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Sexual Harassment Discourse in Egypt: A Sociolinguistic Analysis

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by

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Abstract

Sexual Harassment Discourse in Egypt: A Sociolinguistic Analysis

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In recent years, the issue of sexual harassment in Egyptian society has attracted a significant amount of media attention in the form of newspaper articles, academic studies, television discussion programs, social media campaigns, and blog posts. In this thesis, I examine the language used in samples taken from television discussion programs and videoblogs in which Arabic speakers directly address the topic of sexual harassment, which I term sexual harassment discourse. I analyze the linguistic characteristics of this discourse, with the aim of discovering how speakers make use of various linguistic tools to achieve a targeted reaction or desired response in their audience. I will demonstrate how these tools allow speakers to both achieve an emotional connection with their audience, which I term empathy, or to place themselves within a power hierarchy, which I term legitimacy. Ultimately, I will show that sexual harassment discourse is indicative of an emergent and innovative new kind of public discourse in Egypt.

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Introduction

While Arabic sociolinguistic studies have shown much interest in the issue of power dynamic and performance in Arabic diglossia, the question of emotional affect in Arabic discourse has been largely neglected. This is unfortunate, in that the linguistic expression of power and emotionality are not binary phenomena but rather are inherently intertwined and interact with one another. Emotionality in language, and particularly the linguistic tools that mediate emotional response in both speaker and audience, are as integral a part of the negotiation of identities and relationships established in various discourses as the power mechanisms that have so fascinated Arabic linguists. In particular the areas of traditionally marginalized or tabooed discourses provide fertile ground for the study of emotional affect and power relations in language. The sensitive and controversial nature of these discourses magnifies the need to establish and regulate relationships of power and solidarity, and exposes and accentuates the linguistic means used to do this.

This thesis is a sociolinguistic analysis of one of these marginalized discourses, what I term sexual harassment discourse in Egypt. In the last several years, sexual harassment has generated a great deal of interest (and notoriety) in the Egyptian news media and blogosphere, having been the topic of numerous discussion programs on Arabic satellite television, internet videos, newspaper articles, several documentaries and even a feature film.¹ In the context of this thesis, sexual harassment discourse includes public speech events in which speakers directly and intentionally address sexual harassment in Egyptian society. I analyze the linguistic characteristics of this discourse, with the aim of discovering how speakers make use of various linguistic tools to achieve a targeted reaction or desired response in their audience. I will demonstrate how these tools allow

¹ "Al 'āshira masā'an: munā ash-shazlī ma' nīlī karīm wa bushrā wa māgid al-kidwānī wa 'amr as-sa'id abṭāl film 678," December 23, 2010, video clip, accessed September 5, 2011, Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yEkxJcMMahA>.

speakers to both achieve an emotional connection with their audience, which I term empathy, or to place themselves within a power hierarchy, which I term legitimacy. I especially focus on how speakers manipulate stylistic variation-making use of the wide variety of registers between Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic-as a sociolinguistic tool to mediate the desired response in the audience. I examine this stylistic variation within the context of the larger linguistic situation in Egypt, which I analyze following Bourdieu's concept of legitimate language and symbolic power.

In Chapter One I set a sociopolitical context for sexual harassment discourse in Egyptian society, touching upon significant social developments that uncovered the prevalence of sexual harassment and propelled it into the public sphere. Building upon this, I look at the evolving nature of public spheres in Egyptian society, and propose both satellite television and the internet as emergent and expanding public spheres which are becoming outlets for previously marginalized or tabooed discourses. I present these public spheres and their respective patterns of discourse within the framework of Bell's Audience Design. In Chapter Two I lay out the linguistic and anthropological theoretical framework on which I base my analysis of sexual harassment discourse. I revisit important sociolinguistic research on language level and style variation in Arabic, with special consideration to power relations in this research. I also examine research in sociolinguistics and anthropology on emotional affect phenomena in Arabic and other languages. In Chapter Three, I look at specific selections of sexual harassment discourse and analyze the speaker motivations and methods on the basis of syntactic, lexical and other linguistic tools. Ultimately, I will demonstrate that sexual harassment discourse at times conforms to well-documented and described sociolinguistic patterns and at other times crosses the lines set down by these canons.

As a note on transliterations, I have translated all Arabic words, including

proper names, according to Library of Congress transliteration system. For all persons who have an established Romanized spelling of their name, I have used that.

Chapter 1: Sexual Harassment in Egypt: From Marginalization into the Public Sphere

1.1 Sexual Harassment in Egypt: A Sociopolitical Background

Because sexual harassment has traditionally been considered a taboo subject in Egyptian society, it is difficult to obtain a clear understanding of it as a social phenomenon until very recently. It was not discussed openly and seldom alluded to in the public sphere until the early to mid-2000s, and it largely remains an off-limits subject; thus before the middle of the last decade there was a dearth of reliable information on sexual harassment in Egypt.² It is difficult to determine when the Arabic term "taḥarrush jinsī" first appeared in the Arabic media. The term seldom appeared in Arabic-language Egyptian newspapers prior to 2006, and on the few occasions it occurred it was used only in reference to foreign scandals, and was rarely employed to refer to events in Egypt.

The term ""taḥarrush jinsī" gained currency in the Arabic-language media starting in late 2006, when the Egyptian news media (newspapers and satellite television channels) reported on incidences of what it termed "mass harassment" in central Cairo during public celebrations of the Islamic holiday Eid Al-Adha. Numerous discussion programs and most major newspapers reported on the incidents, in which marauding groups of male youth cornered unaccompanied females, forcefully disrobing them and then "violating" them with their hands. These incidents were presented by newspapers and television news as unprecedented and shocking acts of violence in Egyptian public spaces.³ However, public reactions to media treatment of these incidences, as well as statements issued by the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights, put forth the claim that such events were not

² Rasha Mohammad Hassan, Aliyaa Shoukry and Nehad Abul Komsan, "Clouds in Egypt's Sky: Sexual Harassment: From Verbal Harassment to Rape: A Sociological Study," The Egyptian Center for Women's Rights: 2008.

³ "Al 'āshira masā'an: at-taḥarrush al-ginsī fī 'īd l-fiṭr," October 18, 2008, video clip, accessed September 20, 2011, Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JEQKORY-By0>.

unprecedented but on the contrary increasingly frequent occurrences in Egypt. Such responses indicated that the media attention and public outrage over sexual harassment was unprecedented, while actual occurrences of sexual harassment were commonplace. Sexual harassment had never attracted so much interest or had been so openly questioned in the public sphere.

However, other developments indicate a that certain level of awareness of sexual harassment in Egyptian society did exist prior to these events: in 2004, the ECWR, under the auspices of the United Nations Population Fund, launched its ongoing campaign entitled "Making Our Streets Safe for Everyone," which aimed to address general harassment and gender violence in public via radio, television and print PSAs and slogans. The effectiveness and general impact of these media campaigns among the Egyptian public have not been measured. This was followed by the publication in 2007 of an academic study funded by the University of Sohag which examined sexual harassment in the Upper Egyptian protectorate. Based largely on surveys and interviews with female university students, the study sought to explain the reasons behind what it reported as a marked increase in incidences of sexual harassment in the area. The study was published only in Arabic and apparently failed to garner major media attention in Egypt, let alone abroad. ⁴

2008 proved to be a year in which sexual harassment became a favorite topic in the Egyptian media, prompted by the release of the ECWR study on sexual harassment and the highly publicized sexual harassment lawsuit brought by Noha Rushdie. The ECWR published the results of a 3-year study funded in part by the United Nations Populations Fund and the European Commission, which sought to quantify sexual harassment and rape in Egypt, as well as to examine the potential causative factors and consider its greater social, political and economic impact on

⁴ Aḥmad, Madīḥa and Khālid Abū Dawḥ, "Al-ab'ād al-ijtimā'iyya lil-taḥarrush al-jinsī fil ḥayā al-yawmiyya: dirāsa mīdānīyya bimuhāfiẓat sūhāg," jāmi'at sūhāg: 2007.

Egypt as a developing nation. The study consisted of an extensive survey of 1010 each Egyptian adult females and males, with an additional sampling of 109 foreign female residents of Egypt. The questionnaire given to female respondents sought to determine the frequency, intensity and locations of their exposures to sexual harassment incidents, and also solicited their reactions to and impressions of these experiences. Male respondents were asked whether they engaged in behaviors the study deemed as sexual harassment; if so they were asked to reveal the frequency, location, and motivations behind these behaviors.

The study's results revealed the irrefutable prevalence of sexual harassment: 83% of Egyptian female respondents and 98% of foreign females reported regular subjection to sexual harassment, with more than 90% of these incidences occurring on the street, in mass transit or in other public places. The results of the study also refuted a commonly-held notion that conservative clothing and/or the Islamic veil prevent harassment: 72% of respondents who reported exposure to sexual harassment wore the veil or the ultra-conservative niqāb, results that according to the study "disprove the belief that sexual harassment is linked to the way women dressed."⁵ The results from male respondents were equally surprising: 62% admitted to committing acts of sexual harassment against women in public places on a daily basis, with the majority of these respondents attributing their behavior to indecency on the part of the women, whether in dress or manner.⁶ Interestingly, the majority of both male and female respondents reported that they regularly witnessed acts of sexual harassment committed in public, but almost never attempted to intervene on behalf of the victim.⁷

Published in both English and Arabic, the study garnered much attention in the Egyptian news media, which responded with a plethora of newspaper articles,

⁵ Hassan, Shoukry and Abul Komsan, 16.

⁶ Ibid, 18.

⁷ Ibid, 17-18.

opinion pieces, and discussion programs commenting on "zāhirat at-taḥarrush al-jinsī" (the "phenomenon of sexual harassment") in Egyptian society. The study was also reported on in the English, French and Italian-language foreign news media. Such wide foreign coverage pressed down upon one of Egypt's sensitive spots, its economic dependency on tourism. While the ECWR study pointed to sexual harassment of foreigners as a liability for the nation's already fragile economy, it was not the first indication of a problem: the previous year, the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism had objected to a travel warning issued by the British Embassy, which cited Egypt as having the highest rate of reports of rape and sexual harassment of British female tourists in the world. The British Embassy responded to the Ministry's complaint of "defaming" Egypt's reputation with the claim that reports rapes and sexual assaults of British nationals traveling or residing in Egypt were increasingly common, and that it refused to comply with the Ministry's request to lift the warning.⁸

Another incident that made headlines in 2008 was the case of Noha Rushdie, a 27-year old filmmaker who was the first person in recorded Egyptian history to bring a charge of sexual harassment to court. Rushdie had been walking in the street near her home in an affluent Cairene suburb when a man pulled up to her in a truck, roughly fondled her chest and then dragged her next to the moving truck for a short distance. When the car was detained at a stoplight, Rushdie forcefully pulled the man from the vehicle, and with her father's assistance took him to a police station and filed an official report. The case went to court and the man was fined and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment with hard labor. The case proved to be polarizing for public opinion: while many expressed approval of the ruling and applauded Rushdie's courage, others decried the sentence as unjustified and

⁸ Reem Abu-Zahra, "MP Chides Tourism Ministry Over Sexual Harassment," *The Daily News Egypt*, July 14, 2008. <http://www.thedailynewsegypt.com/archive/mp-chides-tourism-ministry-over-sexual-harassment.html>.

needlessly harsh. Rushdie was exposed to much public scrutiny, being falsely accused by various sources of being an Israeli spy, a non-Egyptian, and of concocting a slanderous accusation against an innocent man.⁹ However, the case made an undeniable social impact. If nothing else, both the Noha Rushdie incident and the ECWR study revealed sexual harassment to be an alarmingly prevalent reality in Egyptian society, thrusting the issue from the private domain into the public sphere. Such developments and the subsequent public outrage are no doubt indicative of the growing social unrest among Egyptians that precipitated the 2011 Revolution.¹⁰

In the wake of these developments, many women's rights-centered Egyptian NGOs have focused their efforts on the issue, and a number of media campaign projects have emerged, the most prominent of which is Harassmap. Launched in 2010 by a group of volunteer activists, Harassmap is a social media initiative that seeks to combat sexual harassment by providing an outlet for victims to share their experiences, and by conducting grassroots campaigns to spread awareness in all sectors of society. Victims of sexual harassment are able to report incidences via text message to the website, which then publishes the location and nature of the incident on a map of Cairo on its website. The Harassmap website, whose English tagline is "ending the social acceptability of sexual harassment," also contains links to local NGOs that offer counseling services to victims, and offers self-defense tips and detailed information on how to file an official complaint at a police station. The site also has its own blog, in which it publishes updates and tips from

⁹ "Musalsal at-taharrush al-ginsī fi maṣr: misik...wa gargarnī minu." September 10, 2011, video clip, accessed October 3, 2011. Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=46P33XAY4cl>.

¹⁰ Sexual harassment was in fact among the themes that protestors addressed during the January 25th Revolution; though there is no official record, numerous women reported that they were not exposed to sexual harassment during the initial 15 days of protests. For more information, see Samer Soliman, "Sexual Harassment in Egypt after the Revolution," *Ahram Online*. March 22, 2012. <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/4/37162/Opinion/Sexual-harassment-in-Egypt-after-the-revolution-.aspx>

project volunteers, as well as a compilation of external blog posts (the vast majority of which are written in Arabic) dealing with sexual harassment. Since its launch, the number of volunteers has increased from the initial 7 to over 300, and the website has enjoyed a high volume of traffic. The project has also attracted the attention of foreign news media and the blogosphere, and Harassmap founders have appeared on a number of Egyptian talk shows to spread awareness about the project.¹¹

The success of Harassmap underlines the increasingly influential role of technology in forcing the issue of sexual harassment into the public sphere, and as a tool to combat it. Offered in Arabic, English and French, the site is targeted towards the type of educated, tech-savvy and socially conscious youth who spearheaded the January 25th Revolution. It reflects the mores of an emergent segment of the population that is increasingly comfortable addressing social issues that were previously off-limits, and who feel entitled to address these issues on their own terms.

