḥamad* "Mohammed", *al'aryfy* "Alarify", *'abdullah* "Abdullah"	157
Animal terms*	*ḥimar* "donkey", *kalb* "dog", <u>*khinzyr*</u> "pig", *kilab* "dogs"	90
Dirt and rottenness*	*qadhir* "filthy", *aqdhar* "filthier", *najis* "filthy", *wiskh* "dirty", *awsakh* "dirtier"	72
Sex and sexuality*	*shadh* "homosexual", *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)", *khanyth* "effeminate gay"	32

Table 6.12 Categories of feminine term of abuse collocates

	Collocates	Total
Family	*ibn* "son", *bint* "daughter", *'ayal* "children", *'umak* "mother", *'awlad* "children"	346
Religion*	*kafirah* "infidel", *la'nah* "damnation", *ṣihywny* "Zionist(m)", *alnawaṣib* "Nasibis=Sunnis", *almuslim* "Muslim(m)", *mal'wn* "damned(m)", *ṭaifyah* "sectarian" ???	15
Proper names	*baskal* "Pascale", *'ayshah* "Aisha", *'uthman* "Othman", *shams* "Shams", *shahrazad* "Shahrazad", *sarah* "Sarah", *maryam* "Maryam", *hayfa'* "Hayfa", *ilham* "Ilham"	68
Immorality*	*ḥaqyrah* "low(f)", *safilah* "immoral", *waṭyah* "immoral"	11
Animal terms*	*kalb* "dog", *khanazyr* "pigs", *ḥayawanah* "animal", *kalbah* "bitch", *kilab* "dogs"	30
Race, nationality, country	*qaṭar* "Qatar", *turkyah* "Turkish(f)", *sa'wdy* "Saudi(m)", *rwsyah* "Russian(f)", *miṣr* "Egypt", *'urban* "Bedouins"	16
Dirt and rottenness*	*najisah* "filthy", *zibalah* "rubbish", *'afinah* "rotten", *khayys* "rotten(m)", *'awsakh* "dirtier", *ṭyzah* "his ass"	46
Sex and sexuality*	*da'irah* "prostitute", *sharmwṭah* "prostitute", *mitnakah* "fucked", *khawal* "effeminate gay", *alsharmyṭ* "prostitutes", *'ahirah* "prostitute (f)", *mughtaṣabah* "raped(f)", *malabnah* "filled with sperm"	72

The above two tables show:

- As mentioned above, kinship terms are the most frequent category of collocates for both masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse.

- The categories of proper names and religion come after kinship terms on the list of collocates of masculine terms of abuse (below I discuss why these specific proper names are frequent).

- Sex and proper names are second and third respectively on the list of categories with feminine term of abuse collocates (sex is the category with least collocates of masculine terms of abuse).

- Many of the frequent collocates are in fact terms of abuse themselves, namely, those in the categories I have marked *.

6.2.4.3 Discussion of masculine and feminine abuse terms' collocates

The significance of family in Arab culture (see 4.2) explains why kinship terms collocate with terms of abuse more than other types of collocates (cf. 5.2.6, 5.2.16). Family, as a crucial element of group affiliation in Arab societies, is the cornerstone of the *collective self* (Sadiqi, 2003:65). Unlike the concept of "self" (or personhood) in Western cultures that is based on the individual, the concept of *collective self* in Arab societies is based on the notion of *jamaʻah* "group/community" (Sadiqi, 2003:65). The *collective self* "continuously materializes in language use"; so, for instance, talking about oneself, especially in public, is considered "lack of modesty" (Sadiqi, 2003:66); we can note in this light that "Islam is indeed a religion that stresses above all the collective enforcement of public morals" (Ayubi, 1991:27). The smallest-scale *jamaʻah* is one's family. Therefore, the use of kinship in abusive language means a higher degree of insult because a person's honour and dignity are associated with the honour and dignity of their family (Sadiqi, 2003:67). We have seen this picture of the relationship between honour and family before, in 5.2.16.

The masculine *ibn* "son (of)" is far more frequent than *bint* "daughter (of)" alongside masculine- as well as with feminine-marked terms of abuse. As hinted at in the previous paragraph, constructs such *ibn sharmwṭah* "son of a prostitute" or *bint kalb* "daughter of a dog" in abusive language are popularly viewed as more potent than a direct insult such as "you prostitute" or "you bitch". Where the mentioned family member happens to be the mother or sister (i.e. a female relative) it can be a seriously graver insult than when a male relative is mentioned. Indeed, Gregersen (1979 [cited in Ginsburg et al, 2003:106]), who interviewed speakers of 100 languages about swearing, found that reference to a target's mother in swearing was considered the worst derogatory remark by two-thirds of informants. This cross-

cultural issue has an effect coinciding with the general trend in abusive Arabic language of insulting the sexual purity of a female family member (see 5.2.6 and5.2.16). While the former effect may be, as Gregersen argues, common to all cultures, the latter highlights an idea of family honour as a function of the female family member's sexual chastity—a culture-specific ideology. These two factors both push in the same direction, in that they both enhance the potency of a female kin reference used as an insult.

The use of kinship terms also shows that abusive language can involve a wide variety of linguistic realisations. We will see in Section 6.3 that when a noun or adjective is applied directly to the target, then the grammatical gender matches the social gender of the target, whereas the patterns we observe in the collocational analysis may be driven by other constructions where the insult is indirect. Using reference to family members, there is no necessary correspondence between the grammatical gender of the term of abuse and the sex of the target. A grammatically feminine noun like *sharmwṭah* "prostitute" can be used to attack a male target through *ibn sharmwṭah* "son of a prostitute", for instance. This means that abusing a male can also contribute to the construction of femininity (and vice versa) if it is done through these indirect constructions.

The male proper names that collocate with masculine terms of abuse are indicative of how male gender is constructed. These names, which are of famous people in the Arab world, can be divided into at least two groups: 1) political figures (*bashar* "Bashar", *ṣaddam* "Saddam", *'abdullah* "Abdullah"), and 2) religious figures (*yasir* "Yasir", *muḥamad* "Mohammed", *al'aryfy* "Alarify"). This re-emphasises the point made earlier that men's role in politics and religion is very visible compared to that of women. Men are powerful figures, but power inevitably attracts oppositional

ill feeling and that, we may infer, is why they are sworn at. For instance, although powerful men have many supporters, there are also many people who think that Saddam Hussain was a tyrant, or who think that Shiite sheikh Yasir Al-Habib uses his religious authority to attack the beliefs of Sunni Muslims:

- *hay nihayat kul ẓalim wa all'ab bidam alsha'b 'amthal ṣaddam alkalb* "This is the end of every tyrant/oppressor, such as **Saddam the dog**, who plays with the blood of [his] people".

- *la'nak allah yasir alkhabyth ya manywk thany alraswl fy alghar 'abu bakr takrahwnah li'anah ḥararajanwb al'iraq min almajws* "May Allah damn you **Yasir** the mean, you **fucked** [man]. Abu Bakr was a companion of the Prophet in the cave but you hate [Abu Bakr] because he liberated the south of Iraq from the Magi [Persians]".

This means men are in powerful positions but, at the same time, may be thought to be abusive of their (political and religious) power (we have already seen this discourse in 5.2.16 and it will appear in 6.3.5 as well).Women by contrast lack visibility here.

Arab actresses and female singers are often accused of being involved in sex or of being wanton displayers of their bodies. This is because, as with the women who practice the profession of *raqaṣah* "belly dancer" (mentioned in 5.2.13 and 5.2.16) and are traditionally looked upon by society as prostitutes (Darwish, 2006), singers and actresses are sometimes portrayed in the media as being involved in scandals (especially sex scandals). In fact, this portrayal of actresses, female singers and dancers as prostitutes is not new. Dickson (2015 [1949]) suggests that "[i]t must always be remembered that in the East dancers, singers and actresses are from ancient times considered to be in the same category as professional prostitutes—or next door

to it" (Dickson, 2015:245). We see that five out of the eight female proper names refer to Arab women who work as either singers or actresses (*baskal* "Pascale", *shams* "Shams", *sarah* "Sarah", *hayfa'* "Hayfa", *ilham* "Ilham"). Thus, we can conclude that these famous women, who are visible in connection to singing and acting, are directly or indirectly linked to sex by the textual context in which they are sworn at, as in the following examples:

- *maḥrwqah layh kidah 'alashan inty swryah wa mutaḥyzah lisharmwṭat baladik* **alwis<u>kh</u>ah sarah***?* "Why are you so angry? [Is] it because you're Syrian and biased towards the prostitute of your country **the dirty Sarah**?"

- *ma' al'asaf 'an naḍa' qymah limi<u>th</u>l hau'ula' alfananyn 30 sanah ya ilham ya sharmwṭah wa inty btitnaky fy ṭyzak almalabinah .. alkul 'amal byfsha<u>kh</u> kusik alkabyr 30 sanah ya* **ilham** *ya sharmwṭah ya* **mitnakah** "Regrettably, we have given value for these actors and actresses! For 30 years, Ilham the prostitute, you have been fucked in your filled-with-sperm ass .. everyone has torn your big cunt for 30 years, **Ilham** the prostitute, **the fucked**"

Overall, collocation with proper nouns in the case of the men is because they are presented as having power and therefore they attract opposition and people dislike them and abuse them. The female proper nouns, however, attract abuse not because these women are in positions of power that lead people to oppose them but because they are in highly visible social roles that are linked with the idea of prostitution.

In brief, this collocational analysis has much in common with what the analysis of the behaviour of masculine and feminine terms of abuse across domains has found. Both illustrate differences, more than similarities, in terms of how (in)visible men and women are in the discourse. Both analyses indicate men to be

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prominent in politics and religion whereas women are mainly invisible except in connection to sex (see 6.2.3.1). These social positions are then reflected in the patterns of term of abuse usage that we see.

6.3 Cultural scripts of abusive language (themes, meanings, and contexts)

6.3.1 Overview

RQ3 is addressed in this section by examination of the cultural scripts of abusive language aimed at male and female targets, as identified by means of grammatical gender.

Different societies have particular beliefs/values that are articulated in the way of speaking but that are not accessible for outsiders to understand (Wierzbicka, 2001:1168). Despite the difficultly of fully understanding other cultural beliefs/practices, "widely shared and widely known ways of thinking can be identified in terms of the same empirically established universal human concepts" (Wierzbicka, 2001:1168). However, in the cross-cultural field, "the existence of adequate models to enable us to gain more insight into the process going on inside people while they are thinking and communicating" was lacking (Hall, 1983:91 [cited in Wierzbicka, 1994:70]). A model of that kind is developed by Wierzbicka (cf. 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1997, 2001): *the cultural scripts model.*

This model "offers a framework within which both the differences in the ways of communicating and the underlying differences in the way of thinking can be fruitfully and rigorously explored" (Wierzbicka, 1994:70). That is, this model is useful in revealing hidden meanings by way of using a universal language that can be understood by outsiders, i.e. this model enables people with different cultural

backgrounds to make sense of the culture under study. For instance, bad language is "culturally defined, based on cultural beliefs and attitudes about life itself" (Jay, 2000:153). It has been proved that this model is useful in unpacking hidden meanings attitudes linked to the use of bad language (cf. Wierzbicka, 2002). Therefore, I will use this model to identify instances of cultural scripts that contribute to the construction of gender identities in my data.

The theory of cultural scripts is based on the assumption that people need to understand each other in their particularity (because people have different cultural values expressed in different ways of speaking), and that this understanding is best achieved in terms of what people share with other people (both individuals and social groups) (Wierzbicka, 2001:1170). Wierzbicka (1994:69) summarises the basic assumptions (on which universal concepts are based) of this approach as follows:

- In different societies, and different communities, people speak differently.
- These differences in ways of speaking are profound and systematic.
- These differences reflect different cultural values, or at least different hierarchies of values.
- Different ways of speaking, different communicative styles, can be explained and made sense of, in terms of independently established different cultural values and cultural priorities.

Thus, the cultural scripts framework can be defined as a universal and culture-independent way of spelling out "a society's unspoken grammar", formulated via any language that can be compared across cultures (Wierzbicka, 1994:83). For instance, by applying the cultural scripts model to examine the use of *bloody* in an Australian context, this cultural key word is found to be packed with meaning which sheds light

on traditional Australian values and attitudes (Wierzbicka, 2002:1172). The following examples of the cultural scripts of *bloody* in Australia are cited by Wierzbicka (2002):

- *Bloody* as a sign of belonging: this is especially the case when, for instance, a Prime Minister makes a point using *bloody* in public discourse (flagging their status as "someone like me")

- *Bloody* as a sign of the expression of good feeling: e.g. *It's a bloody good flag, it's a bloody beautiful flag.*

- *Bloody* as a tool for expressing sarcasm: *You're a bloody marvel, I hope they can breed you off.*

In the following presentation of examples and analysis, I will show that terms of abuse are not limited in meaning to their literal or taboo reference. By close reading and examination of the comments, it will become clear that the gender-marked abuse terms are packed with (pragmatic) meaning; and that by unpacking this meaning, attitudes and values regarding gender can be made sense of. That is, a commenter may use a certain term of abuse to label, for instance, a target who is believed to be a traitor, a terrorist, or a blasphemer. However, the taboo theme underlying a term of abuse does not necessarily have any link to the cultural script. Consider the following examples (after each, the cultural script I have identified according to the procedure to be outlined below is in brackets):

- *kul ḥakim aw ra'ys 'araby taḥalf m' alyahwd wa aṣṣahayynah* **kafir** "Any Arab leader or president who allies with the Jews and Zionists is an **infidel**" (Traitor)

- *'asht alayady alaty qatalat al'irhaby* **alqa<u>dh</u>ir** *al<u>kh</u>inzyr alajrab alnnafiq usamah bin ladin* "Long live the hands that killed the **filthy** terrorist, the unclean pig Usama bin Laden" (Terrorist)

- *la tata<u>ḥ</u>ada<u>th</u>'n 'a'ishah wa 'bw bakr raḍiya allahu 'anhum 'f<u>ḍ</u>al al<u>kh</u>alq ba'd alrraswl ya 'abd al<u>kh</u>umyny ya jahil ya mu<u>gh</u>afal [...] yasir al<u>kh</u>by<u>th</u> 'ana akrahuk akrahuk ya* **ḥaqyr** *'nta ḥimar* "Do not talk about Aisha and Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with them. They are the best people after the Prophet, you slave of Khomeini, you ignorant dumb […] Yasir the wicked, I hate you I hate you, you **low** man, you donkey" (Blasphemer)

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been a priority in the politics of the Arab world for decades and, therefore, Arabs see Israel as their main enemy. Any attempt by an Arab state to ally or normalise relations with Israel is seen as an act of treachery against the Palestinian cause. Therefore, the use of the religious term of abuse *kafir* "infidel" in the first example to label Arab heads of state who ally or are to ally with Israel clearly has to more do with being a "traitor" than with being a non-Muslim (the abusive term's literal meaning). Similarly, the taboo themes of dirt and immorality do not directly motivate the use of *alqa<u>dh</u>ir* "filthy" and *ḥaqyr* "low" in the second and third examples. The target in the second example is Osama bin Laden and, thus, it is his being a "terrorist" that motivates the comment poster to label bin Laden as "filthy", not his being literally dirty. Likewise in the third example, *ḥaqyr* "low", which refers to immorality, is not directly linked to being a "blasphemer". These examples illustrate what *cultural scripts* are in my analysis, and show how context is utilised to work out the cultural script behind a given example of abuse.

Jay & Janschewitz (2008:272) note that "[s]wearing [and abuse are] influenced by pragmatic (contextual) variables such as the conversational topic", and

in light of this examining cultural scripts of abuse is a good way to look at themes, meanings, and contexts—because cultural scripts capture the pragmatic use of a term of abuse and the relationship between the literal semantics' themes and the pragmatic functions. Thus, the analysis of cultural scripts is necessary in addressing RQ3; it illustrates how cultural scripts contribute towards the construction of male and female identity in discourse (see Section 6.1).

6.3.2 The procedure

I examined a sample of 300 concordance lines for male targets and 300 for female targets in order to identify relationships between gendered discourses and abusive language in terms of what cultural script motivates the use of the grammatically masculine and feminine forms in context.

In order to find MTs and FTs, I searched for gendered terms of abuse, because I expected the grammatical gender of the term of abuse and the social/sexual gender of the target to match; in fact, this turned out to be the case for all the examples I selected for this analysis.

For the purpose of this analysis, I first created a list of the ten most frequent masculine-marked terms of abuse and another list of the ten most frequent feminine-marked terms of abuse (including all spelling and morphological variants) (see Table 6.13 below). I had the intention of examining a sample of 20 concordance lines for each word, i.e. 200 concordance lines for MTs and 200 concordance lines for FTs in total.

Table 6.13 The ten most frequent masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse in the corpus

	Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency	Feminine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency
1	*kalb* "dog"	1986	*qaḥbah* "prostitute"	760
2	*ḥimar* "donkey"	711	*sharmwṭah* "prostitute"	662
3	*ghaby* "stupid"	641	*'ahirah* "prostitute"	440
4	*khanyth* "effeminate gay"	395	*wiskhah* "dirty"	360
5	*wiskh* "dirty"	382	*manywkah* "fucked"	295
6	*ḥayawan* "animal"	345	*qadhirah* "filthy"	188
7	*ḥaqyr* "low"	344	*zanyah* "adulteress"	157
8	*qadhir* "filthy"	332	*kalbah* "bitch"	155
9	*rafiḍy* "Refuser"	319	*bwyah* "masculine lesbian"	152
10	*khinzyr* "pig"	311	*ḥaqyrah* "low"	150
Total		5766		3319

Four lemmas appear on both lists: *kalb* "dog"/*kalbah* "bitch", *wiskh* "dirty(m)"/*wiskhah* "dirty(f)", *ḥaqyr* "low(m)"/*ḥaqyrah* "low(f)", and *qadhir* "filthy(m)"/*qadhirah* "filthy(f)". However, not all of the other sixteen lemmas proved suitable for this analysis and some therefore had to be discarded, namely: *khanyth* "effeminate gay" [freq. 395] and *bwyah* "masculine lesbian" [152], *rafiḍy* "Refuser(m)" [319] and *rafiḍyah* "Refuser(f)" [34], *qaḥib* "prostitute(m)" [6] and *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)" [760], *khabyth* "mean(m)" [296] and *khabythah* "mean(f)" [39], *shayṭan* "Satan(m)" [300] and *shayṭanah* "she-devil" [6], and *fashil* "loser(m)" [277] and *fashilah* "loser(f)" [88]. This is because *bwyah*, *rafiḍyah, qaḥib, khabythah, shayṭanah,* and *fashilah* turn out mostly to be used without a clear target, as in the following example

- *almafrwḍ baʿd alʿuqwbah tugharab limudat ʿam kamil 'aw alrajm ḥata almawt lilmutazawijyn wa hadha radʿ lihadha alfiʿl **alkhabythah*** "It is supposed that after punishment, she shall be expelled for one year or

stoned to death for married couples and this shall be discouraging for this **mean** deed [i.e. adultery]"

In fact, the number of instances where these words are used abusively was less than 20. Consequently, to make up the list of ten lemmas for investigation, I continued further down the frequency list and added *kafir* "infidel" and *mutakhalif* "retard" to the male list, and *fajirah* "dissolute", *saqiṭah* "vile", and *ghabyah* "stupid" to the female list (Table 6.14). These words were added because they met the following criteria:

- the word must be used abusively at least 20 times with a male target and 20 times with a female target (to provide sufficient examples for effective qualitative analysis)
- the sex of the word's target must always correspond to the word's grammatical gender (see above)

Table 6.14 The 20 examined masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse

	Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency	Feminine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency
1	*kalb* "dog"	1986	*sharmwṭah* "prostitute"	662
2	*ḥimar* "donkey"	711	*'ahirah* "prostitute"	440
3	*ghaby* "stupid"	641	*wiskhah* "dirty"	360
4	*wiskh* "dirty"	382	*manywkah* "fucked"	295
5	*ḥayawan* "animal"	345	*qadhirah* "filthy"	188
6	*ḥaqyr* "low"	344	*kalbah* "bitch"	155
7	*qadhir* "filthy"	332	*haqirah* "low"	150
8	*khinzyr* "pig"	311	*fajirah* "dissolute"	138
9	*kafir* "infidel"	291	*saqiṭah* "vile"	124
10	*mutakhalif* "retard"	275	*ghabyah* "stupid"	109
Total		5618		2621

Finally, I added in any missing corresponding forms as in Table 6.15. That is, where the masculine form of a lemma was on the first list but the feminine was not on the second list, I added the feminine; and vice versa.

Table 6.15 The final list of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse under examination

	Masculine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency	Feminine-marked terms of abuse	Frequency
1	*kalb* "dog"	1986	*kalbah* "bitch"	155
2	*ḥimar* "donkey"	711	*ḥimarah* "donkey"	44
3	*ghaby* "stupid"	641	*ghabyah* "stupid"	109
4	*wiskh* "dirty"	382	*wiskhah* "dirty"	360
5	*ḥayawan* "animal"	345	*ḥayawanah* "animal"	53
6	*ḥaqyr* "low"	344	*ḥaqyrah* "low"	150
7	*qadhir* "filthy"	332	*qadhirah* "filthy"	188
8	*khinzyr* "pig"	311	*khinzyrah* "sow"	48
9	*kafir* "infidel"	291	*kafirah* "infidel"	95
10	*mutakhalif* "retard"	275	*mutakhalifah* "retard"	73
11	*sharmwṭ* "prostitute"	33	*sharmwṭah* "prostitute"	662
12	*'ahir* "prostitute"	40	*'ahirah* "prostitute"	440
13	*manywk* "fucked"	179	*manywkah* "fucked"	295
14	*fajir* "dissolute"	46	*fajirah* "dissolute"	138
15	*saqiṭ* "vile"	69	*saqiṭah* "vile"	124
Total		2941		2081

Thus, altogether in this analysis I examine in detail the targets of instances of 30 terms of abuse (20 concordance lines for each word making a total of 600); namely 15 masculine and 15 feminine words.

In 6.3.1 above, I illustrated the procedure by which I assigned a *cultural script* to a single example. In the process of analysis, I looked at a large number of examples and thus came up with a *list* of cultural scripts that I could use as a classification scheme. For each example, I focused on examining what the comment poster is saying to (or about) the target and pulling out the purported negative quality. After a while, I found that no new categories of cultural scripts needed to be added to my list as I dealt with more and more examples. After I worked through the data with this initial set of categories, and then scrutinised the resulting list to ascertain whether any needed to be split or merged, the list of cultural scripts categories I arrived at was that shown in

Table 6.16 below. This is quite a detailed list; I wanted a fine-grained category scheme (and not only a simple list lumping everything into domains such as religion, sex, or politics) because it provided a better basis for qualitative analysis. For instance, it is essential to separate *traitor/infiltrator* and *unjust/oppressor* as cultural scripts of abusive language. This is because—as we will see later—*traitor/infiltrator* motivates comment posters to insult both male and female targets, whereas *unjust/oppressor* is only used against MTs (see Table 6.16 below). This subtle distinction would be lost if only the high-level category of "politics/government" were used.

