
Linguistic Markers of Gender Stigmatization: Media Narratives as a Case Study

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Abstract

Gender stigmatization prevails in the Moroccan media mainly in films, and series where the sexist language used against women is tied within cinematic narrative elements. Women are portrayed as primarily responsible for the domestic task, but men are the dominant of public sphere. The Moroccan media plays a salient role in contributing to the perpetuation and reinforcement of traditional gender roles through the use of sexist language and stigmas in dialogues tied within narrative scenes. The current research aims at investigating the representations of the sexist linguistic discourse used against women. The research studies the linguistic derogatory terms, gender stereotypes, reification of women, and dismissive attitudes of women's interests. The study utilizes a mixed approach of selected Moroccan films and sitcoms through the analysis of dialogues, and interactions among characters. It aims at discerning the representations of the sexist language in media and how gender inequalities are maintained. The data analysis points out the various ways of gendered stereotypes or negative derogatory terms used against social groups typically women. The results unveil prominent interrelations between gender representations and the reinforcement of gendered stereotypes. The research concludes that the Moroccan media has a role play in structuring prerequisite linguistic stigmas. Through drawing the significant ways in which the sexist language is used in films and sitcoms. The findings display the linguistic stigmatization used against the female kind. Such stigmatization could be touching the stereotyped gender discourses prevailing in societies with patriarchal system.

Keywords: Stigmatization, Language, Media, Gender, Patriarchy, Society

1. Introduction

The gender images presented in the Moroccan mass media reflect the attitudes, social inequalities and beliefs already prevailing in society. The traditional gender roles typically depicted within social and cultural practices are mirrored in the cinematic narrative elements in the media. Previous research has uncovered gender representations and biases within films and the way gender stereotypes are reinforced. The Moroccan comedy depicts gender inequalities in a more indirect way through comedies and humour

which elicit laughter at what is deemed to be conventionally ingrained within social rules and norms. The public audience's perception of Moroccan comedy is not grounded in critical thinking. It is therefore, accepted as natural and free of gender biases. The sexist linguistic discourses manifested in the mass media are generally tied within narrative scenes which dialogues and character interactions exchange the social gender stereotypes already dictated by social norms. Through the depiction of gender biases and inequalities that the mass media creates, false images and truths about gender norms and roles are being displayed.

This paper treats the sexist linguistic discourses manifested in Moroccan films and sitcoms generally rendered in the employment of derogatory terms, gender stereotyping: depicting women as devoted housewives and mothers, reifying women's bodies and accusing them of eliciting men's sexual desires, and dismissing their attitudes and interests.

2. Review of Literature

The language we use may be an innocent means of communicating our interests, and needs, but language users are not. Sapir (1921) defines language as 'a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires' (p.8). The definition provides insights into language and linguistic thinking. Through the definition, we understand that language is after all a means of communicating our inner inclinations and more importantly ideas. According to social constructionist theory as developed by Schwandt (2003), knowledge is not something inherent, but constructed through social practices, and shared understandings (p.197). Our perceptions of the world are therefore shaped by the way we interact through which constitutes language a part and parcel. Sadiqi (2003) argues that the 'language we use can be achieved only within a given socio-cultural context' (p.1). The language, is then grounded in social attitudes and beliefs. Sadiqi adds that: "The interaction of gender and language cannot be treated as *sui-generis* in the abstract; it needs to be grounded in real life conditionings and experiences." (Sadiqi, 2003, p.1)

Language is gender related: individuals' beliefs and social attitudes are no more isolated from language and linguistic discourses. Language is grounded in gender perceptions and stereotypes. The mass media as a social institution departs from social gender norms and rules. The linguistic sexist discourses manifested in the mass media are therefore fostered by the traditional gender roles that prevail within social concepts and attitudes. The Moroccan mass media represents the sexist language already prevailing within social norms and rules. Language and concepts intersect and promote our understanding and interpretation of real or fictitious worlds. People engage to social rules and norms. The social institutions, like the mass media, schools we attend, and even people we interact with shape our understandings and perceptions of the world.

