Howwa wheyya: Performance and gendered style in the Egyptian caricature "The Piece of Paper"

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Howwa Wheyya:
Performance and Gendered Style in the Egyptian Caricature
“The Piece of Paper”

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Applied Linguistics

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language

By
Hasnaa Essam

May 2018
The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language

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Dedication

This piece of work that is the beginning of my journey as a young researcher is totally dedicated to my original source of inspiration; to each member in the Essam family including my parents, sisters, brother, nieces and nephews. I dedicate this thesis to the precious name of my father, to “Essam” whom I cannot give his full name to my future children, but I can document it one day in history, attempting to honor my dearest mother and father.

This is the beginning of no ending……
Acknowledgements

I owe special thanks to many people who have contributed to this work.

To the best friend, to the most beautiful soul I have ever seen, to Rasha Essam, I owe an immense debt. You have been a great supporter during this tough journey of ups and downs. You always embrace me with deep love and encourage me to pick myself up, and to follow my passion. God bless you, Rasha!

To the mother of all, to the source of tenderness and kindness, to my professor and thesis supervisor, to Dr. Zeinab Taha, I offer my deepest thanks. You did your utmost to enable me to achieve this dream in the way I wished. You are a great mother, friend and professor. One day, when I become a pioneering figure in the field of sociolinguistics, I will come to you, and bow to you out of great respect and appreciation. Love you Dr. Zeinab!

To the most friendly and modest professor, to the great sociolinguist and novelist, to my role model and thesis first reader, to Dr. Reem Bassioueny, I convey my great appreciation. It has been a great pleasure to work with you and to have your name written on my first piece of work as a young researcher. You enabled me to understand better my area of research and to improve my work with all your very helpful comments. I have learned a lot from you, Dr. Reem!
I am very grateful to Dr. Raghda El-Essawi for making us do our best to reach our goals during this whole journey. I am also thankful to Dr. Mona Hassan for all her final touches on my work, which were very helpful.

My gratitude also goes to Corinne Stokes, Soraya Wittek and Joshua Rogers for having read and commented on my work at its different stages, I benefitted from all of your comments. I would like to express my appreciation to my brother-in-law, Muhammad Al-Bahnassawy, for helping me with all of the figures supported in this thesis.

Finally, and most importantly, I wish to thank deeply the following individuals for their considerable support and encouragement including Peter Lux, Maria Goodwin, Uncle Refaat Khalifa, Hend Mahmoud, Mukhtar Sayed, Mostafa Younes, Amira Eid, Muhammed Bayoumi, Maha Ezzat, Maha Mosalem, Noha Enab, Sara Tarek, Walaa El-Sayed, Doaa Abdeltawwab, Muhammad Hassan, Sherif Zoheir, Ms. Afaf Awad, Dr. Gehane Mamdouh, Dr. Sahar Shimeala and Dr. Amany Qasim.

THANK YOU!
Abstract

This qualitative study explores linguistic styles and mis/communication as they relate to gendered performance in the context of Egyptian caricature. Within this context, seventy-four illustrations from *The Piece of Paper* by Gawish (2015) are subjected to discourse analysis. This type of caricature, as an example of performed speech, represents the perceptions of a group of Egyptian men, the cartoonist and his team, in depicting gendered daily-life interactions. The study investigates styles to examine the linguistic choices based on social groups such as women and men (Eckert and Rickford 2002: 26), and it explores gendered similarities as well as differences. The study focuses on social perceptions reflected in performed interactions for the significant relationship between perceptions and language practices in natural interactions (Tannen 1994: 139). It reveals the significance of the gendered use of the style of affective functions. Women are displayed as using more affective functions than men do. Women are shown to use more stylistic devices including asking questions, indirectness, verbal aggressiveness and repetition than men do. The image of miscommunication caused by the style of affective functions and its devices is clearly portrayed. Women are depicted as using physical aggressiveness against men, signifying the influence of affective functions and its devices on miscommunication. This study develops a deeper understanding of the overall picture of gender and language production in Egyptian Arabic.

Keywords: Gender, Style, Affective functions, Performance, Caricature, Egyptian Arabic.
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1 These symbols are based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), Ahmed Mukhtar Omar’s list of Arabic speech sounds (1997), Bo Isaksson’s list of Arabic transcription, and Manfred Woidich’s and Rabha Heinen-Nasr’s list of alphabet in *kullu tamām*. 
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CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

This chapter sheds light on the background of study, gap in this area of research, and a set of definitions for the main concepts under examination.

1.1 Background of the Study

One of the main aims of sociolinguistics is to investigate gendered styles (distinctive ways of speaking between women and men) and performance (the focused display of language variation) in order to understand the features of language production as they relate to social perceptions (Schilling Estes 1998: 77). Therefore, the question of gender and language variation shifts from a focus on differences to a focus on style and performance. Gender and linguistic styles are intertwined with gender and mis/communication (Coates 1993). The interactions that function as performed discourse in caricature reflect a set of social perceptions related to gendered linguistic styles and mis/communication.

In this light, this study explores gender, performed styles and mis/communication in the Egyptian caricature, *The Piece of Paper, (?el wara?ah)*, by Islam Gawish (2015). This recent and popular caricature is selected for its potential for reflecting the perceptions of a group of Egyptian men, the cartoonist and his team, regarding gendered linguistic styles, and for being indicative of broader social perceptions.

In order to demonstrate this, chapter two outlines briefly the approaches to gender and language, including style and performance approach. The study gives an overview of how caricature as a
genre displays performed styles and gender, highlighting the significance of using this universal tool of art in the classrooms of Arabic as a Foreign language. This chapter also discusses the style of affective functions (connection to the world of emotions), and the stylistic devices through which this style is achieved, including asking questions, indirectness, repetition and verbal aggressiveness. Relatedly, it highlights the effect of affective functions and its devices on mis/communication. Chapter three provides an overview of the selected data, procedures of its collection, and devices and techniques used in analysis. Chapter four discusses the styles displayed in the caricature under examination, focusing considerably on the most frequently performed style and its stylistic devices. The final chapter concludes and highlights the limitations and implications of this research.

Overall, this study contributes to the growing body of research that examines gender and linguistic styles in performed and natural interactions in Egyptian Arabic.

1. 2 Statement of the Research Problem

There is a wide gap in examining non/performed speech of gender in various linguistic styles in Egyptian Arabic. Most of the studies conducted on gender and Arabic focus on the style of prestige language (Modern Standard Arabic i.e. Schmidt:1974, Haeri: 1991, Mejdell: 2005, Bassiouney: 2009), grammatical gender in Arabic (i.e. Alkohlani: 2016), or other Arabic dialects rather than Egyptian (i.e. Abu-Haidar:1989/Baghdadi Arabic, Hachimi: 2001, Sadiqi: 2003/ Moroccan Arabic, and Al-Harahsheh 2014/Jordanian Arabic). Therefore, further studies are urgently needed to fill in existing gaps in Arabic and gender research (Sadiqi 2006: 642). For this reason, further examination on other linguistic styles in performed interactions can contribute to the growing field of research in relation to gender and styles in Arabic. This is due to the
intertwined relationship between natural and performed speech that can contribute to our understanding of gender and language production according to social perceptions (Schilling Estes 1998).

Though caricature functions as a universal tool of art, very few academic studies examine this rich field, especially in Egyptian Arabic (Rizkallah: 2015:31). The limited set of studies conducted on Egyptian caricature show a greater focus on political issues (i.e. Rifaey 1997, Gharib 2016), stereotypes (i.e. Hafiz 2010, Rizkallah 2015), aesthetic and expressive values (i.e. Mahmoud T.A:2017), or provide a general overview of most recent Egyptian caricatures that display political and social issues (i.e. Høigilt: 2017).

In a similar vein, most of Egyptian caricature studies are conducted by researchers from faculties of Fine Arts, Media and Mass Communication, Women’s or Middle East studies according to the online Union of Egyptian Universities Libraries, and the American University in Cairo library and its Digital Archive and Research Repository (AUC DAR). Therefore, this study is considered to date one of the pioneering Egyptian caricature studies that examines caricature from a linguistic perspective: the display of linguistic styles in relation to gender and mis/communication.

Current linguistic styles in performed speech may contradict styles that have been examined previously. Hence, this research attempts to bridge a gap that exists in studies on gender, linguistic styles, performed speech, caricature, and Egyptian Arabic.
1.3 Research Questions

The study attempts to answer the following research questions:


1. What are the gendered styles displayed?
2. What roles do the style of affective functions fulfill?
3. What are the stylistic devices utilized in achieving affective functions and what roles do these devices fulfill?
4. What is the effect of using the style of affective functions and its devices on mis/communication?

1.4 Definitions

It is quite significant to define a number of main concepts in this study, including gender, style, affective functions, stylistic devices, mis/communication, performance and caricature.

1.4.1 Gender

Gender is defined as “not something we are born with, and not something we have- but something we do (West and Zimmerman 1987)- something we perform (Butler 1990)” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 10). The term “gender” is used to indicate “a social identity that is constructed through social actions” rather than the term “sex” that refers to “a biologically or physiologically based distinction between males and females” (Meyerhoff: 2011: 212). In this regard, gender functions as “a system of meaning - a way of constructing notions of male and female- and language is the primary means through which we maintain or contest old meaning, and construct or resist new ones” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 6).
1.4.2 Style

Style refers to “a set of co-occurring variables that are associated with the speaker’s […] own social affiliations and identity” (Eckert and Rickford 2002: 5). The linguistic style illustrates the link between different “ways of speaking” and different “social groups” such as men and women (Susan Ervin-Tripp 1972:7). In this sense, the linguistic style of affective functions indicates the gendered “overt expression of emotion” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 139), including affection, jealousy, anger, sadness and happiness (Brody: 1985).

1.4.3 Stylistic Devices

Stylistic devices refer, in this study, to the linguistic devices through which the style of affective functions is realized, including asking questions, indirectness, repetition and verbal aggressiveness. The stylistic device of asking questions indicates the gendered tendency towards raising questions for information, flow of interaction, and a subsequent speech act (Coates 1993:189). Indirectness is defined in terms of the focus on literal/metamessages of an interaction (Tannen1986:134-40). Repetition refers to the re-articulation of an utterance fully or partially Baker and Ellece (2013: 116). Verbal aggressiveness illustrates gendered ways of insulting, shouting and threatening (Coates 1993:20-191).

1.4.4 Performance

This concept indicates the “register associated with speakers” attempting to display for others a certain language or language variety, whether their own or that of another speech community. It refers to the focused display on “how people speak rather than […] what they say” (Schilling Estes 1998: 53).
1.4.3.1 Caricature

Caricature is derived from the Italian lexicon “caricatura” with the literal meaning of “exaggerating, loading.” It is defined as “an imitation of a person in which certain striking characteristics are exaggerated in order to create a comic” (Oxford dictionary). Caricature is identified as a “sequential art” in the form of sequenced utterances and funny images to draw creatively an idea (Eisner 1985: 5).
CHAPTER 2

2. Literature Review

This chapter gives an overview of literature to language and gender in terms of approaches including style and performance, caricature, style and stylistic devices, and mis/communication.