Yet even with the increasing presence of sexual harassment as a topic in public mediums, it remains an emotionally loaded and largely avoided subject, thus to publicly address it inevitably invites a certain amount of scrutiny. This is reflected in the ECWR study's finding that 90% of the Egyptian female respondents who had been exposed to sexual harassment reported that they did not seek help from police or others when sexual harassment incidents occurred: "women confirmed that they did also not report harassment because they feared an impact on their reputation, and were afraid of the reactions of people around them were they to admit they were harassed."¹² Anxiety over negative social repercussions for both the female victim and her family is a theme that reappears throughout all sources that examine sexual harassment in Egypt. Female victims report their fear that openly addressing

¹¹ Nahārak sa'īd: kharīṭit at-taḥarrush," February 25, 2011, video clip, accessed September 2, 2011, Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NYVuvarm8Uc>.

¹² Hassan, Shoukry and Abul Komsan, 17.

sexual harassment, especially sharing their personal experiences as a victim, can irrevocably damage their reputation among friends and family, and even negatively affect their career and marital prospects. This attitude may be attributed in part to a prevailing notion in Egyptian society that girls who experience sexual harassment in some way tempt or incite their harasser through provocative behaviors. In this view, the blame is almost always placed on the female victim: the victim deserves to be harassed because of her choice of dress, manner of walking, facial expression, or even the fact that she has chosen to leave the safety of the home and go into public spaces, for some argue that by simply leaving the home a woman is offering herself up to the men she shares these public spaces with. Added to this is a strain of popular discourse that portrays men as victims of sexual repression, political impotency and bleak economic conditions. Such a view justifies sexual harassment as an outlet for frustrated males who cannot control themselves in the face of inappropriate female behavior.

1.2 "Taḥarrush jinsī": Defining Sexual Harassment in Arabic

Further complicating the matter is the fact that the definition of sexual harassment both lexically and conceptually in Egyptian society is markedly opaque. The definition provided by academic studies and women's organizations may diverge from popular opinion, which is characterized by a lack of consensus on defining sexual harassment as a behavior and how this behavior is evaluated. The definition used by the academic studies, the ECWR, and Harassmap organizations is informed by a "Western" concept of sexual harassment, which tends to classify a wide range of behaviors under the term sexual harassment. In the English version of their study, the ECWR defines harassment as "unwanted sexual conduct deliberately perpetrated by the harasser, resulting in sexual, physical or psychological abuse of the victim...(it) may include behavior such as ogling, gestures, offers to perform sexual acts, questions of a private and sexual nature, displaying sexual photos or

pictures, unwanted touching, etc."¹³ The Arabic version of the report is a near-direct translation of this definition; Harassmap and the University of Sohag study provide similar definitions.¹⁴

The ambiguity of what constitutes sexual harassment is reflected in the Arabic words most often used to describe it. The term “taḥarrush jinsī” is the label most often employed in the Arabic media and in the data: “taḥarrush” is the verbal noun of the verb “taḥarrasha” which is listed in lexicons as “to start a quarrel” or to “provoke.”¹⁵ “Jinsī” is the adjective coming from “jins” connoting sex or gender. Historically the root /ḥarasha/ has connotations with animal behavior, denoting a “scratching” or “clawing” action of an aggressive animal.¹⁶ The term “taḥarrush jinsī” represents an example of media language, an attempt to translate from the English ‘sexual harassment’ and has only come into linguistic currency with an increasing awareness of the concept in the last decade. Perhaps a more plebeian term for the concept would be “mu’ākasa” which may connote a number of meanings both positive and negative: it is often linked with meanings of “disturbance” or “molestation” or “vexation” in classical lexicons, in colloquial contexts it can carry more innocuous connotations such as “flirtation,” “teasing,” or even “compliment.”¹⁷

¹³ Ibid, 15.

¹⁴ Several speakers in the data address the idea of “sexual harassment” as a concept originating from a “Western” worldview; for more information see “Iqrā’ al-ḥāditha: at-taḥarrush al-ginsī,” December 21, 2009, video clip, accessed September 11, 2011. Youtube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U3_UGt94nxM&feature=mfu_in_order&list=UL; and “Sabāḥ Dirīm: a-ttaḥarrush al-ginsī ...duktūr aḥmad ‘abdallah,” September 28, 2010, video clip, accessed September 12, 2011. Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XbP7keoB2E8>.

¹⁵ Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic: (Arabic-English)*. Ithaca: Spoken Language Services, 1994, 168.

¹⁶ Ibn Manẓūr. *Lisān al-‘arab*. Online Version. Accessed October 31, 2011. <http://www.baheth.info/all.jsp?term=حرش>.

¹⁷ No dictionary or lexicon defines ‘mu’ākasa’ as “compliment;” however, in non-official street interviews a number of speakers imply this meaning. See “Iqrā’ al-ḥāditha: at-taḥarrush al-ginsī,” December 21, 2009, video clip, accessed September 11, 2011. Youtube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U3_UGt94nxM&feature=mfu_in_order&list=UL; and the

This may overlap with the decidedly colloquial "başbaş" which is approximate to the English "catcall," "jeer," or "ogling." Other terms that may come up in these contexts are supported by their presence in legal contexts: *hatk l-'irḍ* ("hatk" meaning disgracing or degradation, "'irḍ" connotes honor or dignity) is used in the Egyptian penal code to denote an act akin to "sexual assault," while "ightiṣāb" is used to mean rape or full sexual violation with penetration. Harassmap employs a plethora of other terms under the umbrella of *taḥarrush jinsī*, many of which constitute direct translations from English.

Popular definitions are almost impossible to measure: no official polls soliciting a common definition have been conducted, and until recently most information about the concept was transmitted word of mouth, filtered through cultural norms that may regard female behavior with suspicion. Thus a unified definition of what behaviors constitute sexual harassment does not exist; furthermore there is not always consensus whether such behaviors that may be labeled as harassment are even transgressive. As the ECWR study, in addition to numerous informal interviews carried out by news media on the street, demonstrate, individuals may conceptualize an act (of harassment) and the intention behind it in entirely different ways. A young man may defend a suggestive comment (*mu'ākasa*) towards a woman on the street as a harmless flirtation or a well-intentioned compliment of her beauty, while the girl may interpret the same comment as a compliment, an annoyance, or a predatory infringement upon her right to walk unbothered. Conversely, a male may feel that he has the right to scold a woman whom he feels is walking in the street with inappropriate dress or manner of walking; his sexual comment is justified as it rebukes what he interprets as her immoral behavior. Another male may scold a girl for entering the street

short documentary "at-taḥarrush l-ginsī: mita'a min dūn ladhdha," February 11, 2011, video clip, accessed November 6, 2011, Youtube, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qxcYi4hVnD0>.

unaccompanied at all, regardless of her dress or manner. In this context, his behavior may not be viewed as “sexual harassment” but rather an authoritative effort to maintain his personal interpretation of public order.

The ambiguity and complexity surrounding the phenomenon of sexual harassment can be attributed to the fact that it encompasses so many of the political, social and ethical dilemmas that trouble modern Egyptian society: questions of modernity vs. traditionalism, sexual morality, political and social oppression, religious conflicts, ownership of public spaces, as well as the behavior and rights of individuals within these spaces. It brings up the inescapable question of the role of women in Egyptian society, which carries with it much anxiety and a wide range of opinions. What are the rights of individuals when they enter into the public sphere(s)? Who assumes authority in these public places, and how do they act on it? Ultimately, sexual harassment is inextricably linked to the idea of power: the power of an individual over their own body, the power to enter another's personal space, and the power to defend oneself. The power of the harasser to physically and psychologically violate, and the power of the victim to retaliate. Sexual harassment has come to be another symbol of the conflicted ambivalence that is at the heart of Egyptian society, and it is likely to become a more prominent and urgent social issue as Egypt struggles to construct its post-Revolution identity in the years to come.

1.3 Description of Data and Sources:

The data used in my analysis consists of spoken media taken from discussion programs originally aired on satellite television and videoblogs posted on YouTube. All sources specifically address the topic of sexual harassment and are directed in some way towards an audience; as such all data can represent a form of media Arabic tailored to the public. All programs have been obtained from YouTube where they have been posted by the source (i.e. the television channel's official page) or by individual users; in most cases these programs have been posted by various users

and circulated throughout YouTube and on blogs.

Because sexual harassment has only recently become an acceptable topic in public media discourse, all sources are relatively recent, dating from 2006 to 2012. I have been unable to find any spoken sources that directly address sexual harassment prior to 2006, though this does not necessarily mean that such sources do not exist. One potential resource I had hoped to obtain was archives of popular Egyptian radio programs such as "ala in-nāṣya", as such programs reach a wider audience than internet and television, and are thus addressed to a wider range of audiences than satellite television. However, accessing archives of such programs at the time of research proved impossible.

Because all media were initially broadcast on television or the internet, mediums which are confined to a less broad and arguably more privileged audience, the analysis of sexual harassment discourse offered here is inevitably confined to the discourse of an elite group of speakers. The language examined in this study is largely that of a socially advantaged group of speakers and therefore does not necessarily reflect that of the underprivileged social strata that make up the vast majority of Egypt's population. This however does not mean that members of such classes are completely cut off from this type of media, as the number of Egyptians who have access to satellite television and internet have greatly increased starting from the beginning of the 21st century. As of 2008, Egypt reported 17 million internet subscribers, constituting around 21% of the population.¹⁸ This percentage does not reflect the number of individuals who are able to access the internet through means outside their home, such as in internet cafes and places of work. Satellite television is a more far-reaching medium: according to the US Agency for International Development, approximately 70 percent of Egyptian homes have access to satellite television, and an even larger percentage of the populace likely gains access to satellite programming outside of the home. Numerous analysts have

¹⁸ Noha Mellor, Khalil Rinnawi, Nabil Dajani and Muhammad I. Ayish, *Arab Media: Globalization and Emerging Media Industries*, Cambridge: Polity, 2011, 126.

read the ubiquity of satellite television and the increasing presence of internet as proof that these mediums constitute extant and/or emergent public spheres in Egypt.¹⁹

And as with any public sphere, whether virtual or literal, patterns of discourse specific to that sphere emerge, eventually becoming means of taking control of or mediating the content of the public sphere. Thus satellite television programs and viral videos are subject to the impositions of various prescriptive discourses, in the same way that political speeches and religious rhetoric are. While MSA has historically not been favored by the Western-oriented Egyptian elite, the use of MSA in formal written communication and high-resister mediums such as news broadcasts has gone largely unquestioned. However, a number of studies have noted that the traditional linguistic hierarchies have been disrupted in these new spheres, with many citing the emergence of English as a prestige language on satellite television and (especially) the internet. Warschauer, El-Said, and Zohry note that English and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) are "encroaching on the traditional dominance of Classical Arabic in written communication."²⁰ Several studies also suggest that in youth-dominated mediums such as the internet, English is favored as a prestige language over MSA, which is marginalized or blended with colloquial language.²¹ Many studies indicate that the emergence of youth-centered media has contributed to the changes in standards of discourse that are occurring. Though ECA has always been the predominant style for the discourse of films and popular music, several studies suggest that youth influence may be contributing to changing patterns of discourse in news media. Doss describes a news bulletin

¹⁹ Jon B. Alterman, "The Revolution Will Not be Tweeted," *The Washington Quarterly*. 34:4, 103-116, http://www.twq.com/11autumn/docs/11autumn_Alterman.pdf, 111.

²⁰ Mark Warschauer, Ghada R. El-Said, and Ayman Zohry, "Language Choice Online: Globalization and Identity in Egypt," in *Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture, and Communication Online*, ed. Brenda Danet and Susan G. Herring, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2007), 312. <http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol7/issue4/warschauer.html>, 315.

²¹ For more information on Cairene youth language habits see Sherin Rizk, "The Language of Cairo's Young University Students." In *Arabic in the City: Issues in Dialect Contact and Language Variation*. Ed. Catherine Miller. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2007.

entitled “Hāl id-dunyā” conducted almost entirely in ECA, the first of its kind. The bulletin is broadcast on the OTV satellite channel, which is directly marketed towards Egyptian youth, and reactions to the program among its viewers and producers have been mixed: many feel that while the colloquial register makes the news more accessible to youth, others see it as another manifestation of the imminent "collapse/breakdown" of Arabic language and society.²² Such research indicates that although sociolinguistic changes are penetrating established patterns of public discourse, these changes are slow to take hold, and are regarded with a certain amount of ambivalence and anxiety.

Though speakers from lower social strata may not have a prominent voice in these virtual public spheres, the statistics mentioned above indicate that they are at the very least active consumers of television, internet, and print media. Their increasing numbers as consumers gives them an influence that was previously off-limits; members of the media and contributors of public discourse are undoubtedly aware of this unseen presence, not to mention potential market. Although speakers from lower strata are absent from the data, it can be assumed that they form a considerable segment of the audience of this media. Thus it is in the interest of actors/participants in the public spheres of television and internet to produce a discourse that is in part palatable to this audience. This becomes a complicating factor for creators of discourse and participants in public spheres.

Bell’s theory of Audience Design provides a useful framework in which to consider the roles of these creators of discourse within the various public spheres. Audience Design, which can be summarized as the idea that speakers tailor their language style to their intended audience, assumes a hierarchy of various listener roles: that of the addressee, or the immediate listener, who is physically present and

²² Madiha Doss, "Hāl id-Dunyā: An Arabic News Bulletin in Colloquial (āmmiyya)," In *Arabic and The Media: Linguistic Analyses and Applications*, ed. Reem Bassiouney, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 138.

"known, ratified, and addressed"⁴² by the speaker. Other listeners, not physically present but whom the speaker indirectly addresses are termed auditors.

Overhearers are participants who are known by the speaker but not "ratified" participants in the speech act, and finally other listeners who are unknown to the speaker can be considered eavesdroppers. Speakers assign a certain amount of significance to each role (depending on context) and tend to tailor their speech to the listener whom they deem most important.

In considering the sociolinguistic dynamics of Egyptian public spheres, we can look towards the application of audience design in media settings, in which the hierarchy of listener roles is often disrupted. In media contexts, speakers may accord more importance to the role of auditors and overhearers than to the physically present addressee(s). For example, a speaker who is being interviewed may be addressing the interviewer in front of them, but, cognizant of the influence of the program's viewers (the auditors) and the rest of the general public who potentially have access to the speech act (among them those members of lower social strata), attributes more importance to these roles and tailors their speech to their perceived expectations.