Fowler et al. (1979) argue that language is grounded in social theory. They state that 'discourse is social as well as linguistic' (1979, p.4). The language is the means through which control over group members is exerted. In the same vein goes Althusser who argues that 'every social formation arises from a dominant mode of production' (1971, p.128). The quotation signifies that a social structure bears from social dominance of institutions. The mass media is understood as a social institution that carries an immense power that contributes to the creation of certain truths (Foucault, 1995) that are based on misogynist discourses whose aim is to promote patriarchal systems and beliefs. In the same line goes Mills (2008) who claims that the media creates gendered social realities through depicting women as lacking seriousness, immaturity and irrationality (p.144).

Women, as argued by Sunderland (2007) are overwhelmed by gender traditional discourses (p.219). Their bodies are viewed by social and cultural factors as a source of sexual cravings. Also as referred to by De Beauvoir's 'the Second Sex' (1949), women are not born, but rather become gendered through social constructions: the social roles and norms already dictated by societal beliefs which depict feminine and masculine traits. The mass media manipulating purpose can be in particular contextual. Sunderland (2007) claims that the mass media manipulates individuals' thinking through contexts of humour where the sexist language appears to be natural and gender free (p.216). The contexts where humour manifests are within comedies, and dramas. The mass media create social ideologies as a tool to persuade its viewers that the truth lies in the way women are depicted and portrayed. Several studies were conducted on the sexist linguistic discourse used against women in the mass media. Mills (2008) studied the British Television programme 'Men Behaving Badly' that was created and written by Simon Nye. She concluded that in such a program, women were addressed with sexist derogatory terms such as 'Top Totty': a term used to describe childish behaviours (p.144). Stigmatized term reinforce the gender stereotypes that women are unassertive, childlike and girlish. The mass media, however do not only shape the viewers' understandings of the gender roles through sexist terms, but more importantly contributes to the overall promotion of gender ideologies.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data Collection

In this section, a sample of Moroccan sitcoms, films, and series were selected. The sample consisted of two series, and two films that were broadcast on 2m. The data were collected in three months during which the TV shows were presented. The selection of such TV programs was based on the idea that sexist language representation in mass media is not specific to one type of TV show, but embraces various programs. The Moroccan films, and series that were chosen are Zina, Aouicha Douiba, Kenza fi douar, and 3ors Eddib. Based on a mixed-approach, the data were analysed in the light of feminist studies. The current paper unveils the sexist language embedded in TV shows where sexism tends to be natural for viewers. Four main themes were treated: sexist derogatory terms, gender stereotypes, reification of women's bodies, and dismissive attitudes.

3.2. Data Processing

Since the collected data for this study were in Moroccan Arabic, a transcription was necessary. The data were transcribed manually, and coded into themes expressive of the linguistic stigmatization commonly expressed. Also, themes that appeared to be generative of similar headings were dealt with under one theme. For a quantitative analysis of the given data, tables displaying the number of instances stigmatization occurred in each film or series. Also, figures were used displaying percentages of the stigmatized discourses. However, for the qualitative approach, present findings were compared to previous research findings in the field of language and gender.

4. Findings

Table 1. Number of instances of sexist language used in the Moroccan series “Zina”

The Moroccan series	Derogatory terms	Stereotypes	Objectification	Dismissive attitudes
Zina	13	7	6	3