However, a broad categorisation of the cultural scripts is also important. The broad level gives a picture of what themes are relevant when gender is in question. For example, we will see that *of a different Muslim sect* is a cultural script for insulting MTs more than FTs. However, the high-level category of "religion" is, in fact, a cultural script generally more attached to FTs (see Figure 6.1 in Subsection 6.3.5).

The broad category of "miscellaneous" includes cultural scripts that are either infrequent or, in the cases of *immoral* and *insulter*, frequent but not conveniently merged into any of the existing high-level categories.

Table 6.16 Cultural scripts of the 30 terms of abuse as used in context

	Meanings	kalb	kalbah	ḥimar	ḥimarah	ghaby	ghabyah	wiskh	wiskhah	ḥayawan	ḥayawanah	ḥaqyr	ḥaqyrah	qadhir	qadhirah	khinzyr	khinzyrah
Politics, government & justice M (91) F (17)	Traitor/infiltrator	1	2	1				2				3	1	1			
	Unjust/oppressor	3		1				1		1		1			2		
	Corrupt								1								
	Political opponent	5	1	5	1	5	2	3		5	1	2	2	1	1	7	1
Violence M (9) F (1)	Terrorist	2															
	Murderer/killer		1					1									
	Rapist					1											
Sex M (4) F (46)	Prostitute		3				1						1		1		1
	Gay/lesbian		1	1													
	Wanton				1				5		1				1		1
Religion M (97) F (104)	Different Muslim sect	5		3		1		1				4		4	1	9	
	Non-Muslim		1		1		1	4	1		2	1		1	3	2	3
	Irreligious/anti-religion		1	1	3		2		2	2	5	1	4	1	2		2

Category	Subcategory																
	Blasphemer		5	2	1	2	1	2	2	2		3	3	3	3	1	6
Stupidity and ignorance M (25) F (44)	Stupid			1		4	2								1		1
	Ignorant		1	2	6	5	5			2	5	1	2		2		
Other (negative) qualities M (75) F (88)	Dishonourable										2						
	Immoral		2		4		1	3	7		2		6	1	2		1
	Manipulative				1		1		1		1				1		
	Ugly		1				2		1								
	Arrogant	1												1			
	Foreigner	1		1					1				3		3		
	Insulting others	2		2		2		2		7	1			3	2		4
	Pretentious						1										
	Loser				1		1										
	Fan opponent sports/singing/poet				1					1		1				1	
	Opportunist		1														

Table 6.16 Cultural scripts of the 30 terms of abuse as used in context

	Meanings	*kafir*	*kafirah*	*mutakhalif*	*mutakhalifa*	*sharmwt*	*sharmwtah*	*ʿahir*	*ʿahirah*	*manywk*	*manywkah*	*fajir*	*fajirah*	*saqit*	*saqitah*
Politics, government & justice	Traitor/infiltrator	1				1	1	2		1		1			
	Unjust/oppressor	2		1				4				3		3	
M (91)	Corrupt											1			
F (17)	Political opponent	3		1	1	4		2	1	5			2	5	
Violence M (9), F (1)	Murderer/killer	1		2						1				1	
Sex	Prostitute				1		4		3		6		5	1	4
M (4)	Gay/lesbian					1							2		
F (46)	Wanton						3		1			1			
Religion	Different Muslim sect	4	1	3				4		1		4		3	
M (97)	Non-Muslim	1	5	1	1	1	1		1	2	1	2	1		2
F (104)	Irreligious/anti-religion	1	4	2	3	3	1	1	3			1	4		2
	Blasphemer	2	4		3	1	3		3			3	2	3	3
Stupidity and ignorance	Stupid						1								

M (25) F (44)	Ignorant	3	3	3	5	1	1	2	3	1	1		2		3
Other (negative) qualities M (75) F (88)	Dishonourable					1							1	1	1
	Immoral		1		3	2	3	2	1	1	6		1	4	1
	Manipulative		1				1					1	1		
	Arrogant									1					
	Foreigner					1				3					
	Insulting others	2		7	2	2	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	2	4
	Loser					1									
	Fan opponent sports/singing		1		1	1			1	3					

6.3.3 Quantitative overview

Table 6.17 illustrates how often the masculine and feminine forms occur.

Table 6.17 Frequencies of fifteen gendered terms of abuse

		Masculine form	Feminine form	Total
1	*kalb* "dog", *kalbah* "bitch"	1986 (93%)	155 (7%)	2141
2	*ḥimar* "donkey(m)", *ḥimarah* "donkey(f)"	711 (94%)	44 (6%)	755
3	*ghaby* "stupid(m)", *ghabyah* "stupid(f)"	641 (85%)	109 (15%)	750
4	*wiskh* "dirty(m)", *wiskhah* "dirty(f)"	382 (51%)	360 (49%)	742
5	*ḥayawan* "animal(m)", *ḥayawanah* "animal(f)",	345 (87%)	53 (13%)	398
6	*ḥaqyr* "low(m)", *ḥaqyrah* "low(f)"	344 (70%)	150 (30%)	494
7	*qadhir* "filthy(m)" *qadhirah* "filthy(f)"	332 (64%)	188 (36)	520
8	*khinzyr* "pig", *khinzyrah* "sow"	311 (87%)	48 (13%)	359
9	*kafir* "infidel(m)", *kafirah* "infidel(f)"	291 (75%)	95 (25%)	386
10	*mutakhalif* "retard(m)", *mutakhalifah* "retard(f)"	275 (79%)	73 (21%)	348
11	*sharmwṭ* "prostitute(m)", *sharmwṭah* "prostitute(f)"	33 (8%)	662 (92%)	695
12	*'ahir* "prostitute(m)", *'ahirah* "prostitute(f)"	40 (8%)	440 (92%)	480
13	*manywk* "fucked(m)", *manywkah* "fucked(f)",	179 (38%)	295 (62%)	474
14	*fajir* "dissolute(m)", *fajirah* "dissolute(f)"	46 (25%)	138 (75%)	184
15	*saqiṭ* "vile(m)", *saqiṭah* "vile(f)"	69 (38%)	124 (62%)	193
	TOTAL	5985 (67%)	2934 (33%)	8919

The uses of the masculine forms outnumber the uses of the feminine forms; 10 out of the 15 words are used as masculine more than as feminine, accounting for slightly more than two thirds of the total number of instances combined. For instance, big differences (70-94%) in frequency exist for all the first 10 words in the table, namely, those selected on account of

the high frequency of the masculine form (with the exception of *wiskh* "dirty(m)" and *wiskhah* "dirty(f)").

sharmwṭah/'ahirah "prostitute(f)", *manywkah* "fucked(f)", *fajirah* "dissolute(f)", and *saqiṭah* "vile(f)" are used more than their masculine counterparts; these four words also account for 55% of the total number of feminine instances. This reinforces the findings in the previous chapter, where the discourses about *bad* women are more linked to sexual purity than discourses about *bad* men (see Subsection 5.3.2.3). *fajirah* and *saqiṭah* indicate involvement in immoral behaviour, especially having (many) sexual partners out of wedlock, i.e. *zina* "adultery". However, they do not imply having sex for money, as in prostitution.

The masculine/feminine difference is less between *qadhir* "filthy(m)" and *qadhirah* "filthy(m)" (64% and 36%), and very slight between *wiskh* "dirty(m)" (51%) and *wiskhah* "dirty(f)" (49%). We can consider the words with big differences (in the previous two paragraphs) to be gendered—notably they often draw on themes of sex—whereas being "filthy" or "dirty" is a relatively non-gendered taboo theme (though there may still be gender discourse differences in the *cultural scripts*, which is why doing a qualitative analysis is also necessary).

We will see that many of the examples which I discuss in the data analysis below are linked to religion, politics, and to a lesser extent sex. This is because the many instances of, for example, "blasphemer" and "political opponent" as contextual cultural scripts for the use of a term of abuse obviously have to do with the domains of religion, politics, and sex, which are prominent in my corpus (see Subsection 6.2.3). This, in turn, has to do with the socio-functional niche occupied by YouTube comments. That is, the precise tenor of the cultural scripts to be found in the data is probably strongly determined by the domain.

In the reminder of this section, I analyse my data with three examples per word—individual examples sometimes containing more than one term of abuse. I then move to a discussion of what this analysis shows in terms of the construction of gender identity and discourses of gender.

6.3.4 Examples of data from the cultural script classification

6.3.4.1 *kalb* "dog" vs. *kalbah* "bitch"

In the data, a male target may be labelled as *kalb* "dog" because the commenter believes that the target is a traitor, unjust, a political opponent, a terrorist, of a different Muslim sect, arrogant, a foreigner, or an insulter, for example:

- *alḥakam qahrny wa allah 'inuh ḥakam **kalb** ibn sharmwṭ wa allah shakilah khuṭaṭ mudabarah* "This referee made me extremely mad! I swear by Allah he is a **dog** son of a prostitute(m)! I swear by Allah this was planned" (Unjust)

- *hisham kuna naḥsabah muḥtaram ṭala' **kalb** ibn kalb 'akthar min alikhwan* "We thought Hisham was a respectful man, but he turned to be a **dog** son of a dog like the [Muslim] Brothers" (Political opponent)

- *'akhyran kashaft nafsak ya **kalb** 'anta kuwayty ḥaqyr li'ilmak alkuwayt hiya almuḥafaẓah raqm 19 lil'iraq* "Finally you are disclosing yourself, you **dog**, you are a low Kuwaiti! For your information, Kuwait is the governorate number 19 of Iraq" (Foreigner)

A woman is called *kalbah* "bitch" because she is thought to be a traitor, a political opponent, a murderer, a prostitute, lesbian, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, ugly, ignorant, or an opportunist, as in:

- *allibnanyah allaty tasta__gh__il ha__dh__ihi albint bialmal wa tastahzy bialmushahid [...] ḥata law 'aradat ha__dh__ihi alqanah al__kh__awḍ fy mi__th__l ha__dh__ihi almawaḍ' [...] falaysa biha__dh__ihi alṭaryqah wa la 'ala ḥisab isti__gh__lal fatah mamḥwnah [...] almwat liha__dh__ihi saqiṭah ya* **kalbah** "This Lebanese [TV presenter] is taking advantage of this girl by giving her money. The [TV presenter] is also mocking the audience […] Even if the TV channel wants to discuss topics like this one […] it should not be done this way and not by taking advantage of a sex-crazed girl […] Death to this vile **bitch** [TV presenter]" (Opportunist)

- *ya allah ma 'arfw yajybwn ila ha* **alkalbah**? *law jaybyn ṣwmalyah 'aṣraf [...] ya shyn altamalyḥ inzyn __kh__alyhum yarkbwk ya alfaqmah* "O Allah, couldn't they have [as TV presenter] anyone but this **bitch**? A Somali girl would have been prettier[39]. How ugly is coquetry. Ok let them ride you, you seal!" (Ugly)

- *alsha'ab bary' minik wa min 'am__th__alik ya __kh__aysah ya 'aryah law 'ahlik rabwk 'ala aldyn ma waṣalty ila ha__dh__a alwaḍ' al__kh__ays .. bwyah ya* **kalbah** "[Our] people disown you and disown people like you, you rotten, you naked. If your parents had brought you up according to religion you would not be in this rotten status .. [you] masculine lesbian, you **bitch**" (Masculine lesbian)

6.3.4.2 *ḥimar* "donkey(m)" vs. *ḥimarah* "donkey(f)"

ḥimar "donkey" is applied against an MT because he is believed to be a traitor, unjust, a political opponent, an effeminate gay, of a different Muslim sect, irreligious, a blasphemer, stupid, ignorant, a foreigner, or an insulter:

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[39] Somalis are often depicted in Arabic-language media as unhealthy, poor, and famine-stricken and therefore, as in this example, unattractive.

- *allah yahlikak shara halak uqsim billah 'anakum 'alah 'ala al'arab wa alislam ya 'abadat alḥusayn wa alḥusayn minkum bara' hadha **ḥimar** ibn ḥimar* "May Allah torture you severely. I swear by Allah you [the Shiites] are a burden on Arabs and Islam. This [man] is a **donkey** son of a donkey" (Different Muslim sect)

- *hadha tuqwlwn 'anah khakry khanyth na'im [...]**ḥimar** ibn ḥimar [...] shwf ḥarakatuh zay alqaḥbat* "This is what you call effeminate, gay, soft [...] **Donkey** son of a donkey [...] Look at his movements like prostitutes(f)" (Effeminate gay)

- *kus ukhtak 'alyk min allah ma tastaḥiq wa allah inak **ḥimar** ibn ḥimar lita'lam ya ḥimar 'anna 'umar ibn alkhaṭab kana zawjan libint saydina 'aly [...] man 'anta ḥata tatakalam bibubakr wa 'umar* "Your sister's cunt! May you receive what you deserve from Allah. I swear by Allah that you are a **donkey** son of a donkey! Be informed, you donkey, that Omar bin Al-Khattab was the husband of the daughter of our master Ali [...] Who are you to talk [badly] about Abu Bakr and Omar" (Blasphemer)

The label *ḥimarah* "donkey" is attached to a woman who is considered to be a political opponent, wanton, a non-Muslim, anti-religion, a blasphemer, immoral, manipulative, ignorant, a loser, or a supporter of a disliked celebrity:

- *mudhy'ah fashilah fatanah waqiḥah lidarjat alkadhib 'amam alnas kafah alḥaq 'ala qanat alnahar ally ḥaṭah hayk 'ashkal ṣaḥafyah **ḥimarah*** "A loser, seditious, absurd TV presenter. She even tells lies in front of all people! Alnahar channel is to be blamed to have someone like her [on TV], a **donkey** journalist" (Manipulative)

- *ya almahbwlah, 'nti maryḍah fy 'aqlk [...] mata 'aṣbaḥa addyn wa aliltiḥa' nifaq wa kadhb wa fitnah ya **ḥimarah**?* "You are idiotic, you must be mentally sick [...] when have religion and growing a beard become hypocrisy, lying, and disorder, you **donkey**?" (Anti-religion)

- *twby ya ḥimarah tara inty ma ḥilwah bint mutaḥajibah 'aḥla mink* "Repent [of this wanton display] you **donkey**! [Any] girl covered by hijab is more beautiful than you" (Wanton)

6.3.4.3 *ghaby* "stupid(m)" vs. *ghabyah* "stupid(f)"

When a man is referred to as *ghaby* "stupid", it is because he is seen as a political opponent, a rapist, of a different Muslim sect, a blasphemer, stupid, or ignorant, as in:

- **ghaby** *ma'lwmah .. umygha3 mawjwdah fy ba'ḍ al'anwa' min alsamak mithl ((alsalmwn wa alsirdyn wa almakryl wa altwnah)) [...] bidhalk inta 'awal **ghaby** wa 'alyh la naqbal ma'lwmat min al'aghbiya'* "**Stupid**! For your information .. Omega-3 is found in some kinds of fish such as salmon, sardine, mackerel, and tuna […] Therefore, you're **stupid** and, thus, we don't accept information from stupid people" (Ignorant)

- *ḥizb alba'th allsawah **ghaby** wa ibn ghaby wa ally yḥbah ham ghaby* "[The man] who founded the Baath Party was a **stupid** son of a stupid man and whoever likes this party is stupid as well" (Political opponent)

- *alraswl muḥamad [...] 'araby min aljazyrah [al'arabyah]. [...] ḥimar yanhaq ma damah sa'wdy shtantaẓrwn minh 'akyd **ghaby*** "The Prophet Mohammed […] was an Arab from the [Arabian] Peninsula. […] [This man] is a braying donkey. As long as he is a Saudi, what do you expect from him. He's surely **stupid**"[40] (Blasphemer)

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[40] This comment was posted in response to a famous Saudi singer who said in a live TV show that the Prophet Mohammed was a Saudi citizen, which was considered an insult; the singer had to apologize after the show.

When a woman is described as *ghabyah* "stupid", the comment poster regards her as a political opponent, a prostitute, a non-Muslim, irreligious, immoral, manipulative, ugly, stupid, ignorant, pretentious, a loser:

- *almudhy'ah* **ghabyah** *[...] afshal mudhy'ah sam'taha fashilah fy altaḥawar 'aw ma ta'raf idyr alḥadyth 'aw ma ta'rafsh aṭṭli' alḥaq'iq 'arjwkum badilwha* "This TV presenter is **stupid** […] She is the worst loser [I have ever seen]. She is a loser at discussion and she does not know how to run the discussion or how to get information [from the interlocutors]" (Loser)

- **ghabyah** *'aḥlam [...] tistahlyn marah thanyah la titfalsafyn 'ala rwsna* "Ahlam is **stupid** […] You deserve this [humiliation] so next time you don't hurt our heads with [your] platitude"[41] (Pretentious)

- *albint* **ghabyah** *[...] maynwnah ḥalymah khudhyha bilfam almalyan akh tfw 'alyky [...] ṭuz bijamalik alṣina'y law aghsal wajhik yṭl' ly khawyy fayṣal* "This girl is **stupid** […] Halimah is insane. Halimah take this [I spit on you]. Fie on your artificial beauty! If I washed your face you would turn out to be my brother Faisal [i.e. mannish appearance]" (Ugly)

6.3.4.4 *wiskh* "dirty(m)" vs. *wiskhah* "dirty(f)"

A man is referred to as *wiskh* "dirty" when he is deemed to be a traitor, an oppressor, corrupt, a political opponent, a murderer, of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, a blasphemer, immoral, or an insulter, for example:

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[41] In this video, a singer was trying to speak in English in an Arabic-speaking show and she made several grammatical mistakes which made not only the panel she was on but also the audience laugh at her.

- *inta **wis<u>kh</u>** inta sabab alrashwat ya kalb taḥsab alfalws batarfaʿ rasak rasak taḥt ya alwis<u>kh</u>* "You're **dirty**. You're behind all the bribery, you dog. You think money will raise your head [i.e. make you popular], your head is down you dirty [man]" (Corrupt)

- *ally ḥaṭ alfydyw **wis<u>kh</u>** wa razan qaḥbah* "The video uploader(m) is **dirty** and Razan is a prostitute(f)"[42] (Immoral)

- *dah **wis<u>kh</u>** wa ally bysmaʿwh mush muḥtaramyn [...] 'ana la i<u>kh</u>wan wa la <u>kh</u>ara lakin mush min ḥaq 'ay ibn wis<u>kh</u>ah yatkalam ʿala 'ay ḥad min almaṣriyyn bilṭaryqah di* "This [poet] is **dirty** and whoever listens to him is disrespectable […] I'm not of the [Muslim] Brothers nor of the [other political] shit but no son of a dirty woman has the right to talk about any Egyptian citizen in this way" (Insulter)

A female target of abusive language is abused as *wis<u>kh</u>ah* "dirty" because she is thought to be wanton, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, manipulative, ugly, or a foreigner:

- ***wis<u>kh</u>ah** da 'inti bint ʿarṣ ya bint almitnakah albint dy bitisjin nas <u>dh</u>anbuhum fy raqbtiha yawm alqyamah* "**Dirty** girl! You're a daughter of a pimp, daughter of fucked women. This girl is causing people to go to jail and she will be punished for this on doomsday" (Manipulative)

- *ya qa<u>dh</u>irah ya **wis<u>kh</u>ah**alislam taj ʿala ras ally <u>kh</u>alafwki* "You filthy, you **dirty**[woman]! Islam is a crown on your head" (Blasphemer)

- *'ashʿalty bishababina wa fatayatina wa hayajty nar alzina wa ḥub alra<u>dh</u>ylah wa alʿalaqat <u>gh</u>ayr alsharʿiyah wa al<u>kh</u>iyanah alzwjiyah [...] ya **wis<u>kh</u>ah*** "You have burned our boys and girls, you have encouraged adultery, vice [i.e. adultery], illegal sex, and unfaithfulness […] you **dirty** [woman] " (Immoral)

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[42] This comment was about a leaked softcore sex tape featuring a celebrity (Razan) with her boyfriend.

6.3.4.5 *ḥayawan* "animal(m)" vs. *ḥayawanah* "animal(f)"

A MT is referred to as *ḥayawan* "animal" when the comment poster believes that that man is unjust, a political opponent, irreligious, a blasphemer, ignorant, an insulter, or a supporter of a disliked celebrity, as in:

- *’ana itiḥadi bs alḥakam **ḥayawan** wa ya lait ṭjybwn ismah alqaḏhir [...] alḥakam qaḏhir liab‘ad ḥd* "I'm a fan of Al-Ittihad [Sports Club], but this referee is an **animal**. Please anyone send this filthy [referee's] name. He is extremely filthy" (Unjust)

- *la tasub alsa‘uwdiyn ya **ḥayawan** na‘ṭykum baramyl nifṭ wa tasubwn* "Do not swear at Saudis, you **animal**! We give you barrels of oil and you still swear [at us]" (Insulter)

- *[yasir] sha‘ir kabyr allah yaḥfaẓak [...] yasir yu‘raf bilbaṭaqah wa ’anta tu‘raf biwasm alḥayawan ya **ḥayawan*** "[Yasir] is a great poet, may Allah protect him […] Yasir is identified by his identity card [i.e. he is a human being], and you are identified by a livestock brand, you **animal**" (Supporter of disliked celebrity)

ḥayawanah "animal" is used to label a woman thought to be a political opponent, wanton, a non-Muslim, irreligious, dishonourable, immoral, manipulative, ignorant, or an insulter, for example:

- *inty fy jahanam wa b’sa almaṣyr [...]**ḥayawanah** nadws ‘ala kitabk almuḥaraf* "You [are going to] to hell, and wretched is the destination […] [You are] an **animal**, and we step on your distorted book [i.e. the Bible]" (Non-Muslim)

- *allah yahdyk wa la yakhuḏh rwḥk rijal aldyn hum taj ‘ala ra’sak ya **ḥayawanah** ya ‘aryah* "May Allah guide you [to the straight path] and not take your soul! Men

[i.e. scholars] of religion are a crown on your head, you **animal**, you naked [woman]"[43] (Wanton)

- *maskinah halmajnwnah al'ajwz alshamṭa' inty kharabty sum'at um lubnan wa shawahty sum'itw biqilat adabik wa jayah taḥky 'an 'aṣalah ya hablah [...] ya ḥayawanah [...] hadhy maryḍah kuluhm tasubhum* "Poor insane hag! You have defamed Lebanon with your impoliteness and now you are talking badly about Asalah, you idiot […] you **animal** […] This is a sick woman who insults everyone" (Insulter)

6.3.4.6 ḥaqyr "low(m)" vs. ḥaqyrah "low(f)"

ḥaqyr "low" is used against a male target deemed to be a traitor, unjust, a political opponent, of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, ignorant, a foreigner, or a supporter of a disliked celebrity, as in:

- *malk wa mal alnaby ya ḥayawan ... allah yl'nk dunya wa akhirah alnaby muḥammad 'shraf mkhlwq allah khalaqah ya ḥaqyr ya kafir ya zindyq* "What do you have to do with the Prophet, you animal! May Allah damn you now and in the hereafter. The Prophet Mohammed is the most honourable creature Allah has created, you **low**, infidel, libertine!" (Blasphemer)

- *ikhras ya ḥaqyr ya ḥaqid ya musta'rib ya walad al'ajam [...] ya ḥasharah!! ma alwmk ya ḥasharah t'rf layh l'ank min 'uswl majwsyyah ḥaqidah 'ala 'aṣl al'arab* "Shut up you **low**, spiteful, pseudo-Arab, son of Persians […] you insect! I don't

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[43] The female target in this video is criticising repentant men and accusing them of hypocrisy. At the same time, she is not adhering to Islamic dress code; this is why she is thought by the comment poster to be wanton.