This is useful to consider in that all discourse taken from the data can be considered as incidences of mass communication, or pieces of mass media; both spoken and written data appeared in television or internet, both of which are known public spheres. All speakers are knowingly participating in these spheres and therefore their speech can be taken as a kind of public discourse in which they are openly addressing the public on the decidedly private topic of sexual harassment. Hence their linguistic motivations can be understood within the context of the effect that they wish to make on their auditors and overhearers, the general public. Audience Design provides an excellent model in which to understand the social impact of sexual harassment discourse and the risk that speakers are taking by

⁴² Alan Bell, "Language Style as Audience Design," *Language in Society*, 13, 2 (1984): 145-204, 159.

participating in it; because they are addressing a controversial topic in the public sphere, and because of the perceived influence of the public, the stakes are much higher than in other contexts.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Basis of Analysis of Sexual Harassment Discourse

This chapter provides the theoretical framework on which the linguistic analysis of sexual harassment is based. First I examine the issue of style variation in Arabic following Holes' concept of language levels between Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Following this, I provide a definition for legitimacy and empathy as speaker goals within the context of sexual harassment discourse, and discuss the sociolinguistic and anthropological studies that support my definition of empathy and legitimacy. Finally, I will introduce the notion of linguistic tools that speakers make use of to achieve these motivations, looking at the stylistic, syntactic and lexical tools that are employed in sexual harassment discourse.

2.1 Style Variation and Hybridization in Arabic:

In examining data, I was mainly interested in the role of language register of speakers rather than in specific lexical characteristics of sexual harassment discourse. Writing on the issue of language register and style variation in Arabic can prove to be problematic, as there are numerous ways of labeling and interpreting it as a phenomenon. Badawi proposes a 5-tiered model to classify language style: the "illiterate," the "basically educated," "fully educated," as well as Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic.²³ The idea of ECA and MSA blending as code-switching has been widely studied by Eid and Bassiouney, and although their work provides insight into factors governing register, their treatment of code-switching seems to assume MSA and ECA as binary linguistic entities existing in a diglossic system. In this thesis, I reject the term code-switching to refer to transitions in style as I feel

²³ Translations of Badawi's levels are taken from Clive Holes, "The Uses of Variation: A Study of the Political Speeches of Gamal Abd Al-Nasir," in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics V*, ed. Mushira Eid and Clive Holes, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1993, 15-16.

that it assumes a sharp delineation between ECA and MSA, when in reality the lines between the two are far more ambiguous. I believe that it oversimplifies the complex act of language production, and seems to imply that MSA and ECA are two separate languages in a permanent state of conflict with one another. Following Holes, I prefer to use the term style variation, as I believe that it reflects the fluidity and ambiguity inherent in much of this discourse.

The relevance of examining style variation in the context of problematic social issues such as sexual harassment must be addressed. In his treatment of the topic, Holes cites variation as a means of understanding the "psychosocial imponderables impossible to recover from simple observation" of dialogues, conversations and social rituals.²⁴ In other words, considering language variation in Arabic can be a most useful tool with which to read the otherwise inscrutable realities that underlie verbal communication: it is a way to track the interplay of social identities, manifestations of power displays/relations, and concealed emotive meanings that may be undetectable through other means. In this context, a speaker's choice to employ varying language levels across the wide spectrum of register is more than the result of his/her educational background and social circumstances, and can be considered a manipulative performance intended to achieve a certain goal that may be unachievable via other means. While it is important not to overestimate the significance of linguistic variation, there is no doubt that it is an acting factor that contributes to the overall effect of what the speaker is expressing.

Within the context of the complex language ideologies at work in Egypt, how do speakers make use of the linguistic tools available to them in addressing a topic as problematic as sexual harassment? Given its convoluted moral, emotional and social dimensions, finding the appropriate manner of language to address this topic

²⁴ Clive Holes, *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004, 354.

adds another layer to the already complex question of language style. It is therefore logical to assume that speakers make use of specific linguistic tools to assist them in mediating these problematic contexts. Certainly there are many factors that play a role in determining language style, such as speaker's experience, education, age, class, linguistic ability etc. While these factors are important to consider, I contend that because of the highly controversial nature of this discourse context, there are additional complex factors at work that may be absent in other contexts. In analyzing the type of discourse employed in the data, I assert that there are two basic and often conflicting motivations that determine language style: the speaker's desire to elicit empathy in the audience, and the speaker's desire to establish his/her legitimacy. Generally, I have found that the desire for empathy often (but not always) impels the speaker to make use of colloquial elements, while the desire for legitimacy often pushes the speaker to use elements usually associated with MSA. However, this is not universal across the data; even samples that are almost completely MSA make use of linguistic tools to induce empathy, and samples which are fully ECA aim to establish legitimacy. In much of the data examined, the speaker aims for both goals. Thus it is significant that approximately 80% of data consists of mixed-level language, with speakers taking advantage of the multitude of linguistic tools provided for them by such a wide spectrum of variation. Contradictory goals may show why variation occurs so often in discourse public spheres, and point to the emergence of an entirely new breed of mainstream public discourse.

2.2 Legitimacy in Sexual Harassment Discourse:

As defined in this thesis, legitimacy is the speaker's intent to place him/herself in a position of authority that simultaneously empowers him/her to speak publicly and bestows credibility to his/her utterance. Legitimacy assumes an invisible but ever-present power dynamic between individuals, who may establish and express their place within this dynamic linguistically. Speakers place

themselves within this dynamic by using tools to access symbolic authority inherent in the sanctioned language of their society. Bassiouney and Myers-Scotton have addressed the issue of power dynamics in language in the context of performance; speakers use language as a way to perform identities, whether authoritative or emotional. Because of the context of sexual harassment, that is the public spheres of television and the internet, these speech events can be viewed as performative on some level. In the context of legitimacy, speakers are linguistically performing authority, in an effort to assert this authority in front of their audience.

My definition of legitimacy as a speaker motivation is largely based upon Bourdieu's theory of legitimate language and the symbolic power that it wields, a theory that can be applied to the MSA/colloquial conflict. Legitimate language is according to Bourdieu not merely the "official" language of a political unit (though it often is also that), it is a "theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured." Key to legitimate language is the notion that it is granted its status by outside forces, and comes to power due to political and historical circumstances that are separate from the qualities of the language itself: "Language at most represents this authority, manifests and symbolizes it."²⁵ As such, legitimate language is inextricably linked to the idea of institutional authority: institutions of government, education and religion that authorize who is entitled to speak, and what sort of language they will speak in.

Perhaps most essential to Bourdieu's conceptualization of legitimate language is the idea of speakers' complicity with the legitimate language: "the language of authority never governs without the collaboration of those it governs, without the help of the social mechanisms capable of producing this complicity."²⁶ The legitimate language survives only as long as the institutions that uphold it rule, and as long as speakers acknowledge this power. However, such complicity is not entirely conscious: "all symbolic domination presupposes, on the part of those who

²⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991, 109.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 113.

submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adherence to values. The recognition of the legitimacy of the official language has nothing in common with an explicitly professed, deliberate, and revocable belief, or with an intentional act of accepting a 'norm.'"²⁷ In this light, we see that the legitimate language is largely a psychological construction, a linguistic chimera that administers its power over speakers subversively from the inside. Speakers have internalized its authority to the extent that they are only partially aware of its influence over their speech; it brings with it a kind of linguistic anxiety and insecurity in the speaker. If the complicity of the speakers were to unravel, then the immaterial power of legitimate language would dissolve.

Within this framework, the MSA/CA and colloquial conflict is an ideal example of Bourdieu's legitimate language at work. "al-fuṣḥā" is the lone official language of Egypt according to the Egyptian constitution, which makes no mention of the much more widely used colloquial dialect. MSA is the language that predominates in political speeches, official documents, the majority of fiction and nonfiction publications, written news media, religious literature, and scripted newscasts. "Al fuṣḥā" is also inextricably linked with Islam, as it is the unquestionably sacred language of its texts, and therefore predominates even in formal spoken religious discourse; Islamic clergy conduct sermons in MSA, and even in interviews and appearances on discussion or debate programs they may adhere to MSA.

According to Haeri, MSA is to a lesser extent indexed even in Coptic and smaller denominations of Christianity practiced in Egypt, as it is the (translated) language of Bible and prayer books. As religious institutions, bodies of government and media are major (and often interconnected) mediators of public discourse, their chosen language wields the strongest currency (to use Bourdieu's term) in most

²⁷ Ibid, 51.

public spheres.²⁸ Thus in Egypt MSA is endowed with the authority of long-established religious and secular institutions which themselves survive on the symbolic power granted to them by popular compliance. Egyptian speakers are born into a linguistic environment in which their consent to MSA's superiority is presupposed from religious, educational and political standpoints. In such a context speakers learn early that in order to become worthy participants in public spheres, they must learn to produce the legitimate language MSA.

My analysis of the data will show that speakers generally use MSA features to achieve legitimacy, although this is not universal. The indexicality of power with MSA, and its exploitation to express power relations is not a new idea to Arabic sociolinguistics. Bassiouney has examined the phenomenon of MSA use by women in the media, noting that "by using MSA, a language associated with authority of several kinds-religious, legal/governmental, as well as education...(the speaker) lays claim to all MSA indexes,"²⁹ continuing that switching to MSA "is used as a control mechanism and a power display. Switching is also a means of asserting their super identity."³⁰

However, in sexual harassment discourse, legitimacy is more than the attempt to project a certain identity or assert speaker power, although these may certainly be part of a speaker's motivation. Legitimacy is entwined with the more deeply-seated notion of entitlement and language: to assert that one deserves to speak, and that their utterance is equally deserving of being listened to. This is significant to consider in the context of the problematic topic of sexual harassment; to address the topic in any public sphere may suggest the incredibility of a female speaker and invite the disapprobation of the audience. Legitimizing the utterance

²⁸ For an extensive discussion of language ideology in Egypt, see Niloofar Haeri, *Sacred Language, Ordinary People*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.

²⁹ Reem Bassiouney, "Identity and Code-Choice in the Speech of Educated Women and Men in Egypt: Evidence from Talk Shows," in *Arabic and The Media: Linguistic Analyses and Applications*, ed. Reem Bassiouney, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 114.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 113.

linguistically may serve to mitigate these effects.

2.3 Empathy in Sexual Harassment Discourse:

In contrast to legitimacy, in which the speaker-audience dynamic is mediated by a power relationship, empathy is about establishing an emotional connection between speaker and audience. As such, empathy in this thesis can be defined as the speaker's attempt to access a shared sense of solidarity with their interlocutor by way of using a-hierarchical features that place them on the same level as the audience. The linguistic definition of empathy in the context of sexual harassment discourse is not the same as the definition given to the concept of empathy in general; however the understanding of the term is important to its conceptualization as used in this thesis. While many definitions of empathy as a concept have been put forth, the idea of emotional projection into another person's mind is common to all those definitions. Throop and Hollan define empathy as "a type of reasoning in which a person emotionally resonates with the experience of another while simultaneously attempting to imaginatively view a situation from that other person's perspective."³¹ Building upon this definition of empathy as a primarily emotional and creative process, I propose that the idea of emotional connection between speaker and audience is central to the language choices speakers make, and this connection underlies the concept of empathy in this analysis. Empathy is directly related to the perceived or potential emotional relationships between speakers and audience, and speakers may make use of linguistic tools to create and manage these emotional relationships. Empathy can also be accessed by appealing to audience solidarity, via tapping into a shared linguistic identity. As such, I have found in the data empathy as a speaker motivation is often expressed through use of colloquial language, in addition to other syntactic tools. The following studies identify various ways in

³¹ Douglas W. Hollan and Jason Throop, *The Anthropology of Empathy: Experiencing the Lives of Others in Pacific Societies*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2011, 2.

which speakers manipulate language to achieve empathetic affect with the audience.

The relationship of empathy and colloquial Arabic has been seldom directly addressed in Arabic sociolinguistics, although it has not gone entirely ignored. In his study on style variation in Nasser's speeches, Holes alludes to a connection between emotionality and ECA, stating that in the speeches "Fusha is used by Nasir to convey messages which are abstract, idealized, or metaphorical. At the interpersonal level, this ideational content is paralleled by an absence of personalization. The 'āmmiyya on the other hand is used to convey the concrete and the physical, and is strongly associated with the personalization of issues."³² Holes seems to imply that colloquial language can be manipulated to achieve this "personalization" of issues that may seem emotionally and spatially removed from the audience; it also seems that Nasir is able to place himself on an emotional plane with his audience.

The connection between emotionality and colloquial Arabic has also been alluded to in studies of Arabic literature: in a linguistic analysis of several modern Arabic novels Abboud-Haggar notes that writers may resort to "using dialect as a means of generating a profound empathy between the reader and the novel's characters," but does not elaborate on this assertion.³³

The allusions to emotional personalization of language demonstrate that there has been an awareness of this phenomenon in Arabic sociolinguistics but that it has not been well defined or extensively explored. However, my data indicate that empathy is a subtle but powerful force at work in language, particularly in the context of problematic subject matter. In this thesis, my analysis will explore empathy as a speaker motivation accomplished via manipulation of tools of empathetic deixis, passivization and other syntactical devices, within the broader context of colloquial language use. Ultimately, empathy as a motivation is deeply

³² Holes 1993, 33.

³³ Soha Abboud-Haggar, "Linguistic Varieties in Twenty First Century Arabic Novels: An Applied Study," in *Arabic and The Media: Linguistic Analyses and Applications*, ed. Reem Bassiouney, Leiden: Brill, 2010, 243.

connected to emotional validation of a speaker and their utterance. Subtle empathetic connection between speaker and audience may serve to mediate the disapprobation and doubt implicit in publicly discussing sexual harassment.