2.1 Approaches to Language and Gender

According to the sociolinguistic perspectives, a range of prominent approaches to language and gender are provided including the deficit approach, the dominance approach, the difference approach, the balanced approach, the community of practice approach, and the style and performance approach. This study gives a brief overview of these salient approaches, based on a chronological order, noting that some of the approaches overlap.

2.1.1 Deficit Approach

One of the pioneering works in the field of language and gender that are launched to explore the differences between men’s and women’s speech is Robin Lakoff’s *Language and Woman’s Place* (1975). Based on her own observations, Lakoff (1975) claims that the unequal role of men and women, in the society, causes the differential use of language based on gender. In this sense, Lakoff highlights the unfairness of gender in women’s language based on men’s dominance in the society (Freed 2003:701). Women experience discrimination and marginalization “in the way they are taught to use language, and in the way general language use treats them” (Lakoff 1975:4). For Lakoff, women’s language is identified as a deficient form of men’s language, and this is a result of educational and societal factors. Lakoff is criticized for her generalization of what is called
“women’s language” that is used by “all women” (Bassiouney 2009: 130, 31). Lakoff’s research lacks empirical evidence based on natural interactions; it is rather based on introspection (Sadiqi 2003: 6). Therefore, Lakoff’s work on women’s language represents the social norms of womanhood by which they are expected to speak, not the way by which each individual woman speaks (Kendall and Tannen 2015: 640-43). Despite the criticism directed against Lakoff’s work, her findings contribute to the growing body of research to language and gender.

2.1.2 Dominance Approach

According to this approach, men’s and women’s language is identified in terms of unequal power, access and influence; the man has dominance over the woman and he is the one who establishes social norms as well as language practices. This social inequality is the essential source for the different language of gender (Freed 2003: 701). Although this theory is based on empirical evidence from natural interactions, it provides an oversimplified explanation of “power.” The dominance approach considers gender as a salient factor of power and neglects other aspects including race, class, status, etc. Like the deficit approach, men are identified as the norm (Sadiqi 2009: 7).

2.1.3 Difference Approach

The difference/cultural approach is commonly associated with Deborah Tannen’s work in 1990. This approach focuses on the different socialization of gender as a major source for language differences (Freed 2003: 701). In this way, each gender develops a set of strategies during childhood in order to manage the social norms (Kendall and Tannen 2015: 645-47). The difference/cultural approach is criticized for its lack of cross-cultural application, and for not
allowing the existence of the similarity of gendered use of language, based on equal power relationship (Sadiqi 2009: 10, 11).

2.1.3.1 Sociolinguistic Universals

Based her work on the difference approach, Holmes (1998:468) suggests the potential of universal tendencies, providing evidences from different cultures. According to this notion, Holmes (1998: 461-74) proposes that women tend to use indirectness, repetition, standard forms and registers of uncertainty including tag questions and hedges, to focus on affective functions, to establish solidarity, to provide a supportive feedback and compliments, and to apologize. Meanwhile, men tend to focus on the formative meaning, interrupt others, dominate the talk in formal contexts, and value the status and power. There is, however, little evidence on generalizing these differences to further cultures. Hence, further examination on linguistic styles and gender in a variety of cultures and contexts is indeed required in order to investigate the potential of universal tendencies more widely, especially since this potential is not true in some societies like Madagascar (Holmes 1998: 476).

2.1.4 Balanced Approach

Based on the dominance and difference approaches, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 2) suggest a balanced approach because both dominance and difference are essential aspects of gendered use of language. According to this approach, the differences of men’s and women’s language stem from the dominance of men.
The deficit, dominance and difference approaches are all criticized for their limitations and weaknesses; they focus on the “problematization of women” and are based on “binary opposition” (Johnson 1997: 10).

2.1.5 Community of Practice Approach

This approach is commonly associated with the work of Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992), and it challenges the difference approach, focusing more on the practices of a community that is defined as follows:

an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations-in short, practices-emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a community of practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages (P. 464).

Language is rather examined in connection with a community of people, who are engaged in a particular practice due to a common goal in a specific time and setting, than the presupposition of gender differences (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet: 2003:57, 58).

2.1.6 Style and Performance Approach

A shift, afterwards, takes place, from a focus on gender differences to a focus on style and performance by which individuals construct gendered identities. Eckert and Rickford (2002: 26) relate style to “anything within a language that could produce” variation. Style, accordingly, provides an explanation for the linguistic choices of individuals to construct their social groups. It is considered an essential part in the meaning-making process in interactions. Thus, style indicates a wide range of distinctive performances employed by individuals to construct their identities.
and social affiliations (Coupland 2007: I, 13).

In a similar vein, styled performance signifies the sharp focus of the speaker on the talk itself to highlight a particular feature of language (Schilling Estes 1998: 53). Following this, performed and non-performed speech can provide a considerable insight into the relationship between social perceptions and the construction of linguistic styles (Tannen 1994: 139). The examination of performed speech can reveal a degree of similar patterns to natural interactions and provide an insight into the language features based on societal perceptions. This, therefore, suggests that the linguistic styles are “proactive” rather than “reactive.” The examination of performed speech is quite beneficial in the further investigation of the overall patterns of language variation and speech styles (Schilling Estes 1998: 54, 67). Styled performance can also occur in the so-called natural interactions; societal perceptions can play a significant role in shifting these non-performed interactions into performed ones (Schilling Estes 1998: 53). In a sense, all speech can be performative, and consequently it is quite hard to separate between performed and non-performed speech in natural interactions. Most likely, the examination of so-called natural speech can be “a mere aberration” (Schilling Estes 1998:76,77).

Performed speech, accordingly, gains considerable attention in sociolinguistic studies. Tannen (1994) investigates performance of gendered linguistic styles in the Swedish television miniseries of “Scenes from a Marriage.” By the same token, Jie Li (2014) conducts a study on the English episodes of “Desperate Housewives” to examine gendered styles in performed interactions. Relatedly, this study is centered on linguistic styles and performance in the Egyptian caricature The Piece of Paper.
2.1.6.1 Caricature

Caricature, as a universal art, has the advantage of delivering a range of social perceptions clearly, briefly, verbally and visually, regardless of its great tendency towards exaggeration (Sarıgül: 2009). Accordingly, caricature, in the form of performed interactions, can display linguistic styles in an attempt of enhancing the everyday experiences of its producer and audiences. The performative caricature can function as a type of speech performance that highlights the representation of linguistic styles across a variety of contexts.

This type of speech performance is examined in this study, so that it can be explored in foreign language classrooms. Caricature can enable learners to adopt the required communicative competence of the 21st century about visual communication (Afrilyasanti & Basthomi 2011: 552). It develops learners’ critical thinking with its visual communication (Syamsuri & Muhsin: 2016). Its sense of humor provides an enjoyable environment in foreign language classrooms. Such an environment allows foreign language learners to gain a greater social comprehension of the target language, its irony and style of humor (Afrilyasanti and Basthomi 2011: 553). Its visual communication enables learners to well remember the input regarding social problems, current incidents, and societal perceptions. This tool also opens the door for a range of explorative activities in foreign language classrooms (Afrilyasanti and Basthomi 2011: 555-58). In empirical research, there is a considerable difference between using normal tools and caricature in learning argumentative writing (Syamsuri & Muhsin: 2016). Caricature has the advantage of providing a variety of contexts; each illustration gives a new situation. Therefore, the examination of styles in various situations provided in caricature faces the criticism on investigating gender and style in single situations (Brody1985: 116). The controversial issue of the widespread display of the prophet Mohammed in the Charlie Hebdo caricature (Paris: 2015), as an example, led to terrible
reactions with its criticism of Islam. This signifies the importance of examining caricature as an influential artistic tool across cultures. Although this art reflects current gendered issues of the surrounding society, it has still serious limitations of examination (Rizkallah: 2015). Also, Kotthoff (2005) demonstrates that performed linguistic styles of gender in humor contexts can serve the examination of the formation of gendered linguistic identities in natural interactions.

Overall, the caricature, regardless of its exaggerated representations of language, provides valuable insights into gendered linguistic styles in everyday practices according to the perceptions of its producer and audiences, and functions as an effective tool in foreign language classrooms.

2.2 Style and Stylistic Devices

Style, as indicated earlier, demonstrates the natural ways of speaking that are acquired through the communicative practices of family members (Tannen 1994:192). Affective functions are considered one of the gendered styles connected to the world of emotions (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 139). Stylistic devices refer, in this study, to the linguistic devices through which the style of affective functions is realized, including asking questions, indirectness, verbal aggressiveness and repetition. The following sub-sections, then, give an overview of this linguistic style and its stylistic devices, the focus of this study.

2.2.1 Affective Functions

This style signifies gendered distinctive ways of expressing “feelings when communicating with each other,” focusing on “the affection of the interaction,” or displaying explicit sensitivity (Al-Harahsheh 2014:857).
Based on my own experience as an insider, Egyptian parents reinforce the idea in their children that a “real” man should hide his emotions. One of the most common phrases said by Egyptian parents to their sons is: “Don’t cry, you are a man!” In this way, Egyptian parents seem to raise their children based on the perceptions of gendered different socialization regarding emotions. These perceptions may play a significant role in forming the gendered linguistic style of affective functions (Brody 1985: 110). This may develop the potential of gendered performance to affective functions in so-called natural interactions.

Tannen (1990: 146) illustrates that women tend to focus on affective functions more than men do. She indicates that when her mother shares her bad feelings with her father, he suggests going with her to the doctor. Her father as a man focuses on offering advice, where her mother as a woman simply needs sympathy. In this context, Tannen (1990: 49, 50) reveals that when a woman expressed her feelings about the removal of a part of her breast, she was reassured more by the answer of her sister than her husband. Her sister reassured her by saying “I know. It’s like your body has been violated.” On the other hand, her husband interpreted her sharing of feelings as a direct request for advice. The husband said, “you can have plastic surgery to cover up the scar and restore the shape of your breast.” This type of advice hurt more the feelings of this woman who thought that her husband did not like the way she looked. Her husband revealed that he had simply tried to offer her solutions, so that she would feel better. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:140-41) state that women “naturally” tend to focus on affective entities more than men, who tend more to hide their feelings.
According to the potential of universal tendencies, Holmes (1998: 462-64) describes women’s tendency to focus on affective functions more often than men do. To exemplify this view according to Holmes, a man, in a Western Community, was explaining the school problems that he was facing in a new environment. During his conversation with his female friend, he mentioned undergoing a stressful experience. The female friend focused directly on the affective function of his conversation; she asked, “but are you ok now, have you seen a doctor?” The man’s reply was very brief, picking up the conversation to the education policy. This exchange shows that this different linguistic style of affective functions causes miscommunication. Later on, Holmes questioned these friends, and the man indicated that his female friend was interrupting him with an irrelevant question. By contrast, the female friend revealed her focus on the social interaction. This gives a clear example of the distinction between “referential” and “affective,” men’s linguistic style and women’s linguistic style. Nonetheless, there is a great demand for research to validate the potential of generalizing this pattern of affective functions to other cultures.