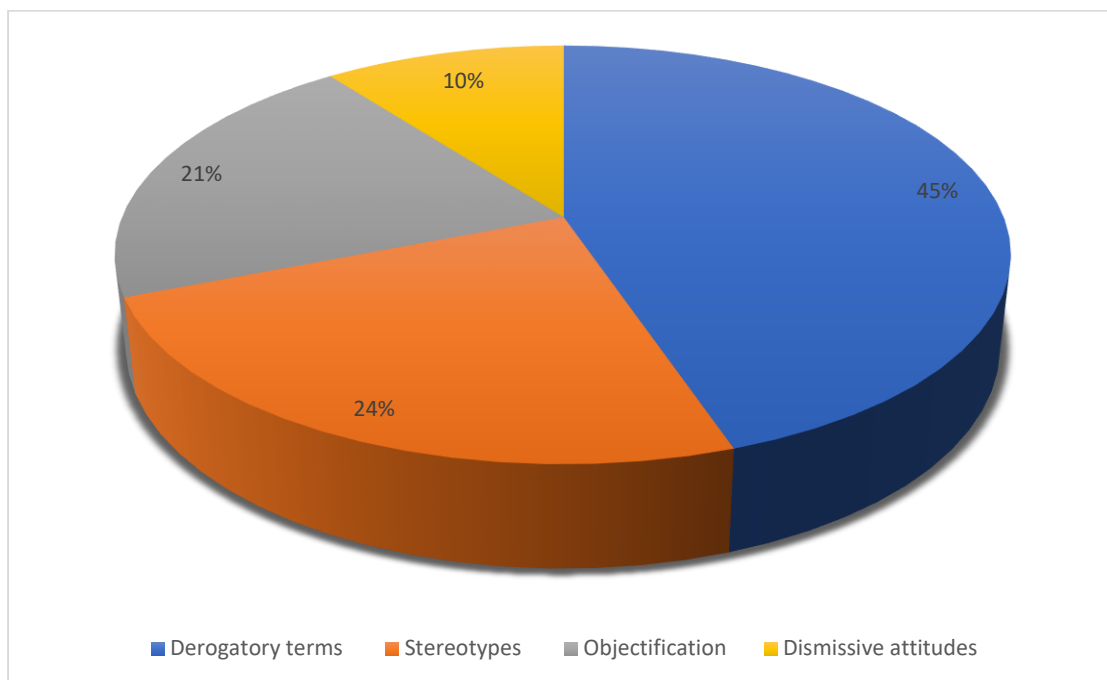


Figure 1. Percentage of sexist language in the Moroccan series “Zina”

The figure displays that the largest segment of sexist language in series Zina is that of derogatory terms with 45% followed by stereotypes, 24%. 21% represents objectification and 10% represents the dismissive attitudes (ways in which women’s interests were dismissed).

Table 2. Number of instances of sexist language in Aouicha Douiba

The Moroccan film	Derogatory terms	Gender Stereotypes	Objectification	Dismissive attitudes
Aouicha Douiba	18	8	3	2