Though empathy as a linguistic phenomenon is largely understudied, it has garnered attention in the field of pragmatics and syntax in several languages. In an article on syntactical expression of empathy in English and Japanese, Kuno and Kaburaki define empathy as "the speaker's identification, with varying degrees (from 0 to 1), with a person who participates in the event that he describes."³⁴ Crucial to Kuno and Kaburaki's theory is what they call their Speech-Act Empathy Hierarchy: "It is not possible for the speaker to empathize more with someone else than with himself."³⁵ Kuno and Kaburaki show that English makes use of a number of syntactical tools that demonstrate an emotional subjectivity on the part of the speaker to the event and/or persons that he is describing. I argue that several of the syntactic devices that Kuno and Kaburaki draw from both English and Japanese can be extended to Arabic.

Kuno and Kaburaki refer to the use of reflexivization in English and Japanese as "an empathy-conditioned phenomenon"³⁶, explaining that the addition of reflexive pronoun or suffix /-self/ (himself, myself, itself, etc.) in both languages attracts empathy towards the referent away from other entities in the same clause. Arabic appears to function in the same way: in my data there are instances of the addition of /nafs-/ that indicate speaker's empathetic view towards the referent, whether it be an event or a person.

Kuno and Kaburaki also examine passivization in English as an empathy-attracting syntactic feature which indicates the speaker's identification with the subject of the passive verb. Kuno and Kaburaki demonstrate this by comparing the two sentences "John hit Mary" and "Mary was hit by John;" they state that the latter

³⁴ Susumo Kuno and Etsuko Kaburaki, "Empathy and Syntax," in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8, 4 (Fall, 1977): 627-672, 628.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 631.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 651.

sentence "is a statement in which the speaker describes the event under discussion by placing himself closer to Mary than to John."³⁷ This too can be applied to Arabic, in which the use of the ECA or MSA passive verb is used to shift empathy onto the subject. Passivization is a recurring phenomenon across the data, particularly in incidences of victim narrating specific incidences of sexual harassment.

In the field of Arabic syntax, a number of linguists including Brustad have pointed to the presence a syntactic feature called the ethical dative in Moroccan, Egyptian, Levantine and Kuwaiti dialects. Brustad describes the ethical dative as the extraneous use of /l(i)-/ in prepositional phrases, stating that the ethical dative "reflects the speaker's attempt to invoke the relevance of the statement by indicating a particular point of view and eliciting the speaker's empathy."³⁸ She gives the example of a speaker's inclusion of /lak/ (for you) while telling a story in which the interlocutor is not directly involved; Brustad contends that "by including the listener in his own action...the speaker invites the listener to share his point of view." Despite its widespread presence across the dialects, this feature is apparently absent from MSA.

The most significant tool for empathetic expression in sexual harassment discourse is the phenomenon of empathetic deixis, a kind of metaphorical use of deictic particles that demonstrate a speaker's attitude and perceived closeness to or distance from the person, place, thing or event referred to. The concept of empathetic deixis was first identified by John Lyons, who explored its implications in English, and has since been expanded by other linguists. Lyons uses the example of an English speaker designating a person, object or event as "this" or "that," and as a place or event in time as "here" or "there." Through the use of these deictics, speakers either intentionally or unintentionally reveal their subjective perception of tangible things such as persons or objects, or more abstract entities such as

³⁷ Ibid, 627.

³⁸ Kristen Brustad, *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic: A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti Dialects*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2000, 359.

relationships and temporality: "there is no doubt that the speaker's subjective involvement and his appeal to shared experience are relevant factors in the selection of those demonstratives...(which) indicate proximity."³⁹

In the context of sexual harassment discourse, I have identified a number of instances of empathetic deixis that express speakers' overt or underlying intent to regulate audience empathy. Corresponding to Lyon's "this" and "that" in English are the MSA deictics *hādhā/hādhīhī* and *dhālik/tilka* and the ECA *da/dī*. It is worth noting that ECA demonstratives *da/dī* do not explicitly differentiate between spatial proximity and distality: *da/dī* tend to function as both "this" and "that." Although data from Badawi and Hinds and Brustad both cite examples of the use of distal *dāk* in ECA, no incidents of these occurred in my data. As yet, very little research examining the existence or function of distal demonstratives in ECA has been conducted and therefore these deictics are not well understood. In the context of data, I have considered *da/dī* as a tool of empathetic deixis, but whether the speaker intends to express disconnection or closeness must be inferred from co-occurring cues which will be discussed individually in data analysis.

In my analysis, I have also extended Lyons' concept of empathetic deixis to speaker's choice of pronouns: a speaker can manipulate pronouns to attract empathy towards a pronoun's referent or shift it away. The use of pronouns "we" and "our" in discourse instead of "I" or "me" functions as an empathy-attracting device by implying addressee's/s' emotional or literal involvement in an experience, point of view, or physical and/or emotional state. Likewise, the use of the singular second person pronouns *inta/intī* and the plural second person */intū/* can serve both to attract the interlocutors' attention and to imply their involvement on some level. Using inclusive first and second person pronouns has been widely examined in sociolinguistics: in the previously mentioned Holes article, Holes notes Nasir's use of the dialectal first person plural */iḥnā/* in his political speeches to "personalize" the idea of Egyptian citizenship, as a sort of "inspirational appeal to the ideal of defiant

³⁹ John Lyons, *Semantics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 677.

nationhood."⁴⁰ Similarly, in an article analyzing the political speeches of Hassan Nasrallah, Dina Matar notes Nasrallah's recurring use of the pronoun /antum/ as an effective rhetorical device, stating "the inclusiveness and power of the plural pronoun 'you' functions to mobilize the intended audience as symbolic and real participants in the political process", contributing to his design to "construct or call up a collective identity, or imagined community."⁴¹ This idea of appealing to collective identities, whether existent or not, as a means of mediating audience emotional response is central to sexual harassment discourse, and "inclusive" pronouns as empathy attractors recur throughout data.

⁴⁰ Holes 1993, 26.

⁴¹ Doss, 151-3.

Chapter 3: Analysis of Sexual Harassment Discourse

3.1 Speakers in the Data

The data on which I base my analysis is taken entirely from spoken discussion programs or monologues of Egyptian speakers directly addressing the topic of sexual harassment. All examples, with the exception of Salma Amer's Youtube video, have been taken from discussion programs originally broadcast on satellite television throughout the Arab world, and subsequently posted for public viewing on the website Youtube by both the satellite channel and by independent users. All excerpts analyzed are taken from the following sources:

- An episode of "Al 'āshira masā'an" aired on Dream 2 channel and posted 23 October 2008, in which Mona El-Shazly interviews Noha Rushdie, as well as her attorney and her father. Rushdie describes the harassment incident and the subsequent legal actions she took.
- An episode of "Baladnā bil maṣrī" originally aired on OnTV and posted 23 November 2010 in which ECWR head Nihad Abu El-Qoumsan is interviewed regarding the "Safe Streets for All" anti-gender violence campaign, and discusses the causes behind the diffusion of sexual harassment in Egyptian society.
- An episode of "Nahārak sa'id" originally aired on Nile Television Network and posted 25 February 2011, in which hostess Aida Seoudy interviews Harassmap co-founder Engy Ghozlan and American University in Cairo professor Dr. Nagla Rizk about sexual harassment in post-Revolution Egypt.
- An episode of "Al 'āshira masā'an" posted 23 December 2010, in which Shazli interviews film director Mohamed Diab and actors Boshra, Nelly Karim and Maged El-Kedwany. Diab wrote and directed the film "678," a fictional drama about 4 Egyptian women from different social classes and how their respective lives are affected by sexual harassment. All guests discuss the

- making of the film as well as the underlying causes and possible solutions for sexual harassment. Karim and Boshra also describe incidences in which they were sexually harassed in the past.
- An episode of "Baladnā bil maṣrī" originally aired on OnTV satellite channel and posted 22 December 2010, in which Harassmap co-founders Engy Ghozlan and Sara Eldemerdash are interviewed. Ghozlan and Eldemerdash explain how Harassmap was founded and how it operates, and discuss the website's goals for the future.
 - An episode of "Iqrā' al-ḥāditha" originally aired on Ana TV channel posted 21 December 2009, in which psychiatrist Dr. Muḥammad Al-Mahdī is interviewed. He addresses the underlying impetus behind the purported rise in sexual harassment and sexual violence in Egypt and its larger repercussions. He also extensively discusses the definition of sexual harassment.
 - An episode of "Sabāḥ Dirīm" originally aired on the Dream satellite channel and posted 28 September 2010, in which psychiatrist Ahmad Abdallah and author Bisma Eloufy are interviewed. Abdallah proposes some reasons for the purported rise in sexual harassment in Egypt as well as the psychological repercussions. Eloufy speaks about her book "Kilāb ash-shawāri'" ("Street Dogs"), a collection of short stories about sexual harassment based on her interviews with female students.
 - An episode of the discussion program "'tisa'īn daqīqa" ("90 Minutes"), originally aired on the Mehwar network and posted on Youtube 9 October 2011. In this episode, the host interviews Noha Rushdie and student Mayy Aḥmed regarding their experiences with sexual harassment and subsequent efforts to press charges against their respective harassers. Feminist attorney Nagla Imam and Harassmap co-founder Engy Ghozlan are interviewed in the second half of the program regarding the reasons behind sexual harassment and the societal and political repercussions.

- A video-blog posted by student Salma Amer on her personal Youtube page 19 February, 2011 in which Amer describes an incident in which she was sexually harassed and appeals to other victims to speak up. Her Youtube page also contains an English version of her video.

Though both spoken and written sexual harassment discourse are impelled by the same speaker motivations, spoken discourse is inherently different from written discourse and is evaluated according to different standards.⁴³ Because all examples taken from the data (with the exception of Salma Amer's videoblog) are unscripted, the speech analyzed can be assumed to be spontaneous. The demands of spontaneous speech challenge the speaker's linguistic competence, as they must respond to the minute-by-minute demands of the discussion with the appropriate language style, all within the limitations of their linguistic background. To expect a high level of MSA in these settings, in contrast to written material, is unrealistic, both because the majority of Arabic speakers are unable to produce such a level spontaneously, and because such a high register level of MSA would not further their own linguistic motivations. In this type of discourse, most speakers manipulate the wide range of styles available to them to achieve their linguistic aim.

3.2: Ideational Content of Sexual Harassment Discourse

In order to analyze the contours of a speaker's language style and to identify the underlying motivations behind this variation, it proves helpful to examine the message content carried by their language. As Holes states, "one cannot track, still less make sense of, the moment-by-moment, unpredictable changes in language form unless one is also aware of co-occurrent changes in the ideational content of

⁴³ A written form of sexual harassment discourse exists in the form of blogs that openly address sexual harassment. Although these blogs exceed the scope of this paper, they constitute rich material for future research.

the discourse."⁴⁴ Thus the speaker's motivations are intrinsically entwined with the intended effect of the message; empathy and legitimacy may be partially inferred from the message form and the message content, and a speaker may manipulate different styles depending on the desired effect of their utterance. As such, legitimacy and empathy as speaker goals can be best understood within the context of the ideational content that the speaker is addressing.

I have identified four broad ideational categories that are most frequently addressed by speakers, and in which consistent patterns of legitimacy or empathy emerge. The first is the language employed when speakers seek to assign a definition to sexual harassment; in this category legitimacy is the primary motivation. The second is speakers' description of specific events in which they were harassed, which I term narration; this category is overwhelmingly motivated by empathy. The third is the examination of sexual harassment as a social phenomenon, and the effort to interpret or explain the underlying factors; this category is dominated by the motivation of legitimacy. The final category is speakers' effort to appeal to the audience in the interest of bringing about a desired change; here motivations of legitimacy and empathy are balanced.

3.3 Questions of Definition: Linguistically Conceptualizing Sexual Harassment

A common topic addressed by speakers across the spoken data is the somewhat problematic question of providing a definition of sexual harassment. Given the ambiguity surrounding sexual harassment both as the term "taḥarrush jinsī" and as a set of behaviors, finding a definition that stays within the confines of acceptability proves to be difficult. Many speakers strive to find a way to reconcile the "Western" concept with the psychosocial implications of sexual harassment that their (Egyptian) audience may be able to relate to. In almost all instances of definition in the data, speakers access legitimate language MSA tools to some extent in asserting their definition. Psychiatrist Muḥammad provides the following

⁴⁴ Holes 2004, 344.

definition:

احنا في السنوات الأخيرة حاولنا نحط تعريف على الأساس انه ممكن نستخدم هذا التعريف الإجرائي لو جه قانون عايزين يحط حاجة التعريف ده يضمه. قلنا مثلا ايه: التحرش هو أي قول أو فعل له دلالات جنسية موجّهة نحو شخص لا يرغب فيه. حاولنا نشوف معاني في الكلمة ودلالاتها ولقينا ان ممكن التحرش يبقى قول أو فعل.
iḥnā fi-ssanawāt il-akhīra ḥāwilnā nuḥuṭ ta'rīf 'ala l'asās innu mumkin nistakhdim hāzā at-ta'rīf il-igrā'ī law gih qānūn 'ayzīn yuḥuṭ at-ta'rīf da yaḍummu. 'ulnā masalan ē : at-taḥarrush huwwa ayya qawl aw fi'l luh dalālāt ginsīyya muwaggaha naḥwa shakhṣ lā yarghab fih. ḥāwilnā nishūf ma'ānī fil kilma wa dalālāthā wa la'ē'nā inn at-taḥarrush yib'ā qawl aw f'il.
In the last few years we've tried to come up with a definition on the basis that we could use this procedural definition if there ever were a law (against harassment), we would want it to include this definition. For example, we said: Sexual harassment is any utterance or action with sexual connotations, directed towards someone who does not want it. We've tried to consider all the meanings of the word and its connotations and we've found that harassment is either verbal or physical.