A qualitative study on different styles in Jordanian spoken Arabic is conducted by Al-Harahsheh (2014). In his study, Al-Harahsheh investigates affective functions in natural interactions between women and men at Yarmouk University. The results reveal that women tend to be more sensitive to the information that has been conveyed than men. One of the examples mentioned in Al-Harahsheh’s study is that a woman was explaining to her male friend her embarrassment and tension when she was presenting a topic in front of 100 students. Her friend’s answer to her was more referential than affective; he said, “Do you ask yourself why?” The woman added that she felt that the students were going to interrupt her to criticize whatever was said. However, the man’s answer was not affective; he said, “No, I don’t allow anyone to talk in
the lecture.” Al-Harashsheh’s study, then, provides a potential of a similar pattern of affective functions in a Jordanian community.

Goldshmidxt and Weller (2000) examine the style of affective lexicons within an Israeli community. In their study, Goldshmidxt and Weller use a range of methods to collect data from numerous situations and settings. The results demonstrate that women use emotional lexicons more often than men do in this Israeli community. In this way, the study of Goldshmidxt and Weller opens up a possibility of a similar pattern of affective functions in an Israeli community.

Nevertheless, is there any potential to have a similar pattern of affective functions in an Egyptian community? Is there any possibility that performed speech, based on social perceptions, provides a regular pattern to non-performed speech in Egyptian culture? Further examination, then, remains to be conducted to fill in existing gaps. For this reason, and unlike most of the aforementioned studies based on natural interactions, this research examines affective functions in performed speech in Egyptian Arabic. In this way, it seeks to broaden our understanding of this pattern in natural interactions through studying the relationship between social perceptions and language practices (Schilling-Estes 1998:77).

2.2.1.1 Asking Questions

As for the stylistic device of asking questions, Coates (1993: 122 - 24) states that women ask more questions than men do. Also, Tannen (1993: 93) highlights women’s tendency towards tag questions. Coates (1993:189) demonstrates that women ask questions as a stylistic device to maintain flow of interaction, and to request “a subsequent speech act.” By contrast, this stylistic
device for men is often used as a direct request for information. This, notably, can signify the reason behind women’s great tendency to use more questions than men do.

Tannen (1994: 166) investigates the stylistic device of asking questions between a couple in the performed interactions of the television miniseries of *Scenes from a Marriage*. Her investigation reveals that the man’s questions are mainly with a rhetorical meaning. On the contrary, the woman’s questions are commonly used as real questions to involve her husband in the conversation. This makes the journey of discovery worth making regarding this stylistic device in performed speech in Egyptian culture, a very young field of research.

2.2.1.2 Indirectness and Repetition

Repetition indicates the tendency towards self-repetition to the same utterance fully or partially in an interaction (M. M. Murphy and L. Abbeduto: 2007). Lakoff (1975:73) indicates that women tend to repeat themselves more often than men do.

Indirectness as a stylistic device is commonly used with the aim of developing “rapport” in interactions (Tannen 1994: 178). Accordingly, in intimate interactions, women think that “After all this time, you should know what I want without my telling you.” Conversely, men believe that “After all this time, we should be able to tell each other what we want.” Tannen (1986: 134-40) states that women tend to focus on the indirect forms of “metamessages.” Meanwhile, men tend to focus on the literal/exact meaning of “messages.” In this regard, Tannen provides (1994: 177) a set of examples in natural interactions. Based on her own observation, there was a couple who were celebrating their marriage anniversary with their family and friends. At their party, there was a lot of food and all the participants were full. Therefore, there was a suggestion to postpone the
anniversary cake to the following day. However, all participants were divided into two groups based on gender. The group of men favored the postponement, while the group of women was against the postponement. In light of this, women focused on the “metamessage” of the anniversary cake as a special cake. In contrast, men focused on the “message” of the anniversary cake as a normal cake. These differences in the use of gender to the stylistic device of indirectness can cause misinterpretation and miscommunication.

2.2.1.3 Verbal Aggressiveness

Lakoff (1973:50) states that men commonly use verbal aggressiveness in a stronger way than women do. It is more frequently for men to shout, insult, threaten and argue. Meanwhile, women are expected to avoid the direct use of verbal aggressiveness as it is culturally seen as inappropriate to be practiced by women. It is well known that women have to use politer language, and their use of verbal aggressiveness is stereotyped as bad language. This stylistic device commonly characterizes the man’s aggressive identity rather than the woman’s tender expected identity. In this manner, verbal aggressiveness is regarded as a habit that is purely for men. Women who use verbal aggressiveness are negatively judged on their ethics (Coates 1993: 191). Therefore, according to cultural beliefs, men have greater rights to use more swear words than women do.

Nevertheless, Stapleton’s research (2003) reveals that women are likely to use verbal aggressiveness in specific contexts to show a feminine identity that differs from the stereotypical one. Stapleton (2003) explores the stylistic device of verbal aggressiveness within an Irish community of women. His study demonstrates that swearing by this community of women is viewed as an accepted act, and it is used out of anger, humor, and solidarity. However, this
community of Irish women elaborates that they are generally motivated to avoid swearing as it creates a bad impression about them.

By the same token, Fägersten (2012) examines verbal aggressiveness among a university community of undergraduate students in Florida. His study shows that fe/male students use this stylistic device with equal frequency in interactions of same-gender. At the same time, it is found less frequently in interactions of opposite gender. Kapoor (2016) examines verbal aggressiveness in an Indian and non-Indian community. The study of Kapoor demonstrates that women, who identify this stylistic device as an inappropriate practice, use it as frequently as men. In addition, Bayoumi (2017) investigates the linguistic device of verbal aggressiveness in a university community of upper-class women in Egyptian society. Based on women’s answers to a questionnaire and in interviews, his study reveals that women perceive themselves as using verbal aggressiveness as strongly as men but less frequently than them to express jokes, solidarity, intimacy, pain, or to give emphasis. Thus, the examination of verbal aggressiveness in performed speech according to the perceptions of a group of Egyptian men through their depiction of gendered daily-life interactions, the focus of this study, can provide further insights into the overall patterns of language variation in Egyptian Arabic.

2.2.2 Mis/Communication

Coates (1993: 187, 88) indicates the relationship between mis/communication and linguistic styles. Mis/communication, then, indicates mis/understanding. Coates (1993) states that miscommunication stems from differences in linguistic styles. Tannen (1990: 42) highlights that the conversation between men and women is like “cross-cultural communication,” based on their
different linguistic styles. Accordingly, men and women might quarrel about trivial issues and when they attempt to correct their misinterpretation, serious breakdowns in communication occur. This is due to the attempt of each gender to communicate through his/her own linguistic style; therefore, they end up with serious miscommunication (Tannen 1986: 126-31). Also, Tannen (1986:133) elaborates cross-cultural communication in the sense that both a man and a woman are being exposed to differences in terms of different socialization since childhood. Accordingly, they grow up with different perspectives and deep differences that serve as a basis for cross-cultural miscommunication rather than simply communication.

Moreover, Tannen (1994: 149) highlights the relationship between deep and surface linguistic styles. That is to say, men and women can use linguistic styles that look different on surface structure, but similar based on deep meaning. Wo/men can use linguistic styles that look similar based on surface structure, but different or similar based on deep meaning. This elaborates gendered mis/communication. In this manner, the display of mis/communication based on varying linguistic styles in Egyptian culture is, indeed, worth examination.
CHAPTER 3

3. Methodology

This is a qualitative study, based on discourse analysis of The Egyptian caricature, *The Piece of Paper*, by Gawish (2015). Such design suits the nature of this research, and leads to the answer of the research questions, regarding the display of linguistic styles, devices, and their effect on mis/communication. In this light, this chapter includes the source of data, procedures of data collection, discourse devices, and techniques of analysis.

3.1 Source of Data

Data is collected from the Egyptian caricature, *The Piece of Paper /ʔel waraʔahl/,* by the Egyptian cartoonist Islam Gawish (2015). According to Gawish’s social media team, the title of this caricature series implies that the individual is just like a piece of paper through which s/he can express all feelings about ongoing events. This type of caricature is based mainly on Egyptian Arabic; however, some English words are detected in one illustration of the data under examination. This caricature is specifically chosen for a number of reasons. First, Gawish’s caricature is based more on interactions than the art of drawings itself. According to this, many studies have been conducted on other types of caricature that belong more to other famous Egyptian cartoonists (i.e. Salah Jahin and Mustafa Hussein). However, the nature of Gawish’s caricature suits more the nature of this study that focuses on linguistic styles in performed interactions. In this sense, this study is considered one of the pioneering studies to date, conducted on Gawish’s caricature. Second, a range of illustrations, in this specific caricature, focuses on linguistic styles and mis/communication, the area of my research. Further, other Egyptian
caricatures such as “Khamis, the groom” by Sherif Arafah, “Qeiss and Laila” by Salah Jahin, “and Bikhit and his Wife” by Mostafa Hussein are either out of date, having been produced in the sixties (i.e. Salah Jahin’s caricatures), or they depict more the daily issues of Egyptian society that are not connected to linguistic styles. *The Piece of paper* is more than recent; it was first published in 2014 and is still current to 2018 on social media platforms. Also, Gawish’s illustrations of *The Piece of Paper* are collected in two books in 2015. These two books have two main sections under the title of “Me and Her,” and “Him and Her,” the focus of my study. In addition, *The Piece of Paper* is present on many social media platforms including a Facebook page, a website, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube and Google Plus. *The Piece of Paper* Facebook page is increasingly active; its community, as of May 2018, is 2,592,688 people; this can reflect the popularity of Gawish’s caricatures. Høigilt (2017: 128) states, in a general overview of the most recent Egyptian caricatures portraying political and social issues, that Gawish’s caricatures are considered among the most prominent caricatures in Egypt. Finally, and most importantly, the work of this caricature is run mainly by Gawish and his team including Ahmed Fathi, Ahmed Shiko, Ahmed Mounir, Suqrat, Wael Diab, and Mohammad Galalildin, based on the signatures written on the works of this caricature. Hence, the display of styles and mis/communication can signify the perceptions of this male group in Egyptian society. To conclude, all these characteristics of *The Piece of Paper* are quite significant to facilitate the process of data collection in order to conduct a study quite limited in Egyptian Arabic.