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blame you insect, you know why? Because you're descended from Magi that hate Arabs" (Foreigner)

- *hadha mu qaḍy hadha kalb ibn kalb bas yajyk yawm wa tamwt mawt alkilab ya ḥaqyr ṣadam taj rasak* "He is not a [real] judge. He is a dog son of a dog. You will have your day and die like dogs you **low** [man], Saddam is a crown on your head [i.e. Saddam is your master]" (Unjust)

ḥaqyrah "low" targets a woman whom the comment poster thinks to be a traitor, a political opponent, a prostitute, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, ignorant, or arrogant, for example:

- *ṭuz fyk wa fy ʾamthalik* **ḥaqyrah** *alnas ʿam bitmwt wa bitatqatal biyd almujrim bashar wa haya bitqwlak ʿalyh ʿaẓym [...] allah yaḥriqak inty wa hawa* "Fie on you and on people like you, you **low** [woman]! People are being killed at the hands of the criminal Bashar and she is saying he is great [...] May Allah burn you with him" (Political opponent)

- *bas law ṭawal maʿaha shwy raḥ taban lilnas ʾanaha* **ḥaqyrah** *wa maghrwrah wa shaifah nafsaha marah* "If only he had continued [talking] to her a little longer, she would have exposed herself to the people [watching] that she was a **low** [woman], arrogant, and thinking too much of herself" (Arrogant)

- *itny bint kalb jazmah khalaṣ ruwḥy liʾamryka ḥabybtk liʾanak* **ḥaqyrah** *wa qadrik mush alislam liʾanak ma tistaḥqyah ya maryḍah wa miṣr lilmuslimyn wa almuḥtaramyn min almasyḥyyn* "You are a daughter of a dog! OK go to your love America, because you are a **low** [woman] and too good to enter Islam because you do not deserve it you sick! Egypt is for Muslims and respectful Christians" (Blasphemer)

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6.3.4.7 *qadhir* "filthy(m)" vs. *qadhirah* "filthy(f)"

When a man is called *qadhir* "filthy" this may be motivated by a context where he is considered an oppressor, unjust, a political opponent, a foreigner, of another religion, a blasphemer, immoral, of a different Muslim sect, irreligious, or a traitor, for example:

- *ha'ula' alaḥrar saydwswnakum bilaqdam 'ind suqwṭ rabukum **alqadhir** bashshar ibn alqadhir* "These freemen will step on you after the fall of your **filthy(m)** god Bashar the son of the filthy [father]" (Oppressor)

- *m' alasaf hitlar lam yunhy ma bd'ah […] lakin laysa ṭwylan 'ayuha alyahwdy **alqadhir*** "Unfortunately, Hitler did not complete what he started […] but this will not last long you **filthy** Jew" (Non-Muslim)

- *albaḥryn ally ḥaṭ adda'arah almalik **alqadhir*** "In Bahrain, it's the **filthy** king who allows prostitution" (Immoral)

The use of feminine *qadhirah* in my corpus is motivated by contexts where a woman is regarded as a prostitute, an irreligious woman, a blasphemer, a political opponent, wanton, of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, immoral, manipulative, stupid, ignorant, or an insulter:

- *hadhihi al'ahirah **alqadhirah**[…] ṭfw 'lyk wa 'la al'ahirat alshsharamyṭ al'ajayz mithlk* "This **filthy**prostitute[…] fie on you and on all the old prostitutes like you" (Prostitute)

- *mw 'ajbynak ally yarbwn liḥyah? ya'ny ḥata alraswl mw 'ajbik? ya **qadhirah*** "So you do not like it when men grow beards? This means you do not like the Prophet? You **filthy** woman!" (Irreligious)

- *allahuma alla'nah 'la wafa' sulṭan alkafirah **alqadhirah** tasubyn ashraf alkhalq tasubyn dyn allah* "May Allah damn Wafa Sultan, the **filthy** infidel woman. [How

dare] you insult the best human being [i.e. the Prophet Mohammed] and the religion of Allah!" (Blasphemer)

6.3.4.8 *khinzyr* "pig" vs. *khinzyrah* "sow"

khinzyr "pig" is used in my data to refer to a man who is believed to be a political opponent, of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, a blasphemer, or a supporter of a disliked celebrity:

- *ama khasir alkhanyth fahuwa **khinzyr** kafir […] tasub alṣṣidyq ['umar] ya **khinzyr** tasub 'um almu'minyn ya maskh* "But this effeminate loser is nothing but an infidel **pig**[…] You **pig** you are insulting the honest one [i.e. Omar, a companion of the Prophet Mohammed] and the mother of believers [i.e. Aisha, the Prophet's wife] you monster" (Blasphemer)

- *ya wiskh ya rafiḍy 'ahl alsunah wa aljama'ah 'asyadak ya **khinzyr*** "You are a dirty Refuser! Sunni Muslims are your masters, you **pig**" (Different Muslim sect)

- *'idha al'ikhwan khirfan fa'ntum khanazyr wa shwf alfarq […] 'ayuha **alkhinzyr** alqadhir* "If the [Muslim] Brothers are sheep you're pigs! See the difference […] you filthy **pig**" (Political opponent)

On the other hand, *khinzyrah* "sow" is used to label a woman the commenter believes to be a political opponent, a prostitute, wanton, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, stupid, or an insulter, as in:

- *bitqwly niḥna 'abyd fataḥna al'alam wa ḥakamnah wa ḥaḍaratuna mustamirah […] ya qirdah ya **khinzyrah** inty qaḥbah wa bint kalb law ṣaḥ lak zib muslim titnaky fyh ma kwntysh qwlty kidah* "You say we are slaves! We conquered the world and ruled it and our civilization is still continuing […] You monkey, you **sow**, you're a prostitute

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daughter of a dog! If you could have found a Muslim's penis to fuck you, you would not have said this" (Insulter)

- *mithla hadhihi **alkhinzyrah** la taḥtaj liman yuqniʿaha li'anaha khalaṣ istarsakhat fy alḍalal wa 'aḥabatahu bikul qwanynah alwaḍʿyah li'anaha la tara alislam shay wa la tara sayduna muḥamad shay* "This **sow** does not need someone to convince her because she is strongly stuck in falsehood and she loves it with all its positive [i.e. secular] laws. And because she sees Islam as nothing and the Prophet Mohammed as nothing" (Irreligious)

- *kayfa tatajar'a tatakalam kalam zay kidha la wa bialtafṣyl aldaqyq [...] fiʿlan hadha yadul [ʿala] 'adam khawfiha min khaliqiha allah [...] ish dha ya **khinzyrah*** "How dare she talk about this[44] and in detail […] Indeed, this proves that she does not fear her Creator Allah […] What is this you **sow**?" (Immoral)

6.3.4.9 *kafir* "infidel(m)" vs. *kafirah* "infidel(f)"

The masculine *kafir* "infidel" is used in the corpus to label someone who is or is believed to be a traitor, an oppressor, a holder of opposing political beliefs, a murderer, a Muslim of a different sect, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, ignorant, or an insulter:

- *wa allah la yf'l hadha muslim wa lakin haula' 'lawyyn anjas wa mundh istlam ḥaz alqiṭ lilḥkum lm ydkhul lijmyʿ al'jhizah alḥukumyah 'ila 'lawy **kafir*** "I swear by Allah that a true Muslim would not do such thing. But these are dirty Alawis. Since this cat [i.e. President Bashar Al-Assad] has assumed power no one has been involved in the government's apparatus unless he's an Alawi **infidel**" (Of a different Muslim sect).

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[44] In the video, a woman is talking about penis size (a topic too taboo to discuss in Arab society; for it to be discussed by a woman on TV is a major violation of the taboo).

- *ma 'aqwl 'ila ṣaddam k̲h̲alyfat hitlr lw 'inh qatil aḥd min ahlak [...] kan 'rft 'inh **kafir***
"I only say that Saddam was Hitler's successor. Had he killed one of your family members [...] then you'd know that he was an **infidel**" (Murderer)

- *lama kan biqwl qasa'd ḍd husny kan rajl waṭny wa 'asl wa sukar wa sha'ir 'aẓim 'inama dilwaqty baqa **kafir** 'dw allah* "When he used [to write] poems against Hosni [Mubarak], he was a great lover of his country and a great poet! But now he is an **infidel** enemy of Allah" (Political opponent)

kafirah also has other meanings than the literal one, i.e. an infidel woman. For instance, use of *kafirah* may be intended to abuse a woman perceived to be of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, manipulative, ignorant, or a supporter of a disliked celebrity, for example:

- *almuslim yak̲h̲af min 'qlih hal had̲h̲ihi 'lawyah nuṣiriah mushrikah **kafirah** min atba' bashar aljaḥsh* "So a Muslim person fears his thinking? Is she an Alawite Nusiri [Shiite], polytheist, **infidel**, and follower of Bashar the donkey?" (Different Muslim sect)

- *bqa almuṣḥaf 'ar wa almfrwḍ ndws 'lyh birijlyna ya najisah ya bint alanjas ya **kafirah*** "So the Qur'an is a shame and we should step on it! You filthy daughter of filthy parents, you **infidel** woman" (Blasphemer)

- *'inty t'rafi rabna tquly wa ḥyat rabna lisah qayly alkalam da wa huwa mqalsh kida ya **kafirah*** "Do you even know our God? You swear by our God's life that this man has just told this! The man didn't say anything you **infidel** woman!" (Manipulative)

6.3.4.10 *mutakhalif* "retard(m)" vs. *mutakhalifah* "retard(f)"

mutakhalif "retard" is a label a comment poster attaches to a man when the insulter thinks the insulted is an oppressor, a political opponent, a murderer, of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, irreligious, ignorant, or an insulter:

- *ya* **mutakhalif** *zawaj almisyar ḥalal ['ind] ba'ḍ ṭawa'if 'ahl alsunah, wa yaḥtawy 'ala ishhar wa mawjwd bilsa'wdiyah, qwql it ya* **mutakhalif**! You are retard! Misyar marriage[45] is halal [i.e. religiously permissible] with some Sunni sects; it includes an announcement and it is practiced in Saudi Arabia, you **retard**" (Ignorant)

- *allah yashfyk min ba'd ma 'araft inak taby taghtal abu mut'ib wa 'ana karhak ya* **mutakhalif** "May Allah cure you! Ever since I knew you, [Muammar Al Qaddafi], wanted to assassinate Abu Mutaeb [i.e. King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia], I hated you, you **retard**" (Murderer)

- *la'nah 'ala sasak ya laṭam ya zaḥif walak rwḥ 'ulṭum ya* **mutakhalif** *wa la tinsa tinṭy 'ukhtak lilsayyad 'alamwd ytmata' byha* "Damned be your origin, you [face] slapper, you crawler[46]! Go slap [your face], you **retard**, and do not forget to give your sister to the Sayyid[47] so he can marry her [into a marriage of enjoyment]" (Different Muslim sect)

mutakhalifah "retard" is used abusively to label a female target of abusive language whom the insulter believes to be a political opponent, a prostitute, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, ignorant, insulter, or a fan of a disliked celebrity, for example

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[45] See footnote in Section 5.2.4.

[46] *zaḥif* "crawling" and *laṭm* "face slapping" are customs practiced by Shiite Muslims on special occasions, e.g. when they perform pilgrimage to the city of Karbala in Iraq.

[47] A Shiite sheikh.

- *almudhy'ah dy jahilah wa la bitfham ḥajah qal al'aflam aljinsyah mutfabrakah qal!! [...] ya'ny izay ḥaykhalw altaṣwyr tarkyb ya* **mutakhalifah** *[...] ya 'adymat almukh* "This TV presenter is ignorant and she does not know anything. [She even says] porno films are fabricated! How could [the producer] fabricate [real] scenes, you **retard** […] you brainless [woman]" (Ignorant)

- *ḥuriyat alta'byr 'anak tuhyny ṭaifah 'adaduha milyar nasamah haya ḥuriyat alta'byr bira'yak ya* **mutakhalifah** "Freedom of speech is to insult a one billion people [i.e. all Muslims]! This is freedom of speech, you **retard**!" (Insulter)

- *'anty malik wa mal alqurān […]ya* **mutakhalifah** *[...] 'aqbaṭ miṣr 'ibarah 'an zumrah min almutakhalifyn* "Keep away from the Qur'an […] You **retard** […] Egyptian Copts are a coterie of retards" (Non-Muslim)

6.3.4.11 *sharmwṭ* **"prostitute(m)" vs.** *sharmwṭah* **"prostitute(f)"**

Use of *sharmwṭ* is motivated by the writer's belief that someone is an infiltrator, a political opponent, a gay man, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, dishonourable, immoral, ignorant, a foreigner, insulting others, a loser, or a supporter of a disliked celebrity:

- *'ntum adhnab 'iran 'inta 'arif ḥasan naṣr allah ashshyṭan alakbar* **sharmwṭ** *wa ibn qaḥbah* "You are the tails of Iran. You know that Hassan Nasrallah is the biggest devil and a **prostitute** son of a prostitute(f)" (Infiltrator/traitor)

- *allah yal'an 'ay 'araby ibn qaḥbahyusanid alqadhafy [...] 'inta waḥid* **sharmwṭ** *majhwl alaṣl* "May Allah damn any Arab son of a prostitute who supports Al-Qaddafi […] You are a **prostitute** of unknown origin" (Political opponent)

- *blash ghalaṭ fy miṣr 'inta* **sharmwṭ**. "Stop insulting Egypt you **prostitute**" (Insulter)

The feminine *sharmwṭah* typically is used literally to mean prostitute. However, *sharmwṭah* is also used because the target is abused as a traitor, wanton, non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, manipulative, stupid, ignorant, or insulting others:

- **sharmwṭah** *muḥajabah bitakhud fulws fyalshari' wa titnak fy alshari' qadam alnas alfydyw fy qanati [...] mujahira 'alanyah 'abra al'aṯhyr bizzina* "A veiled **prostitute** who gets money in the street and also gets fucked in the street. Her video is available on my channel [...] She frankly admits committing adultery" (Prostitute)

- *'inty masyḥyah* **sharmwṭah** *bint sharmwṭ ya 'abidt shnwdah* "You're a Christian **prostitute** daughter of a prostitute(m), you worshipper of [Pope] Shenouda" (Non-Muslim)

- *'inty zbalah wa ma tswyn zuqah 'inty aṣlan* **sharmwṭah** *shw 'arafk bilddyn* "You are rubbish, a piece of shit, actually you are a **prostitute**, what on earth do you know about religion?" (Ignorant)

6.3.4.12 *'ahir* "prostitute(m)" vs. *'ahirah* "prostitute(f)"

The use of *'ahir* "prostitute" to label a man is motivated by the belief that that man is a traitor, unjust, a political opponent, of a different Muslim sect, irreligious, immoral, ignorant, or an insulter:

- *faqaṭ natasa'al kayfa yufty mashayykh āl sa'wd lilsha'ab alswry wa alyby bilkhurwj 'ala mu'amar alqadhfy wa al'asad fy ḥayn narahum yukafirwn man yakhruj 'ala* **'ahir** *almamlakah almalik 'abdullah [...] [alladhy] talaṭakhat yadah bildima' al'abriya' fy albaḥrayn wa ladyh fy alsujwn wa almu'taqalat alkaṯhyr min shywkh 'ahl alsunah* "I am just wondering how could the sheikhs of Al Saud make fatwas for the Syrian and Libyan people to revolt against Muammar Al

Qaddafi and Al Assad while these sheikhs accuse with infidelity those who revolt against the **prostitute** of the kingdom, king Abdullah […] [whose] hands are stained with the blood of innocent people in Bahrain and many Sunni sheikhs are in his jails" (Oppressor)

- *wa allah 'anta **al'ahir** wa alwiskh [...] li'an 'aqlak 'aql ḥimar wa jamal ma tiqdar tistaw'ib 'anna almar'ah kayan insan [...] inta ma tashwf almar'ah ila 'annaha shay wiskh lishahawatik ya qadhir* "I swear by Allah you are the **prostitute** and the dirty one […] because you have a donkey's or camel's mind and cannot see women as human beings […] You see women as a thing for your desires, you filthy [man]" (Ignorant)

- *ṣaddam taj ra'sak wa ra's ally khalfwk ya na'al alkhwmyny **al'ahir** hadha ally [...] 'ansha' dyantak alnajisah almajwsiyah aliranyah* "Saddam is a crown on your head and on the head of your parents, you are the shoes of Khomeini the **prostitute** who […] established your filthy, Magus, Iranian religion [i.e. Shi'ism]" (Different Muslim sect)

The use of *'ahirah* "prostitute" against a female target is prompted by the belief that she is a political opponent, a prostitute, wanton, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, ignorant, an insulter, a fan of a disliked celebrity:

- *tuḥariḍyn atba'ak alladhyna yanykwnak ṣabaḥ masa' 'ala 'amal alruswmat almusy'ah linaby alislam ya **'ahirah**? wa taqwlyn naḥnu naḥtarim 'aqa'id alakharyn* "You are inciting your followers—who fuck you day and night—to draw insulting pictures of the Prophet of Islam, you **prostitute**! And you say you respect the beliefs of others?" (Blasphemer)

- *ama hadhihi al**'ahirah** almakhbulah fahiya tatakalam bima laysa bih 'ilm wa 'ana aqwl kaif lilmas'uwlyn fy ali'lam almaṣri 'n yasmaḥw liwaḍi'ah kafirah*

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ḥaqirah kahadhih 'n tuṣbiḥ i'lamiyah "As for this crazy **prostitute**, she talks about something she doesn't have a clue about. I wonder how could the Egyptian media authorities have allowed this low infidel to work in the media" (Ignorant)

- *'ahirah ḥaqyrah allah yal'nak ya 'ilham al'ahirah 'inti muḥaṣanah ya 'ahirah 'inti 'ar 'la alislam* "**Prostitute**, low, may Allah damn you Ilham the prostitute! You're saying you're chaste! You're a shame on Islam" (Prostitute)

6.3.4.13 *manywk* "fucked(m)" vs. *manywkah* "fucked(f)"

manywk "fucked [i.e. penetrated]"[48] is used to insult a male target whom the insulter considers to be a traitor, a political opponent, a murderer, of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, immoral, ignorant, arrogant, a foreigner, an insulter, or a fan of a disliked celebrity, as in:

- *jahanam in sha'a allah ya 'awalad almut'ah [...] sayyd almuqawamah **manywk** wa khawan 'anat wa iyah allah yfḍaḥak kaman wa kaman ya khinzyr iran* "[To] hellfire, God willing, you children of marriage of enjoyment […] The master of resistance [meaning Hasan Nasrallah, Secretary General of Hezbollah] is a **fucked** traitor. May Allah expose you and him more and more, you pig!" (Traitor)

- *ya 'a'raby ya bidwy ya sa'wdy [...] 'anta albidwy alṣaḥrawy turyd tatakbar 'ala al'iraqiyyn 'ahl alḥaḍarah 'asyadak [...] ya **manywk*** "You Bedouin, you Saudi […] You, the Bedouin of the desert, look down on Iraqis the people of civilization […] you **fucked** [man]" (Arrogant)

- *ma' alsalamah **manywk** 'yr byk wa 'ashrah bibn ṣabḥah khawat alkaḥbah duwal alkhalyj [...] 'ala al'umwm makw alān 'amryky bila'iraq wa kul al'amrykan*

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[48] See also footnote in Section 5.3.2.1.2 for more discussion on the use of *naka* "fuck".

raja'uw libytihim alda'im bayt āl salwl "Bye you **fucked** [man], a penis on you and ten penises on the son of Sabha [i.e. Saddam Hussain], you, the [people of the Gulf States], are brothers of a prostitute […] Finally, the Americans have left Iraq and all Americans are now back in their permanent home, the house of Al Salool[49]" (Political opponent)

A woman is described as *manywkah* "fucked" when the insulter believes that she is a prostitute, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, immoral, ignorant, or an insulter, for example:

- *ah ya raby la taj'alany ashwf maqaṭi' kidha […]**manywkah** rawan kan widha tamuṣ zibah 'aṭshanah qaḥbah* "Oh my God, do not let me see such videos […] Rawan is a **fucked** [woman]! She wanted to suck his penis, a thirsty prostitute!" (Prostitute)

- *'anty marah **mitankah** ya 'anis tatakalamyn 'an sayyd alkhalq wa 'anty ya [ḥuthalah] la tujydyn ḥata alta'byr bila'arabyah la'natu allah 'alayky wa 'ala ally yataṭawal 'ala sayyd alkhalq* "You are a **fucked** woman, you spinster! You talk [badly] about the master of [all] creatures [meaning the Prophet Mohammed]. You scum, you do not even know how to speak good Arabic, may Allah damn you and everyone who insults the master of all creatures" (Blasphemer)

- ***manywkah** qaḥbah haya duktwrah 'ahirah mw laqiyah mawḍw' titkalam fyh allah yal'anak* "A **fucked** prostitute. She is a prostitute doctor who cannot find a topic to discuss, may Allah damn you"[50] (Immoral)

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[49] Al Salool is derogatory for the royal family of Al Saud. See footnote in section 5.2.15 for the background of Abdullah bin Ubayy bin Salool.

[50] The woman in the video is discussing female masturbation, a strictly taboo topic (see also *khinzyr* "pig" vs. *khinzyrah* "sow" above).