Here the definition stands out in MSA, with characteristic MSA negation particle /lā/ and the formally marked verb /yarghab fihi/, but occurs within the context of an unspecified /iḥnā/ 'we', who determined this definition. There is a similar example of this ambiguous /iḥnā/ in Engy Ghozlan's definition on "Baladnā bil maṣrī":

احنا، يعني، على مدار السنين اللي فاتت من أول ما بدأ الكلام على موضوع التحرش الجنسي بدأنا ان احنا المجتمع المدني وبصورة، بالذات بتركز في الإعلام على الان نوضح التحرش الجنسي زي ما بنقول من أول النظرة لحد الخطفة أو الملاحقة...بحاول ان احنا نوضح ده على الخريطة تلاقي كل الأجزاء ماذا نعني بالتحرش الجنسي من أول النظرة لحد الملاحقة واللمس والحاجات التي فيها نسبة عنف شوية.

iḥnā, ya'nī 'ala madār is-sinīn illī fātīt min awwil mā bad'it il-kalām 'ala mawḍū' at-taḥarrush il-ginsī bada'nā inn iḥnā l-muḡtama' il-madanī wa biṣ-ṣura biz-zāt binrakkiz fil-i'lām 'ala an niwadḍaḥ at-taḥarrush il-ginsī zayy mā bin'ūl min awwil in-naḡra liḥad il-khaṭfa aw il-mulāḥqa. binḥāwil inn iḥnā niwadḍaḥ da 'ala l-kharīṭa tilā'ī kul il-aḡzā' māzā n'anī bit-taḥarrush il-ginsī min awwil in-naḡra liḥad l-mulāḥqa wal-lams wal-ḥāḡāt allatī fihā nisbit 'unfshwēya.

We've, you know, over the last few years since we started hearing about sexual harassment we've begun, we in civil society, in a way, especially in the the media to clarify that sexual harassment as we say is everything from a glance to grabbing to stalking. We try to make that really clear on the map, you'll find in all the parts what we mean by sexual harassment, from staring to following to touching and things that are a little more violent.

Though her style is not as formally marked as Muḥammad's, MSA elements (which are largely absent from her speech throughout the rest of the program) are visible: the MSA pronoun /allatī/, the use of /mādhā/ and the formally marked

verbal noun /mulāḥaqa/ in place of the more common /mutāba'a/. Like the above, there is the allusion to the 'we' who created this definition, though the reference to 'civil society' is slightly more specific than Muḥammad's unspecified 'we.' It is widely acknowledged sociolinguistics that the act of giving a name to a concept in itself implies that the speaker is placing him/herself in a position of power. The act of naming is also the act of bestowing an identity on or declaring the essential nature of the entity being named. In this context, speakers may grant themselves this ability through use of legitimate language MSA, as seen in both examples. However in the case of both speakers, there is a simultaneous desire to establish their power by giving a name to sexual harassment, along with an attempt to make this definition non-threatening, in order to mitigate audience anxiety/potential resistance associated with external impositions or displays of power. The use of the MSA elements legitimizes the definition and the speakers' right to declare it; the use of ECA along with the somewhat vague /iḥnā/ brings a sense of inclusiveness to the audience: this definition is legitimate and true, but it originates from within society, not from the outside. Muḥammad continues with this, even acknowledging the potentially threatening 'Western' influence, but mitigating the effect through the empathy-attracting /iḥnā/:

ده مهم لأن القانون مكانش فيه تعريف خاص بالتحرش أصل كلمة التحرش كلمة جديدة على الثقافة العربية يعني كان فيه عندنا الغزل فيه عندنا المعاكسة فيه عندنا المراودة فيه عندنا هنك العرض فيه عندنا زنا فيه اغتصاب كل دي أسماء معتادة وهي مسلطة في القانون المصري والقوانين بتاعة الدول العربية لكن كلمة التحرش ترجمة عن السكسوال أسولت أو السكسوال هراسمنت فهي كلمة جديدة وتعريفها غامض شوية... كلمة التحرش تحوي حاجات من المراودة وهنك العرض

da muhimm li'ann il-qānūn makānsh fīh ta'rīf khāṣṣ bit-taḥarrush aṣl kilmit at-taḥarrush kilma gidīda 'ala a-saqāfa l-'arabīyya ya'nī kān fīh 'andinā l-ghazal fīh 'andinā l-mu'ākṣa fīh 'andinā l-murawda fīh 'andinā hatk l-'irḍ fīh 'andinā zinā fīh ighṭiṣāb kull dī asmā' mu'tāda wa hiyya musallaḥa fil qānūn il-maṣrī wal-qawānīn bitā'it id-duwwal il-'arabīyya lākin kilmit taḥarrush kilma targama 'an al /sexual harassment/ aw al /sexual assault/ fa-hiyya kilma gidīda wa ta'rīfhā ya'nī ghāmiḍ shwayya...kilmit at-taḥarrush taḥwī ḥāgāt min l-murawda wa hatk l-'irḍ.

This is important because the law didn't have a special definition for the word "taḥarrush" since the word "taḥarrush" is a new word in Arabic culture. We've had the word "flirtation" we've had 'teasing' we have 'wooing,' we've got 'violation' and 'adultery' and 'rape,' all of these are common names and they're recognized in Egyptian law and laws in other Arab

nations. But the word "taḥarrush" is a translation of the English terms "sexual assault" or "sexual harassment," so it's a new word and it has a somewhat ambiguous definition...the word "harassment" encompasses things from "wooing" to "sexual assault."

This can also be seen in Imam's definition:

احنا بنعّرف التحرّش الجنسي في المركز على انه بيبدأ من القول، بيبدأ من الفيربل من اللفظ، خدش الحياء بيبدأ من اللفظ...تصرّف غير مرغوب فيه

iḥnā bin'arraf at-taḥarrush il-ginsī fil markaz innu biyibda' min il-qawl al-verbil ya'nī min al-lafz khadash l-ḥayā' biyibda min al-lafz...taṣarruf ghēr marghūb fih.

We define sexual harassment in the Center as beginning from speaking, beginning from the verbal, that is from an utterance, the violation begins from an utterance...it is an unwanted behavior.

In the context of this ideational content, there is a balancing act between the power relationship implicit in giving a name to the concept, and the attempt to mitigate the anxiety implicit in this concept. The act of definition is an excellent example of the polarizing forces of a speaker's desire to establish legitimacy and evoke empathy from their audience, and the use of linguistic tools to do so.

3.4 Narration: Personalizing Sexual Harassment

Speakers' narration of events in which they were exposed to sexual harassment is unique from other categories for two important reasons: firstly, in the data only female speakers participate in narration, while all other categories are addressed by both male and female speakers. Secondly, because these speakers are portraying themselves as the victims in an experience, narration is perhaps the most inherently subjective category of sexual harassment discourse. Speakers are conceptualizing themselves in front of their audience as the victims of an unquestionably transgressive act; they want to emphasize this victimhood without crossing over into hysteria and thereby undermining their legitimacy. Thus the issue of "emotional discourse" and its traditional associations with the female must be addressed in this context. As Lutz notes, emotional discourse and gender conflict are inseparable as traditionally "a network of associations sets emotion in

disadvantaged contrast to more valued personal processes, particularly to cognition or rational thought, and the female in deficient relation to her male other." When placed in this male versus female binary, feminine discourse is dismissed as motivated by and expressive of emotions and thus inherently inferior and less credible.

Lutz also points out that the traditional conceptualization of emotion is contradictory: "on the one hand, emotion weakens the person who experiences it...on the other hand, emotions are literally physical forces that push us into vigorous action."⁴⁵ This paradoxical and ambivalent attitude towards expression of emotion can be observed in sexual harassment discourse. In a sense, emotionality and personalization may be an advantage to speakers in narrative contexts in that it may intensify the emotional effect among the listeners. Thus in speakers' narration of their experiences with sexual harassment, the desire for an empathetic connection with interlocutors is the dominant motivation in determining language style. In order to achieve this connection, speakers predominantly make use of empathy-attracting linguistic tools to regulate interlocutor's evaluation of the speaker, the harasser and the situation. However, speakers may also make use of tools to establish legitimacy in order to lend credibility to their account of the incident. Because speakers may understand that they are up against stereotypes about female hysteria and emotionality, their use of legitimate language elements in this setting may be an effort to prove that they are not ruled by their emotions, to indicate their "control," or in other words their sense of power overall as an individual.

Four different speakers across the data describe instances in which they were harassed: Noha Rushdie, Boshra, Neely Karim, Salma Amer and Mayy Ahmad. Though Rushdie, Boshra and Karim all make use of mixed language levels

⁴⁵ Catherine A. Lutz, "Engendered Emotion: Gender, Power and the Rhetoric of Emotional Control in American Discourse," in *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod and Catherine A. Lutz, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 69-70.

throughout the programs, all four speakers' narratives- the description of the unfolding of the actual events- are performed in ECA. In this context, ECA often facilitates emotional affect, and it can also have an anchoring effect: ideally language lends an almost physical realism to the events, concretizing them. Brustad notes this effect across dialects, stating "while ostensibly about another time and place, narratives are often present in a way that emphasizes the relevance to the moment of speaking: to be as close as possible to the audience, the narrative concept is brought into the here and now."⁴⁶ The excerpts below both start with the ECA /illī ḥaṣal/, "what happened was," followed by past tense verbs. Rushdie narrates:

فاللي حصل ان هو طلع يعني بعربية شاحنة اللي جه في وشي ومدّ ايده تحرّش بيا جامد وجر جرنني كده شوية وبعدين
بصّ لي وضحك

fa-llī ḥaṣal inna huwwa ṭil' ya'nī bi-'arabīyya shaḥna illī gah fī-wishshī wa madd īdu taḥarrash biyyā gāmid gargarnī kida shwēya wa ba'dēn baṣṣi lī wi diḥik.

So what happened was that he came up, you know, in a pick-up that came right at me and stuck his hand out and harassed me really roughly, and he dragged me along (with the car) for a while and then he looked right at me and laughed.

Aḥmad begins her narration in a similar way:

فاللي حصل انني كنت جنب الشقة بالليل كانت على الساعة تسعة فطبعا الولد ده مسكني من دراعي
fa-llī ḥaṣal innanī kunt gamb ish-sha''a bil-layl kānit 'ala s-sā'a tis'a fa ṭab'an l-walad da misiknī min drā'ī.

So what happened was I was next to the building at night, it was nine o'clock, so of course that boy grabbed me by my arm.

In both excerpts speakers use /illī ḥaṣal/ to signal the start of narration and follow with past tense verbs with the direct object /-nī/ "me" and mention of body parts physicalizes the harassment.

In Karim's narration she makes use of the present tense verb to narrate an event that occurred in the past. Brustad shows that this is a common device in colloquial narration of past events of any kind and cites that the time reference serves a distinct purpose: "the choice between (the perfective and imperfective

⁴⁶ Brustad, 186.

forms) is motivated by status of the events themselves within the narrative: the former represent actions that move the plot forward, the latter descriptive or scene-setting material."⁴⁷ This is evident in the excerpt below, in which Karim creates a sense of temporal immediacy, as if the event were occurring at the moment that the audience is hearing it:

عاملين يفتحوا العربية واحد من الناحية دي وواحد من الناحية دي وأنا مش ملاقة يعني ماكنتش قافلة في اللوك
وعندي شنطتي هنا تمام فالمهم مش عارفة أيه اللي حصل زقبت واحد قفتلت العربية طلعتوني فوق العربية وقعدوا
يرقصوا يخبطوا وحواليا ناس كثير جدا وأنا مش عارفة أعمل أيه أبصّ في شمالي الناس شايفيني بس محدش طلع
*'āmlīn yiftahū l- l-'arabīyya wāḥid min in-nāḥya dī wa wāḥid min in-nāḥya dī w-ana mish
mila'a ya'nī makuntish aflā fil-lūk wa 'andī shanṭitī hinā tamām fal muhimm mish 'ārfa ē illī
ḥaṣl za'ēt wāḥid afalt l-'arabīya ṭil'ūnī fu' l-'arabīyya wa 'adū yir'uṣū yikhabbatū wa
ḥawwilayya nās kitīr giddin wa ana mish 'ārfa 'amil ay 'amil abuṣṣ fi shimālī in-nās shayyifīnī
bas maḥaddash ṭil'.*

They were opening the car doors, the two of them, one from this side and one from this side, and I'm standing there, I can't find the lock, and I've got my purse here, okay, so I don't know what had happened, I pushed one of them and closed the car door, and they pushed me up on top of the car, and were dancing around beating it, and there were a ton of people around and I didn't know what to do, I'm looking to my right and people see me but no one did anything.

In narration, the choice of colloquial often lends a kind of emotional authenticity to the story, serving to personalize the experience. The idea of personalization is significant: in all incidences of narration, there is an effort to depersonalize the harasser, shifting empathy away from him towards the speaker or towards the incident itself. In Rushdie's discourse, there is an attempt to linguistically regulate the audience's evaluation of her harasser and of her reactions. She achieves this in part through her use of ECA deictics /da/ and /dī/:

وأنا في الحاتة دي نفسها لما حصل ده محدش للأسف وقف معايا إلا صاحبتني هند كانت معايا احنا الوحيديين
*w-ana fil-ḥadsa dī nafsahā lammā ḥaṣal da maḥaddish lil'asaf wa'if ma'āya illa ṣaḥbitī hind
kānit ma'āya iḥnā l-waḥidīn.*

When I was in the midst of this incident itself, when this happened, unfortunately nobody stood up for me except for my friend Hind, she was with me, we were alone.

Here the use of demonstratives can be considered a kind of empathetic

⁴⁷ Ibid, 188.

deixis: the /dī/ shifts empathy onto /al hadsa/, and this is reinforced by the /da/ in / lammā ḥaṣal da/; thus there are two pronouns supporting the same referent.

Furthermore, the addition of /nafsahā/ modifying /al hadsa/ lends more emotional weight onto the impact of the incident. According to Kuno and Kaburaki, the addition of -self (as in itself, myself etc.) always attracts empathy towards the referent. I argue that this can be extended to Arabic: empathy is placed upon the 'incident' of which she is the victim, thus transferring empathy onto Rushdie. Conversely, she shifts empathy away from the harasser using the same method:

أول ما لقيت عربية بتقفل عليه اللحظة اللي قففت عليه العربية وحسيت اننا ممكن ألحقه بجدّ ماشفتش حاجة قدامي
تاني اللي هو بقيت مصرّة اننا لازم، لازم أخذ حقي من الراجل ده مش هاسيبه مش هينفع أسيبه وهو يعمل فيّا كده
*awwil mā li'ē't 'arabīyya bitī'fil 'alēya al-laḥza illī afalt 'alēh l-'arabīyya wa ḥassayt innanā
mumkin alḥa'u bigadd mashuftish ḥāga uddāmī tānī illī huwwa ba'ēt muṣirra innanā lāzim
lāzim ākhud ḥa'ī min ar-rāgil da mish hasību mish hayinfa' asību wa huwwa ya'mil fiyya kida.*
As soon as I found that the car was blocked, the moment that it was stopped, I felt that I could get him. Seriously, I didn't see anything else in front of me. I was determined that I must, must exercise my right by that man. I won't leave him; no way will I leave him after he did that to me.