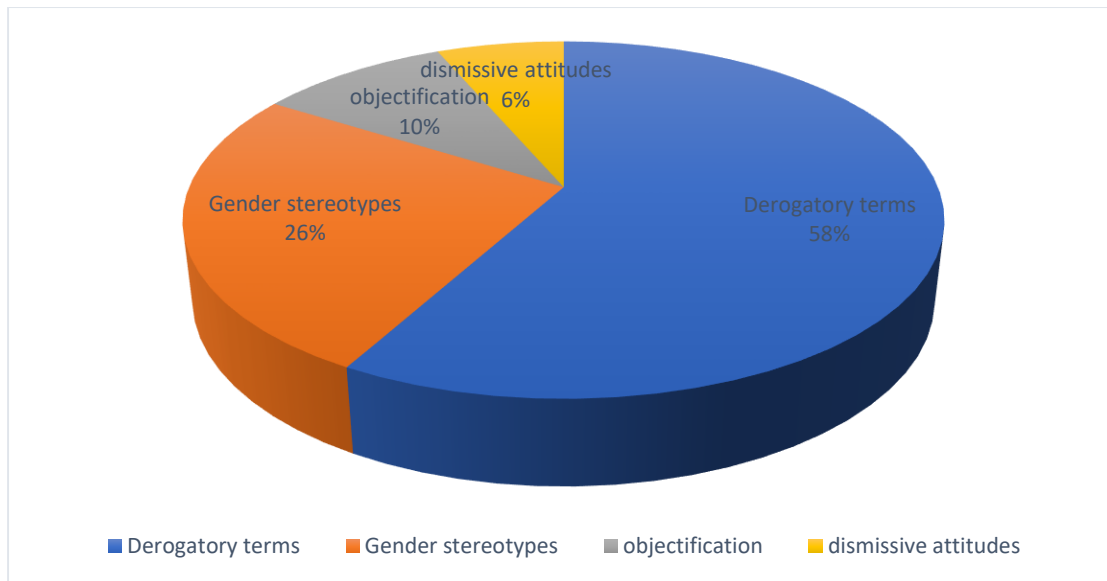


Figure 2. The percentage of sexist language in Aouicha Douiba

The figure shows that the derogatory terms are mostly used in Aouicha Douiba as they are represented in the figure with 58% followed by 26% that represents the gender stereotypes. 10% displays objectification and 6% that represents the dismissive attitudes.

Table 3. Number of instances of sexist language in Kenza Fi Douar

The Moroccan sitcom	Derogatory terms	Gender Stereotypes	Objectification	Dismissive attitudes
Kenza Fi Douar	22	24	4	4

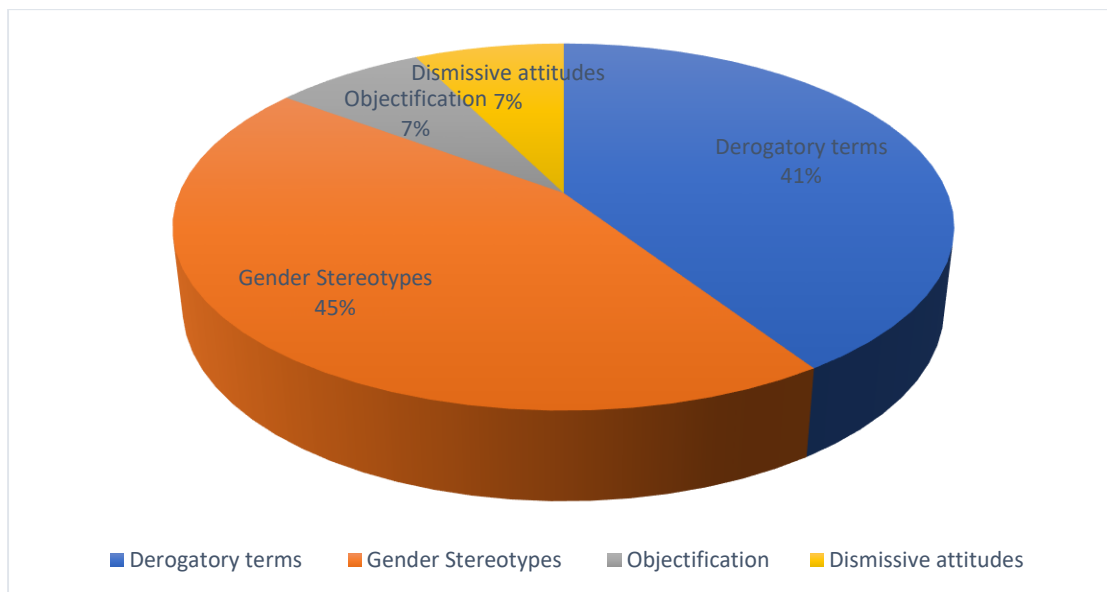


Figure 3. The percentage of sexist language used in Kenza Fi Douar

The figure shows that 45% represents the gender stereotypes, 41% represents the derogatory terms; inclusive of insults that are addressed to women, 7% represents objectification: women are being reified or treated as sexual objects, and the dismissive attitudes.