6.3.4.14 *fajir* **"dissolute(m)"** vs. *fajirah* **"dissolute(f)"**

fajir "dissolute" is used as an insult against a man thought to be a traitor, unjust, corrupt, wanton, of a different Muslim sect, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, manipulative, an insulter, as in:

- *wa allah ina alfasad fy baladna 'ashad wa 'akthar min fasad miṣr [...] wyn hay'at kibar al'ulama' ally faq'w ruwsna ṭa'at waly al'amr ṭayyb idha waly al'amr **fajir** kalb ibn sityn kalb jalis yasriq min altrilywnat* "I swear by Allah that the corruption in our country is worse and more than the corruption in Egypt […] Where is the [Saudi] Council of Senior Scholars who exploded our heads with their slogan of *the obligation of obedience to the ruler*! Well, what if the ruler is a **dissolute** [man], a dog of sixty dogs, who steals billions" (Corrupt)

- *almudhy' laysat lah 'ay ṣilah bi'amalih mudhy' **fajir** wa mutaḥayyz lilqatil* "What the TV presenter is doing has no connection to his job whatsoever! He is a **dissolute** TV presenter, and biased towards the murderer" (Unjust)

- *hadha khanyth ibn qaḥah yal'an alywm ally fajjar fyh 'arwaḥ 'abrya' hadha 'amyl 'amryka wahaby khasys **fajir*** "This is an effeminate son of a prostitute(f)! May Allah damn that day [i.e. Sept 11th 2001] when he [killed] innocent souls! He is a secret agent for America, and a mean, **dissolute** Wahhabi!" (Traitor)

When a woman is described as *fajirah* "dissolute", she is seen by the comment poster as a political opponent, a prostitute, lesbian, a non-Muslim, a blasphemer, dishonourable, immoral, manipulative, ignorant, or an insulter:

- *taqwl 'ana bwyah wa 'umaris aljins [...] wyn altarbyah wyn alḥaya'? [...] 'anty **fajirah** wa saqiṭah wa kharijah 'an aldyn wa shadhah* "She says "I am a masculine lesbian" and she has sex [with girls] […] Where have [good family]

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upbringing and shyness[51] gone? […] You are a **dissolute**, low, apostate, and homosexual woman!" (Lesbian)

- *wa altarwyḥ 'an alqulwb 'indakum bilmaqḥabah? [...] kus 'umak 'ukht sharmwṭah jaya titkalamy 'an alkaramah? huwah 'anty 'andak karamah?[...] 'anty **fajirah** wa ḥaqyrah wa wa waṭyah* "And, for you, recreation is done through prostitution? […] The cunt of your mother, you sister of a prostitute! Now you are talking about honour/dignity? Have you got any honour [in the first place]? […] You are a **dissolute**, low, immoral [woman]" (Dishonourable)

- *tama i'tila' ilham shahyn biism alfan al'arab kuluhm ma'ak ya shykh 'abdullah badr 'anna hadhihi almar'ah **fajirah** wa safilah wa 'ahirah dy hatudkhul aljanah izzay* "Ilham Shahyn has been ridden on the name of acting. All Arabs are with you, sheikh Abdullah Badr, that this woman is a **dissolute**, immoral, and a prostitute! How would she enter Paradise?" (Prostitute)

6.3.4.15 *saqiṭ* "vile(m)" vs. *saqiṭah* "vile(f)"

The use of *saqiṭ* "vile" is motivated by contexts where the commenter sees a man as an oppressor, a political opponent, a murderer, a prostitute, of a different Muslim sect, dishonourable, immoral, or an insulter:

- *ma damak suny ta'ysh ḥimar wa tamwt ḥimar [...]**saqiṭ*** "So long as you are a Sunni [Muslim], you will live as a donkey and die as a donkey […] [you] **vile**" (Of a different Muslim sect)

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[51] This is another example showing how shyness in Arab society is encouraged especially for women (see 5.3.2.1.3).

- *hadha nihayat kul ẓalim wa kul mujrim ya rajul taḥjy ‘alyh hadhal ally kharab al‘iraq wa damarah ṣadam ḥusayn **saqiṭ** khuluqiyan* "This is the end of all oppressors and criminals. You are talking about this man who ruined and destroyed Iraq. Saddam Hussain is morally **vile**" (Oppressor)

- *mudhy‘ munḥaṭ wa qanah munḥaṭah [...] barnamaj saqiṭ [...] wa almudhy‘ **saqiṭ*** "An immoral TV presenter, and an immoral TV channel […] A vile show […] and a **vile** presenter" (Immoral)

By contrast, a woman is labelled *saqiṭah* "vile" when she is thought to be a prostitute, a non-Muslim, irreligious, a blasphemer, dishonourable, immoral, ignorant, or an insulter, for example:

- *law hadhihi almakhlwqah alḥayah qara’at ‘an alislam alṣaḥyḥ lakanat alān min ’akbar mw’aydy aldaifa‘ ‘an almuqadasat alislamyah [...] wa lakinaha zay alyahwd bitaqra’ alma‘lwmah wa haya ghayr muktamilah [...] hasah ’anty **saqiṭah** wa ḥaqidah wa takhyṭyn wa takharbiṭyn* "If this living creature read about the true Islam she would be now one of the important supporters and advocates of Islam […] But she is like the Jews, she reads incomplete information […] Now, you are a **vile**, spiteful [woman] who mixes things up" (Ignorant)

- *ya masyḥyah rwḥy naẓafy kanysatak min alightiṣab wa aliwaṭ [...] fajirah **saqiṭah** alḥamdu lilah almuslimyn fi‘lan ‘abyd allah* "You Christian, go cleanse your church of rape and sodomy […] A dissolute, **vile** woman! Thank Allah we, Muslims, are true worshippers of Allah" (Non-Muslim)

- *‘alyki min allah ma tastaḥiqyn ya fasidah ataṣifyn alqurān bilfasad ya najisah [...] la‘nat allah ‘alyki ya **saqiṭah*** "May you get what you deserve from Allah [i.e. punishment]. You rotten, you describe the Qur’an as corrupt, you filthy [woman]. May Allah’s damnation hit you, you **vile** [woman]" (Blasphemer)

6.3.5 Discussion of cultural scripts of abusive language

Through my study of the cultural scripts for applying masculine and feminine terms of abuse to MTs and FTs respectively, it has become clear that the use of MT-targeted terms of abuse vs. FT-targeted terms of abuse do not always give the same hidden cultural interpretations. Consider Figure 6.1, which presents the broad categories of cultural scripts as shown in Table 6.16.

Figure 6.1 Cultural scripts of abusive language (broad categories)
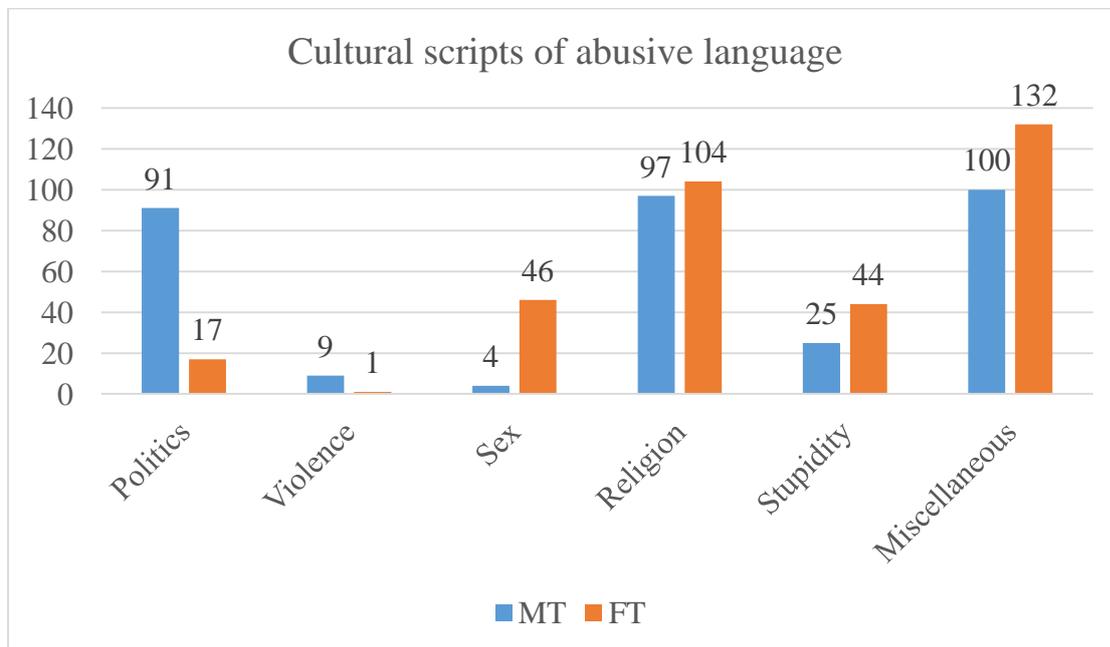
From the above figure and the preceding qualitative analysis several interlinked points can be made about the meanings of the terms of abuse in context, contributing towards an overall picture of the representation of MTs and FTs.

The frequency data indicates that it is mainly MTs that are abused on the basis of issues relating to politics, government, and justice, and violence; it is mainly FTs that are abused due to the motivations of sex and stupidity; and religious motivations for the use of a term of abuse are found about equally across MTs and FTs.

Masculine and feminine forms of a single term of abuse lemma may differ in their typical cultural scripts. For instance, the masculine and feminine pair *kalb* "dog" and *kalbah* "bitch" are both motivated by the categories of *traitor* and *political opponent*. However, *kalb* (but not *kalbah*) is used to abuse a male target who is believed to be *unjust/oppressor, a terrorist, of a different Muslim sect, arrogant, a foreigner,* and *an insulter*. Most of these qualities (in a very similar manner to the political descriptors considered in Sections 5.2.8 and 5.2.16) contribute to a discourse of "*good* men are powerful" by highlighting a discourse of "*bad* men abuse power".

In contrast, abusive use of *kalbah* (but not *kalb*) can be observed with the cultural scripts of *murderer/killer, prostitute, lesbian, non-Muslim, irreligious, blasphemer, immoral, ugly, ignorant,* and *opportunist*. The recurrent theme of prostitution seems to be strongly linked to FTs (or, if linked to MTs, done so indirectly via a feminine noun referring to a family member; see 5.2.6). *Prostitute* and *wanton* (and *manipulative*) are cultural scripts that are almost exclusively associated with female targets. *sharmwt* "prostitute(m)" is used against MTs, but *not* to refer to them as being sexually promiscuous (for money), as is the case for FTs. This may suggest that only women are condemned for involvement in prostitution. The construction and discourse of "women as prostitutes" highlights a double standard where women are condemned as promiscuous or considered sex objects, ignoring that in fact men are principal actors in typical scenarios of prostitution. As we have already seen (see 5.2.16 and 5.3.2.3), such a discourse may be an indicator of social inequality between men and women.

However, the exclusive cultural scripts of *kalb*, while not shared with *kalbah*, are shared with other feminine-marked terms of abuse. For example, *kalb* shares *of a different Muslim sect* and *arrogant* with *ḥaqyrah* "low(f)". On the other hand, *kalbah* shares four cultural scripts with masculine *qadhir* "filthy" which it does not share with *kalb*: *non-Muslim,*

irreligious, blasphemer, and *immoral*. So, while different linguistic expressions are used, some of the same social roles are constructed for targets of abusive language of both sexes (for a brief discussion of *a discourse of similarity* see 5.3.2.3).

Ugly (see 5.2.2) and *pretentious* are cultural scripts that motivate abusive language exclusively against FTs. The use of *ugly* as a cultural script to insult women indicates a discourse around women's sexuality and physical attributes. As we have seen, this discourse exists even when appearance is not explicitly referenced (see examples in 6.3.4.1 and 6.3.4.3 above). Such discourse contributes to "a general view of women as objects that can be used" (Litosseliti, 2006:121). This discourse also appeared in the descriptor analysis (5.2.16).

There is likewise a group of cultural scripts exclusively applied against men. These are *unjust/oppressor, corrupt, terrorist, rapist,* and, to a lesser extent, *murderer*. This group arises from a theme of (implicitly or explicitly illegitimate) exercise of power. This strengthens the findings in the previous chapter about men *having* and potentially *abusing* power, whereas being powerful is not at all a prominent part of how being a woman is constructed (see 5.4).

The cultural scripts of *traitor/infiltrator, of a different Muslim sect,* and *foreigner* are used against MTs more than against FTs; they motivate use of 10, 13, and 6 masculine-marked term of abuse respectively, compared to 3, 2 and 1 feminine-marked terms of abuse (with a total frequency of 72 for MTs and 7 for FTs). However, *immoral* motivates more abuse of FTs than of MTs. Regardless of frequency, these two groups of cultural scripts emphasise at least two points; 1) they reflect the reality that both sexes can play similar roles (Kendall and Tannen, 2001:560), and 2) these social out-group identities are seen as inappropriate and illegitimate for both sexes (Litosselitit, 2006:68). Thus, one reason for being abusive to someone is the perception that the target is a member of an out-group. This

does not seem to be gender-specific. That is, comment posters abuse men and women equally on the basis of them not belonging to the commenter's social in-group and being an outsider[52].

Similarly, the cultural scripts of *political opponent, non-Muslim, irreligious, blasphemer, dishonourable, stupid, ignorant, arrogant, insulter,* and *loser* form a group that motivates the use of a roughly equal number of masculine- and feminine-marked terms of abuse. Within this group there is still, however, a difference between the numbers of examples linked to these cultural scripts. The difference is not very big or non-existent in 1) *dishonourable,* 2) *stupid,* 3) *arrogant,* and 4) *loser.* Nevertheless, the category of religion, contrary to what the analysis in Chapter 4 (see 5.2.16) found, shows a tendency to motivate abuse against women more than men. Although this is abuse motivated by perceived impiety, this finding may reflect the social reality that women are on average more pious/devout than men even when religious authority is reserved for men (Trzebiatowska & Bruce, 2014:17).

In sum, we have seen from this analysis similar discourses of *good/bad* men and *good/bad* women to what emerged from the earlier analyses. We find that abusive language aimed at *bad* men is often motivated by these men's (perceived) abuse of power, which at the same time constructs the opposite, desirable image of *good* men as powerful and not abusing power. Abusive language aimed at *bad* women is motivated by these women's (perceived) involvement in prostitution, immorality, and irreligiosity. This implies that the *good* woman ought to be chaste, moral, and pious/devout.

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[52] Similarly, Hughes suggests terms like *papist*, *frog*, and *wog* as examples that were used to target out-groups like Catholics and foreigners (regardless of gender) in the "predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon, and in latter centuries Protestant and imperialist" English-speaking society (Hughes, 2006:245-246).

The above analysis has also shown that the use of terms of abuse is not necessarily motivated by the literal meaning of the term of abuse. That is, the cultural scripts exemplified in the qualitative analysis above frequently do not map onto the word's literal meaning in any straightforward way. In fact, all the terms of abuse considered in this analysis have other non-literal meanings in context (for a short discussion of this finding see 6.3.1; for a longer discussion see 2.2).

Although, as my above comments indicate, this analysis found much in common with my previous analysis in Chapter 5, there have also been findings from the cultural scripts analysis which were not evident in the descriptor analysis. I postpone detailed discussion of this point to Section 7.2.

In sum, MTs and FTs are abused because of different as well as similar cultural scripts in different contexts, and these cultural scripts shed light on gendered discourses. It has also been found that several concepts are involved in constructing masculine and feminine identities; men's undesirable social images are mainly about the abuse of power, while women's are about being sexually immoral or religiously impious. This is in a nutshell my answer to RQ3.

6.4 Summary

The analyses in 6.2 (on grammatical gender) provide evidence that discourses around abusive language reflect male social visibility compared to female invisibility in society. The analysis of the cultural scripts of abusive language in 6.3 (in a similar manner to the analysis in Chapter 5) has shown discourses about the construction of *bad* men vs. *bad* women.

The analyses in the two sections reveal very similar (almost identical) discoursal constructions of male and female identity. All analyses indicate that politics is conceived of

as mainly a male domain. That is, male politicians are dominant, more visible and more powerful than women. To a lesser extent than politics, the analyses show religion to be dominated by men more than by women. In both domains, men are represented as powerful actors and (in the negative context of abusive language) as abusers of power.

In contrast, all analyses indicate that sex is an integral component of the constructed female identity. Women are mainly seen and evaluated in terms of their involvement in illegal sex (*bad* women are prostitutes). In connection to other topics than sex, women are represented as lacking power or are simply invisible.

I now move to the concluding chapter of this thesis, which provides a summary of the findings and limitations of the study, and suggests directions for possible future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1 Overview

In this concluding chapter, I first present a summary of the findings of the three research questions from the results proceeded in chapters 5 and 6, highlighting the original contributions of my thesis to the study of sociolinguistics in general and abusive language, gender and language in particular. In Section 7.3, I reflect on the limitations of, and lessons learned from, the study. I then consider some implications for possible future avenues of research into abusive language and the construction of gender identity in discourse.

7.2 Research findings

7.2.1 Overview

This section summarizes the research findings in response to my overarching research question: *How is abusive language used in the construction of gendered identities by Arabic-speaking posters on YouTube?* I first present the findings as a bulleted list, followed by a discussion of major points.

7.2.2 Summary of research findings

RQ1: *What roles are constructed for men and women via discourses involving the use of abusive language?*

The descriptor analysis (see 5.2.16) has found two separate major discourses of what it means to be a *bad* man/woman and, by implication, what it means to be *good* man/woman:

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- A discourse of sexual morality (defined in terms of appearance, family, manhood, and effeminacy): 1) *bad* men are womanlike or homosexual, and/or have sexually immoral female relatives, and 2) *bad* women are sexually immoral (especially prostitutes), or attractive/unattractive, and/or have sexually immoral female relatives.

- A discourse of power (politics, and religion): 1) *bad* men abuse power, lack power, or are religious opponents, while in contrast 2) women cannot abuse power because woman do not have power.

The analysis of activation and passivation (see 5.3.2.3) has revealed two main points about the construction of active/passive men and women in discourse involving abusive language:

- A discourse of similarity: for example, men and women are quantitatively and qualitatively placed in agentive and patientive roles roughly equally (e.g. in relation to speech—but with subtle differences, such as the observation that men are represented as insulters while women are chatterboxes)

- A discourse of sexualisation: 1) men are constructed as having power in relation to sex because they take the active role in sexual intercourse (and are encouraged to do so by society at large), and sexual insults against women are weapons in the hands of men; and 2) women are constructed as powerless and submissive because they take the passive role in sex; but at the same time they are constructed as active in prostitution.

RQ2: *How is the phenomenon of grammatical gender-marking of terms of abuse deployed in the discursive construction of gender identity?*

The analysis of the (non-)existence of other-gender counterparts of abusively-used gendered terms of abuse (see 6.2.2.2) has highlighted social (in)visibility of men and women as follows:

- Men are more visible than women because men have power (and that is why they are derogated more than women)
- Women are invisible because they lack power

The domain analysis (6.2.3.1) and the collocational analysis (6.2.4.3) both indicated that:

- Men are socially more visible than women in almost all domains.
- Male gender identity is constructed in relation to religion and politics (i.e. a reflection of domination).
- Female gender identity is seen in relation to sex (i.e. women are evaluated and seen in terms of their sexual conduct).

RQ3: *What cultural scripts are differentially involved in the construction of male identity vs. the construction of female identity via gendered discourses involving abusive language?*

The analysis of the cultural scripts of abusive language (see 6.3.5) has revealed that

- *Bad* men are constructed as abusers of power (which at the same time constructs the opposite, desirable image of *good* men as powerful and not abusing their power).
- *Bad* women are constructed as involved in prostitution, immorality, and irreligiosity (this implies that the *good* woman ought to be chaste, moral, and pious/devout).

7.2.3 The construction of gender

The findings from these various analyses have much in common; the exercise of power and sex are the two most salient factors that contribute to the construction of gender identity by discourse involving abuse.

Clearly, there is a consensus among the different analyses that power is presented as being in the hands of men. In both analysis chapters, we have seen this to be especially the case in the domains of politics and religion (we have also seen in 6.2.3.1 that other domains with less abusive language support this finding). It is well known that politics and religion have tended to be dominated by men throughout history. This is still the case in many countries around the world. It is especially the case in the Arab world, where it is against secular and religious law to have a female head of state or a female head of a religious institution or sect. The Arab patriarchal society "is built upon a hierarchy of roles and authorities" represented in "the power of the old over the young, men over women" (Said-Foqahaa, 2011:235).

This does not necessarily mean that women are completely denied access to social/political power (there are female ministers and ambassadors in some Arab countries). However, the very low number of female ministers in Arab countries compared to male ministers is telling. For example, despite the fact that Oman's Basic Law (1996) prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender (Article 17), there are, as of the time of this writing, only 2 female ministers among the 30 ministers in the Omani cabinet. Some other Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia, have never had any female ministers.

Moreover, men's power and social visibility highlight the traditional patriarchal ideologies that "men are more 'important' than women and it is proper for men to control and dominate women" (Best & Williams, 1997:167). We have seen that, for instance, acting like

a *real* man (e.g. being powerful, brave) is constructed as a good quality for both men and women, whereas acting like a woman (e.g. taking the woman's role in sex) is used as an insult against men (5.2.16).

In contrast, the prevalence in the discourse of female lack of power and social invisibility, and of male control over women, indicates a discourse of prejudice and a double standard against women. For instance, we have seen in Chapter 5 that women are placed in a "can't win" situation with regards to being "beautiful" (as a requirement for negatively-constructed jobs such as belly dancing) vs. being "ugly" (as a negative representation). Double standards in the discourse should be considered in light of real-world examples of unequal treatment. In the Arab world, both the Sharia and secular laws typically stipulate that both sexes should be treated equally. For instance, in the case of adultery the Quran says "The woman and the man guilty of adultery or fornication, flog each of them with a hundred stripes" (24:2). However, an adulteress (or a female prostitute) is treated by society as different from the adulterer (or the male prostitute), who is almost unseen (see 5.2.16 and 6.3.5). This discriminatory treatment is exemplified in a tendency to blame women who have been raped for their rapes that is observed in "[m]uch of the world" (Park, 2012:255). In some Arab countries, female victims of rape are not only blamed for being a victim, but "are killed by members of their own families for bringing shame to the family" (Park, 2012:255) (see 4.2).

We have constantly seen across Chapters 5 and 6 that the theme of sex is a deeply rooted factor in the construction of female gender identity. The representation of women as "prostitutes" can also be a reflection of male superiority, or male control over female "inferiority". The sexist derogation of women (as prostitutes) may operate as a social control; women "fear having the terms applied to them" and, therefore, women "police their self-representation and sexual behaviour to avoid being labelled slags" (Cameron, 1992:109). In

other words, the proliferation of sexual terms of abuse used in attacks upon women's reputation may reflect the use of this discourse "as a weapon to keep women in line" (Cameron, 1992:109). Ayubi (1991) sums up why and how women's sexuality is controlled by men (and society). He suggests that in Muslim cultures

> women are believed to be sexually active, if not aggressive—i.e. it is a concept of the *femme fatale* who makes men lose their self-control and succumb to temptation and disorder (fitna). Furthermore, the Arab-Islamic culture lays more emphasis on 'external' rather than on 'internal' moral enforcement—on precautionary safeguards rather than on 'internalised' prohibitions. The result is that rather than expecting the man to be socialised and trained into self-control, the solution would be to hide the woman's body and to seclude her as much as possible from men, except within the marriage relationship. (Ayubi, 1991:28)

Ayubi adds

> [A woman's] sexuality must be controlled and regulated by the husband for his and the society's benefit, if the moral and the economic bases of the patriarchal society are not to be completely wrecked. It should be remembered at this point that whereas many aspects of social life have changed significantly over the centuries in Muslim societies, the character of the family has probably changed the least. Even legally, the family law is the only one to remain more or less Islamically intact in most Muslim societies, whereas laws and regulations governing economic, political and even, to a large extent, educational and cultural affairs have been 'modernised' and 'secularised'. (Ayubi, 1991:29).

I have quoted Ayubi (1991) at considerable length in order to underline that these discourses involving abusive language that I have identified do not operate in isolation.

Rather, these discourses both reflect and reinforce a general ideology of the Arab patriarchal society, where power is a male preserve while sexual purity is a discourse and an ideology used to police women and to keep them under patriarchal control (see 5.3.2.3).