### 3.2 Procedures of Data Collection

In an attempt to answer the research questions, after reviewing the 527 caricatures of the two published books of *The Piece of Paper* (2015), 126 caricatures are selected based on the portrayal
of gendered interactions. Afterwards, 14 caricatures out of the 126 are excluded in terms of interactions between a mother and a son, a father and a daughter, a grandmother and a grandchild, a woman and a waiter/seller/officer. This is in order to examine styles based on equal power relationship, so the possibility of gender similar use of linguistic styles can be identified as well. The interactions between couples can demonstrate more styles and mis/communication (Tannen 1994: 180, 81). Hence, 112 illustrations that depict the interactions between a boyfriend and a girlfriend, a husband and a wife, and a young man and a young woman are selected. Thereupon, 43 interactions out of the 112 caricatures are excluded as they are not connected to styles; they are more related to social current issues such as the existence of Facebook in the lives of both genders, or the current issues in Egyptian society such as hot temperature, women’s special way of clothing, etc. In light of this, 69 caricatures out of the total number of 527 caricatures are under investigation as they have a sharp focus on displaying styles and mis/communication.

Accordingly, *The Piece of Paper* Facebook page is also examined for any new illustrations that are not included in the two books, leading to the detection of 5 more relevant illustrations, as of May 2018. Afterwards, the 74 caricatures are classified, based on styles, into affective functions (53 caricatures), and other linguistic devices for purposes rather than affective functions (21 caricatures). A purposive sample of 53 caricatures, that signifies the style of affective functions, is specifically selected to be under a detailed examination due to its considerable number of illustrations. This sample number is considered quite sufficient due to the tendency of caricatures to portray any social issue in a single piece of art that quickly vanishes when the issue is no longer relevant. Hence, this number of caricatures, displaying the gendered linguistic style of affective functions by only one cartoonist, signifies the importance of this area of study.
3.3 Discourse Devices

The devices, upon which discourse is analyzed, include dialogicality, multimodality and foregrounding/backgrounding. Dialogicality indicates the meaning of a text against the background of other spoken texts (Grossen et al.:2011). Multimodality refers to the combination of words with other modalities including illustrations that contribute to the creation of the meaning in discourse (Paltridge 2012:170). This notion, in this study, is mainly based on the analysis of facial expressions and body language, the two main salient features of illustrations under examination. Foregrounding and backgrounding indicate the emphasis on concepts that are regarded more significant and salient (foregrounding) than other concepts, that are played down (backgrounding) (Paltridge 2012: 30). In sum, these aforementioned devices are used in the analysis of discourse under study.

3.4 Techniques of Analysis

In an attempt to answer the research questions, the 74 caricatures of The Piece of Paper are categorized by linguistic styles (on which the whole interaction is focused) and stylistic devices (through which styles are achieved). Accordingly, a purposive sample of 53 caricatures, which display the major style of affective functions, is investigated with respect to its stylistic devices and mis/communication, within a variety of contexts.

To exemplify this, affective functions are detected with regard to the expression of love/affection (i.e. /ʔana baḥebbik/baḥebbak ?awi/ I love you so much - /waḥfni ?awi/ I miss you so much), jealousy (i.e. /wedi ?ahla meni f?ēh?/ In what way is this woman prettier than me?), or hatred (i.e. /ʔana bakraḥak/ I hate you). Also, this style is identified in relation to the linguistic display of sadness (i.e. /betedḥak lēh? yaʾni: ?ana waḥdah zanna:nah?/Why are you laughing? Am
I a nagging person?), or happiness (i.e. /wa hdeyyetni: wardah farjaytaha le šḥa:bi: xabaytaha fī kta:bi:/ You gave me a flower, I showed it to my friends and hid it in my book). Further, the style of affective functions is analyzed in connection to the linguistic declaration of anger (i.e. /ʔettaṣalt šali:k talat marra:t. ʔenta kont fēn?/ I called you three times, where have you been?). The identification of affective functions is, also, based on gendered distinctive ways of solicitation in terms of creating a context for the opposite gender to express love/affection (i.e. /ḥabi:bi ?ennahardah Ši:d ?elḥobb/ My love, today is the Valentine), or using intimate terms of endearment (i.e. /ya rōhi:/ oh, my soul-/ḥabebti:/ my love). Thus, the style of affective functions is identified in terms of foregrounding the aforementioned features in gendered interactions.

Relatedly, the stylistic devices through which affective functions are achieved, including asking questions, indirectness, repetition and verbal aggressiveness, are identified with respect to a number of specific features.

The stylistic device of asking questions, for instance, is detected in terms of its form including question words (i.e. /fēn?/ where?), yes/no questions (i.e. /ḥatḥebeni: lamma kbar waṣṣaggez?/ Will you love me when I get older?), rhetorical questions (i.e. /la: walla:hi?!!/ Oh really?!), or modal-verb questions (i.e. /momken/ could). By the same token, the stylistic device of asking questions is identified according to its roles including a request for information (i.e. /ṭabb mēf hatīgi?:/ well, won’t you come?), or a subsequent speech act (i.e. /mi:n ?a?rab waḥed li:k feddonya di?/ who is the dearest to you in this world?). The role of asking questions is also recognized in connection with maintaining flow of interaction (i.e. /ʔaxba:rik ?ēh?/ how are you?), or clarification (i.e. /ʔana ?ettaṣalt šali:k talat marra:t. ʔenta kont fēn?/ I have called you three times, where have you been?).
The stylistic device of indirectness, as another example, is detected in terms of focusing on the literal/metamessage of an interaction (i.e. /ḥadd ᵃ:yez ᵃ:lb ᵃ:ḍi?/does anyone would like to have a single heart?). Also, repetition, as a further stylistic device, is detected according to its form based on self-repetition or repetition of others fully (i.e. /ʔestana, ṭestana/wait, wait), or partially (i.e./ʔaywa ṭoli: baʔa, ṭaywa baʔa/ Yes, say it then, yes, then). According to partial repetition, it is also detected in terms of repeating similar meaning in different words (i.e./walla:hi bamōt  fiki/I swear, I love you to death -/dana wrabena baḥebbik/ I swear, I love you), or similar words in different structures (i.e. statements changed into questions and vice versa). Also partial repetition includes similar utterances in different tenses (i.e. /makallemteni:ʃ, mabetkallemtni:ʃ/ you didn’t talk to me, you don’t talk to me). In a similar spirit, the stylistic device of repetition is identified in terms of its roles including accomplishing social goals in interactions (i.e. encouragement, emphasis) (Tannen 2007:63).

The stylistic device of verbal aggressiveness is analyzed in respect to gendered ways of insulting (i.e. /latta:t/ talkative, /ʔananeyyah/ selfish, /kadda:b/ a liar), threatening (i.e. /lēlet ᵃhlak bla:k/ I will make you have a horrible night), name-calling (i.e./ya bnell…/Son of a…), or shouting (i.e. /ʔenṭaʔ/ Speak!) that is detected with respect to multimodality.

In this way, the style of affective functions and its devices are analyzed in relation to their roles, except in the case of asking questions and repetition, as stylistic devices of specific nature, are detected in terms of both form and role for the significance of their form to fulfill a role.

Furthermore, the effect of using the style of affective functions and its devices on mis/communication is identified in terms of communicating effectively, breaking down communication and physical aggressiveness as an aspect of breakdowns in communication.
In sum, the techniques of analysis include the identification of style, stylistic devices, and mis/communication.
CHAPTER 4

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

The results are discussed based on a set of sections including styles, stylistic devices, mis/communication. The section on styles indicates one of the major displayed styles in relation to gender and affective functions. The stylistic devices-section demonstrates the use of a set of linguistic devices to achieve the style of affective functions, including asking questions, indirectness, verbal aggressiveness and repetition. The section on mis/communication points out the effect of style and its stylistic devices on mis/communication and physical aggressiveness as a feature of miscommunication.

4.2 Styles

The style of affective functions is portrayed as a significant feature in language variation to construct social groups such as gender.

Figure 1

![Bar Chart: Styles]

- Affective Functions: 72%
- Other: 28%
The above-mentioned figure (1) indicates that affective functions play a key role in the displayed interactions in comparison to other linguistic devices for purposes other than affective functions. This suggests the important link between gender and the style of affective functions in performed speech. For this reason, this study focuses on affective functions that will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.2.1 Affective Functions

Both men and women are represented as using the style of affective functions. However, women are portrayed as focusing on affective functions more than men do.

The result indicated in figure (2) is in accordance with other studies conducted on natural interactions in other cultures (i.e. Tannen:1990, Holmes: 1998, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet: 2003, and Al-Harahsheh: 2014). This suggests that there are similarities between the perceptions of this group of Egyptian men regarding how women perform language in Egyptian culture, and
how women do really use language in a number of other cultures. The displayed perceptions in my study may differ from women’s perceptions and may not reveal similar patterns to natural interactions. However, these displayed perceptions in terms of affective functions may play a significant role in the overall patterns of language variation in Egyptian Arabic. This is due to the strong relationship between social perceptions in performed interactions and the construction of linguistic styles in natural interactions (Tannen 1994: 139, Schilling Estes 1998: 54, 67).

In addition, wo/men are represented as using similar affective functions except in the case of jealousy and happiness.

Figure 3
As illustrated in the previously mentioned figure (3), men are not linguistically portrayed as displaying either happiness or jealousy. This suggests the potential of perceiving men as expressing happiness or jealousy through actions rather than linguistic utterances. Wo/men are also found to use the style of affective functions to declare love/affection more than other types of emotions. Men are shown to express love and hatred, and using terms of endearment more than women. By contrast, women are illustrated as showing anger and sadness, and soliciting affection more than men do. This display of gender and style signifies varying style of affective functions according to social perceptions. It explains the criticism directed to the difference approach, not allowing the potential of gendered similarity in linguistic practices. This also illustrates the sociolinguistic shift from a focus on gender differences to a focus on style and performance.

To exemplify this view with regard to wo/men similar style of affective functions in terms of love/affection as an example, wo/men are depicted in a variety of contexts as saying:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥabibī fi:k/</td>
<td>bamūt fīkī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I love you to death</td>
<td>I love you to death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaʃaʔak/</td>
<td>ḥaʃʔik/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I adore you.</td>
<td>I adore you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waḥeʃniʔawi/</td>
<td>nefsi nkūn sawāt hāmakār/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I miss you so much.</td>
<td>I wish to be with you in the rain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the same token, both women and men are portrayed as using affective functions in terms of endearment[^2], in a range of contexts:

[^2]: One of the most frequent terms of endearment used by opposite gender is “/yaḥabī - ḥabīt/ (Oh,) my love.”
The display of men as using terms of endearment more than women contradicts the study of Goldshmidt and Weller (2000) in an Israeli community. This suggests the difference between natural and performed interactions, or the distinction between cultures in terms of certain linguistic tendencies.

To explore further examples of the style of affective functions, its stylistic devices are needed to be initially discussed.