Table 4. Number of instances of sexist language used against women in 3ors Eddib

The Moroccan film	Derogatory terms	Stereotypes	Objectification	Dismissive attitudes
3ors Eddib	21	18	4	3

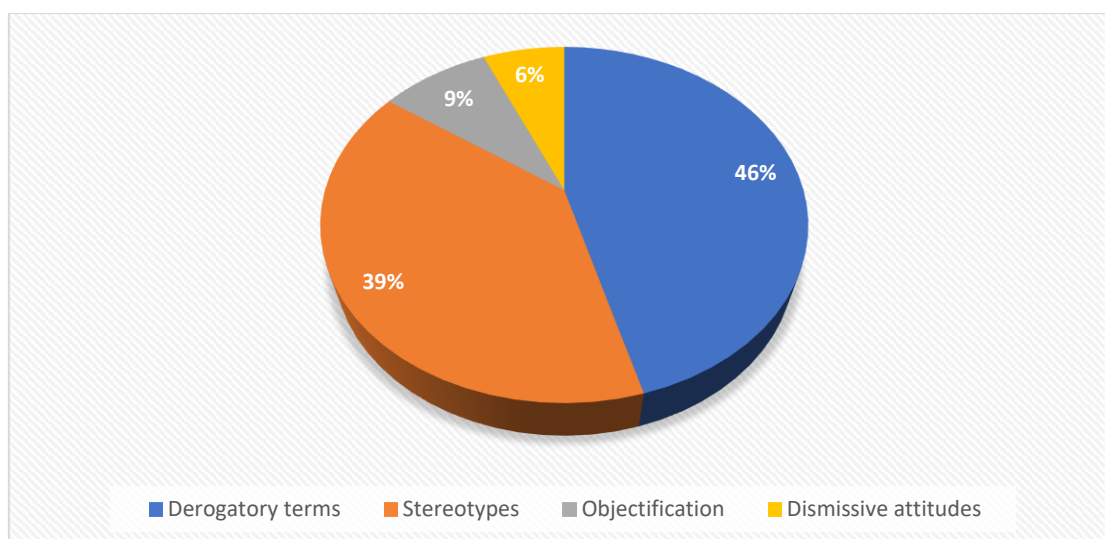


Figure 4. percentages of the sexist language used against women in 3ors Eddib

The figure represents the sexist language used in the film, 3ors Eddib. 46% represents the derogatory terms used against women followed by 39% that represents the gender stereotypes that depict women in traditional gender roles. 9% is the percentage of the terms used that describe women as a sexual object and 6% represents dismissive attitudes that trivialize women's interests and social activities.

5. Discussion

The Moroccan movies present many aspects of the sexist linguistic discourse used against women. Such discourse is depicted in diverse ways among which we cite the following: derogatory terms that address direct insults to women, gender stereotypes: women receive explicit gendered expressions that reduce them to traditional gender roles typically defined as devoted housewives, and mothers. The linguistic stigmas do also address women as sexual tools that elicit men's sexual desires. Women are taken the total responsibility for seducing men. Their bodies are, therefore reified and presented as an object of sex. The fourth aspect of sexist language represented in Moroccan TV shows is that of trivializing women's interests, social activities, and speech. Such category is named the dismissive attitudes.