Of course, there is no especial reason to believe that the discourses studied in this thesis are unique to the Arabic-speaking world. Indeed, there are reasons to suspect that some of these discourses, or at least discourses broadly similar to them, may be widespread in human societies. For instance, several of the findings in this study are congruent with what is known about Western society. The double standards applied to men and women that I have discussed at length are well-known to operate in Western discourses and attitudes. Likewise, the homophobia present in certain of the discourses I identified is not dissimilar to that which may be observed in contemporary Western society (and, perhaps even more so, the classical European civilisations of Greece and Rome). But we should be equally careful not to understate the unique characteristics of particular cultures and societies. One example, which I outlined in chapter 4 as a preliminary to the analysis before finding it to be prominently reflected in my data, is that traditions and taboos around family and honour, and the links conceptualized between these notions and the status of women, are especially strong in Arab and Islamic societies.

In a nutshell, the discourses around men are mainly built upon the assumption that men are or should be the powerful actors in society; the discourses around women are built upon the assumption that women are or should be controlled by men. Indeed, the "apparent gender differences are really power or status differences; the behavior attributed to women is frequently the behavior of a person in a subordinated position" (McHugh & Hambaugh, 2010:387). In fact, much legislation in Arab countries is formulated "on the assumption that women are by nature 'delinquent' and that an authoritarian or tolerably authoritarian man

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should control them" (Said-Foqahaa, 2011:236); consequently men are given "the power and legitimacy to control women … in all aspects of life" (Said-Foqahaa, 2011:236).

7.2.4 Other aspects of abusive language

Besides the above findings, this thesis is a contribution to the literature on abusive language and other forms of "bad language" in general; it definitely contributes to filling an enormous gap in the study of abusive Arabic language (see 1.2). To the best of my knowledge, there has been to date only one study of any type of "bad language" in Arabic on a similar scale[53] (although it is *not* a corpus-based study), and no prior study has looked at how male and female gender identity is constructed in discourse involving the use of abuse in Arabic.

This study demonstrates that abusive language in Arabic, which has (almost always) been a taboo area for scholarly study, can actually be studied with a large amount of natural language. It is no longer valid to claim that it is "quite impossible and in fact impractical to do any quantitative analysis in studies of this kind" (Abd el-Jawad, 2000:240). Rather, this thesis is a demonstration that, with the help of corpus tools and techniques and the wealth of Internet data now accessible, collecting and building a very large corpus of naturally occurring abusive language in Arabic is both possible and practicable. One incidental illustration of the power of corpus data and corpus approaches is that I have actually in this thesis provided a longer list (see Table 3.4 in Section 3.10) of Arabic terms of abuse than any of the prior literature has been able to—my list is more comprehensive than those of Al-

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[53] Al-Abdullah (2015) looks at the use of Arabic swearing by Kuwaiti men and women utilizing the "cultural difference" approach (see 2.8).

Khatib (1995), Abd el-Jawad (2000), Qanbar (2011), and Al-Abdullah (2015)[54]. The list presented in this thesis consists of 281 terms of abuse, more than five times as many as the longest previous such list, along with a thematic classification that can be used as a basis for future quantitative and qualitative linguistic investigations of abuse and/or other forms of "bad language" in Arabic. This is, in itself, a concrete novel contribution to knowledge.

Finally, this thesis has contributed to knowledge by revealing that exploring pragmatic, context-based cultural scripts (by means of examining the qualities that the targets of gender-marked terms of abuse possess or are believed to possess) is both possible and important for an understanding of what themes, contexts, and meanings are involved in abuse in general, and in the discursive construction of male and female gender identities in particular (see 6.3).

7.3 Limitations

Having emphasised what is novel and important in this study's findings, let us now consider limitations on the results that have been presented. One such limitation is that the discourses around terms of abuse that have been explored in this thesis are based on current circumstances (in the Arab world). A non-diachronic corpus—like the one used for my study—only offers a snapshot of language in use and "the situation regarding discourse is always likely to change again in the future" (Baker, 2006:178). Thus, these findings are, likewise, a snapshot.

A fundamental limitation to the analysis of these terms of abuse using corpus methods is that, as we have seen, not all examples of the word types in question are used as terms of abuse, and not all terms of abuse are used to target singular human beings. This fact

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[54] Of the studies cited here, Al-Abdullah (2015) has the longest list (50 items).

sometimes led to changes in my methodology. For instance, I originally planned to examine a sample of 20 concordance lines for frequent masculine-marked terms of abuse and 20 concordance lines for their feminine-marked counterparts in Section 6.3 (i.e. the analysis of cultural scripts of abusive language). However, some of the words in question were used abusively less than 20 times. Therefore, I had to discard some of these terms of abuse from that particular analysis because of a paucity of examples of their other-gender counterpart, even if the discarded frequent forms (e.g. *qaḥbah* "prostitute(f)", *khanyth* "effeminate gay") deserved investigation from the gender and language perspective (see 6.3.2). This meant that this specific analysis was more limited in scope than it would otherwise have been.

Not knowing whether every token of a given word is used abusively or non-abusively is, unfortunately, inevitable in a corpus with hundreds or thousands of examples to be studied. For instance, in the domain analysis (6.2.3), it would have been an extremely time-consuming task to check whether every instance of the words in Tables 6.6 and 6.7 was used abusively. That is, it is true that, for instance, *kalb* "dog" is more frequent in the domain of politics than in the law domain. However, knowing the frequency of *kalb* does not actually answer the question as to how many of these instances of *kalb* are used to insult others and how many of them are used literally to refer to the animal. Therefore, it would not be warranted to overstate my frequency-based findings; for instance, that *kalb* in its function as a term of abuse is more linked to the domain of politics (where *kalb* occurs 408 times) than to the domain of legal issues (where *kalb* is used 366 times) is not a statement of whose truth we can be entirely confident.

Dealing with YouTube comments itself creates limitations. One drawback is that the source location from which a comment is posted is unknown. Although the Arab countries have many things in common in terms of politics, religion, geography, and language, it is perhaps not ideal to treat them as 100% homogenous. Arab countries differ in, for instance,

the legal status of women (see 7.2.3). If it had been possible to categorize the comments according to location, I would quite possibly have found differences between countries in terms of the representation of gender identity in discourse. However, this is simply not afforded by the nature of YouTube comments. Also, although the list of terms of abuse that I identified is extensive (see the previous section), because YouTube comments in Arabic can be posted from any Arab country as well as from outside the Arab world, I cannot claim that I have discovered examples of every single term of abuse from all Arabic varieties. Another problem that arises from the nature of YouTube comments is that we may strongly suspect that users are motivated to abuse because of abusive language's function as a negative argumentative tactic, rather than any other possible motivation. Therefore, we do not have any examples of abusive language being used in a non-negative manner (e.g. to reinforce group membership, or to express a friendly, jocular, or intimate tone), and *would not have* any such examples even if this is a possible function for abuse in Arabic, as we would not expect to find it (if it occurs) in a context of argumentation such as the YouTube threads in my corpus. In general, we might say that although they allow us access to many examples of abusive language in use, YouTube comments do not allow us to examine *all* the possible functions of abuse.

This thesis could not find *explicit* "positive" discourses about the targets of abuse. Positive discourses are as important to an understanding of how gender identity is constructed as negative discourses. Martin (2004), in the course of arguing for a Positive Discourse Analysis as opposed to the established Critical Discourse Analysis, proposes that "we do need to move beyond a preoccupation with demonology, beyond a singular focus on semiosis in the service of abusive power" (Martin, 2004:197). Martin further argues that we need to "reconsider power communally … and renovate discourses that enact a better world" (Martin, 2004:197). In other words, PDA suggests that there are possible positive readings of texts and

that not all discourses are negative/damaging and, consequently, unlike CDA (which only examines and critiques negative discourses that are bad for society), PDA's focus is on what texts "do well" or "get right" (Baker & Ellece, 2011:94). For instance, this thesis could not find examples of insults that could be considered as positive discourse (e.g. *You sexist fucker!* or *You misogynistic arsehole!*) because they construct a discourse in which being against gender equality is a bad thing. Therefore, it would be informative to study positive discourses and to compare them with negative discourses about male and female social actors in a future investigation.

7.4 Implications for possible future research

It would be interesting to replicate this study on other types of data. Because my thesis is entirely based on the analysis of abusive language used in a corpus of YouTube comments where posters do not know each other, I suggest the building of a corpus from other social media platforms where users do know their contacts. It also makes sense to think that in face-to-face interactions people may use different linguistic forms to insult each other and, therefore, a corpus of spoken data would be very likely to show contrasting findings to those in this thesis.

Future research may also focus on types of abusive language linked to specific taboo themes. For instance, I have personally observed (in social media and, interestingly, in TV channels that define themselves as Sunni or Shiite channels) a rise in the revival and invention of religious slurs made by Muslims against Muslims, due to the ongoing Sunni-Shiite conflicts in, for instance, Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, currently exacerbated by the terroristic Islamic State. This would require the construction of a more specialized corpus,

e.g. a corpus of YouTube comments posted in response to videos exclusively about the relevant religious conflicts, or to videos from specifically Sunni/Shiite TV channels.

This suggestion of focusing on a single type of abusive language applies to the various (and frequent) sexual and animal terms as well. That is, by limiting the investigation to sexual terms of abuse a researcher would be likely to find words designating various sexualities and, by analyzing the discourses around these words, to arrive at informative findings about the ways in which sexuality is constructed in discourse as a reflection of social realities. For example, we have seen throughout this thesis examples illustrating that one way to insult a man is to call him an effeminate gay. This is an example where sexual terms of abuse reflect the speaker's ideology of their sexual identity in reference to that of others, "based on what is valued in the dominant culture" (Jay, 2000:126).

Animal (and insect) terms carry cultural connotations attached to that particular animal when used to attack human beings (for a brief discussion of this point see 4.5). Comparing the abusive with the non-abusive animal terms (and the discourses around them) may shed light on the qualities or themes that are negatively/positively evaluated in Arab societies. These findings could then be compared to other languages, such as English. Critically, this could encompass a greater range of animal terms than those within my definition of abusive language. For instance, to call a person an owl may imply that they are clever and serious in Western cultures (or, alternatively, that they work during the night). In Arab cultures, however, being labelled as *bwm* "owl" evokes ugliness, laziness and inactiveness.

There are certain further points observable in my data which I have not commented on in my analysis, as they were not relevant to my research questions, but which suggest avenues for further research. One of these is that some of the Arabic insults, read in

translation—and especially those which "pile up" long strings of multiple abusive epithets–appear almost overly-dramatic to the point where they may seem funny to non-speakers of Arabic and, consequently, fail as insults. A possible reason for this is the impossibility of *perfect* translation equivalence. That is, while a word-for-word translation of bad language from one language into another is possible, I argue that the effect of abusive Arabic language when translated into English cannot be the same as it was in the original Arabic. The primarily reason for this loss of emotional force is that bad language is always to some degree culture-specific:

> "[c]olloquial expressions, culture-words, slangs, proverbs are difficult to translate for there is no one to one correspondence between one culture and another or between one language and another ... Hence, the difficulty arises in finding equivalent swear words in another language" (Das, 2005:40)

The charge of bad language is even different between regions or countries which speak the same language. Jay (2000) suggests that although bad language as social behaviour is "very similar in all English-speaking countries ... differences exist at the individual word level" and what words are offensive in England may not be equally so in America (Jay, 2000:147). In my data, however, it is the *structure* of bad language whose offensiveness may fail to cross borders. In, for instance, "You monkey, you **sow**, you're a prostitute daughter of a dog! If you could have found a Muslim's penis to fuck you, you would not have said this" (see 6.3.4.8), we see an iterative accumulation of abusive epithets which may appear like a litany or recital to non-Arabic speakers and, therefore, would not cause the intended offensive effect—coming across, instead, either as humorous or as merely odd. Since no prior study of the grammar of abusive language in Arabic has been conducted, studying these sorts of sequences using emphatic semantic repetition could shed light on the grammar of this form of language. For instance, it would be possible in future research to study lexical bundles of

abusive language, or to consider grammatical constructions based around these sorts of language use.

In order to strengthen future corpus-based findings of studies of abusive language, the application of alternative methods is recommended. This is due to the fact that a corpus does not provide explanations of its content. For instance, we have seen in the domain analysis (6.2.3) that it is not clear why *kalb* "dog" is very frequent in politics. In the literature of abusive language, a similar case is reported by McEnery et al (2000b). Discussing the discourse functions of abusive language in their corpus, McEnery et al find that most of the instances of *queer* follow "the attributional pattern of gay but with a twist – the attribution is negative i.e. *X is not* queer" (McEnery et al, 2000b:42); they question whether people are abusive of that which they claim they are not. McEnery et al add that this could be a good starting point for further research by means of different methods, e.g. focus groups, interviews or questionnaires. Similarly, there are issues in my findings that these kinds of method could be used to explain, e.g. the *kalb* point. Moreover, the analysis in this study focuses mostly on the words themselves or their immediate context—there is little analysis as to what stance people take in *responding* to terms of abuse, for example. Within linguistics, *stance* (i.e. the expression of feelings, opinions and attitudes) has become "an important concept" because it is not only concerned with "how utterances' meanings are expressed and how speakers (or writers) address their audience" but also with how people position themselves in relation to "oneself, to what is said, and to other objects or people" (Barton & Lee, 2013:86-87). These notions would provide an appropriate framework for a future study of responses to abuse in Arabic. The present study also included very little consideration of the different levels offensiveness of the terms of abuse under study. This issue could probably be best approached by means of rating tasks on the offensiveness of bad language. Such a study should incorporate, at least, two tasks, as proposed by Fägersten (2007): 1) a list of

terms of abuse for participants to rate, and 2) dialogues involving abusive language with contextual information (setting, speakers and listeners' details) for participatns to rate (see, 2.6). A combination of corpus approach with these (and other) methods would definitely provide a more robust picture of how gender is discursively constructed via abusive language. One obvious and highly interesting question would be whether grammatically feminine terms of abuse are perceived by native speakers of Arabic as being more or less offensive than the equivalent grammatically masculine terms.

Generally, the use of YouTube comments has been a methodological step that I would suggest could be useful for other linguistic investigations. Unlike edited, censored sources such as newspapers, books, and magazines, YouTube comments (and perhaps other forms of social media postings) not only show a hidden language in the form of abusive language, but can appropriately be used in critical discourse studies. Controversial topics (which are infrequently discussed in the media and in face-to-face conversations), for instance, religion, sex, and politics, are frankly discussed in social media; notably comment posters seem to have no reservations whatsoever in expressing stances that are racist, anti-religion, or misogynistic. Moreover, in terms of practical considerations, the immediate engagement of comment posters with the video (post, tweet, etc. in other social media) and with other posters, provides an instant, rich, and available source of data relating to ideologically charged topics, such that researchers do not need to invest much time or effort to build a corpus of highly relevant language in use.

7.5 Concluding remarks

This thesis has shown that abusive language is rich and complex yet insufficiently explored (and often shied away from) in Arabic. It has shown that a study of abusive Arabic

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is in fact possible and worthwhile. It is impossible to examine all aspects of this rich taboo language in one single study. However, I hope that, by investigating how (different) gender identities are discoursally constructed via abusive language, this thesis has shed light on one of the many potential routes to study gender and abuse in Arabic contexts. It is also hoped that this linguistic investigation will encourage researchers to explore more aspects of Arab societies—including, but not only, the social roles and ideological construction of men and women—that need to be focused on and, hopefully, developed.

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Appendixes

Appendix A

The following table shows the system which I follow in transliterating the letters of the

Arabic alphabet as used in Abullah Yusuf Ali's (2009 [1934]) translation of the holy Qur'an:

Arabic letter shape	Transliteration symbol
ء	'
ا	a/i/u ā (long vowel)
ب	b
ت	t
ث	<u>th</u>
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	<u>kh</u>
د	d
ذ	<u>dh</u>
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'
غ	<u>gh</u>
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y

Short vowels (usually not written):

ـَ	a
ـِ	i
ـُ	u

Appendix B

Ethical Approval

Ethics stage 1 self-assessment approval

Wilkinson, Andrew

Sent: 31 July 2013 12:14

To: Al-Harthi, Tahir

Cc: Hardie, Andrew

Dear Tahir

Thank you for submitting your completed stage 1 self-assessment form for your project "A corpus-based discourse analysis of the relationship between Arabic swearing in computer-mediated communication and social context". I can confirm that approval has been granted for this project.

As principal investigator your responsibilities include:

- ensuring that (where applicable) all the necessary legal and regulatory requirements in order to conduct the research are met, and the necessary licenses and approvals have been obtained;

- reporting any ethics-related issues that occur during the course of the research or arising from the research (e.g. unforeseen ethical issues, complaints about the conduct of the research, adverse reactions such as extreme distress) to the Research Ethics Officer;

- submitting details of proposed substantive amendments to the protocol to the Research Ethics Officer for approval.

Please contact the Research Ethics Officer, Debbie Knight (ethics@lancaster.ac.uk 01542 592605) if you have any queries or require further information.

Regards

Andrew

Andrew Wilkinson | Research Support Officer | Research Support Office | ✉ B58 Bowland Main, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YT | ☎ (01524) 594306 ⛇ a.r.wilkinson@lancaster.ac.uk
Looking for funding opportunities specific to your research?
Go to the RSO website to search the *Research Professional* funding database.

Appendix C

Male descriptors

Category	Descriptor	*ghaby* "stupid"	*manywk* "fucked"	*ḥaqyr* "low"	*ḥimar* "donkey"	*kafir* "infidel"	*kalb* "dog"	*khabyth* "mean"	*khanyth* "effeminate"	*wiskh* "dirty"
Crime, violence and extremism	*barbary* "barbaric"			2						
Crime, violence and extremism	*firʿwn* "Pharaoh"			1						
Crime, violence and extremism	*hamaji* "savage"		1	1						
Crime, violence and extremism	*irhaby* "terrorist"	1		1	1		3		2	1
Crime, violence and extremism	*mafia* "mafioso"						3			
Crime, violence and extremism	*mughtaṣib* "rapist"		1							
Crime, violence and extremism	*mujrim* "criminal"	1	1		1					4
Crime, violence and extremism	*mutaʿaṣib* "fanatic"						1			
Crime, violence and extremism	*qatil* "murderer"									1
Crime, violence and extremism	*shibyḥ* "thug"	1	1		2					1
Crime, violence and extremism	*ma fyh raḥmah* "merciless"								1	
Crime, violence and extremism	*waḥsh* "monster"				1			2		

Category	Term									
Crime, violence and extremism	*waḥsh* "monster"				1					
Crime, violence and extremism	*nimrwd* "Nimrod"				1					
Crime, violence and extremism	*liṣ* "thief"			1						
Dirt and disgust	*ḥuthalah* "scum"	2	1	2	1	1			5	1
Dirt and disgust	*khayys* "stinky/rotten"						1			
Dirt and disgust	*maʿfin/ʿafn* "rotten"	3		2	2	1		1	1	2
Dirt and disgust	*muqrif* "disgusting"									1
Dirt and disgust	*najis* "filthy"	4	3		1	3	2	2	4	4
Dirt and disgust	*nitn* "smelly"									2
Dirt and disgust	*qadhir* "filthy"	1	4	4	1	2	4	3		8
Dirt and disgust	*qadhwrah* "a piece of rubbish"			1						
Dirt and disgust	*wiskh* "dirty"	1	2	4	3	1		4	1	
Dirt and disgust	*zibalah* "rubbish"		1		1	2	1		3	7
Dirt and disgust	*zift* "pitch"		2		1					
Family	*akhw qaḥbah* "brother of a prostitute"		2							
Family	*akhw sharmwṭah* "brother of a prostitute"						1		1	
Family	*ibn ʿahirah* "son of a prostitute"	1	1	2	1	3	1		5	
Family	*ibn albihimah* "son of a female animal"		1							
Family	*ibn alfajirah* "son of a dissolute woman"		1							
Family	*ibn alhablah* "son of an idiot woman"		2							

Category	Term									
Family	*ibn alḥaqyr* "son of a low man"			2						
Family	*ibn alkhadam* "son of servants"		2							
Family	*ibn almitnak* "son of a fucked man"			1		1				
Family	*ibn almitnakyn* "son of fucked parents"		1							
Family	*ibn alwiskhah* "son of a dirty woman"		2			1	1			3
Family	*ibn arraqaṣah* "son of a belly dancer"		1						1	1
Family	*ibn assaqiṭah* "son of a vile woman"								1	1
Family	*ibn aththwalah* "son of a stupid woman"						1			
Family	*ibn azzawany* "son of adulterers"		1							
Family	*ibn jahil* "son of an ignorant father"		1							
Family	*ibn kalb* "son of a dog"	1	2	11	1	6	18	2	7	2
Family	*ibn khanyth* "son of an effeminate man"		1						3	
Family	*ibn makhanyth* "son of effeminates"								1	
Family	*ibn liṣ* "son of a thief"			1						
Family	*ibn manywkah/mitnakah* "son of a fucked woman"		6		4	2	1		1	1
Family	*ibn mwmis* "son of a		2							

Category	Term									
	prostitute"									
Family	*ibn saqiṭ* "son of a vile man"						1			
Family	*ibn sharmwṭ* "son of a male-prostitute"						1			
Family	*ibn zanyah/zanwah* "son of an adulteress"		2	1	1	4		2	2	
Family	*ibn/walad qaḥbah* "son of a prostitute"		8	1	5	5	1		5	
Family	*ibn/walad sharmwṭah* "son of a prostitute"	2	4		2	5	1	1	4	
Family	*tarbyat sharamyṭ* "[son] raised by prostitute parents"		1							
Family	*tarbyat khanyth wa 'ahirah* "[son] raised by an effeminate man and a prostitute woman"				1				1	
Family	*ibn um alrukab alswda'* "son of a black-knee woman"								1	
Family	*ibn alrafiḍyah* "son of a Refuser woman"				1				3	
Family	*nutfah 'afinah* "rotten sperm"								1	
Family	*ibn 'arṣah/m'raṣah* "son of a pimp woman"								1	
Family	*ibn 'arṣ/m'raṣ* "son of a pimp man"								1	
Family	*ibn ḥimar* "son of a	1			11				1	

	donkey father"									
Family	*ibn ahbal* "son of idiotic father"				1				1	
Family	*ṭaliʿ min baṭn ʿanz* "born by a she-goat"								1	
Family	*akhw kalbah* "brother of a bitch"								1	
Family	*ibn waqiḥah* "son of a shameless woman"								1	
Family	*ibn khinzyrah* "son of a sow"							1		
Family	*bidwn aṣl lah* "of unknown origin"							1		
Family	*bidhrah khaysah* "rotten seed"				1					
Family	*ibn labwah* "son of a lioness"				2					
Family	*ibn mujrim* "son of a criminal father"	1								
Family	*ibn safilah* "son of a vile woman"	1								
Family	*ibn alghabyah* "son of a stupid woman"	1								
Family	*ibn alghaby* "son of a stupid man"	1								
Family	*ibn albaghy/albaghyah* "son of a prostitute"	1								
Handicap and illness	*majnwn* "insane"	1	1	2				4		2
Handicap and illness	*maryḍ* "sick"	1	1	1				1	1	1