The use of deictics here can be opaque; Lyons posits that either the proximal 'this' or distal 'that' can be used to indicate speaker attitude towards referent. Therefore it is significant that ECA demonstratives generally do not differentiate between spatial proximity and distality: /da/ and /dī/ function for 'this' and 'that.' The psychological relationship the speaker is expressing could indicate empathy or emotional disconnection, and must be interpreted with the consideration of other syntactic and contextual tools. In the excerpt below, the use of /da/ attracts the empathy towards the incident, indicating proximity and a sense of urgency:

ضحكته كانت مؤكّدة ان هو بيعني وبيقصد الفعل اللي عمله ده. يعني متعمّد. متعمّد انه يعمله
*ḍiḥkitu kānit mu'akkida inna huwwa biya'nī wi biyu'sud l-fi'l illī 'amilu da. ya'nī muta'ammid.
muta'ammid innu ya'milu.*
His laughter confirms that that he meant and intended to that act that he did. It was deliberate. He meant to do it.

In Rushdie's narrative, it is also significant that she never calls the harasser by name (though it is mentioned in the introductory report at the beginning of the

program), but only refers to him in the third person pronoun /huwwa/ (which emphasizes his physical absence from the speech act) or as /ar-rāgil da/ "that man." In doing so, she depersonalizes the harasser, causing him to be absent from the audience's emotional field. This depersonalization is also seen in other narrations: the harasser is often referred to as 'him' or "that man;" he is seldom even referred to as a /mutaḥarrash/ "harasser" in these contexts. This is visible in actress Boshra's narration of an incident on a microbus that happened to her as a child:

كل اللي أنا فاهماه ان هو يطبب عليا... راجل كبير يطبب على طفلة صغيرة. فجأة لقيت الموضوع مش فاهمة أيه اللي بيحصل بس كل انا فاهماه انني متضايقه باللي بيحصل أنا مش عاجبني اللي بيحصل ده خالص. وعند لحظة معينة انفجرت في العياط والسواق وقف الراجل سواق الميكروبوس وكان فيه ست كبيرة في السن وراجل تاني راكب معنا وواحد جنب السواق نزلوا ضربوا في الراجل ده

kull illī ana fahmā inna huwwa yītabṭab 'alayyā...rāgil kibīr yītabṭab 'ala ṭifla ṣuḡhayyara. faḡ'a laē't l-mawḏū' ana mish fahma ē illī biyihṣal bass kull ana fahmā innī mitḏay'a billī biyihṣal ana mish 'āgibnī illī biyihṣal da khālīṣ. w-'and laḡza mu'ayyana infigart fil 'ayāṭ was-suwwā' wi'if ar-rāgil suwwā' l-mīkrubūṣ wi kān fīh sitt kibīra fīs-sinn wa rāgil tānī rākib ma'ānā wi wāḡid gamb as-suwwā' nīzlū ḏarabū fir-rāgil da.

All that I understood was that he was feeling me up...a grown man feeling up a little girl. Suddenly, I found that I didn't understand what was going on, all I know is that I'm feeling upset by what's going on, I didn't like what's going on here at all. And at some point I burst into tears and the driver, the guy driving the microbus, and there was an older woman and another guy riding with us, and a guy next to then driver, they got up and beat that man.

Here the harasser is at first only an indefinite /rāgil/, grammatically the least individualized and therefore least human agent possible; she refers to him as /ar-rāgil da/ "that man" only once. Conversely, the addition of /da/ in /illī biyihṣal da/ places extra weight on the incident, and her repetition of pronoun /anā/ attracts empathy in towards her as the victim. It is worth noting that throughout her discourse, Boshra is the speaker who most often strives to a higher register level of hybridization, yet throughout her narration she maintains a fully colloquial register. Her break from more formal registers may be seen in part as a result of her heightened emotion during narration of this event, but also an effort to invoke a sense of the physical realness and immediacy of the event she is describing.

Like Boshra and Rushdie, Mayy Aḡmad never refers to her harasser by name

but only as /il walad da/:

فطبعاً الولد ده ضايقتني ومسك إيديا...ساعتها اتصلت بممتي كان ما بين البيت خطوة بسيطة كده اتصلت بماما قلت لها
ممتي تعالي خديني حصل من الولد ده كده فماما راحت أهله تقول لهم يعني الولد ده حصل منه كده كده قالت لها
راحت والدته الجار أولى يعني الجار أولى ان هو يضايقتني يعاكسني في الشارع فطبعة عملناه محضر

*fa ṭab'an l-walad da ḍayi'nī wi misik īdeyyā sā'ithā ittaṣalt bimamtī kān mā bēn il-bēt khaṭwa
basīṭa kida itaṭsalt bimāmā 'ult li-mamtī fi'lan khudīnī ḥaṣal min al-walad da kida famāmā
rāḥit ahlu ti'ūl luhum ya'nī l-walad da ḥaṣal minnu kida kida 'ālit lahā rāḥit waldilthu bit'ūl
limāmā algār awlā awlā inn huwwa yiḍayi'nī yi'ākisnī fish-shāri' fa ṭaba'n 'amalnā maḥḍar.*

So of course that boy harassed me and grabbed my hands...at the time I called my mom, I was only a few steps away from the house, I called my mom and said come down and get me, something bad has happened with that boy so my mom went to his parents to tell him, you know, what that boy did and stuff and his mom up and said to my mom 'the boy is justified' you know, the boy is justified in harassing me and bothering me in the street so of course we filed an official complaint about him.

Unlike Boshra and Rushdie, Aḥmad incorporates no MSA elements throughout her discourse, and therefore her choice to narrate the experience in ECA is less marked. Yet her adherence to /il walad da/ (despite the fact that she mentions that he is her neighbor and therefore his identity is known to her) like Boshra and Rushdie indicates an effort to depersonalize him, a refusal to acknowledge his individuality/personhood. Ironically, while the act of naming itself demonstrates an assuming of power or authority, the refusal to name, to acknowledge personhood or individual identity, is in itself an assertion of power. In this context the refusal to name the harasser is an act of naming itself, or labeling: it asserts that the harasser is the nameless "other" who does not belong.

In contrast to the other speakers who describe incidents of harassment, Rushdie makes use of legitimate language in her narration more often than other speakers, such as in the following statement, which is her first on this appearance:

بصّي أنا حاسّة اني سعيدة جدّا وحاسّة ان ثقّتي رجعت تاني ثقّتي رجعت من الناحية ان لما الواحد يحاول يدور على
حقّه هيلاقى اللي هيقف معاه

*buṣṣī ana ḥāssa innī sa'īda gidḍin wi ḥāssa 'inn thiḡatī rig'it tānī thiḡatī rig'it min in-nāḥya in
lammā /at least/ il-wāḥid yiḥāwil yidawwar 'alā ḥa'u ḥaylā'ī illī ḥayūa'f ma'āh.*

You know, I feel really happy and I feel that my confidence has returned. My confidence has come back in the sense that /at least/ when one tries to stand up for one's rights, they'll find someone to stand up for them.

It is of note that she embellishes this statement with characteristically formal elements and inserts the English phrase. The fact that she realizes the formally prescribed pronunciation of not only /q/ but also /th/ indicates that she is making an effort to produce a higher language level in order to legitimize her statement. Her repetition of the word with the same prescribed pronunciation points to the self-conscious deliberateness of her choice. Importantly, she opts for the English phrase “at least”, and in doing so accesses two different kinds of prestige: the archaic and institutional prestige of MSA and that of English, which is associated with futurity and sophistication. She also makes use of the formally marked MSA passive:

يعني مش حاجة تفسّر على قدّ كان احساس فطري يعني كان احساس فعلا فطري وتلقائي
ya'nī mish ḥāga tufassar 'alā add kān iḥsās fiṭrī ya'nī kān iḥsās fi'an fiṭrī wa tilqā'ī.
 Well it's not something that can be explained, as much as it was an instinctive feeling, you know, it was a truly instinctive and spontaneous feeling.

In the next excerpt she makes use of the MSA passive in a uniquely different form:

أكثر حاجة حسيت بيها في اللحظة دي حسيت اني بقهر يعني حسيت اني بيضغط عليا وماحسيتش بالانكسار
aktar ḥāga ḥassēt bihā fil-laḥẓa dī ḥassēt innī boqhar ya'nī ḥassēt innī byuḍghaṭ 'aleyā wa maḥssētish bil-inkisār.
 The main thing I felt in that moment, I felt that I was being oppressed, you know, I felt that I was being pushed down, I didn't feel that I'd been defeated.

Here the MSA passive /qahar/ is used with the ECA suffix /bi/, a phenomenon termed by Holes word-level hybridization involving the melding of "features drawn from competing linguistic variants to form a new variant."⁴⁸ Hybridization is a rule-governed process and represents a reconciliation between MSA and colloquial.⁴⁹ I contend that in this context Rushdie's choice of the hybridized verb is an effort to mediate the contradictory goals of empathetic connection with the audience and the assertion of legitimacy over them. Lutz's concept of “emotional discourse” and its implications for the irrational feminine

⁴⁸ Holes 2004, 365.

⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion of the rules governing hybridization see Holes 2004 and Bassiouney 2006.

suggest that the use of MSA may constitute an effort to balance the emotionality to avoid the label of hysteria or incredibility. The audience responds to the authority inherent in the MSA passive and to the personalizing aspect the ECA element adds.

3.5 Assertions and Interpretations: The Language of Explanation

Across the data, speakers attempt to make sense of sexual harassment as a behavior and a social phenomenon, and the language they employ to do so demonstrates the interplay of the motivations of empathy and legitimacy. As they do in incidences of defining sexual harassment, speakers often employ tools of Bourdieu's legitimate language when discussing the underlying factors. As previously mentioned, the use of MSA in the context of intellectual or scientific issues is well documented; MSA is strongly linked with the indexicality of science and institutionalized learning/education. The psychiatrist Abdallah shows this in his explanation of underlying psychological causes behind sexual harassment:

نفس الخواء بأشكال مختلفة وإذا كان عند الشباب اللي ماربطتش اللي مش متجوز عنده مشكلة عدم الإشباع فموجود عند الكبار بأشكال تانية برغم ان هممة مرتبطين أو هممة متجوزين. إما بسبب ان هممة مش عارفين الإشباع ده بيكون ازاي أو العلاقة بينهم وبين الشريك الزوج أو الزوجة مش مش مشبعة هممة بالرغم من هممة المفروض خرجوا من مشكلة الخواء النفسي والذئني والعاطفي وعدم وجود اهتمامات أو لا هممة بيعيشوا نفس الحكاية... هو انسان خاوي وبالتالي هذا الانسان الخاوي بيدور على حدث بيدور على شيء يعمله ومع أسباب الغضب والعدوان اللي موجود عنده بيبقى هذا السلوك اللي بيعمل به الموضوع ده هو سلوك الأزدراء تجاه فئة يعتقد انها فئة ضعيفة

nafs il-khawā' bi'ashkāl mukhtalifa wa izā kān 'and ash-shabāb illī marabaṭsh illī mish mitgawwiz 'andu mushkilit 'adam l-'ishbā' famawgūd 'and l-kibār bi'ashkāl tānya birragham inn humma mitgawwizīn immā bisabab inna humma mish 'arfīn il-'ishbā' da bikūn izzēy aw il-'alāqa bēnhum wa bayn ish-shirīk iz-zūg aw iz-zūga mish mish mushbi'a fa-humma birragham inn humma l-mafrūḍ kharagū min mushkilit l-khawā' an-nafsī wa-zzihnī wal-'āṭifī wi-'adam wugūd ihtimāmāt aw la' humma biy'ishū nafs il-ḥikāya..huwwa insān khāwī wa bit-tālī hāzā l-insān bidawwar 'ala ḥadas bidawwar 'ala isāra bidawwar 'ala shē' ya'milu wa ma' asbāb il-ghaḍab wal-'udwān illī mawgūd 'andu biyib'ā hāzā is-sulūk illī biya'mil bīh l-mawḍū' da.

It's the same void, but in different forms; if it is present in an unattached youth, for a youth who isn't married, who has the problem of being sexually unsatisfied. It is also found among adults in other forms, even if they're married. The reason is either that they don't know how to obtain sexual satisfaction, or that the relationship between them, between the partner or the husband and the wife, isn't sexually satisfying so they, in spite of the fact that they're supposed to have gotten over the problem of psychological, mental, and emotional

emptiness, and the absence of other interests or not, they're living the same story...(the harasser) he's a vacant person and subsequently this vacant person goes looking for an event, or some kind of stimulation, he goes looking for something to do, and with these reasons of anger and aggression present in him he turns to this kind of behavior, towards a group that he considers weak.