4.3. Stylistic Devices

The style of affective functions is achieved through a number of stylistic devices. Both men and women are shown to realize affective functions through asking questions, indirectness, verbal aggressiveness and repetition.
Figure (4) shows that both women and men are demonstrated as using the stylistic devices of asking questions and indirectness more than other stylistic devices. Meanwhile, women are represented as using the overall stylistic devices more than men. This result accords with Lakoff (1975) in terms of repetition, Tannen (1986) with regard to indirectness, and Coates (1993) in respect of asking questions. With respect to verbal aggressiveness, the result contradicts Egyptian women’s perceptions indicated in Bayoumi’s study (2017); women in his study perceive their use of verbal aggressiveness as strongly as men, but less frequently than them. This is likely to explain the difference in linguistic tendencies according to wo/men’s perceptions. This is due to that the
results of my study demonstrate the perceptions of a group of Egyptian men, the cartoonist and his team.

4.3.1 Asking Questions

Both men and women are portrayed as asking questions for fulfilling a variety of roles to perform affective functions.

*Figure 5*

![Bar chart showing the percentage of different roles for asking questions](chart.png)

In regard to the frequency of roles indicated in the above figure (5), women are displayed as often utilizing questions for clarification and a subsequent speech act more than other roles, and do so more than men. Also, women are represented as using questions for information more than men do. In contrast, men are shown to frequently question for maintaining flow of interaction more than other roles, and do so more than women. As for a subsequent speech act, the result accords with Coates (1993:189). With regard to flow of interaction and information, the result contradicts
Coates who states the opposite. This may reflect the distinction of some linguistic tendencies across cultures, or the possible difference between performed and non-performed interactions.

To illustrate this view, some examples are extracted in relation to asking questions for clarification, a subsequent speech act, flow of interaction and information.

Both a man and a woman are demonstrated as showing anger through using the question word “/fēn/where” for clarification. On the phone, the following interaction takes place, with angry facial expressions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>/ʔana ʔettaʂal di: k talat marra:t. ʔenta kont fēn/?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I have called you three times, where have you been?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/la walla:hi ya xti!! mana metteṣel di:lik: ʔablaha sett marra:t ʔenti ʔlli fēn/?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No, sis³!! I have been calling you six times before your call, where have you been?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the same context, when the woman finds out that they have equally phoned each other, their feeling of anger is reduced. The man raises a question, using a question word /ʔēh/ for maintaining flow of interaction, foregrounded by the lexicon “/ʔefṭah/ cool”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/ʔefṭah axba:rik ʔēh/?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cool, how are you then?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women are depicted as showing jealousy or sadness through raising questions for clarification. In respect to jealousy, a man is displayed as watching Paris Hilton, the famous American business woman, on T.V. This arouses his wife’s jealousy who is displayed as asking a question, using a question word “/fʔēh/ In what way” for clarification:

³ The term of address /ya xti/ that is translated as “sis” indicates verbal aggressiveness in terms of name-calling to show anger in this context.
With regard to sadness, a woman who learns Persian says to her husband that the word woman in Persian means nagging. When her husband laughs, saying: “See, it’s not only me who says that,” she gets sad and cries, based on her facial expression. She raises two questions in the form of a question word “/lēh/ why” and a yes/no question for clarification:

| Woman | /we diʔahla meni fʔēh? / In what way is this woman prettier than me? |

(Appendix A, Illustration 2)

For a subsequent speech act, a woman is displayed as soliciting affection from her lover by raising a yes/no question, initiated by a term of endearment:

| Woman | /beteʔhak lēh? yaʔnī ?ana wahḍah zanna:nah?/ Why are you laughing? Am I a nagging person? |

(Appendix A, Illustration 3)

A man is also depicted as soliciting love from his lover by raising a yes/no question for a subsequent speech act:

| Man | /meʃī hatʔolili baḥebak? / Won’t you say, I love you? |

(Appendix A, Illustration 5)

In the previous interaction, the man seems not to choose suitable timing for soliciting love; his lover is shown as about to sneeze, so she cannot express love.

As for maintaining flow of interaction, a man is shown to follow a female stranger. He attempts to show affection by raising a number of yes/no questions:
The previous interaction may explain the reason behind demonstrating men as expressing love more than women; they are usually depicted as tending to flirt with female strangers.

With regard to information, with a facial expression that shows affection, a woman asks a man, who is working on his laptop, two questions with /momken/ for maintaining flow of interaction and for information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>/ʃandeːk ʃaːʔeŋ? /</td>
<td>Do you have a Facebook account?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>/ʃandeːk ʃaːʔeŋ? /</td>
<td>Do you have a Twitter account?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>/ʃandeːk raŋaːːd ʃaːʔiːb? /</td>
<td>Well, do you have a mail number?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>/beٽeːbi takli xяːʔ? /</td>
<td>Do you like cucumbers?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>/baٽaːtes? /</td>
<td>Potatoes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>/ʃaːbaːnex? /</td>
<td>Spinach?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>/ʔeٽeنti mʊɾaʔaːbiːtah? /</td>
<td>Are you in a relationship?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>/ʔeٽeنti ʃeːlwaːʔʔ? /</td>
<td>Are you beautiful?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 6)

The previous interaction may explain the reason behind demonstrating men as expressing love more than women; they are usually depicted as tending to flirt with female strangers.

With regard to information, with a facial expression that shows affection, a woman asks a man, who is working on his laptop, two questions with /momken/ for maintaining flow of interaction and for information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/masaːʔ ʔeٽełxēʔʔ...momken ʔasʔal sōʔaːl mʊɾaʔaːbiʔʔ? /</td>
<td>Good evening...May I ask you an awkward question?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/momken ʃaːʔeŋ ʔeٽeл Wi-Fi? /</td>
<td>May I have the Wi-Fi password?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 7)
This interaction indicates that a woman shows affection to a male stranger when she needs something from him.

Overall, wo/men are illustrated as raising questions in different forms for fulfilling a variety of roles to perform affective functions. Women are represented as asking questions more than men do. Women are shown as expressing anger, sadness and jealousy through raising questions for clarification. They are portrayed as soliciting affection through asking questions for a subsequent speech act. Women are also displayed as showing affection to male strangers through asking questions for maintaining flow of interaction when they need to obtain information. Meanwhile, men are demonstrated as showing affection to female strangers through raising questions for maintaining flow of interaction. They are also displayed as not choosing a good time for soliciting affection, raising questions for a subsequent speech act. Quite interestingly, neither women nor men are illustrated as using tag questions like English language (Tannen 1993). This may raise the question of the frequency of this form in Egyptian Arabic in natural interactions. Men are not displayed as using questions with modal verbs. This suggests that women use politer forms of questions than men.

4.3.2 Indirectness

The stylistic device of indirectness plays a significant role in achieving affective functions. Both genders are illustrated as using indirectness to convey metamessages or literal messages.
In the aforementioned figure 6, wo/men are depicted as engaging in literal messages in an equal manner. Women are displayed as revealing more metamessages than men to perform affective functions. This indicates women’s greater tendency towards metamessages; this result seems to accord with Tannen (1986, 1994). However, the result of my study reveals the potential for men to focus on metamessages, and for women to focus on literal messages according to social perceptions.

To illustrate this view, some examples are extracted to demonstrate wo/men’s stylistic device of indirectness in relation to affective functions.

A woman is displayed as soliciting affection, focusing on the metamessage of her own utterance through raising a question for a subsequent speech act. Meanwhile a man is depicted as focusing on the literal message of the woman’s utterance by not giving an acceptable answer as follows:

**Woman** /mi:n ?a?rab wa:ḥed li:k feddonya diʔ/  
Who is the closest to your heart in this world?
Women are represented as focusing sometimes on literal messages when men show affection. A man is displayed as using dialogicality, singing a song by the famous Egyptian singer, Abdel Halim Hafez. The man expresses his passion, using a term of endearment as follows:

Man

?ennôm...
Sleeping…

(Appendix A, Illustration 8)

The woman’s previous answer highlights her focus on the literal message conveyed through the man’s utterance of “greet me.”

Men’s tendency towards metamessages are portrayed as playing with women’s emotions or getting out of trouble. In a restaurant, a man is illustrated as playing with his lover’s emotions by expressing affection to his cell phone and charger, focusing on the metamessage of his utterance:

Man

As much as there is passion in my eyes, oh beauty greet me.

Woman

/{ʔasfah mabasallem} ṭala wlaːd/
Sorry, I don’t shake hands with boys

(Appendix A, Illustration 9)

His lover is happily represented as asking him about this person for a subsequent speech act. But the man’s answer is as follows:

Man

/ʔelmobayel/
My cell phone.

(2)
Then the man is portrayed with his facial expression and linguistic utterances as playing more with the woman’s emotions through his focus on metamessages. He expresses his affection to the one that allows him to use his phone:

**Man** (3) /?ennama fi:h waḥeṭ ta:nī ḥaːziːʔawi ḥalayya we baḥeboh laʔennoh beyxallīːni maːsek ḥelmobayel ṭōl ḥellēl .../

But there is another one who I do love and is so dear to me. This one allows me to use my phone all night...

The woman asks him if he is talking about her, but the man says:

**Man** (4) ḥaʔaʔeʃʃaːḥen…

No, my charger…

(Appendix A, Illustration 10)

In another interaction, a man is displayed as uttering the name of a woman while sleeping. When his wife hears him, she expresses her anger through name-calling him by “mummy’s boy,” asking him about the woman. Then, the husband focuses on the metamessage, expressing affection to get out of trouble:

**Man** /ʔaʃli kont baḥlam ?enn ḥeːna xallefna bent we sammenaːha ḥeːnaːs/

Actually, I was dreaming that we have a baby whose name is Inas.

(Appendix A, Illustration 11)

When his wife believes what he says, he is represented as describing her as a poor woman. This asserts that he shows affection just to rescue himself from the problem at hand.

Women are also depicted as expressing love/affection, focusing on metamessages when they need something from men. A woman shows affection to her husband to make him accompany her
to a wedding party. She uses dialogicality, singing a song by the famous Egyptian singer, Umm Kulthum, reaching the phrase “you and me:”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>/ya: ḥabi:bi/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>My sweetheart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>/mmm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>mmm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>/welːlːel we samaːh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>The night and its sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>/maːjī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>/wengōmoh we ?amaroh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Its stars, its moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>/ṭayyeb/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>Ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>/we ?amaroh we saharoh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Its moon and its sleeplessness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>ʔexlaʃi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>Stop, and say what do you want.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>/wentā wana/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>And you and me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>/laʔ ya xti ʔenti lewaḥdek….ʔoltelik meʃ ra:yeḥ ʔafraːh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>No sis, don’t include me. I have told you I am not going to any wedding parties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 12)

This woman focuses on the affection and the metamessage of the night, its moon and sleeplessness to make her husband spend the night with her at the wedding party. Her husband is depicted as understanding her strategy; he asks her to stop singing and say what she wants. Once she utters, “you and me,” he understands the metamessage of her affection. Then, the husband expresses his anger, saying that he is not going to the party.