Handicap and illness	*mu'awaq allisan* "tongue handicapped"		1	2						2
Handicap and illness	*mukharif* "senile"						1			1
Handicap and illness	*mukhtal* "deranged"			2						
Handicap and illness	*mutakhalif* "retard"	3	1	5	2		3	1	1	6
Handicap and illness	*malqwf* "insane"							1		
Handicap and illness	*maryḍ 'aqlyan* "mentally sick"				1			1	1	
Handicap and illness	*mu'aq* "handicapped"				1			1		
Handicap and illness	*ma'twh* "insane"				1					
Handicap and illness	*maryḍ nafsy* "psychopath"	2								
Illegitimate child	*ibn alkhaṭi'ah* "son of a sin"								2	1
Illegitimate child	*ibn almut'ah* "son of a marriage of enjoyment"	3	4	3	3	4	1	18	11	2
Illegitimate child	*ibn misfar* "son of a travel marriage"		2							
Illegitimate child	*ibn misyar* "son of a Misyar marriage"		3						1	
Illegitimate child	*ibn/walad ḥaram* "son of sin"		3		1	2			1	
Illegitimate child	*ibn/walad/salyl zina* "son of adultery"	1	8	7	3	3		3	11	1
Illegitimate	*laqyṭ* "foundling"	2	1		2				3	2

child											
Illegitimate child	*naghal* "bastard"		5						1	1	
Illegitimate child	*walad/ibn ẓalmah* "son of darkness [bastard]"				1					2	
Illegitimate child	*walad/ibn layl* "son of night [bastard]"									1	
Illegitimate child	*ibn [alzawaj] al'urfy* "son of Orfy marriage"									1	
Job	*'bd/khadim* "servant"		2	2		3	1			1	
Job	*bahlawan* "acrobat"		1								
Job	*muharij* "clown"		1								1
Job	*murtazaq* "mercenary"	1	1								
Job	*khamam* "cleaner"				1						
Job	*ma'jwr* "hireling"	1									
Manhood	*ḥurmah* "woman"			2							
Manhood	*khuntha* "hermaphrodite"					1				1	
Manhood	*khrunth* "hermaphrodite"									2	
Manhood	*law inta rajil* "if you are a man"			1						6	
Manhood	*ma fih dharat rujwlah* "he has no manhood"		1	1						2	
Manhood	*mw rajal* "not a man"	5				1		1	1	1	
Manhood	*qahbah* "prostitute"		2	5				1			
Manhood	*shibh rajul* "semi-man"	1	1	1	1					1	

Category	Term									
Manhood	*mustarjil* "mannish"				1				1	
Manhood	*mswa nafsah <u>dh</u>akar/rajul* "mannish"				1				2	
Manhood	*na'im* "soft"				1				1	
Manhood	*zay alqaḥbat* "female-prostitute-like man"				2				1	
Miscellaneous other	*'ar* "disgrace"						1			
Miscellaneous other	*ghadar* "perfidious"		1						2	2
Miscellaneous other	*ḥaqid/ḥaqwd* "spiteful"	4		3		1	2	4	1	
Miscellaneous other	*ḥaqyr* "low"		2		5	8	7	5	2	
Miscellaneous other	*ḥayawan* "animal"	9	1	5	2	5	4	1	2	3
Miscellaneous other	*jaban* "coward"	1	1	2	1			5	9	
Miscellaneous other	*<u>kh</u>ayf* "scared/coward"								1	
Miscellaneous other	*na'amah* "ostrich [coward]"								1	
Miscellaneous other	*jarban* "mangy"						1			
Miscellaneous other	*kaḍib/kaḍab* "liar"			3	4		1	2	1	4
Miscellaneous other	*kalb* "dog"	5	6	21	8	9		16	13	8
Miscellaneous other	*<u>kh</u>abyth* "mean"			6	7	5	1	1	1	
Miscellaneous	*<u>kh</u>arwf* "sheep"				2		1		3	2

Category	Term									
other										
Miscellaneous other	*khasys* "mean"	1		1		1	1	4	1	
Miscellaneous other	*muḥashish/ḥashash* "alcoholic/drug addict"					1	1			
Miscellaneous other	*munafiq* "hypocrite"	1		4	3	3	1	8	1	3
Miscellaneous other	*munbatiḥ* "recumbent"									1
Miscellaneous other	*munḥaṭ* "mean"	2			1				1	3
Miscellaneous other	*mush muḥtaram* "disrespectful"				1					2
Miscellaneous other	*muta'ajrif* "haughty"						1			
Miscellaneous other	*naḍil* "villain"			4	1			1	2	
Miscellaneous other	*qalylalḥaya'* "shameless"		1					1		
Miscellaneous other	*ma fyh khuluq* "without morals"								1	
Miscellaneous other	*qalyl adab* "impolite"		1				1	2	2	6
Miscellaneous other	*rakhmah* "Egyptian vulture"			2					2	
Miscellaneous other	*safil* "vile"				4					3
Miscellaneous other	*sakhyf* "absurd"									1
Miscellaneous other	*saqiṭ* "vile"		1		2		1		1	

Category	Term									
Miscellaneous other	ṣuʿlwk "wretch"			2			1		2	
Miscellaneous other	ṭaʿan "insulter"					1				
Miscellaneous other	tafiah "absurd"	3		4			4		2	
Miscellaneous other	waqiḥ "shameless"						1			
Miscellaneous other	waṭy "impolite"	2	1	3	3	2	1	2	1	1
Miscellaneous other	akhlaqh radi'ah "ill-mannered"								1	
Miscellaneous other	ma ʿindah nakhwah "without chivalry"								1	
Miscellaneous other	dajajah "chicken [coward]"								1	
Miscellaneous other	mutalwin "fickle"							1		
Miscellaneous other	khas' "mean"							1		
Miscellaneous other	dajjal "charlatan"							2		
Miscellaneous other	'ffak "liar"							1		
Miscellaneous other	min 'ḥfad ʿbdualah bin salwl "a grandson of Abdullah bin Salool [hypocrite]"							1		
Miscellaneous other	samij "absurd"							1		
Miscellaneous other	ḍaʿyf alshakhṣyah "wishy-washy"				1					

Category	Term									
Miscellaneous other	*shaḥadh* "beggar"				1					
Miscellaneous other	*mundas* "hiding [coward]"	1			1					
Miscellaneous other	*ḥaswd* "envious"				1					
Miscellaneous other	*mudalal* "spoiled"				1					
Miscellaneous other	*qalbah aswad* "cold-hearted"	1								
Miscellaneous other	*radi'* "bad"	1								
Miscellaneous other	*swqy* "vulgar"	1								
Miscellaneous other	*shamit/mutashamit* "rejoicing at someone's misfortune"	1								
Politics/govt	*'amyl* "secret agent"	1	1	7	2	3		1	1	5
Politics/govt	*bwq* "mouthpiece/trumpeter"		1		1				1	
Politics/govt	*ikhwanjy* "Muslim Brother"			1						
Politics/govt	*kha'in* "traitor"		2	4	1	1			5	2
Politics/govt	*khufash* "bat"			1						
Politics/govt	*mukhabaraty* "intelligence agent"					3				
Politics/govt	*raj'y* "reactionary"					7	7			1
Politics/govt	*walad ṭahran* "son of Tehran [secret agent]"				1				1	
Politics/govt	*dhanab faris* "tail of							1	1	

	Persia [secret agent]"									
Politics/govt	*ṭaghyah/ṭaghwt* "tyrant"				3			1		
Politics/govt	*ba'' waṭanah* "seller or his country [traitor]"				1					
Religion	*'adw allah* "enemy of Allah"					1				
Religion	*abu jahl* "Abu Jahl"	1		1	1					
Religion	*ḥafyd abu jahl* "grandson of Abu Jahl"								1	
Religion	*ḍal* "misled"			1				1		
Religion	*'iblys* "the Devil"						1			
Religion	*kafir* "infidel"	1	3	10	3			8	2	
Religion	*khinzyr* "pig"	1	2	2	2	3	1	4		3
Religion	*la dyn lah* "atheist"					1				
Religion	*majwsy* "Magi"	3	1	4	4	2				2
Religion	*mal'wn* "damned"	1		2		5	1	6	2	
Religion	*muḍil* "misleader"			1	1					
Religion	*mulḥid* "atheist"			4		5				
Religion	*murtad* "apostate"					1				
Religion	*mushrik* "polytheist"			1		6	1		1	
Religion	*naṣiby* "Nasibi"	2				2				
Religion	*nuṣayry* "Nusayri"						1			
Religion	*rafiḍy* "Refuser"	3	1	8	5			10	9	
Religion	*ṣafawy* "Safavid"					1				
Religion	*ṣalyby* "crusader"					1				
Religion	*shayṭan* "Satan"					4		1		
Religion	*ṣihywny* "Zionist"	1		1					1	
Religion	*zindyq* "libertine"			4	2	6	1	14		2

Religion	yahwdy "Jew"								1	
Religion	wahaby "Wahabi"	1						1	1	
Religion	'abid ṣanam "pagan"								1	
Religion	ḥafyd almajws "grandson of the Magi"								1	
Religion	ḥafyd alrawafiḍ "grandson of the Refusers"								1	
Religion	shy'y "Shiite"	4			4			4	5	
Religion	ma fyh dyn "irreligious"								1	
Religion	min 'ṣḥab alnar "a companion of the Hellfire"							1		
Religion	'abid alqubwr "worshipper of graves"							1		
Religion	laysa muslim "non-Muslim"							1		
Religion	rajym "damned/cursed"							1		
Religion	'abd 'iblys "slave of Satan"							1		
Religion	ḥafyd alshayaṭyn "grandson of Satan"				1					
Religion	bwdhy "Buddhist"				1					
Religion	masyḥy "Christian"				1					
Religion	'abd alkhumyny "slave of Khomeini"				1					
Religion	ibn 'iblys "son of Satan"				1					

Category	Term								
Religion	*ḥafyd alyahwd* "grandson of the Jews"			1					
Religion	*naṣrany* "Christian"	1							
Sex and sexuality	*faḥish* "obscene"				1				
Sex and sexuality	*'arṣ/m'raṣ* "pimp"	12	0	4	4	1		2	1
Sex and sexuality	*daywth* "cuckold"	8	6	3			1	3	8
Sex and sexuality	*fajir* "dissolute"				4		1	2	
Sex and sexuality	*fasiq* "dissolute"	1						1	2
Sex and sexuality	*jarar* "pimp"				1			6	
Sex and sexuality	*majin* "dissolute"								2
Sex and sexuality	*qawad* "pimp"	6			5	1	1	2	
Sex and sexuality	*'ahir* "male-prostitute"								1
Sex and sexuality	*bala' 'yr* "swallower of penises"	2							
Sex and sexuality	*khakry* "effeminate"	1		1				2	
Sex and sexuality	*khawal* "effeminate"	3	2	2	1	1		1	
Sex and sexuality	*lwty* "homosexual"	3					1		
Sex and sexuality	*maftwḥ* "opened [penetrated]"	1						1	

Category	Term									
Sex and sexuality	*mahtwk al'irḍ* "fucked"		1		2				2	
Sex and sexuality	*manywk* "fucked"				2	1	3	1	7	2
Sex and sexuality	*mughtaṣab* "raped"		1							
Sex and sexuality	*mukhanath/khanyth* "effeminate"	3	7	1	17	6	2	7		2
Sex and sexuality	*shadh* "homosexual"		3		1	1		1		
Sex and sexuality	*sharmwṭ* "male-prostitute"		3			1	1			
Sex and sexuality	*um al'aywrah* "mother of penises"		1							
Sex and sexuality	*jins thalith* "third sex [homosexual]"	1							2	
Sex and sexuality	*mamḥwn* "sex-crazed"				1			1	2	
Sex and sexuality	*qaḥbah* "female prostitute"				1				1	
Sex and sexuality	*zany* "adulterer"								1	
Sex and sexuality	*khrwnq* "effeminate"	1								
Sex and sexuality	*mazghwb* "fucked"	2								
Stupidity and ignorance	*'abyṭ* "dumb"				1			1		1
Stupidity and ignorance	*khibl/makhbwl* "idiotic"	3								
Stupidity and ignorance	*ahbal* "idiotic"	7	2	1	2				2	4

Stupidity and ignorance	ahmaq "fool"	1						1	2	1	
Stupidity and ignorance	baghal "mule"			2							
Stupidity and ignorance	bihymah "animal"	2			4			1		1	
Stupidity and ignorance	ghaby "stupid"		1		8		2	2	5	2	
Stupidity and ignorance	ḥimar "donkey"	22	1	6		6	1	5	9	1	
Stupidity and ignorance	jahil "ignorant"	5	2	1	10	4	2	5	4		
Stupidity and ignorance	mughafal "dumb"			1	2				1		
Stupidity and ignorance	safyh "foolish"	1	1		2		1				
Stupidity and ignorance	tays "he-goat"				2		1				
Stupidity and ignorance	thwr "bull"	2			2		1		3		
Stupidity and ignorance	timsaḥ "crocodile"						1				
Stupidity and ignorance	mush mutaʿalim "uneducated/ignorant"								1		
Stupidity and ignorance	zamāl "donkey"								1		
Stupidity and ignorance	jaḥsh "young donkey"	2			2			1			
Stupidity and ignorance	dalkh "stupid"	2			1						
Stupidity and	balyd "slow-witted"	1			1						

ignorance										
Stupidity and ignorance	*baṭah* "duck [childish]"				2					
Stupidity and ignorance	*baqarah* "cow"	1			1					
Stupidity and ignorance	*'blah* "imbecile"	1								
Stupidity and ignorance	*saṭl* "bucket [stupid]"	2								
Stupidity and ignorance	*ba'yr* "he-camel [stupid]"	1								
Stupidity and ignorance	*bidwn thaqafah* "uneducated"	2								
Stupidity and ignorance	*bidwn 'aql* "brainless"	1								
Stupidity and ignorance	*khirtyt* "rhinoceros [stupid]"	1								
Worthlessness	*fa'r* "mouse"	1		1			1	2		
Worthlessness	*fashil* "loser"								1	2
Worthlessness	*fasw* "fart"			1						
Worthlessness	*ḥasharah* "insect"			6	1					
Worthlessness	*jurdh* "rat"			1		2		1		
Worthlessness	*jurthumah* "germ"						1			
Worthlessness	*kaka* "shit"			1						
Worthlessness	*khara* "shit"			1	1					
Worthlessness	*qazm* "dwarf"			2	1					
Worthlessness	*rakhyṣ* "cheap"			4						
Worthlessness	*rimah* "termite"									1
Worthlessness	*ṭyz* "ass"		2							
Worthlessness	*zaḥif* "reptile"			1						
Worthlessness	*zuq* "shit"	1	1							

Worthlessness	Term									
Worthlessness	*na'l/na'al* "shoes"								1	2
Worthlessness	*maskharah* "joke"									1
Worthlessness	*ka'in hulamy* "gelatinous creature"									1
Worthlessness	*ibn na'al* "son of shoes"									1
Worthlessness	*'abd* "slave"									3
Worthlessness	*'ima'ah* "flunky"	1							1	1
Worthlessness	*zlabah* "worthless"									2
Worthlessness	*khasir* "loser"								9	
Worthlessness	*kh'ib* "loser"								1	
Worthlessness	*jazmah* "shoes"				3					
Worthlessness	*ibn jazmah* "son of shoes"				2					
Worthlessness	*tyn* "mud"				1					
Worthlessness	*katkwt* "chick"				1					
Worthlessness	*tifl* "child"	2								
Worthlessness	*farkh* "chick"	1								
Worthlessness	*manbwdh* "outcast"								1	
Worthlessness	*mahswb 'la albashariyah* "considered a human being"				1					
Worthlessness	*fy hay'at bany 'dam* "in the form of a human being"				1					

Appendix D

Female descriptors

Category	Descriptor	*'ahirah* "prostitute"	*fajirah*	*ḥaqyrah* "low"	*kafirah* "infidel"	*kalbah* "bitch"	*manywkah* "fucked"	*qaḥbah*	*saqiṭah* "vile"	*wiskhah* "dirty"
Appearance	*'ajwz* "crone"	4		3		3		1		4
Appearance	*'aryah* "naked"	2	1			1		2		
Appearance	*mushawahah* "deformed"									1
Appearance	*mutabarijah* "wanton flaunter"			2		1				2
Appearance	*qabyḥah* "ugly"								2	3
Appearance	*ḍab'ah* "hyena"								1	
Appearance	*qirdah* "monkey"				1	1				
Appearance	*ghurila* "gorilla"							1	1	
Appearance	*um alrukab alswda'* "black-knee woman"	1								
Appearance	*shamṭa'* "hag"	1								
Appearance	*tshbh alkalb* "dog-like"		1							
Appearance	*wajh alkharwf* "sheep-faced"		1							
Appearance	*shynah* "ugly"							2		
Appearance	*wajh 'afin* "rotten face"							1		

Category	Term									
Appearance	*shaklaha qabyḥ* "ugly"							1		
Appearance	*karyhah* "ugly"							1		
Appearance	*bish'ah* "ugly"							1		
Appearance	*qabyḥat alwajh* "ugly-faced"							1		
Appearance	*um makwah mushaḥimah* "the mother of fat arse"							1		
Crime, violence and extremism	*hamajiyah* "savage"		2	1	2	2				
Crime, violence and extremism	*mujrimah* "criminal"					1				
Crime, violence and extremism	*mutaṭarifah* "extremist"						1			
Crime, violence and extremism	*qatilah* "murderer"					1				
Crime, violence and extremism	*shibyḥah* "thug"		1	1						
Crime, violence and extremism	*irhabyah* "terrorist"								1	
Crime, violence and extremism	*qasyah* "cruel"		1							
Dirt and	*by'ah*									4

Category	Term									
disgust	"environment"									
Dirt and disgust	*ḥuthalah* "scum"	2	1			1	2			3	
Dirt and disgust	*khayysah* "rotten/stinky"			1			1	1			
Dirt and disgust	*ma'fiahn/'afn* "rotten"		1			1	2	1			9
Dirt and disgust	*muqrifah* "disgusting"		1	2				2			1
Dirt and disgust	*muthirah lil'ishmi'zaz* "disgusting"		1	1							
Dirt and disgust	*najisah* "filthy"	3		1	1	2	1			2	2
Dirt and disgust	*nitnah* "smelly"			1						2	
Dirt and disgust	*qadhirah* "filthy"	2	2	3		1		1		6	5
Dirt and disgust	*wiskhah* "dirty"	2	5	6	2	2	2	3			
Dirt and disgust	*zibalah* "rubbish"	1				3	1	3		7	
Dirt and disgust	*qumamah* "rubbish"		1								
Dirt and disgust	*ziftah* "pitch"									1	5
Family	*bint 'arṣ* "daughter of a pimp"						1				1
Family	*bint wiskhah* "daughter of a dirty woman"	2						1		1	1

Family	Term									
Family	*bint anjas* "daughter of dirty parents"						1			
Family	*bint kalb* "daughter of a dog"	1		5	3	7		9	3	11
Family	*bint khawal* "daughter of an effeminate man"				1	1	1			
Family	*bint manywkah/mitnakah* "daughter of a fucked woman"	2			2	2			2	4
Family	*bint qaḥbah* "daughter of a prostitute"	2	3	2			1	3		
Family	*bint qawad* "daughter of a pimp"						1			
Family	*bint sharmwṭ* "daughter of a male-prostitute"									1
Family	*bint zanyah/zanwah* "daughter of an adulteress"			1	2			1		
Family	*bint zany* "daughter of an adulterer man"		1							
Family	*tarbyyat shawari'*				1			1	1	

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Family										
	"woman brought up on the streets"									
Family	*ukht sharmwṭah* "sister of a prostitute"		1	1						
Family	*zawjat 'arṣ* "wife of a pimp"						1			
Family	*bint saqiṭah* "daughter of a vile woman"	1						1	1	
Family	*bint 'ahirah* "daughter of a prostitute"	3							1	
Family	*zawjat mukhana<u>th</u>/<u>kh</u>anyth* "wife of an effeminate man"	1							1	
Family	*bint alsalwqy* "daughter of a greyhound"								1	
Family	*bint sharmwṭah* "daughter of a prostitute"	1								
Family	*min byt da'arah* "woman brought up in a brothel"	1								
Family	*bint alfajirah* "daughter of a dissolute woman"	1	2							
Family	*<u>kh</u>altha*	1								

	sharmwṭah "her aunt is prostitute"									
Family	*bint zindyq* "daughter of a libertine man"		1							
Family	*tarbyyat zawany* "woman brought by adulterer parents"		1							
Handicap and illness	*majnwnah* "insane"				2					1
Handicap and illness	*makhbwlah* "insane"	1		1		1				
Handicap and illness	*maryḍah* "sick"		3	4	2	1		1	4	2
Handicap and illness	*maslwbat al'aql* "brainless"			1						
Handicap and illness	*muḍtaribah nafsyyan* "psychologically unstable"			1						
Handicap and illness	*mukhtalah* "deranged"				1					
Handicap and illness	*mutakhalifah* "retard"	1		1	3	4		1		
Handicap and illness	*waba'* "epidemic"	2	1	4		1	1	1	1	
Handicap and illness	*maryḍah 'aqlyan* "mentally sick"		1							
Handicap and	*maryḍah*		3							

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illness	*nafsyan* "psychopath"									
Illegitimate child	*la aṣl* "daughter of unknown origin"			1				1		
Illegitimate child	*bint almutʿah* "daughter of a marriage of enjoyment"	1	1	4	1	1		5	2	1
Illegitimate child	*bint ḥarām* "daughter of sin"	1		1	2	2		2		1
Illegitimate child	*bint zina* "daughter of adultery"	2	2	1	2	1		1	1	
Illegitimate child	*laqyṭah* "foundling"		1	1				1	1	
Job	*khadimah* "servant"				2					
Job	*murtazaqah* "mercenary"									1
Job	*raqaṣah* "belly dancer"		1				2	1		
Job	*ma'jwrah* "hireling"	1				1			1	
Miscellaneous other	*la sharaf/ʿadymat sharaf* "honourless"			1				1	2	1
Miscellaneous other	*la karamah/ʿadymat karamah*	2	2							

Category	Term									
	"honourless"									
Miscellaneous other	'adymat al'khlaq "without morals"									1
Miscellaneous other	'adymat aliḥsas "insensitive"			1						
Miscellaneous other	'adymat tarbyyah/mushmtrabyah "impolite"			1						1
Miscellaneous other	'nanyah "selfish"			1						
Miscellaneous other	dany'ah "mean"			1					1	
Miscellaneous other	ghayranah/ghaywrah "jealous"		1	1						
Miscellaneous other	ḥaqidah/ḥaqwdah "spiteful"		2		2			3	3	
Miscellaneous other	ḥaqyrah "low"	10	9		7	8		4	7	9
Miscellaneous other	kaḍibah/kaḍabah "liar"	2	2	3	1	1	1	2		1
Miscellaneous other	khabythah "mean"		1	1				1	2	
Miscellaneous other	khasysah "mean"			1					2	
Miscellaneous other	maghrwrah "arrogant"		2	4						1
Miscellaneous	muda'yah			1						