Abdallah realizes the formally marked negation particle /'adam/, pronounces the MSA deictic /hāzā/, and opts for the MSA /shay'/ and /ḥadas/ over their ECA counterparts. Holes postulates that a lexical shift from colloquial to MSA is more significant and represents a more conspicuous effort to use MSA than just a phonological shift. We see a similar phenomenon in Muhammed's explanation:

المتحرّش ينظر الى المرأة على أنّها جسد وليست كائن انساني كامل. لو كائن انساني كامل كان يتودد اليها بالغزل أو حتىّ بالمعاكسة لكن هو كده ينظر اليها كأنها جسد يأخذ منه ما يريد يفترس هذا الجسد ينتهك هذا الجسد يقتحم هذا الجسد وبشكل عدواني لا يعطي أيّ أهمية لكيونتها أو لانسانيتها أو أيّ حاجة منها فكلمة حيوانية هي كلمة دقيقة جدا وهي يعني في التحرّش هو في نوع من فصل الحبّ عن الجنس. والجنس هنا يفصل عن الحب الانسان يتحوّل الى سلوك حيوان

il-mutaḥarrash yanẓur ilā l-mar'a 'alā annahā gasad wa lēsāt kā'in insānī kāmīl. law kā'in insānī kāmīl kān yitwaddud ilayhā bil-ghazal aw ḥattā bil-mu'ākṣa lākin huwwa kida yanẓur ilēyhā ka'annahā gasad yā'khuz minnu mā yurīd yaftaris hāzā l-gasad yantahik hāzā l-gasad yaqtaḥim hāzā l-gasad wa bishakl 'udwānī lā yu'fī ayya ahammīya li-insānīyithā aw kaynūnithā aw ayya ḥāga minhā fa-kilmit ḥaywānīyya hiyya kilma diqīqa giddin w-hiyya ya'nī fi at-taḥarrush huwwa fī naw' min faṣl l-ḥubb 'an il-gins. wil-gins hinā yinfaṣal 'an il-ḥubb il-insān yataḥawwal ilā sulūk ḥayawān.

The harasser views the woman as no more than body, and not a complete human being. If he were to view her as an actual human being, he would gain her favor by courting her or even flirting with her. But as it is, he views her as a body from which he takes whatever he wants, and he preys on this body, violates this body, and invades this body. He aggressively gives no importance to her humanity or her existence or any of those things. So "animal-like" is a very accurate word as it means that harassment is in a sense a disconnect between love and sex, and when this happens a human being devolves into animal behavior.

Here the MSA elements are even more prevalent than in the previous example: the formal negating particle /laysat/, the absence of verbal prefix /bi/, and MSA deictic /hāzā/ (with ECA realization of interdental /dh/). However, in the content of sexual harassment discourse, the inclusion of MSA does more than imply scientific credibility of the statement, although this does play a role. In this context, in which the audience's disapprobation or doubt in the controversial subject matter

is often assumed, the legitimate language serves to mitigate this disapprobation: it suggests that the topic is serious and links it to the idea of psychological illness.

We also see examples of hybridization as in below:

وبالتالي هنا عندي الكبت السياسي والاجتماعي انه طول الوقت بيقهر في المدرسة أو في البيت وما عندهوش متنفس انه يقدر يعبر عن نفسه أو يعامل باحترام. فيصّب غضبه على الطرف الأضعف الحالة الأضعف. هو لو بيعامل في البيت وفي المدرسة أو في الجامعة وفي الشارع وفي شغله بالنسبة للكبار المتزوجين على انه بني آدم له رأي محترم... حالة الاحباط دي مش هتقبى موجودة

wa bit-tālī 'andī l-kabt is-siyāsī wal-igtimā'ī innu ṭūl il-wa't biyuqhar fil-madrasa aw fil-bēt wi ma'andūsh mutanaffas innu yi'dar yi'abbir 'an nafsu aw yu'āmal b-iḥtirām . fayaṣub ghaḍabu 'ala aṭ-ṭaraf il-'aḍ'af 'ala l-ḥāla l-'aḍ'af. huwwa law biyu'āmal fil bēt wa fil-madrasa aw fig-gāma' wa fish-shāri' wa fish-shuglu binnisba lil kubār il-mutazawwīgīn 'ala innu banī ādam luh ra'ī muḥtaram....ḥālit l-iḥbāṭ dī mish hatib'ā mawgūda.

And then I have social and political suppression, that he (the harasser) is constantly being oppressed, in school or at home, and he has no outlet in which he can express himself or anyplace where he is treated with respect. So he takes out his anger on someone weaker, someone lowlier. If, at home and in school or university or in the streets or in his place of work, in the case of married men, were he to be treated like a human being who has a point of view, then this state of frustration wouldn't exist.

Elements of legitimate language are repeatedly accessed in refutations to commonly held notions about sexual harassment. In assertions about sexual harassment and re-interpretations the use of MSA negation is a recurring feature, such as in Imam's statement below:

أنا ستّ بتاعة القانون أعرف ان فيه حاجة اسمة الاتفاق الجنائي؛ لا يمكن هذا العدد وهذه الكتلة الشريرة تتحرك بعد شهر رمضان المقدّس بكل ما يفردّه من مناطق ومن مساجد وميكروفونات وطقوس حيّة وسط الناس يروح مباشرة وكأنهم كانوا محبوسين هذا التحرش الجنسي

ana sitt bitāit il-qānūn a'raf inn fīh ḥāga ismahā l-ittifāq il-ginā'ī lā yumkin hāzā l-'adad wi hāziḥī l-kutla ash-sharīra tataḥarrak ba'd shahr ramaḍān l-muqaddas bikull mā yufrudhum min mināṭiq wa masāgid wa mīkrubaṣāt wa ṭuqūs ḥayya wiṣṭ in-nās yirūḥ mubāshara wi ka'ann kānu maḥbūsīn hāzā at-taḥarrush il-ginā'ī.

I'm a woman of the law, and I know that there is something called criminal intent: there is no way that this number, and this depraved crowd of people who, after the holy month of Ramadan move among the crowds in various neighborhoods and mosques and microphones and with all these rituals going on, go out directly to engage in this sexual harassment as if they had been locked up.

Imam's use of MSA negation brings emphasis to her assertion of knowledge, as does her use of /hāzā/ and adherence to MSA pronunciation of /qāf/. The use of

formal negation in contexts of hybridization is observed by Holes who concludes that "by selecting (a) saliently MSA negative, and thereby implicitly appealing to the connotations of 'authoritativeness' and 'formality' that MSA carried for any educated Arab listener, the speaker states more categorically than he would if he used the equivalent dialectal expression."⁵⁰ In the speech of those who maintain a level of hybridization that is close to MSA throughout their discourse, high-register negation is less marked, and serves to continue the ambience of authority they maintain throughout their discourse. More interesting are occurrences of MSA negation in speakers who tend to maintain less formal register of hybridization throughout their discourse, as can be observed in Abu El-Qoumsan's statement:

شوفي فيه شوارع كاملة في مصر مافيهاش غير بتوع المرور وان وجدوا يعني مهتمين بالرخصة والحزام والموبايل والحاجات دي. انما الأمن المهمة بالناس في الشارع ماهواش موجود. ده جزء من الموضوع احنا زي ما قلت لك احنا واخدين المفهوم التتموي لمفهوم الأمن ولكن ده لا يلغي الأمن نفسه

shūfī fī shawāri' kāmla fī maṣr mafihāsh ghayr bitū' il-murūr in wugidū ya'nī muhtammīn bir-rukḥṣa wal-ḥizām wal-mobāyil wal-ḥāgāt dī. innamā l-amn il-muhtamma bin-nās fish-shāri' mahuwwāsh mawgūd. da guz' min il-mawḍū' iḥnā zē mā 'ult illik inn iḥnā wakhdīn l-mafhūm it-tanmawī limafhūm l-aman wa lākin da lā yilghī l-amn nafsuh.

Look, there are entire streets in Egypt in which there are only traffic cops, and if they are even around they only care about drivers' licenses, seat belts, cellphones, and things like that. But the police that are actually accountable for people's safety aren't present. This is part of the issue, that we, like I told you, that we are taking a developmental view of the concept of security forces, but that does not exempt security itself!

An even more marked occurrence of MSA negation is the actor Maged El-Kedwany's usage:

أنا عايز أقول انه ليس مبرر ان واحدة لابسة بشكل غير لائق أنا أتحرش بيها. يعني أنا أقدر ألم على نفسي. ثقافتني واحترامي وتربيتي ومستوايا الاجتماعي والديني والأخلاقي أقدر أشوف واحدة عريانة ماشية في الشارع ومابصلهاش. ليس مبرر، ليس مبرر

ana 'ayz a'ūl innu lēsa mubarrar inn waḥda labṣa bi-shakl ghēr lā'iq ana attaharrash bihā. ya'nī ana a'dar alimm nafsī. saqāftī w-iḥtrāmī wa tarbiyatī wa mustawāya l-igtimā'ī id-dīnī wal-akhlāqī a'dar ashūf waḥda 'aryāna mashya fish-shāri' wa mabuṣilhāsh. lēsa mubarrar lēsa mubarrar.

I want to say that it is not justified for me to harass a girl if she's inappropriately dressed. I

⁵⁰ Holes 2000, 373.

mean, I can control myself. With my manners, my respect, my upbringing, my social and religious standing and my morals, I could see a naked girl walking in the street and not even take a gander at her...It is not justified! It is not justified...It is not justified!

Throughout the program El-Kedwany has maintained a very low level of hybridization with only occasional use of MSA elements inserted in a casual colloquial; such a style suits both his position as a popular actor who often appears in comedies and the ideational context of his discourse which is often flavored by a sharp wit. However, his repetition of /lēsa mubarrar/constitutes a marked and deliberate MSA choice. In his studies of hybridization, Holes cites that sharp "crossovers" in language level "draws the listener's attention to the meaning that lies behind (the) form."⁵¹ Here the meaning cannot possibly be made more clear: El Kedwany is arguing against the justification most commonly given for sexual harassment in Egyptian society, a girl's dress, and asserting that this not only not true but it is immoral. This departure from colloquial brings out the seriousness of the content and allows Kedwany to in Holes' words "commit himself to the truth value of what he is saying."⁵²

3.6 Appeals to Action and Solidarity:

A recurring function of sexual harassment discourse is speakers' effort to appeal to listeners' sense of emotional solidarity. The apparent goal behind accessing such these feelings of solidarity is the desire to affect not only the interlocutor's evaluation of the speaker, but their evaluation of the issue; it implicates the speaker in such a way that he feels involved on an emotional and even moral level. When the listener feels they are emotionally and morally implicated in sexual harassment, they become potential agents of social change. This function of language as an instigator of social change is documented by Geoffrey White, who cites that "because of its evocative functions, emotion discourse is

⁵¹ Ibid, 373.

⁵² Ibid, 373.

especially relevant for theories of social action. To talk about or express emotion in context is to expect to evoke a certain type of response in both the self and the listening other."⁵³ Discourse of this kind in the data is thus motivated by speaker desire for empathy; speakers make use of tools to draw the interlocutor closer to them and to issue of sexual harassment.

احنا معندناش فضاءات نعبر فيها عن نفسنا فنحسّ اننا بني آدمين محترمين. وبالتالي احباطنا ده بينصوب على أي حدّ قدامنا. أي حدّ لازم ينصب على حدّ أضعف، يعني الست، عيال صغير...لازم يتمّ علاج حالة الاحباط العامة عند المصريين

iḥnā ma'andināsh faḍā'āt nu'abbir fihā 'an nafsinā fa-nḥiss innanā banī admīn muḥtaramīn, wa bit-tālī iḥbāṭnā da biyīnṣabb 'ala ayya ḥadd udāmnā. ayya ḥadd lāzim yinṣabb 'ala ḥadd aḍa'f, ya'nī i-ssit, 'ayyāl ṣughayyar...lāzim yitimm 'ilāg ḥālīt l-iḥbāṭ 'and l-maṣrīyyīn.

We don't have spaces in which we can express ourselves and feel like worthwhile human beings. Therefore this frustration of ours spills out onto anyone around us. Anyone (it has to spill out on something) takes out their frustration on someone lowlier, like women or small children. This rampant state of frustration among Egyptians must be dealt with.

Here Abu El-Qoumsan makes use of empathetic deixis to appeal to collective group identity; the individual disappears into the 'we' and implies that what occurs to an individual resonates with the entire group. Thus the idea of social responsibility via empathy is implied. We see a similar example in this excerpt from Dr. Muḥammad:

وكانت السفارة الأمريكية والسفارة البريطانية كانوا يبنهبها ويحذروا السائحين وهمة يأخذوا بالهم من يعني أشكال التحرش المختلفة لما ينزلوا مصر. فطبعاً لا، عندنا مشكلة فعلاً حساسية كبيرة احنا حاسين بيها. ولو عايزة تشوفها رؤية العين تنزلي في أي مدينة أي من الأعياد، أي أعياد، عيد الفطر، عيد الأضحى، شم النسيم، الأعياد عيد رأس السنة الهجرية أي مناسبة احتفالية هتشوفي التحرش بالعينين. وفي العيد اللي فات ده كتير من الصحف صوروا عمليات التحرش فلا، عندنا مشكلة كبيرة

wa kānit is-sifāra l-amrīkiya wal brīṭāniya biynabbahū wa yiḥazzarū is-sāi'ḥīn wi humma yakhdū balhum min ya'nī ashkāl at-taḥarrush il-mukhtalifa lammā yinzilū maṣr . faṭab'an la', 'andinā mushkila fi'lan ḥassāsīya kibīra iḥnā ḥassīn bīhā. wa law 'ayza tshūfihā ru'yit l-'ayn tinzilī fī ayya midīna ayya min l-'ayād 'īd l-fīṭr, 'īd l-'aḍḥā, shamm in-nisīm , il-'ayād 'īd ra's is-sana l-higrīyya ayya munāsba iḥtifālīyya hatshūfī at-taḥarrush bil 'aynēn. wa fil 'īd illī fāt da kitīr min aṣ-ṣuḥuf.ṣawwarū 'amalīyyāt at-taḥarrush , fala', 'andinā mushkila kibīra.

The American embassy and the British embassy have been cautioning and warning tourists, and they've been keeping an eye on the, you know, the various kinds of harassment when

⁵³ Geoffrey M. White, "Moral Discourse and the Rhetoric of Emotions," in *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod and Catherine A. Lutz, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 64-65.

they come to Egypt. So of course, no, we truly do have a huge problem, a huge sensitivity and we're really feeling it. And if you want to see it with your own eyes, then go to any city on any of the major holidays, Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, Sham al-Nassim, the Islamic New Year holidays or any celebratory occasion you'll see harassment. And during the last Eid, a lot of newspapers photographed acts of sexual harassment, so, no, we have a big problem.