To conclude, men’s strategy of focusing on metamessages to get out of trouble or play with women’s emotions indicate their tendency of delivering metamessages. Women’s strategy of
focusing on metamessages to solicit affection or make a request elaborates their tendency of conveying metamessages more than men.

### 4.3.3 Verbal Aggressiveness

Both women and men are shown to use verbal aggressiveness, performing affective functions.

**Figure 7**

The previous figure (7) indicates that women are depicted as using verbal aggressiveness in terms of shouting\(^4\) and name-calling more than other roles. Women are displayed as using verbal aggressiveness more than men. This contradicts Egyptian women’s perceptions in Bayoumi’s study (2017) as indicated earlier. This raises questions about natural interactions, and about women’s use of verbal aggressiveness against men to perform affective functions.

As for shouting displayed by multimodality, a man and a woman are portrayed as going beyond gentle affectionate communication.

---

\(^4\) Shouting is analyzed in terms of facial expressions and body language that express anger.
They use verbal aggressiveness in terms of shouting to express their love towards each other:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/?ana bahebbik/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I love you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>/wana bamôt fî:k/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And I love you to death.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/matentaʔi:j bekellmah wahdah…ʔana baʃjaʔik/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don’t utter a single word, I adore you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>/weḥyat ommak…ʔenta ḥabebi/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I swear by your mother, you are my love.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 13)

In this interaction, they show anger while expressing love. They shout at each other, using prohibition (3) and swearing (4).

As for name-calling, wo/men are displayed as expressing anger in a variety of contexts, using verbal aggressiveness that is culturally loaded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>/ya ṭaʕ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bald-headed!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>/ya bent elmagnōnah/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crazy girl!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>/ya roḥommak⁵/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mummy’s little boy!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>/ya wleyyah⁷/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woman!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>/ya bnell……/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son of a…….</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>/ya xti/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sis!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

⁵ In Egyptian culture, it is highly offensive to name-call a man with a word related to his mother.
⁶ It is an impolite form of the word girl to name-call a woman.
⁷ It is an impolite form of the word woman.
With regard to insulting, a woman is displayed as expressing her anger, offending a man whom she loves, and who offends her back:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>/yeʃan ʔabo ḋaklak/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Damn you!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/we ḋaklik ʔenti kamaːn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Damn you too!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 14)

Relating to threatening, a woman is represented as threatening a man whom she is dating, out of being angry:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>/ʔana hadik belgazmah/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will give you a taste of my shoe!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 15)

A man is also portrayed as threatening his lover all of a sudden, out of being angry. He uses a form of prohibition, saying /wala/ translated literally as “don’t:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/wala teftahi bo? ḍhlik bekelmah/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keep your f*cking mouth shut!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 16)

To conclude, both genders are depicted as using verbal aggressiveness to perform affective functions in terms of anger. Women’s greater tendency towards anger through verbal aggressiveness is highlighted.

**4.3.4 Repetition**

As indicated below (figure 8), men are depicted as using repetition for emphasis more than women. Also, women are displayed as having greater tendency towards repetition for encouragement to perform affective functions. Overall, women are portrayed as using repetition more than men do.
As for repetition and emphasis, both a woman and a man are represented as expressing affection through repetition. The woman appears as using partial repetition in terms of expressing love in different lexicons, as indicated below (1, 3, 5). Meanwhile, the man is shown as repeating himself fully for emphasizing his affection to his lover, who keeps expressing her love repeatedly in different words. Through her facial expression and linguistic utterances of partial repetition, the woman is illustrated as emphasizing her expression of love out of being disappointed about her lover’s full repetition of “me too.”

Her disappointment is shown later through her expression of hatred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman (1)</th>
<th>/ʔana bəhebək ʔawi/</th>
<th>I love you so much.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man (2)</td>
<td>/wAna kamaːn/</td>
<td>Me too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman (3)</td>
<td>/ʔana bəʃəʔak/</td>
<td>I adore you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man (4)</td>
<td>/wAna kamaːn/</td>
<td>Me too.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The previous interaction suggests the need for further research on the reasons behind women’s tendency towards repetition. This interaction indicates that women repeat themselves out of being dissatisfied of men’s style of affection. Also, it demonstrates that women may repeat themselves due to men’s full repetition.

In another interaction, a man is displayed as not choosing the right words in expressing his love. The man states that he loves his woman regardless of her bad-temper. His lover expresses her sadness through repetition, emphasizing the criticism directed to her.

This interaction shows that both of them use repetition for emphasis. However, the man uses it to emphasize his affection, while the woman uses it to emphasize the criticism directed to her.
This suggests that a man may use repetition as a strategy to emphasize his good intention when he is misunderstood by a woman. This result may explain men’s greater tendency towards repetition for emphasis.

In an earlier mentioned interaction (illustration 15, page 45), a woman is initially portrayed as being interested in knowing about the past of a man early in their dating. When the woman realizes that his past is full of other women, she repeats herself partially, emphasizing that she is no longer interested in his past:

| Woman (1) | /ʔenta ḥabb ēt ka:m waḥadah ?abl kedah/? |
|           | How many women did you love? |
| Man (2)   | /mmmm…fi:h Asmaa bita:ʃet ?eʃda:di/ |
|           | Mmm…I loved Asmaa at the preparatory school. |
| Woman (3) | /ʃomōman ʔana meʃ haboʃ le maḍi:k…ʔana…/ |
|           | Anyway, I am not interested in your past…I… |
| Man (4)   | /wa ʃandek Nana bita:ʃet sanawi/ |
|           | I also loved Nana at the secondary school. |
| Woman (5) | /mana ?ultelak meʃ haboʃ le maḍi:k…ʔana…/ |
|           | I have already told you, I am not interested in your past…I… |
| Man (6)   | /wa ʃandek Zizi bita:ʃet ?őla gamʃah/ |
|           | I also loved Zizi in the first year at university. |
| Woman (7) | /ʔana meʃ ʃayzah ?aʃraf…ʔana meʃ haboʃ le maḍi:k…ʔana../ |
|           | I don’t want to know…I am not interested in your past…I.. |

The reason behind the woman’s repetition in this interaction appears to be due to the man’s insistence of telling her about other women at different stages in his life.

With regard to repetition and encouragement, a man is represented as soliciting affection not in suitable timing as indicated earlier (illustration 5, page 36), while his lover is about to sneeze. The
man is portrayed as repeating himself partially to encourage his lover to express love; meanwhile, his lover is shown as using repetition for emphasis to make him wait:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/ʔaywaʔoli baʔa/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Yes, say it then!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>/ʔestana/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>/ʔaywa baʔa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Yes, then!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>/ʔestana/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Wait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In another interaction, a woman is depicted as stating a similar meaning of expressing happiness in different lexicons, encouraging her lover to continue his singing as follows:

| Woman     | /ʔallaːh/       |
|           | Oh, so lovely   |
|           | /ya siːdi/      |
|           | Oh, so beautiful|

(Appendix A, Illustration 19)

In another illustration, a man is depicted as expressing his affection, saying that he wishes to be with his lover in the rain. His lover is represented as fully repeating herself, asking him about what he is going to do then. She appears to repeat her question to encourage the man to express himself:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/ḥabebti nefsi nekūn sawa taḥt ?elmatar/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My love, I wish to be with you in the rain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>/ḥatešmel ?ēhʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Then, what are you going to do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ḥatešmel ?ēhʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Then, what are you going to do?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, illustration 20)
Ultimately, repetition is the less frequent linguistic device used by both genders to express affective functions in comparison to other stylistic devices. Women’s tendency towards using the stylistic device of repetition is greater than men. A shift from a focus on women’s tendency of repetition to a focus on reasons behind such tendency would yield interesting results.

4.5 Mis/Communication

Mis/communication is displayed as being caused by the style of affective functions itself or one of its stylistic devices.

4.5.1 Affective Functions and Mis/Communication

Affective functions are represented as leading to miscommunication more than communication.
With reference to miscommunication, in an earlier mentioned interaction (illustration 5, page 36), a man is represented as not choosing a good time for soliciting affection. He chooses to create a context for his lover to express her love while she is about to sneeze. This leads to their miscommunication in terms of sneezing in his face, without expressing her love:

In this previous interaction, the stylistic devices of asking a yes/no question (1) and repetition (2,4 – 3,5) are displayed as not causing miscommunication. Nonetheless, the style of affective functions in terms of soliciting love not in suitable timing seems to be the reason behind miscommunication.

As for communication, in a previously mentioned interaction (illustration 1, page 35), when both a man and a woman are shown to use a similar style of affective functions in terms of expressing anger for phoning each other without receiving an answer, they communicate effectively in terms of expressing affection.

Their interaction starts with raising a question in the form of a question word for clarification out of anger as follows:
Using a similar style of affective functions in terms of anger through asking questions for clarification shifts their feeling of anger to disappointment. With a disappointed facial expression, they communicate, elaborating that they call back each other as follows:

| Woman (1) | ʔana ʔettaṣalt ʕalik talat marra:t ʔenta kont ʕen? |
| Man (2)   | ʔa walla:hi ya xti!! mana metteṣel ʕaliki ʔablaha: sett marra:t ʔenti ʔell ʕen? |

When the man and the woman find that they have equally called each other, the man raises a question in the form of a question word for maintaining flow of interaction (6). Then, they communicate more and express affection (7,8):

| Woman (3) | ʔabb mana ʔettaṣalt ʕalik ʔarbaš marra:t ʔawwal ʔemba:reḥ |
| Man (4)   | ʔa walla:hi ya xti!! mana metteṣel ʕaliki ʔablaha: sett marra:t ʔenti ʔell ʕen? |

| Woman (5) | ʔeʃṭah neb?ah motaṣadli:n |
| Man (6)    | ʔeʃṭah ʔaxba:rik ʔēḥ? |
| Woman (7)  | ʔa maw?ah ḥeʃni ʔawi |
| Man (8)    | ʔenti kama:n |

Therefore, their similar style of affective functions in terms of anger and affection plays a significant role in communication.
As for an aspect of miscommunication, affective functions are represented as leading to physical aggressiveness (figure 10). Women are shown to use physical aggressiveness against men out of anger.

![Figure 10](image)

For example, in a previous indicated interaction (illustration 6, page 37), a male stranger is displayed as pursuing a woman in the street. He attempts to ask her a number of questions for maintaining flow of interaction. Meanwhile, the woman is represented as repeating her utterances, emphasizing “No!” Once, the man asks her questions related to her being in a relationship and being beautiful, the woman becomes physically aggressive towards him, saying repeatedly “No” and beating him with her bag.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/ʔenṭi mɔrṭabətah/?/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are you in a relationship?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>/laʔ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In sum, wo/men are displayed as communicating effectively when using a similar style and stylistic devices in surface structure as well as deep meaning. Conversely, wo/men are shown as engaging in miscommunication when men display affection not in suitable timing or to female strangers. Men’s linguistic utterances are displayed as leading to women’s use of physical aggressiveness.