Category	Term									
other	"pretentious"									
Miscellaneous other	*muftaryah* "slanderer"			1						
Miscellaneous other	*muftinah* "seditious"									2
Miscellaneous other	*munafiqah* "hypocrite"	1	2	3		2		2	1	2
Miscellaneous other	*munḥaṭah* "mean"	2		1	2			3	2	
Miscellaneous other	*mush muḥtaramah* "disrespectful"		2							1
Miscellaneous other	*muta'ajrifah* "haughty"		1	1						
Miscellaneous other	*nakirat jamyl* "ungrateful"			1						
Miscellaneous other	*qalylatalḥaya'* "shameless"	1	1			1		2	3	
Miscellaneous other	*qalylat adab* "impolite"	1	3	3	3	1		1	2	7
Miscellaneous other	*qalylat tarbyah* "impolite"		1							
Miscellaneous other	*ruwybiḍah* "blowhard"	2	1	1					1	
Miscellaneous other	*safilah* "vile"	2	3	5	2	2		4	5	1
Miscellaneous other	*sak͟hyfah* "absurd"			1		1			1	6
Miscellaneous other	*saqiṭah* "vile"	8	12	5	4	6		6		1
Miscellaneous other	*habiṭah* "vile"		1							

Miscellaneous other	*swqyyah* "vulgar"			1		1				
Miscellaneous other	*thaqylat dam* "unbearable"									1
Miscellaneous other	*waḍy'ah* "mean"	1		3	1	1			1	
Miscellaneous other	*waqiḥah* "shameless"	1	1		1	1		1	2	
Miscellaneous other	*waṭyah* "impolite"		3	3	2				1	
Miscellaneous other	*'ar* "disgrace"			1						1
Miscellaneous other	*'f'a* "snake"									1
Miscellaneous other	*ḥayawanah* "animal"		3	5	5	2	1	2	5	1
Miscellaneous other	*kalbah* "bitch"	9	7	9	7		2	5	10	7
Miscellaneous other	*tafihah* "absurd"	1	2	4	1	1		1	7	
Miscellaneous other	*ul'wbah* "puppet"					1		1		
Miscellaneous other	*'abdat almal* "slave of money"		1						1	
Miscellaneous other	*jarwah* "young bitch"								1	
Miscellaneous other	*bytsh* "bitch"	1								
Miscellaneous other	*mutbajiḥah* "boastful"	1								
Miscellaneous	*bidwn 'khlaq*	1								

other	"impolite"									
Miscellaneous other	*say'ah* "bad"						1			
Politics/govt	*kha'inah* "traitor"		3	3						
Politics/govt	*maswnyyah* "Freemason"					1				
Politics/govt	*ṭaghyah* "tyrant"							1		
Religion	*ḥafydat alkhanazyr* "granddaughter of pigs"					2				
Religion	*kafirah* "infidel"	4	14	4		4		1	2	1
Religion	*khinzyrah* "sow"	1		1	3	2	1	1	3	
Religion	*mal'wnah* "damned"	3	2	1		1		1	3	1
Religion	*mulḥidah* "atheist"			1	2					
Religion	*murtadah* "apostate"			1						
Religion	*kharijah 'an aldyn* "apostate"		1							
Religion	*mushrikah* "polytheist"		2		4					
Religion	*naṣiby* "Nasibi"					1				
Religion	*nuṣayry* "Nusayri"				4					
Religion	*rafiḍyah* "Refuser"					1		3	2	
Religion	*ṣalybyah* "crusader"		2	2	1	1				
Religion	*shayṭanah* "she-	1	1		1					

	devil"									
Religion	*zindyqah* "libertine"				1				1	
Religion	*yahwdyah* "Jew"	1							1	2
Religion	*masyḥyah* "Christian"	1	2						1	3
Religion	*'abidat alṣalyb* "worshipper of the Cross"	1							1	2
Religion	*laysat muslimah* "non-Muslim"									2
Religion	*mush muslimah* "non-Muslim"								1	
Religion	*shy'yah* "Shiite"	3	1						5	1
Religion	*wahabyah* "Wahabi"		1						1	1
Religion	*qalylat dyn* "irreligious"		3							
Sex and sexuality	*'arṣah/m'raṣah* "pimp"		2	1	1			1	2	2
Sex and sexuality	*qawadah* "pimp"		1						1	
Sex and sexuality	*jararah* "pimp"								1	
Sex and sexuality	*daywthah* "cuckold"						1			
Sex and sexuality	*fajirah* "dissolute"	8		9	19	5		3	13	2
Sex and sexuality	*fasiqah* "dissolute"	1	4	2					3	1
Sex and sexuality	*min hal alfaḥishah* "of			1						

Category	Term									
	the people of bawdiness"									
Sex and sexuality	*'ahirah* "prostitute"		31	23	15	14	1	15	17	7
Sex and sexuality	*'ashyqah* "mistress"									2
Sex and sexuality	*bala'it 'yr/rijal* "swallower of penis/men"	1			2	1				
Sex and sexuality	*bint shawari'* "street girl"					1			1	1
Sex and sexuality	*bwyah* "lesbian"		1			1		1		
Sex and sexuality	*da'irah* "wanton"	2	3	2	2	1		2		1
Sex and sexuality	*faltanah* "wanton"		1	1						
Sex and sexuality	*labwah* "lioness"			1	1		1			1
Sex and sexuality	*makhrwmah* "penetrated"						1			
Sex and sexuality	*manywkah/mitnakah* "fucked"	9	2	1	2	2		6	1	6
Sex and sexuality	*mwmis* "prostitute"		4	1			1		1	1
Sex and sexuality	*qaḥbah* "prostitute"	13	11	6	4	2	8		11	6
Sex and sexuality	*ṣay'ah* "wanton"					1		1		
Sex and sexuality	*shadhah* "homosexual"	1	1							2
Sex and sexuality	*sharmwṭah*	25	11	5	12	8	8	24	11	12

Category	Term									
sexuality	"prostitute"									
Sex and sexuality	*siḥaqyyah* "lesbian"						1		1	
Sex and sexuality	*zanyah* "adulteress"	2	1			2	1	4	1	
Sex and sexuality	*mamḥwnah* "sex-crazed"		2						3	
Sex and sexuality	*bint daʿarah* "daughter of prostitution [prostitute]"								1	
Sex and sexuality	*shibh almukhanathyn* "like effeminate men"								1	
Sex and sexuality	*jins thalith* "third sex [homosexual]"								1	
Sex and sexuality	*um alʿaywrah* "mother of penises"	1							1	
Sex and sexuality	*khanythah* "prostitute"								1	
Stupidity and ignorance	*baqarah* "cow"					1		2	2	
Stupidity and ignorance	*bihymah* "animal"			1	1		1		1	
Stupidity and ignorance	*ghabyah* "stupid"	1		2		2			1	2
Stupidity and ignorance	*hablah/mahbwlah* "idiotic"		1		2				1	2
Stupidity and	*ḥimarah*	1	1	1		4			2	2

ignorance	"female donkey"									
Stupidity and ignorance	*jahilah* "ignorant"	2	2	4	4		2	1	2	1
Stupidity and ignorance	*safyhah* "foolish"			1	1	1			1	
Stupidity and ignorance	*kharqa'* "foolish"	1							1	
Stupidity and ignorance	*mughafalah* "dumb"								1	
Stupidity and ignorance	*baghalah* "mule"								1	
Stupidity and ignorance	*'abyṭah* "dumb"	1								
Womanhood	*zalamah* "man"		1							
Womanhood	*mutashabihah balrijal* "mannish"		2							
Worthlessness	*bint jazmah* "daughter of shoes"			1	1					
Worthlessness	*fashilah* "loser"			1						1
Worthlessness	*ḥasharah* "insect"	2	1	1					2	1
Worthlessness	*jazmah* "shoes"			1	1			1		
Worthlessness	*jurdhah* "female rat"				1	2				
Worthlessness	*jurthumah* "germ"			1						
Worthlessness	*nakirah* "nobody"	1	1				1		1	2
Worthlessness	*rakhyṣah*	1	1	3	1	1		3	3	2

Category	Term									
	"cheap"									
Worthlessness	*rimah* "termite"									1
Worthlessness	*makhlwqah ḥayah* "living creature"	1						1		
Worthlessness	*bidwn qymah* "worthless"							1		
Worthlessness	*namwsah* "mosquito"							1		
Worthlessness	*la tusawy shay* "worthless"							1		
Worthlessness	*jaryah* "slave"	1								
Worthlessness	*laysa laha qymah* "worthless"	1								
Worthlessness	*maskharah* "joke"							2		
Worthlessness	*ma tiswa naʻl* "cheaper than shoes [worthless]"							1		
Worthlessness	*ʻabdah* "slave"							1		
Worthlessness	*ma tiswa ziqah* "cheaper than shit [worthless]"							1		

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Appendix E

Verb lemmas for activated MTs and FTs

1. Verb lemmas for activated MTs

		'arṣ "pimp"	*ḥayawan* "animal"	*mal'wn* "damned"	*mutakhalif* "retard"	*qadhir* "filthy"
ibtasama	Smile		1			
itahama 'arḍ	Defame					1
'ajaba	Answer				1	
'ajrama	Criminal	3		3		3
'aḥaba	Love	2		2		
iḥtaja	Need				1	1
iḥtarama	Respect				1	
'aḥasa	Feel	1		1	2	
'akhbara	Tell		1			
'akhbara siran	Inform secretly	1				
'akhadha	Take				1	
'akhta'a 'ala	Insult		1			
ida'a	Claim		2			1
'adhala	Humiliate			1		
'arada	Want		2		2	
'arsala	Send		1			
'araa	Show				1	
asa'a al'adab	Become impolite		1			
istabaḥa	Violator			1		
istaḥqa	Deserve	1				
istaḥa	Feel ashamed				2	1
istarjala	Mannish	1				
istazrafa	Make fun				1	
istaghba	Pretend to be fool		1			

istafada	Benefit from					1
istafaza	Provoke	1				
istahlaka	Consume				1	
istaw'aba	Understand				1	
aṣara	Insist on				1	
'aṣlaḥa	Change			1		
'aḍḥaka	Amuse		1			
i'tabara	Regard					1
i'tada	Rape	1				
i'tarafa	Confess			1	1	
'a'jaba	Like				1	
'a'ṭa	Give				2	
ightala	Assassinate				1	
ightaṣaba	Rape	2				
'afaqa	Awaken oneself to				1	
iftakhara	Feel proud			1		1
iftaqara	Lack morals					1
iqtaraba min alnihayah	Finish	1				
'akala	Eat shit		2		3	
'alafa	Write				1	
inbaṣaṭa	Feel amused	2				
inbaṭaḥa	Lie down on one's back					1
intaḥara	Commit suicide			1	2	
intaẓara	Wait				1	
intafaḍa ghaḍaban	Burst in anger					1
intahaka	Violate			1		
intahaka 'arḍ	Profane			1		

inḍama	Join			1		
'anqadha	protect				1	
'ahama	Consider important				1	
iqaẓa alfitnah	Encourage sedition			1		
ba'a sharaf	Seller of one's honour	1				
bala	Urinate					1
baḥatha	Search			2		
baṣa	Watch				1	
ba'atha junwd	Send troops	1				
ba'uda	Leave				1	
baqiya fy alḥukm	Remain in power		1			
baqiya	Remain alone					1
baka	Weep	1				
bala'a	Swallow					1
taba	Repent					
tabaka	Feign crying					1
tabaraka	Bless by		2			
tabi'a	Follow		1			
tajabara	Tyrant					1
taḥadatha	Speak	1				
takharaja	Graduate			1		
takhalafa	Reactionary			1		
takhayala	Imagine					1
tadakhala	Intervene		1			
tadhakara	Remember				2	
taraja'a	Retreat				1	
taraja	Ask for			1		
taraḥama	Feel sorry				1	

taraka	Leave	1				
taraka	Abandon football				1	
taraka	Leave	1				
taṭawara	Progress				1	
taẓahara	Pretend					2
ta'aṭafa	Sympathise					1
ta'amala	Deal with			1		
ta'amala siran	Secret agent	2		1		3
ta'ada	Attack					1
ta'ada 'ala	Insult		1			
ta'araḍa	Insult		1			
ta'a	Teach	1		4	2	1
ta'awada	Used to live with dirt					1
tafaraja	Watch					1
tafalsafa	Boast		1			
takalama	Speak	8	7	3	7	5
takalama 'ala 'irḍ	Defame			1		
Takalama 'an	Blaspheme		2			
tamana	Wish					2
tanazala	Give up		1			
tanaqala	Move					1
tawaqa'a	Expect				1	
thara	Revolutionize			1		
ja'a	Come	1	1		1	
jaba	Bring	1				
jaba al'arḍ	Defeat	1				
jawaba	Reply		1			
jabuna	Coward	1				
jaḥada	Refuse			1		

jara	Pimp	1				
jarada	Get rid of			1		
ḥata	Worry				1	
ḥarasha	Annoy			1		
ḥaka	Mimic	1				
ḥawala	Try				1	
ḥarara	Liberate	2			2	
ḥarafa	Alter			1		
ḥaraqa	Burn	1				
ḥarama	Forbid				1	
ḥasiba	Consider	1				
ḥashasha	Addict	1				
ḥaṣala	Find					1
ḥaṭa	Put his hand				1	
ḥaṭa	Make		1			
ḥaṭa ḥarah	Burst in anger	1				
ḥaqa lah	Have the right to				1	
ḥaqada	Hater				1	2
ḥaqama	Judge		2	1		
ḥaka	Talk		1			
ḥalala	Allow				1	
ḥamada	Thank				2	
ḥamala	Has infidelity beliefs					1
ḥamala ism	Carry a name			1		
ḥama	Protection from him			1	1	
khafa	Fear			1		
khalaṭa	Mix with women			1		
khana	Disloyal					2
khadama	Servant of		1			

kharaja 'an alḥaya'	Lack morals			1		
khsa'a	Beat it			1		8
khasira	Lose				1	
khala	Stay alone	1				
dafa'a	Defend	1	2	1		3
dakhala	Admit (allow to enter)		1			
darasa	Learn				1	
dara	Know	2			1	
da'a	Wish					1
da'a 'ala	Curse				1	
da'ama	Support		1			
dafa'a mal	Pay money				1	
dafa'a thaman	Pay a price	1				
dammara	Destroy		1	2		1
dannasa	Abuse		1			
dawwara	Search		2		1	
dhahaba	Go, leave		1	1	2	
ra'a	Regard	1				
ra'a	Know					1
ra'a nafsah	Boast				1	
rabaṭa	Has connections with					1
raba	Raise children	1				
raḥala	Leave	1				
raḥima	Have mercy				1	
rada	Reply					2
rada jamyl	Thank	1				
rasha	Receive bribery					1
raḍa'a	Suck penis	1				

raḍiya	Accept	1				
raqaʻa	Hide					1
rakaza	Focus on					1
rakaʻa	Bow	1				
rama	Throw	1				
rama	Insult					1
rama balayah	Blame		1			
zaḥafa	Crawl				1	
zaʻla	Become angry by					1
zaqa	Defecate				1	
sanada	Support				1	
saba	Insult	1	9	3	9	3
saba	Blaspheme		3	1		4
sajana	Imprison	1				
saraqa	Steal			1		
safaḥa dam	Murder					1
sakata	Shut up		1		1	1
sala	Amuse				1	
samiʻa	Hear	1		2	3	
samma	Call something					1
sawa	Do	1			1	1
sawa nafsah	Pretend					2
shafa	See	3	1	2	2	2
shafa	Search	4			1	
shaka	Fight				1	
shatama	Insult	1	5	2	3	3
shajaʻa	Encourage				1	
shaka	Doubt				1	
shakara	Thank			1	1	
shaka	Complain		1			
shamita	Rejoice at				1	

	someone's misfortune					
shawaha ṣwarah	Defame	1	1	2	1	
ṣara	Become a man					1
ṣadaqa	Believe	1				
ṣala	Pray for Allah				1	
ṣawara bilfydyw	Videotape	1				
ḍabaṭa	Arrest	1				
ḍaḥika	Laugh				2	1
ḍaḥaka	Amuse				1	
ḍaraba	Hit your head				1	
ṭaḥa	Fall			1		
ṭaʿana sharaf	Defame					
ṭagha	Oppress			3	1	
ṭalab	Ask for					1
ṭalaʿa	Show	1				1
ṭalaʿ	Become				1	
ṭalaʿ	Kick out		1			
ẓalama	Oppress				3	
ẓana	Think		1			
ʿasha	Live				1	
ʿaml fyah	Pretend					1
ʿawana	Helper			1		
ʿabada	Worship	1	2	1	2	2
ʿarifa	Know	1	2		10	2
ʿalaqa ʿala	Comment on		1		1	
ʿalima	Know			3		1
ʿamila	Work	1				
ʿamila	Do	1				
ʿamala mashakil	Make problems		1			
ʿamama	Generalize		1			1

ghalaṭa	Make mistake	1	2		1	
ghayara	Change				2	
fataḥa	Open airspace	2				
fattana	Spread sedition		1			4
farraqa	Differentiate		1			
farraqa	Encourage sedition				1	
fasaqa	Dissolute				2	
fashala	Disgrace		2		4	1
faqiha	Understand				1	2
fakara	Think		1		2	
fahima	Understand	1	1	1	11	1
qatala	Fight		1			
qada	Pimp	2		3	1	
qarana	Compare			1		
qasa	Measure				1	
qala	Say	7	12	6	15	3
qawama	Resist	1				
qatala	Murder	6	1	6	2	1
qadira	Can	1			1	
qadama	Initiate				1	
qadhafa	Blaspheme					1
qara'a	Read			1	3	1
qarifa	Disgusting	1				
qaṣada	Mean				1	
qalada	Mimic	1				
qala'a	Leave	1				
qahara	Enrage		1		1	
qahara	Oppress					
kafa'a	Reward with bombardment			1		

kataba	Write			1		
kadhaba	Lie	5	1	2	3	1
kadhdhaba	Deny				1	
kariha	Hate					3
kafara	Refuse			1		
kaffara	Accuse of unbelief, charge with infidelity		1			2
laṭa	Practice sodomy upon a man			1	1	
laḥasa	Lick					1
laḥasa zib	Lick penis	1				
laṭama	Slap on the face				2	
la'iba kurah	Play football				2	
la'ana	Curse			1		2
laqaṭa	Clean				1	
lama	Be polite	4				
lamasa	Touch			1		
mata	Die			6	1	
maththala	Represent					1
maṣa zib	Suck penis	1			3	
maqata	Hate				1	
naṣara	Supporter			1		
naẓara	Debate				1	
nafaqa	Hypocrite	3		2		
naqasha	Discuss				1	1
naka	Fuck, have sex	3	1		1	
nabaḥa	Bark (like dogs)	2				1
nadima	Regret			1		
naza'a	Overthrow (a leader)					1

nasaba	Relate (lineage)				1	
nasaba	Ascribe something to				1	
nashara	Publish	1				
naṣaba	Cheat				2	
naṭaqa	Say	1				
naẓra	Look				1	
naẓafa	Clean		1		1	
nahaqa	Bray (like donkeys)			1		1
nawa	Intend	1				
hayaṭ	Talk				1	
hajama	Attack					1
haraba	Escape from		1			
waṣala aljaḥym	Go to hell			1		

2. Verb lemmas for activated FTs

		ghabyah "stupid"	*ḥayawanah* "animal"	*jahilah* "ignorant"	*maʿfiahn* "rotten"	*maryḍah* "sick"	*mutakhalifah* "retard"	*qadhirah* "filthy"	*safilah* "vile"	*sharmwṭah* "prostitute"
'abda ra'ay	Express an opinion									1
itafaqa	Agree									1
ïtaqa allah	Fear Allah			1						1
itahama	Accuse						1	1		
'athara alishmi'zaz	Disgusting					1				
'athara alshafaqah	Pitiful					1				
'thbata	Prove					1				
'ajrama	Criminal	1	1		2		1	2	3	
iḥtaja	Needs medical treatment					1				
iḥtarama	Respect						1			
'ḥraja	Embarrass	1	1							
'aḥasa	Feel	1								1
'aḥasa bil'ahmyah	Feel important				1					
'akhafa	Scare					1				
ikhtara	Choose								1	
'akhadha	Take			1			1			
'akhadha	Takes money									1
'akhadha ḥubwb	Use drugs					1				
'akhfa	Hide		1							
'adara	Administer	1								

’adma aljins	Sex addict					1				
ā<u>dh</u>a	Protect others from her	2								
ā<u>dh</u>a	Seek refuge in Allah from her				1					
’arada	Want	1	1	2			1	1	2	5
’arbaḍa	Blowhard							1		
irtazaqa	Mercenary					1				
’arsala	Send message						1			
’asa’a	Humiliate					1				
istaḥaqa	Deserve award									1
istaḥa	Feel ashamed		1			1			1	2
istarjala	Mannish		1							
istafaza	Provoke		1	1						
istahana	Making little of others’ feelings			1						
istahbala	Pretend to be a fool	1								
ishtara	Buy articles					2				
ishathara	Become popular	1				2				
ishtaha	Seeks fame					1				
’aṣlaḥa	Behave		1							
i‘tarafa	Admit,							1	1	

	confess									
'a'jaba	Like								1	1
ightara	Boast		1							
'aghra	Seduce									1
iftakhara	Feel proud				1					
'afta	Make fatwa							1	1	
iqtabasa	Quote									1
'aqna'a	Convince		1							
'akala	Eat shit	3	2		3	1	1			
intaḥara	Commit suicide	1								
intaqada	Criticise	1				2	1	1		2
intama	Belong to human beings								1	
inqala'a	Leave					1	1			
'ankara	Deny							1		
'ahana	Insult						1			
'awqa'a	Encourage sedition						1			
'ayada	Support					1				
basa	Kiss								1	2
ba'a 'irḍ	Sell honour	1				2			1	2
baka	Weep	1								1
bayyna jism	Wanton displayer									1
taba	Repent			1						1
taba'a	Watch	1								
tabajaḥa	Boaster									1
tabaraja	Wanton displayer									1