Like Abu El Qoumsan, Dr. Muḥammad makes use of empathetic deixis twice, referring to /iḥnā/ twice in reference to /mushkila/, and adding the participle /ḥāssīn biḥā/ "we are feeling it" brings an almost sensory element; this issue is so close to /iḥnā/ it has an almost physical presence. Referring to sexual harassment as 'our problem' instead of "a problem" automatically implies the interlocutors' involvement in sexual harassment and its larger social political and economic repercussions.

In a similar fashion, El-Kedwany makes use of the inclusive pronoun 'we' in reference to social change:

أنا ليا هدف من الموضوع ده. كفاية هجوم على الحكومات احنا لازم نغيّر نفسنا بنفسنا لازم احنا نتعود على ان احنا نتغيّر مش هاستنى حد يغيّرني كل واحد فضل مستني... لا انت عود نفسك على زي ما ذكرت قبل كده
ana liyya hadaf min il-mawḍū' da kifāya hugūm 'ala l-ḥukūmāt iḥnā lāzim nighayyar nafsīnā bi-nafsīnā lāzim iḥnā nit'awwad 'ala inn iḥnā nitghayyar mish hastanna ḥadd yighayyarni kull wāḥid fiḍil mistannī...la' inta 'awwad nafsak 'ala zē mā zakart abl kida.

I have an aim with this topic. Enough blaming the government, we ourselves have to change ourselves. We have to adjust to (the idea of) changing. I won't wait for someone else to change me, everyone is just sitting around waiting...no, you've got to change yourself as I was saying before.

Here he also refers to the spatially and emotionally closer pronoun /inta/, contrasting it to the more distal and impersonal /wāḥid/ who takes no action. Adding to the sense of closeness of the listener is the imperative /'awwad/ which creates a more intense effect of immediacy than the previous /lāzim/ or "you should."

The inclusive /iḥnā/ in reference to Egyptian society and morality also appears in Ghozlan's discourse on "baladnā bil maṣrī:"

احنا لو رجعنا وسائلنا أهلينا وناس كبار انه من ثلاثين وأربعين سنة كانت ما كانت فيه نسبة الحجاب قد ما نسبة الحجاب في مصر النهار ده موجودة وما كانت فيه حد يسبب نبت تتعرض للتحرش أو للمعاكسة في الشارع من غير

ما يتدخّل ويساعدها. ماكانش بيحصل يعني كان نسبة صغيرة قوي. وكان فيه دايمًا احساس بالمسؤولية انه لا الشارع ده بتاعنا والمنطقة دي بتاعتنا... كان احساس كده بالمسؤولية بتاعة المصريين هي الأخلاق المصرية راحت واحنا ننحاول انه لا مصر بلد تستحق منا أحسن من كده والست في مصر تستحق معاملة أفضل من كده

iḥnā law riġ'inā wa sa'alnā ahalinā wi nās kubār innu min talatīn aw arba'in sana kānit makānsh nisbit il-ḥiġāb add mā nisbit l-ḥiġāb fi maṣr i-nnihār fa mawgūda wa makānsh fih ḥad yisīb bint tit'arraḍ lil taḥarrush aw lil mu'ākṣa fī a-shshār' min ghayr yisā'dhā. makānsh biyaḥṣal ya'nī kān nisba ṣughayyara awwī. wa kān fih dayman iḥsās bil-mas'ūliyya innu la' a-shshār' da bitā'nā wal minṭaqa dī...kān iḥsās kida bil-mas'ūliyya bitā'it l-maṣriyyīn hiyya l-akhlāq l-maṣriyya rāḥit wiḥnā niḥāwil innu la maṣr balad tastaḥi' minna aḥsan min kida wa i-ssit fī maṣr tastaḥi' mu'āmla afḍal min kida.

If we went back and asked our relatives and our elders, (they would tell us) that thirty or forty years ago there was not nearly the percentage of women wearing the veil in Egypt as there is today, and no one would let a girl be exposed to harassment or inappropriate comments in the street without intervening to help her. It just didn't happen, or it happened very rarely, in a small percentage of cases. And there was always this sense of responsibility that, no, this is *our* street and this is *our* neighborhood... There was this feeling of responsibility among Egyptians, and it's like Egyptian values have gone away and we're trying (to say) that no, Egypt is a country that deserves better from us and the Egyptian woman deserves better treatment.

In this excerpt we see clear efforts to morally and emotionally implicate the listener: in addition to repeated use of "we" and "our" Ghazlan directly brings up "Egyptian morals" and "responsibility." This appeal to a shared "Egyptianness" is bolstered by the repetition of the ECA possessive marker /bitā'/ twice in reference to "street" and "area," both of which constitute physical and imagined spaces where public life is carried out in Egypt; the implication is that Egyptians own this space and are therefore responsible for what happens inside it. Furthermore, in alluding to decades of time that are often looked upon with nostalgia in Egyptian society ("thirty and forty years ago") Ghazlan invokes a sense of sentimentality and even nationalism in the listeners.

The appeal to shared nationalistic identity in order to incite social movement is particularly evident in Salma Amer's Youtube posting in which she refers to the shared experience of the Revolution:

أنا نفسي أفهم، احنا ليه ساكتين؟ احنا رحنا ميدان التحرير علشان بلدنا تبقى أحسن. وكل البنات هناك بما فيهم أنا وانتي ما قبلناش أيّ تحرّش جنسي. ده اللي أنا سمعته. كل الرجالة المصريين هناك إيديهم في حيوبهم، بقهم مقبول، مايفكّروش ان همّة يبصّوا البنات أو حتى يعاكسوها

ana niṣī afham lē iḥnā saktīn? iḥnā ruḥnā mīdān it-tahrīr 'ashān bilādnā tib'ā aḥsan. wi kull il-banāt hināk bimā fīhom ana w-intī ma'abilnāsh ayya taḥarrush ginsī. da illī ana simi'tu. kull ir-rigālla l-maṣriyyīn hināk idhum fī giyūbhom, bu'uhom ma'fūl mabifakkarūsh inn yibuṣṣū il-bint aw ḥatā yi'āksūhā.

I'd like to know, why do we keep silent? We went to Tahrir Square so that our country would become better. And all the girls there, including me and you, didn't accept any sexual harassment. That's what I heard. All the Egyptian men there had their hands in their pockets, their mouths were closed, they weren't even thinking about ogling girls or even flirting with them.

Here the empathetic deixis is present in Amer's use of /iḥnā/ "we" and /baladnā/ "our country," appeals to the sense of shared identity, as in Ghozlan's discourse. However, Amer's use of the feminine second person pronoun /intī/ and referral to /ar-rigāla l-maṣriyyīn/ creates a binary between female /iḥnā/ and a male "other." Whether or not she continues with this distinction is not entirely clear:

صوتكم معايا؟ هيعمل فرق، اتكلموا! أنا ضد التحرش الجنسي. ده جسمي أنا محدش له الحق ان هو يلمسه غيري.
اتكلموا معايا

ṣotkum ma'āyā ḥaya'mil far' itkallimū. ana ḍidd at-taḥarrush ig-ginsī da gismī ana maḥaddish luh l-ḥa' inn yilmisu ghērī. itkallimmū m'āyā.

Are your voices with me? It will make a difference, so speak up! I am against sexual harassment, this is *my* body, and no one other than me has the right to touch it. Speak up with me!

Here, in the last line of her video, she refers to the viewers in the plural second person pronoun, which in ECA does not distinguish between female and male. Whether her intentions are to appeal to a male and female "you all" or not, this is a clear example of empathetic deixis.

Although the ideational content of assertions diverges from that of narrative functions, in this context as in narration, the depersonalization of the harasser can be observed through linguistic clues. However, in appeals to solidarity, the use of depersonalization diverges from that used in narration, in which speakers are seeking to depersonalize a specific person or persons. Rather, the speaker seeks to paint a picture of the harasser as an ambiguous and transgressive outsider from society. This is visible in Abu El-Qoumsan's conceptualization of a male who commits sexual harassment:

القانون هو اللي هيعاقب الخارج على القيم المتعارفة عليها في المجتمع. ماعتقدش انا وصلنا اننا المتعارف اننا ننتهك حرمان الآخرين وهمة ماشين في الشارع أو في أي مكان. المتعارف عليه اننا لسة فيه قيم واحترام في المجتمع...انه انتشار هذه الظاهرة بهذا الشكل بشكل خطيرة

al-qānūn huwwa illī hay'āqib l-khārig 'alā l-qiyam l-muta'ārafa 'alayhā fil-mugtama'. m'ataqidsh innanā wiṣilnā innanā l-muta'āraf innanā nantahik ḥurmāt il-ākharīn wa hummā māshīn fshī-shāri' aw fi ayya makān. l-muta'āraf'alayh innanā lissa fih qiyam w-iḥtirām fil-mugtama'...innuh intishār hāzihī iẓ-ẓāhira bi hāzā ash-shakl bi-shakl khuṭūra 'ala kulla ḥāga.
The law is that which will punish he who steps outside of the normative values of society. I don't think that we've come to the point where it is acceptable for us to violate the sanctity of others as they walk in the street, or any other place. What is accepted is that we still have values and respect in society...that the pervasion of this phenomenon in this dangerous way.

Here the harasser is referred to only as /al khārig/, literally one who is 'outside of' the universal values laid down by society. At the same time, this is contrasted with the sense of social inclusion lent by the empathetic deixis of /iḥnā/: this 'others' the harasser, contextualizing sexual harassment in a “we” versus “him” binary. Here the harasser is placed in front of the listener as an aberrant and ambiguous figure who does not belong in society. We see a similar effect in Muḥammad's explanation:

المتحرش ينظر الى المرأة على انها جسد وليست كائن انساني كامل. لو كائن انساني كامل كان يتودد اليها بالغزل أو حتى بالمعاكسة لكن هو كده ينظر اليها كأنها جسد يأخذ منه ما يريد يفترس هذا الجسد ينتهك هذا الجسد بقتحم هذا الجسد وبشكل عدواني لا يعطي أي أهمية لكيونتها أو لانسانيتها أو أي حاجة منها فكلمة حيوانية هي كلمة دقيقة جدا وهي يعني في التحرش هو في نوع من فصل الحب عن الجنس. والجنس هنا يفصل عن الحب الانسان يتحول الى سلوك حيوان

il-mutaḥarrish yanẓur ilā l-mar'a 'alā annahā gasad wa laysat kā'in insānī kāmīl. law kā'in insānī kāmīl kān yitwaddad ilayhā bil-ghazal aw ḥattā bil-mu'ākṣa lakin huwwa kida yanẓur ilayhā ka'annahā gasad yā'khuz minnu mā yurīd yaftaris hāzā l-gasad yantahik hāzā l-gasad yaqtaḥim hāzā l-gasad wa bishakl 'udwānī lā yu'ṭi ayya aḥammīyya l-insānīyyithā aw kaynūnithā aw ayya ḥāga minhā fi-kilma ḥaywānīyya hiyya kilma daqīqa gidan w-hiyya ya'nī fi at-taḥarrush huwwa fī naw' min faṣl il-ḥubb 'an l-gins. wil-gins hinā yinfaṣal 'an l-ḥubb il-insān yataḥawwal ilā sulūk ḥaywān.

The harasser views the woman as just a body and not a complete human being. If (he viewed her as) an actual human being he would gain her favor by courting her, or even flirting with her. But as it is, he views her as a body from which he takes whatever he wants, and he preys on this body, violates this body, invades this body. He aggressively gives no importance to her humanity or her existence or any of those things. So "animal-like" is a very accurate word as it means that harassment, in a sense, is a disconnect between love and sex, and when this happens a human being deteriorates into animal behavior.

As in Abu El-Qoumsan's statement, Mohammed not only depersonalizes the harasser by conceptualizing him as separate from "us," but dehumanizes him. He places the harasser within the binary of the human /insān/ and the animal /ḥaywān/, subtly alluding to the original meanings of the verb /ḥarasha/. The use of verb /yaftaris/, which has strong connotations to animal, along with repetition of /hāzā l-jasad/ (the MSA deictic here creating a sense of the importance and immediate presence of /jasad/) creates a sense of emotional immediacy, emphasizing how far removed the harasser is from the interlocutor, the insān. Simultaneously, his adherence to MSA elements upholds the sense of scientific credibility that he maintains throughout his discourse.

Chapter 4: Conclusion:

The concept of discourse can be broadly defined as a means of conceptualizing and describing reality, as well as the established linguistic patterns with which to accomplish this. Abu-Lughod notes that patterns of discourse in society are “inseparable from and inter-penetrated with changing power relations in social life.”⁵⁴ In this sense, the emergence of sexual harassment discourse in the years leading up to the 2011 Egyptian Revolution can be considered one of the indicators of changing power relations-linguistic, social, and political- that have been developing since the beginning of the virtual age. The emergence and dissemination of less-restricted public spheres such as the internet and satellite television have enabled the creation of new political and social discourses, unhindered by the restraints imposed by traditional institutionalized public spheres and aging language ideologies. The mix of language style seen in the data, and the way that it allows speakers to manipulate power dynamics and relationships of solidarity, constitutes the emergence of a new breed of public discourse. At the core of sexual harassment discourse is the subtle unraveling of power structures on multiple levels; speakers are crossing lines of acceptability by openly addressing a tabooed topic in public and by doing so on their own linguistic terms.

Although most of the speakers in the data show an awareness of the established legitimate language MSA, the generational difference in its use is evident; it appears that younger generations are increasingly less complicit with the idea of MSA superiority. Just as youth are the leading innovators in the new public spheres, they are also innovators of discourse within these public spheres. In the context of these evolving mediums, the concept of linguistic legitimacy is being questioned, and as a result the anxiety surrounding the legitimate language MSA is

⁵⁴ Lila Abu-Lughod, “Shifting Politics in Bedouin Love Poetry,” in *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod, and Catherine A. Lutz, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

subsiding. While for many years speakers have suffered from a kind of linguistic dissociation, favoring the colloquial in most aspects of life but adhering to the impositions of the legitimate language, this system is changing. Along with the political and social changes it is facing, Egypt is also undergoing linguistic changes as it faces its future. No doubt these linguistic changes will provide rich material for further studies.

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