4.5.2 Stylistic Devices and Mis/Communication

With respect to stylistic devices and mis/communication (figure 11), indirectness is displayed as playing a key role in mis/communication rather than other devices.
Also, indirectness is illustrated as leading to miscommunication more than communication. In contrast, the stylistic device of asking questions is displayed as not having any marked effect on mis/communication. Verbal aggressiveness and repetition are depicted as completely breaking communication.

To exemplify this view, two interactions are extracted to indicate the major role of indirectness in mis/communication.

As for indirectness and communication, the caricatures reflect that men use indirectness to get out of trouble, reaching communication. In a previous elaborated interaction (illustration 11, page 41), a man is displayed as getting out of trouble for uttering a name of a woman while sleeping beside his wife by focusing on the metamessage and affection of his utterance:

| Man (1) | ʔinaːs/ ...Inas... |
| Woman (2) | ʔinaːs miːn ya roḥommak?/ Who is Inas, mummy’s little boy? |
| Man (3) | ʔoʃbɔri bas hafahhemik/ Wait, I will elaborate. |
| | ʔaʃli kont baḥlɛm ʔɛnŋ ʔeʃna xalɛfna bɛnt we sammenaːha ʔinaːs/ Actually, I was dreaming that we have a baby girl called Inas. |
| Woman (4) | ʔakiːd kanet ʃabahi/ For sure, she looked like me. |
| Man (5) | (Speaking to himself) ʔallbaːnah/ Poor woman |

In this interaction, the woman’s utterance (2) in the form of a question does not lead to their communication. However, the metamessage of the man’s utterance (3) plays a major role in communicating effectively. His saying “poor woman” indicates that he has tried to get out of trouble by focusing on the metamessage of his utterance (3).
As regards indirectness and miscommunication, communication is shown as breaking down when men focus on literal messages of women’s utterances. A miscommunication is illustrated as taking place when a woman expresses her sadness to her lover for not phoning her. Her lover indicates that he is so busy at work. The woman says that he just needs to tell her about his being busy, then she will not disturb him. Her lover is portrayed as focusing on the literal message of her utterance. He directly indicates that he is busy for the moment. This leads to their miscommunication; the woman understands that he is trying to avoid talking with her:

**Woman** /ṭayyeb lamma tēba maʃgūl tēba ?ollī wana hasibak/  
Well, when you get busy, just let me know and I will not disturb you.

**Man** /maʃī…ʔana maʃgūl delwaʔti/  
O.K…I am busy now

**Woman** /ʔenta betehrab yaʃnī??/  
Are you running away from me?

(Appendix A, Illustration 21)

The last utterance of the woman in the form of a question is displayed as having no effect on breaking communication, yet indirectness appears to cause miscommunication.

Furthermore, physical aggressiveness is displayed as a feature of miscommunication caused by stylistic devices (figure 12).

**Figure 12**
Women are shown as the ones who have greater tendency towards physical aggressiveness against men. As indicated earlier, the stylistic device of asking questions does not have any effect on miscommunication.

As for indirectness and physical aggressiveness, women are illustrated as the ones who use physical aggressiveness against men due to their different use of indirectness, the most frequent stylistic device that causes breakdowns in communication.

In a previously mentioned interaction (illustration 8, page 39), a woman is represented as conveying a metamessage of her utterance, asking a man about “the dearest one to him in this world.” The man’s answer is depicted as focusing on the literal message of the woman’s utterance; he indicates that “sleeping” is the dearest to him. Indirectness causes miscommunication and physical aggressiveness from the woman’s part. The woman is illustrated as causing him to fall down on the floor. The stylistic device of asking questions itself appears not to have any marked effect on miscommunication or woman’s physical aggressiveness.

Concerning verbal aggressiveness and women’s physical aggressiveness, a man is represented as initially expressing his love. He uses dialogicality, singing a song by the famous Egyptian singer, Najat Al-Saghira:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>/ʔaːna baʃʃaʔ ʔelbaḥr...zayyik ya ḥabeiti ḥanūn/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>I love the sea, tender as you are.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>/wesaʕa:t zayyik magnūn wemha:ger wemsa:fer.... we saʕa:t zayyik ḥayyraːn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And at times, like you, crazy, migrating, travelling...And at times, like you confused.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The man’s first utterance is received by a happy facial expression from the part of the woman. His second utterance leads to his own contemplation and to the woman’s dissatisfaction, depicted by
their facial expressions. Then, the man appears to state his true feelings towards the woman, using verbal aggressiveness in terms of insults as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man (3)</th>
<th>/wesaʕaːt zayyik lattaːt wesaʕaːt zayyik hallaːs wesaʕaːt zayyik faʃʃaːr/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And at times, like you, talkative. And at times, like you, fabricating stories.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This verbal aggressiveness is received by astonishment from the part of the woman; this astonishment appears on her facial expression.

The man is depicted as continuing his list of insults, provoking the woman’s anger as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man (4)</th>
<th>/wesaʕaːt zayyik nakaddeyyah, wesaʕaːt zayyik ʔananeyyah wesaʕaːt zayyik foðoḥeyyah/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And at times, like you, easily bad-tempered. And at times, like you, selfish. And at times, like you, disgraceful.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Appendix A, Illustration 22)

The communication totally breaks down and the woman is depicted as threatening the man with a knife, showing her anger.

As for repetition and women’s physical aggressiveness, in an earlier mentioned interaction (illustration 17, page 46), a woman is displayed as expressing her love in three different utterances. In each time, her lover is portrayed as repeating himself fully, emphasizing “me too.” This brings the woman disappointment, showing her hatred to him (7). Accordingly, the man repeats “me too,” stating that he hates her as well. Then, the communication breaks down due to repetition and the expression of hatred; the woman gets quite angry, insulting the man and using her shoe to threaten him:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woman (7)</th>
<th>/ṭab ʔana bakrahak/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well, I hate you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overall, this chapter has attempted to highlight the most frequent style and stylistic devices performed by both genders in the caricatures under examination, showing their various uses. The relation of this style and its devices to mis/communication is also elaborated. This portrayal of gender is discussed according to the perceptions of a group of Egyptian men in displaying daily-life interactions and mis/communication, the cartoonist and his team.
CHAPTER 5

5. Conclusion

This qualitative study investigates gendered styles and mis/communication in performed interactions displayed in various situations. It is based on discourse analysis of the Egyptian caricature The Piece of Paper by Gawish (2015). This type of caricature, as an example of performed speech, is specifically chosen for its popularity and representation of the perceptions of a group of Egyptian men in displaying gendered styles in daily-life interactions, including Gawish himself and his team. The study focuses on style due for its ability to offer an explanation for the way in which linguistic choices construct social groups such as women and men (Eckert and Rickford 2002: 26). In addition, style challenges the difference approach by showing the potential of gendered similarities in linguistic practices. This research also draws from performance approach for the important relationship between societal perceptions reflected in performed interactions and linguistic practices in natural interactions (Tannen 1994: 139). The language features displayed in performed speech are more reflective of perceptions than reality, yet they provide an insight into the overall patterns of language variation (Schilling Estes 1998: 54, 67).

Based on the perceptions of this group of Egyptian men, the study reveals the significance of gendered use of the style of affective functions. The style of affective functions is portrayed in 53 out of 74 illustrations. In a purposive sample of 53 illustrations, the study demonstrates a focused display on women who use more affective functions than men. This display accords with studies conducted on other cultures (Holmes: 1998, Al-Harahsheh: 2014).
Gendered affective functions are shown as being realized through various stylistic devices including asking questions, indirectness, verbal aggressiveness and repetition. Both asking questions and indirectness are depicted as being the most frequent devices used by both genders. Women are displayed as using the overall stylistic devices more than men. This portrayal agrees with other studies including Lakoff (1975), Tannen (1986), Coates (1993), except in the case of verbal aggressiveness (Bayoumi: 2017).

As for affective functions, women are depicted as expressing anger, sadness, and soliciting affection more than men. By contrast, men are displayed as expressing love and using terms of endearment more than women. The most frequent term of endearment used by both genders is “Oh/my love.” In addition, women are frequently shown as foregrounding their solicitation of affection by a term of endearment. Goldshmidt and Weller (2000) indicates that Israeli women use more terms of endearment than men do. In this way, the result of my study in performed interactions in Egyptian Arabic contradicts Goldshmidt’s and Weller’s study in natural interactions in an Israeli community. This contradiction may be explained in terms of the difference between natural and performed interactions or the distinction across cultures. Moreover, men’s greater tendency towards expressing love/affection is explained in terms of their playing with women’s emotions, getting out of trouble, not choosing a suitable time or right words, and flirting with female strangers. Also, women are perceived as focusing on affectionate talk when they need something from men. Men are illustrated as not linguistically demonstrating happiness or jealousy.

With regard to the stylistic device of asking questions, both genders are depicted as not using tag questions. Men are portrayed as not using questions with modal verbs. Men are shown to
question in order to maintain flow of interaction, contradicting Coates (1993). Meanwhile, clarification and a subsequent speech act are the most frequent reasons that women question.

With respect to indirectness, in an equal manner, both genders engage in literal messages. However, women are depicted as focusing on metamessages more than men, according with Tannen (1986, 1994). Nevertheless, men are perceived as focusing on metamessages to express love/affection in terms of playing with women’s emotions or getting out of trouble. By contrast, women are portrayed as focusing on metamessages to solicit affection or express love for getting a positive response to a request.

As for verbal aggressiveness, women are shown as shouting and name-calling more than engaging in other roles of verbal aggressiveness, and do so more than men in the caricatures. Bayoumi (2017) demonstrates that Egyptian women use verbal aggressiveness as strongly as men but less frequently than them. The contradiction between Bayoumi’s study (2017) and this study (2018) may be explained in terms of the difference between women’s perceptions reflected in his study through a questionnaire and interviews, and men’s perceptions indicated in this study through the illustrations by Gawish and his team. Also, the display of women’s greater tendency towards affective functions may play a key role in their greater use of verbal aggressiveness against men.

Concerning repetition, women are displayed as using repetition more than men, according with Lakoff’s introspections (1975). However, men are portrayed as using repetition for emphasis more than women, who are depicted as using repetition for encouragement more than men. The reasons behind women’s greater tendency towards repetition are shown in terms of their
dissatisfaction of men’s style of expressing love/affection or focusing on literal messages. Also, men’s greater tendency towards repetition for emphasis is displayed in terms of emphasizing their good intentions when they are misunderstood by women.