Transliteration	Meaning										
tabi'a	Follower									1	
tabala	Accuse			1							
tajara'a	Dare					1					
taḥamala	Discriminate			1							
taḥadat̲h̲a	Talk		1			1				1	
taḥadat̲h̲a bima la ya'rif	Blowhard					1					
taḥada	Challenge		2								
taḥakama	Control										1
tak̲h̲alaṣa min	Get rid of										1
tadala'a	Play the coquette	2									
tadayyna	Become religious						1				
tad̲h̲aka	Pretend to be intelligent			1							
taraka	Leave someone										1
tashadada	Bcomce extremist							1			
taṭawala bilkamal	Verbally attack		1								
taẓahara	Pretend	1									
ta'aṭa muk̲h̲adir	Take drugs										1
ta'alaja	Get medical treatment		1								
ta'amala siran	Secretly inform					1					

ta'ara	Strip					1			1	1
ta'alama	Learn			1			1			
ta'anṣara	Be racist						1			
taghaba	Pretend to be fool								1	
tafaraja	Watch	1								
tafalsafa	Blowhard	2								
tafalsafa	Boast						1			
takalama	Talk	7	4	11	5	6	5	5	4	9
takalama 'ala	Blaspheme									1
tala'aba bil'alfaẓ	Play with language								1	
tanaqaḍa	Contradict	1								
tharthara	Chat							1		
taḍayaqa	Get angry		1							
jaḥada	Ungrateful								1	
jarama	Criminalize						1			
Jalasa fy albayt	Stay home	2						1		
jahasha bilbuka'	Weep					1				
ḥasaba	Take account of									1
ḥaḍara	Lecture						1			
ḥaraḍa	Instigate				1					
ḥarafa	Alter		1	1						
ḥashara nafsah	Intrude					1				
ḥaḍana	Hug									1
ḥaṭa	Burst with						1			

ghaḍab	anger									
ḥaqada	Hateful				1	2	1	3	1	
ḥaka	Talk					2		3	2	5
khaṭaba	Talk									1
khana	Traitor				1					1
khaba'a	Hide									1
khaba'a	Cover her body						1	1		
kharab	Corrupt		1							
Kharaja ma'	Date									1
kharasa	Shut up						1			1
khara'a	Scare					1				
kharafa	Senile					1				
khasira	Lose religion						1			
dafa'a	Defend		1	1			1			
dakhala alisalam	Embrace Islam								1	
dakhala aljanaha	Go to paradise	1								
darasa	Learn			1						
dara	Know	1					1			1
da'ara	Prostitute		1			1		1		
da'a	Encourage		1							
dawara	Seek fame			1						
raḥa	Leave			1						
rada	Comment on						1			
rafaḍa	Refuse							1		
raqaṣa	Dance								1	2
zara'a	Spread	1	1							
za'ala	Get angry		1							1

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zana	Commit adultery	1		1			1	2	2	1
sa'ala	Ask/ Question		1						1	1
sala lu'ab	Drool over					1				
saba	Insult		2	1			2	1		1
saba	Blaspheme							2		
sababa	Cause					1				
satara	Cover her body	2				1			2	1
sa<u>kh</u>ira	Mock				1	2				
saqaṭa	Vile							1		
sakata	Shut up	1	1				1			
sawaqa	Market own body					1				
sawa mashakil	Make problems					1				
sawa nafsah	Pretend	2								
sayyara	Make someone sex animal		1							
shafa	Look at						1		1	
shafa nafsah	Boast	1								
shabaha	Liken		1							1
shatama	Insult					2	1	1	1	
shaja'a	Encourage lesbianism			1						
shariba <u>kh</u>amr	Drink alcohol									1

sharasa	Vicious				1					
sharafa	Honour		1							
sharamaṭa	Prostitute	1	8	1	3	7	1	2	8	1
sha'ara	Feel inferior	1								
shawaha	Defame								1	
shawaha	Alter			1						
shawaha	Deform		1							
shawaha sum'ah	Defame		1						1	3
shayṭana	Satan							1		
ṣadara ḥuryyah	Restrict freedom							1		
ṣahṣaḥ	Awaken to								1	
ṣadaqa	Believe	1				1				
ḍaḥḥaka	Make others laugh						1			
ḍaḥaka	Laugh at	1								
ḍalala	Misleader						1			
ṭabala	Drum								1	
ṭaq	Sing	2								
ṭala'	Go out	1								
ṭalla'a ḥiqd	Express hatred					1				
'aba	Find fault with									1
'asha	Live					1				
'alaja	Get medical treatment					1				
'amala	Pretend	1								
'amil nafsah	Blowhard						1		1	

‘abada	Worship		1						2	2
‘abara ‘an	Express an opinion								1	
‘adhdhaba	Torture			1						
‘arṣa	Pimp				1					
‘araḍ jism	Wanton display				1					1
‘araḍ jins	Offer sex							1		
‘araḍ ‘ala	Ask for								1	
‘araaḍa lilkhaṭar	Endanger			1						
‘araḍ ‘ala ṭabib	Get medical treatment					1				
‘arafa	Know	6	2	6	1	2	1		1	4
‘ashiqa	Penis lover									1
‘aṣa	Disobey									1
‘alama	Teach adultery and stripping		1							
‘alima	Know				1					
‘ahara	Prostitute	7	4	3	3	5	3	7	5	10
‘awa	Howl								2	
ghara	Envy					3				
ghḍiba	Full with anger					1				
ghafila	Neglect	1								
ghalaṭa	Make mistakes									1
ghalaṭa	Insult	2						1		
fattana	Encourage sedition			1		1				

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fajara	Dissolute		3	1	3	5	1	1	1	8
farraqa	Differentiate							1		1
fassara	Interpret the Quran							1		
fasaqa	Dissolute					1	1	2		1
faḍaḥa	Disgrace	1								
faḍaḥa	Expose scandals							1		
fa'ala	Do			1					1	
faqiha	Understand	1							1	
fahima	Know		2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1
qala	Say		1	4		2	3	3	2	3
qabaḍa	Receives money					1	1			
qaḥaba	Prostitute		2	2	2	3	2	1	2	10
qadaḥa fy	Defame						1			
qadama	Present								2	2
qara'a	Read			1						
kabara	Enlarge					1				
kataba	Write			3		1				
ka<u>dh</u>aba	Liar	1	2			4	2			1
kariha	Hate	1	1					1		
kafara	Infidel			1						
laḥsa	Lick feet			1						1
la'aqa	Lick shit									1
la'ana	Curse					1				
lafaqa tuhmah	Frame a crime			1						
laqya	Find		1						1	
lamma nafsah	Be polite						1	1		

Word	Meaning									
lawatha	Pollute			1						
mata	Die		2		1	2		3		2
marasa aljins	Have sex	1	1			1		1	1	2
marasa al'adah alsiryah	Masturbate	1								
ma<u>ththa</u>la	Represent				1	2				3
ma<u>ththa</u>la	Act on porno						1	1		
maḥana	Sex-crazed									2
masaḥa	Remove make-up									1
maṣa	Love penis				1	1		1	1	2
malaka	Own									2
nafaqa	Hypocrite	2		1			1		1	
naqaḍa	Contradict								1	
nabaḥa	Bark (like dogs)							1		
nashara	Spread								1	1
nakara	Deny					1				
nakara jamyl	Ungrateful				2	1				
nama	Prosper on dirt					1				
nahaqa	Bray (like donkeys)									2
hajara	Immigrate					1				
hajama	Attack							1		
hayaṭa	Talk								1	
hayaja	Aroused by her									1

waḍa'a fy alḥusban	Bear in mind		1						
waqafa ma'	Support					1			

Appendix F

Verb lemmas for passivated MTs and FTs

1. Verb lemmas for passivated MTs

		'arṣ "pimp"	*ḥayawan* "animal"	*mal'wn* "damned"	*mutakhalif* "retard"	*qadhir* "filthy"
'abqa	Keep alive					1
'aḥaba	Love	1	1	1	1	
kariha	Dislike			1		
iḥtarama	Respect		2			
'akhadha	Take	1			2	
'akhadha qiṣaṣ	Punish					1
'akhza	Humiliate			3		
'araḥa	Kill					1
irtajafa min alkhawf	Scare					1
'ara	Punish					2
istaḥaqa	May you receive what's against you from Allah			1		2
istaḍafa	Interview	1				
'ashfaqa	Pity				1	
'a'dama	Execute			1		
'a'aza	Give respect				1	
'aṭa	Give	1	2	2	2	
ightala	Assassinate	1				
ightaṣaba	Rape	1	1			
intakhaba	Elect				1	
intaẓara	Wait					1
intaqama	Revenge from	3		1	3	3

baraka	Bless				1	2
bala	Urinate					1
bara'a	Disown	2	1	2		
bashara	Inform			2		
bagha	Want		2			
taḥada	Challenge	1	1			
iltaḥaqa	Join			1		
takhayal	Imagine				1	
taraḥam	Pity			2		
taraka	Leave			2		
taraka	Let			1		
taqaḥab	Prostitute				1	
tamaṭa	Mount					1
tawanasa	Laugh at				1	
thakala	lose life		1			
jababa	Bring			1		
jababa lah	Provide				1	
ja'ala 'ibrah	Make a lesson			1		
jama'a ma'	Gathered with					2
ḥakama	Prosecute					1
ḥaraqa	Burn	1	1			2
ḥusiba	Count					1
ḥasara	Trap					2
ḥashara	Resurrect with	1	4	2	1	1
ḥaṣala	Find		1			
ḥaṭa	Step on					1
ḥakama	Sentence to "death"	2				
ḥakama	Judge		1			
ḥaka	Talk to		1			
ḥammala	Hold responsible					1

khasa'a	Disgrace				1	
khasafa	Destroy			2		
khalaṣa	Get rid of			1		
khanatha	Make effeminate	1	3			
daafa'a	Defend	2				
dakhala alnara	Go to hell	1				
dakhala alisalam	Embrace Islam		1			
da'asa	Step on					4
da'ama	Support			1		
dafa'a mal	Pay money		1			
daqa	Fuck	1				
dammara	Destroy			1		
dhabaḥa	Slaughter		1	1		1
dhakkara	Remind				1	
ra'a	Show			2		
raba	Bring up				2	2
raja'a	Revenge from	1				
raḥima	Have mercy on you				4	
radda	Reply to	1			2	
rafa'a	Heal				1	
rakaba	Ride	1				
rama bilraṣaṣ	Shoot			1		
zalzal	Shake the Earth under one's feet			1		1
saba	Allow, let	1				
sa'ada	Help		1			
saqa	Graze with sheep				1	
sa'ala	Ask			1	1	
samaḥa	Forgive	1	1			3
saba	Insult		1		1	

sajana	Imprison	1				1
sa<u>kh</u>iṭa	Allah's wrath be upon you		1			
sakkata	Shut up			1		
sakata 'an	Allow			1		
sala<u>kh</u>a	Strip of skin			1		
sawa	Build for you		1			
shala	Make you see things clearly				1	
shatama	Insult			1		
shaja'a	Encourage			1		
shaṭaba	Abandon					1
shafa	Cure		1		3	
shalla	Paralyse	1	1			1
shanaqa	Hang			1		
ṣalaba	Crucify					1
ṣala	Burn	1				
ḍaḥika 'ala	Laugh at		1			
ḍaraba	Fuck	2				
ḍa<u>gh</u>aṭa	Anger		1			
ṭaḥ ḥaẓ	Make unfortunate					1
ṭaḥana	Smash					1
ṭarada	Expel			1		
ṭarada min alḥukm	Overthrow			2		
ṭahhara	Clean					1
'ash	Support		1			
'aqaba	Punish	1	3	5		4
'aqaba	Break you				1	
'ajala	Hurry		1			
'a<u>dh</u>aba	Torture	1		1		

'arifa	Know	1	1			
'alama	Teach	2	2			
'amala	Build	1				
ghafara	Forgive					1
ghalaṭ	Insult		1	2		
farama	Mince	1				
fashakha	Fuck	1				
fashala	Fail		1			
faḍaḥa	Disgrace		2			1
fanasha	Sack	1				
qatala	Fight		1	1		1
qala	Tell			1	2	
qala	Talk about	1				
qabaḥa	Deform			1		4
qatala	Kill	1		25	4	3
qaḍa 'ala	Kill			1		
qaṣa lisan	Silence			1		
qaṭa'a ra'as	Behead			1		
qallaba	Throw to hell	2				
qala'a lisan	Silence	1				
qaliqa	Worry	1				
qahara	Anger		2			
qahara	Enrage			1		
kabasa	Send down to hell		1			
katama	Close	1				
kariha	Hate	1			1	
kashafa	Expose	1	1	1		
kafa shar	Protect from					1
laṭa	Somodomise			1		
lama	Blame	1				
la'ana	Damn	7	15	27	4	24

lafaʿa	Hit				1	
laqaṭa	Foundling	2				
amata	Kill	1				
madaḥa	Praise	1				
maʿasa	Stepped on					1
mawwala	Fund					1
naka	Fuck	19	4	3	1	2
nabadha	Abandon					1
nasafa	Destroy			1		
nasa	Forget		1			
naṣara ʿala	Defeat		1	1		1
hada	Guide	1	1		3	2
hadada	Threaten					1
wafaqa	Agree with					1
wajada	Find	1	1	1		
warra	Teach a lesson	1				
waṣafa	Describe			2		
waṭa	Step on					1
wufiqa	Succeed	1	1			
yuḥyy	Grant life					1
yuṣyb	Inflict with			1		

2. Verb lemmas for passivated FTs

		ghabyah "stupid"	*ḥayawanah* "animal"	*jahilah* "ignorant"	*ma'fiahn* "rotten"	*maryḍah* "sick"	*mutakhalifah* "retard"	*qadhirah* "filthy"	*safilah* "vile"	*sharmwṭah* "prostitute"
'aḥaba	Love							1		
iḥtarama	Respect					1				
'adhala	Humiliated	1								2
'araḥa	Get rid of					1				
'arsala	Send to hell		1							1
'ara	Show		1						1	
'ara	Punish			2		1			2	
ista'mala	Use						1			
istafaza	Provoke	1								
istqabala	Welcome									2
askana	Accomoodate									1
'shfaqa	Pity			2		2				1
'aṣaba	Inflict					1	1	1	1	
'aṣaba bishalal	Paralysed									1
'aṣalaḥa	Guide		1							
'a'asha	Provide you with a living			1						
'a'ana	Help			1						
'a'ṭa rishwah	Bribe	1				2				
'a'ṭa 'ahamyah	Make important		1		1					
'a'ṭa mal	Pay money				1					
ightaṣaba	Rape				1			1		2
ālama	Inflict with pain	1								
'amata	Kill	1								

'amraḍa	Inflict with disease	1								1		
intaẓara	Wait			1								1
intaqama	Revenge from	2								1	2	2
anqadha	Save						1					
'ahana	Humiliate		1									
ihtama	Care for		1									
'ahlaka	Destroy	1	1							1		
baraka	Bless	1								1		
basa	Kiss									1		
ba a	Sell	1										
badala	Replace	1										
aara'a	Abandoned	1		2				1				
bashara	Inform			1								
tabara'a	Abandoned						1					
taraka	Allow		1	1							1	
tamataʿa jinsyan	Enjoy sex	1					1					2
tha'ara	Revenge from		1							1	1	
jamala	Flatter											1
ja'ala ʿibrah	Make an example for others	1		1								1
jalada	Lash											1
ḥasaba	Judge							1				
ḥasaba	Punish						1					
ḥakama	Prosecute											1
ḥadhafa	Hit										1	
ḥaraqa	Burn						1	1				

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ḥarama min	Deprive of									1	
ḥusiba	Consider					1					
ḥashara	Resurrect										1
ḥaḍana	Hug							1			
ḥaṭa	Employ	1									
ḥaṭa	Fuck										1
khafa	Scare							1			
kharaba	Destroyed		1					1			
khasafa	Destroyed	1									
khala	Allow						1			1	
dasa	Step on				1	1		1		2	
dakhala 'ala	Attack	1									
dafa'a thaman	Punish			1							
dhabaḥa	Slaughter		1				1				
ra'a	Punish							1			
raba	Bring up		1		1					1	1
raba	Teach							1			
rada	Respond to			1						1	
rafa'a 'an	Forgive					1					
rakiba	Ride										1
rama	Throw aside	2			1					1	
zada kufran	Religiously worsen		1								
zawaja	Marry to				1						
saba	Throw aside									1	
sa'ada	Help					1					
samaḥa	Forgive			2							

sakhira	Joke					1				
sakhiṭa	Abandon									1
sakata	Silence		1			1				
sakata ‘an	Respond to					1				
salaba	Deprive of							1		
salsala	Chain									1
Sawaqa jinsyan	Wanton					1				
shafa	See		1					1		1
shala	Sack			1						
shabi‘a jinsyan	Sexually satisfy									1
shatama	Insult								1	
shaghala	Employ	1								
shafa	Cure			1	1	2				
shala	Paralyse							1	1	1
shahida ‘ala	bear witness against								1	1
shahhara	Defame					1				
ḍaraba	Beat up		1							
ṭaḥa	Fail	1								
‘araḍa	Oppose								1	
‘afa	Heal					1				
‘aqaba	Punish	1	3	1	2	3		1	3	5
‘alaja	Cure					2	1			
‘adhaba	Tortur			2		1		1	1	
‘araifa	Know									1
fashakha	Fuck									1
fashala	Disgrace								1	
faṣala	Behead							1		

ra'as										
faḍaḥa	Disgrace	1	2							2
qabala	Interview	1								
qarana	Compare to								1	
qaṭa'a	Boycotted									1
qala	Tell									3
qabaḥ	Deform	1		1		2	1			
qabila tawbah	Forgive			1						
قتل	Kill					1			2	
'akhadha	Kill	5	2	2	3	2			3	2
qarifa	Disgust		1		1					
qaḍa 'ala	Kill		1							
qaṭa'a	Chop		1	1						
qahara	Enrage			1						3
kariha	Hate	1		1		5				
kalama	Talk to									1
lama	Blame			1						
la'ana	Damn	8	5	5	6	5	2	5	6	8
marasa aljins	Fuck					1				
masakha	Deform			1						
masaka	Beat up	1								
mana'a min	Restrain from									1
naqasha	Talk to	1								
naka	Fuck		2	1	4	1		4	2	51
nabadha	Abandon					1				
naza'a rwḥ	Kill							1		
naṣaḥa	Advise					1			2	1

hada	Guide	5	5	4		2		2	3	8
hadada	Threaten							1		
hadara dam	Waste		1			1				
waṣala	Reach									1
waḍa'a 'ala qa'imah sawda'	Blacklist								1	
wufiqa	Succeed		1							

Appendix G

1- Masculine terms of abuse and their collocates

	Collocate	*kalb* "dog"	*wiskh* "dirty"	*ḥaqyr* "low"	*qadhir* "filthy"	*manywk* "fucked"
Family	*ibn* "son"	385	19	19	6	9
	bint "daughter"	129				
	'ab "father"	35	4			3
	'ayal "children"	26				
	'um "mother"					3
	'awlad "children"					4
Politics	*kha'in* "traitor"			4		
Religion	*shy'y* "Shiite",	38	8	8	12	3
	rafiḍy "Refuser			5		
	ṣaḥaby "companion of the Prophet Mohammed"		6			
	'abad "worshippers"				6	
	rab "god"					5
Proper nouns	*bashar* "Bashar"	81		4		
	ṣaddam "Saddam"	49				3
	yasir "Yasir"					5
	muḥamad "Mohammed"				5	3
	al'aryfy "Alarify"					4
	'abdullah "Abdullah"					3
Immorality	*ḥaqyr* "low"		4			
Animal terms	*ḥimar* "donkey",	21				
	kalb "dog"			24	6	
	khinzyr "pig"			5	6	
	kilab "dogs"	28				
Quantifiers	*sityn* "sixty",	30				
	shakhṣ "person"			7		
	insan "human being"			6		
	milywn "million"					4

	Collocate				
Race, nationality	*miṣry* "Egyptian"	6			
Verbs	*faḍal* "prefer"	6			
	'aqwl "say"	4			
	yal'an "damn"		4		
	yahuz "shake"				4
Dirt and rottenness	*qadhir* "filthy"	13			
	aqdhar "filthier"	6		16	
	najis "filthy"	4	9		
	wiskh "dirty"		4	5	
	awsakh "dirtier"	15			
Unpleasant personality	*andhal* "villain"	6			
Other	*ra's* "head"	4			
	mut'ah "enjoyment"		4		
	'arsh "throne"				4
	alḍaḥyah "victim"				3
Mental and physical Sickness	*mutakhalif* "retard"		4		
Crime	*irhaby* "terrorist"			6	
Sex	*shadh* "homosexual"			6	
	qaḥbah "prostitute(f)"				23
	khanyth "effeminate gay"				3

2- Feminine terms of abuse and their collocates

	Collocate	*kalbah* "bitch"	*wiskhah* "dirty"	*ḥaqyrah* "low"	*qadhirah* "filthy"	*manywkah* "fucked"
Family	*ibn* "son"	8	55		2	86
	bint "daughter"	35	39	3		25
	'ayal "children"	4				
	'umak "mother"	3	9		8	5
	'awlad "children"		37			27
Religion	*kafirah* "infidel"	2				

	la'nah "damnation"	2				
	ṣihywny "Zionist(m)"			3		
	alnawaṣib "Nasibis=Sunnis"				2	
	almuslim "Muslim(m)"				2	
	mal'wn "damned(m)"				2	
	ṭa'ifyah "sectarian"				2	
Proper nouns	*baskal* "Pascale"	12				
	'ayshah "Aisha"	2				
	'uthman "Othman"	2				
	shams "Shams"	2				
	shahrazad "Shahrazad"	2				
	sarah "Sarah"		3			
	maryam "Maryam"				5	
	hayfa' "Hayfa"				2	
	ilham "Ilham"					38
Immorality	*ḥaqyrah* "low(f)"	4				
	safilah "immoral"	2			3	
	waṭyah "immoral	2				
Animal terms	*kalb* "dog"	17	3			
	khanazyr "pigs"				2	
	ḥayawanah "animal	2				
	kalbah "bitch"			4		
	kilab "dogs"	2				
Quantifiers	*marah* "woman"		10			5
	shakhṣyah "person"		5		2	
	insanah "human being(f)"				2	
Race, nationality, country	*qaṭar* "Qatar"	2				
	turkyah "Turkish(f)"			3		
	sa'wdy "Saudi(m)"			3		
	rwsyah "Russian(f)"			3		
	miṣr "Egypt"		3			
	'urban "Bedouins"				2	
Verbs	*'aqwl* "say"	2				
	rwḥ "go"	3				
	yal'an "damn"	3	3			
	tuṣadir "export"			3		
Dirt and rottenness	*najisah* "filthy"	2				
	zibalah "rubbish"		3		4	
	'afinah "rotten"				18	
	khayys "rotten(m)",	2				

	'awsakh "dirtier"				5	
	ṭyzah "his ass"					12
Unpleasant personality	*tafiah* "abusrd"				2	
Other	*raw'ah* "brilliant"	3				
	muḥibhim "lovers"	2				
	shahadah "certificate"	2				
	'ayb "shame"		3			
	alkhyanah "treachery"			4		
	ma'rwfah "known"				2	
	shawari' "streets"				2	
	ḥaqyqatak "truth about you"				2	
	ru'wsakum "your heads"				2	
	khalf "back"??				2	
	kabyrah "big"					21
	ḥarakatuha "her movements"				3	
Jobs	*mudhy'ah* "TV presenter(f)"			6		
Sex	*da'irah* "prostitute	2				
	sharmwṭah "prostitute"	2				23
	mitnakah "fucked"		3			
	khawal "effeminate gay"					6
	alsharmyṭ "prostitutes"			4		
	'ahirah "prostitute (f)"			4		
	mughtaṣabah "raped(f)"				5	
	malabnah "filled with sperm"					23