Further, gender-similar use of the style of affective functions and stylistic devices in surface structure and deep meaning leads to communication. Nonetheless, the relation of affective functions and stylistic devices to miscommunication is greater due to gendered different use of this style and its devices. Indirectness is displayed as playing a key role in miscommunication. On the other hand, the stylistic device of asking questions appears not to have any effect on miscommunication. Women are displayed as using physical aggressiveness against men, as a feature of miscommunication, due to men’s different use of affective functions and stylistic devices.

On the whole, both women and men are depicted as using the style of affective functions and its stylistic devices in various ways; however, women’s great tendency towards this style, its devices and physical aggressiveness are more frequent. The accordance between this study in performed interactions and studies conducted on other cultures in natural interactions (i.e. Tannen: 1986 with regard to indirectness, Coates: 1993 with respect to asking questions, and Al-Harahsheh: 2014 in terms of affective functions) suggests a similar pattern in Egyptian cultural perceptions. Nonetheless, this display may not reflect how women do really use language in natural interactions in Egyptian Arabic. The contradiction between this study and other studies (i.e. Goldshmidt and Weller: 2000/terms of endearment, Bayoumi: 2017/ verbal aggressiveness) suggests the difference between natural and performed interactions or the distinction of cultures in terms of certain
linguistic tendencies, with regard to Goldshmidt’s and Weller’s study and my study. Also, it suggests the difference between women’s perceptions in Bayoumi’s study and men’s perceptions in my study. To conclude, the results revealed in my study provide a deeper understanding of the overall patterns of language variation based on the relationship between social perceptions and linguistic practices.

5.1 Implications of the Study

The study contributes to the growing body of research on styles in performed and non-performed interactions in Egyptian Arabic. It enriches our understanding of the perceptions of a group of Egyptian men, the cartoonist and his team, in depicting styles in daily-life interactions. This study highlights the relationship between styles, stylistic devices and mis/communication in a variety of contexts. This is quite beneficial in the further investigation of these patterns according to women’s perceptions as well as natural interactions. This shows an insight into the overall patterns of language variation, based on societal perceptions and language practices. The study indicates a certain similarity between Egyptian culture and other cultures (Holmes: 1998) in terms of women’s tendency towards affective functions. It also shows a certain contradiction with other studies (Tannen:1993/tag questions, Goldshmidt and Weller:2000/terms of endearment, Bayoumi:2017/verbal aggressiveness). The study opens, then, the gates for further research on investigating these patterns in natural interactions. In addition, it gives a beneficial contribution to Arabic as a Foreign Language classrooms where gendered use of affective functions, stylistic devices and mis/communication in performed speech can be explored through an effective, enjoyable and memorable tool of art such as caricature. Learners may explore various ways of expressing affective functions in relation to gender, including love/affection, anger, sadness,
endearment, solicitation, happiness, jealousy and hatred. They may explore gendered use of questions in various forms for clarification, a subsequent speech act, information and flow of interaction. They may learn how to use indirectness and verbal aggressiveness in Egyptian Arabic. Also, learners may explore techniques of repetition. They may investigate the effect of using this style and its devices on mis/communication. Ultimately, exploration through a universal tool of art is likely to lead learners to communicate more appropriately and effectively with Egyptian people.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

This study examines a limited sample number, 74 caricatures. In addition, 53 caricatures, which display the style of affective functions, are selected to be under deep exploration; other styles are not investigated. This can be explained in terms of the nature of the qualitative study to examine a small sample in depth. A body of caricatures is a form of a limited data set that depicts a very specific social phenomenon such as styles and mis/communication, based on reliable sources such as books. Caricature commonly highlights contemporary, daily-life issues in society, which vanish as the incidents pass. Further, recent caricatures in the form of dialogues are quite limited.

The genre of caricature opens the door for various interpretations; a single caricature can be interpreted in numerous ways based on its reader. However, the interpretation of this study is based on two main intertwined factors; language as well as body language for obtaining reliable results.

The nature of caricature in re-inscribing or challenging social issues with a tendency towards exaggeration (Sarıgül: 2009) leads to further limitation; the results of this study may re-inscribe or challenge the style of affective functions, stylistic devices and mis/communication. Nevertheless,
in this study, I argue that this performance reveals societal perceptions according to Gawish and his team. To conclude, further study has the potential to shed light on the relationship between gendered styles in performed interactions in other genres of performed speech and gendered linguistic practices in natural interactions in Egyptian Arabic.
Appendices

Appendix A: Illustrations

Illustration 1

Illustration 2

Illustration 3

Illustration 4
## Appendix B: Affective Functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affective Functions</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Love/Affection</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men</strong></td>
<td>أنا كمان أنا بحبك أوي.</td>
<td>أنا بحبك.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أنا بحبك.</td>
<td>أنا بحبك.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>بحبك جدا.</td>
<td>وحبه يا ناس.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I love you very much (Uttered in English).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
<td>أنا بعشوقك/ بعشوقك باحببي.</td>
<td>أنا بمشترك فيك.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>والله بموت فيك.</td>
<td>أنا بموت فيك.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أنا معجب ببكي.</td>
<td>أنا معجب ببكي.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ننت حبيت كام واحدة قبل كده؟</td>
<td>انت الأمل في العيون والنشوة ساعة الجنون.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>انت مقدرش عيش من غيرك.</td>
<td>يا حبيبي وليل وسماء ونجومه وقمره وسهرة وانت وأنا.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>انتي الحب كله..العمل كله.</td>
<td>أنت بعشق البحر زيك يا حبيتي حنون.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>على قد الشوق اللي في عيوني يا جميل سلم.</td>
<td>بحبك أوي يا عيوني.. بحبك مهما لمؤني.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>صبح الخير على ساكن القلب والروح رويتك تسد العقل وتشفي الجروح.</td>
<td>انتي صحيحة نكتة بس بحبك.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>أنت مستعد اعمل أي حاجة عشانك.</td>
<td>انتي حبيت كام واحدة قبل كده؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دا أنا وربنا بحبك.</td>
<td>مجدد وكفكت فيها هي أجمل هدية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>كل سنة وانتي طيبة يا حبيبتي.</td>
<td>بيتها ولا تفكر فيها؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حبيبيتي عارفة أنا نفسي في أي؟ نفسي نكون سوا تحت المطر.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>جحبيتي نتهي مش انتي كتی معايا في الحلم امبارح!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>شوفي جبت لك أي معايا عشانك.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>انتي مرتبطة؟ انتي حلوة؟</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>اسمي محمد و عمو Cuomo أنا سنج...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حبيبيتي ولا تستاني كيف</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>عايزيزي لي لما تقولي لي باعشقك ما اصرخش و أملِي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>الكون أهلاً هلاً هلاً هلاً هلاً هلاً هلاً هلاً متحفشي أنا مش ناسيكي،</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>متحفشي لو مين نداني،</td>
<td>متحفشي من غير عبيتي، متحفشي مع حب نداني.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>مش عشيش من غير عبيتي، متحفشي مع حب نداني.</td>
<td>تاني.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ضمدني، خداني أنا لاجي ولا أول مرة أكون صادق.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حدد عزر كليب فاضي، كليب هادي، كليب مخلص، كليب كليب</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>كل حنان وعطف؟</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>اهنا هنظم زيننا في نابغتنا مع بيكينج بوردنوا و فانيتيلنا</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>و نعمل صنعة كيفة حلوة كده.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
الوحيد اللي باحس إن فيه علاقة قوية بينا...إنما فيه حد عزيز عليا وحبه لأنه بيخليني ماسك الموهبل طول الليل.

أصل أنا كنت يحلمنا خلفنا بنت وسميناها إيناس.
انتي زايدة شوية عن آخر مرة شوفتك فيها...زايدة في الحلال.

Anger
قولتك مش رايح أفراح أنا – مليل دعوة خالتك تفتش ولا تتشقق، الفرح في نفس ميعاد الماتش.
لا والله ياختتي!! منا متصول عليكي قبلها 6 مرات انتي اللي فين؟
أنا اتصلت عليك 3 مرات. انت كنت فين؟
فكرت فيك وهابك أيه؟ هو أنا جايب لك وردة؟
مش مبهر برره مش معنى إنك تهتميز بالشغد إنك تسباني...ماهو أنا بقالك يوم مايتكلمنيش.
هو كل حاجة شغل شغل؟
فين الدبلة؟ شلت الدبلة من صباعك ليه؟
ولا تفتحي يق الهلك بكلمة.

تهاردة مش عيد خروجتنا ولا حاجة وكنت بشوفك.
يا بنت المجونة هتكشف ه ولا لأ.
عبد ميلادي انتي؟ حط جوازنا كان انتي؟
حتى ده كمان نسيته.
صوتك وحش ماتغنيش تاني.
يا زالونا يا حيوان.
وشكلك انتي كمان.
يا ليله!
يا بنت!
يا خذني
يا روح ماما!
يا لمحاك!
نعم يا عين ماما!
يا موكوس...
يا بن ال....
يا تشك
يا لا
يا طبي
يا صاحبك فقر واصبع من السعادة وغم وهم
ليلة الهلك بلثال.
أقسم بالله هاز علك.
أنا هديك بالجزم.
طيب ودبي....

Sadness
عرف ليه أنا قاللي اختارك؟...عرف ليه أنا راضي
بأنارك؟...عرف ليه أنا هافضل أحبك؟...عشن أنا
حمر
بتحلل ليه؟ يعني أنا واحدة زناته؟ يعني أنا مش
زناته؟
متحاولش تيبر دي مش أول مرة.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>مكلمتنيش ليه بقالك يوم؟</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>أنت نسيت الأنفيرسيري بتاع خطوبتنا.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Endearment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>حبيبي/ يا حبيبي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يا روحي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يا جميل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أموره، بونوبونية، جميلة، رائعة.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solicitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>حبيبي ممكن تقول لي كلام يرفع من معنوياتي؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بحبك؟ بتحترمها؟ مخلصة ليك؟ هي موجودة؟ مين؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مين أقرب واعجز وساني تقع وتتكسر؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هلتحبني لما أكبر وعجز وسناني تقع وتتكسر؟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Happiness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وهدتي وردة، فرجيتها لصاحبي، خيبيتها بكتابي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يا حبيبي</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jealousy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ودي أحبلي مني في ايه؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ايناس مين؟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hatred</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>و أنا كمان.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>طلب ليه ماشية علاقة كره؟ يعني تكرهني و أكرهك. وكل يوم تكره بعض أكثر...و لو حد كرهك أكثر مني هغفر عليكي.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>وأنا كمان.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>طلب ليه ماشي علاقة كره؟ يعني تكرهني و أكرهك. وكل يوم تكره بعض أكثر...و لو حد كرهك أكثر مني هغفر عليكي.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C: Permission

The illustrations extracted from the Egyptian caricature *The Piece of Paper* (2014-2018) are provided in this study by kind permission of Toya publishing house and the Author Gawish.
References