5.1. The derogatory Terms Used Against Women in Moroccan TV Shows

The Moroccan sitcoms series and films typically illustrate the gender roles and norms that prevail in the Moroccan social beliefs. Many examples can be taken from the data selected above. The series *Zina* for instance witnesses a frequent use of derogatory terms addressed to different female characters. The derogatory terms can be exemplified as follows: the scene 4 from episode 2 when Zina's father addressed Zina and her mom, /ʃwəhtini fə dɔwɑr wliɪ ʃɪɣɑ ... mɾɑt lfqih wəlat ʔalqɑ ʃɜv:rɑthɑ ɔ kɑtʒɑrɛt ... wliɪ rɑdi fɔwɑr ɔ hɑni rɑsi ... ʃdi ɜliɑ bəntək mɑnbrihɑʃ tʃu:t lɑtɔɑ diɑ lbɑb/ (you made me shameful in the tribe as you became a belly dancer ... the priest's wife let her hair down and ululated ... I started walking in the tribe with head down ... I order you to forbid your daughter from getting outside the house). The derogatory terms were also found in the study conducted by Mills (2008) on the sexist media discourse used on a Radio program by DJ Chris Moyles who describes his female colleague as a 'cow', 'tart' or 'dippy' (p.145). In the Moroccan Mass media, a similar example can be given from the Moroccan film *Aouicha Douiba* Scene 17: 7. Moulay L Abed to his servants referring to Aouicha, /rɛdɔ bɑlkɔm mənɦɑ rɑhɑ ʃɪtɑn/ (be careful with her, she is a devil) This example illustrates that women in social beliefs are regarded as stupid, and irrational.

Another example can be given from the first episode of *Kenza Fi Douar* Scene 6: 3. Character Jouin referring to Hlima, /ʃɪtɑn ɜɑtrɔv:r/ (the devil is circling). The derogatory term presented in this example is manifested in the fact that Jouin calls Hlima 'Shitan' (devil). Such an example depicts women's association with devil in patriarchal societies. Other examples are taken from scene 7 of the Moroccan film *Aouicha Douiba* when the servant says to Tajer Jaafer referring to Aouicha, /ʔlɑqɪt hɑdik lɛfɜɑ lɔrɛʔɪtɑ/ (I met that viper). This example reveals that women are depicted as a viper: women and the viper share evil deeds according to social beliefs.

5.2. The Gender Stereotypes Used in Moroccan Films and Series

Language use carries gendered stereotypes, derogatory terms and reified beliefs that treat women as a source of trouble, and their bodies as a disgraceful entity. Feminists defy women's stereotypes spread in social beliefs and that categorize women in inferior statuses (Mills, 2008, p.128). The sexist language considered men as the norm and women as deviations from it. Stigmatized linguistic expressions like: 'he plays like a girl' or 'she is a second Einstein' unravels the degrading status deepened in social beliefs (Hellinger and Pauwels, 2007, p.653), and reinforces the gendered stereotypes that depict men as the source of shrewdness, and seriousness, but women as immature, stupid, childish and unassertive. The data collected from the Moroccan TV shows illustrate the gender stereotypes that depict women in traditional gender roles. In series, *Zina*, episode 1, scene 2: Zina's father to her, /dɑthɑ fɛlɾnɑ ɔnsɑt lɾdɑ lɑh mɜɑlhɑ qɑɜidɑ/ (she kept singing and forgot the lunch what a bad habit !!). In this example, the gender stereotypes do capture women as social beings whose primary responsibility is domestic tasks,

therefore they are highly stigmatized if their interests overcome the domestic sphere (Mills, 2008, p.40). Another example is extracted from the film *3ors Eddib* Scene 6: 9. When Moulay Ismail says to his wife, /brɪt nɜːraf fɪn kɛntɪ kɑːdɔːrɪ fɪ znɑːqɪ bɔːhdɔːk, mɑːzɑːndnɑːf lɪmra lɪkɪtɪχɛrɜː/ (I want to know where you were, you were wandering outside alone. Women are never allowed to go out alone). This example illustrates the gender stereotypes that highly stigmatize women's going out alone. In the Moroccan society where the patriarchal systems are prevailing, women are never allowed to go outside unless they are accompanied by their husbands which reinforces the gender stereotypes that reduce women to traditional gender roles. Women's roles are traditionally associated with being devoted housewives and mothers conforming to the rules and norms dictated by social beliefs.

Another example is taken from Aouicha Douiba in scene 23 when Moulay L Abed shouts at his wife, Aouicha, /ɑːf dɑːk tɪχɛtɑːy lɦɪrɪm ɔ tɔːlɪ mɛn fɔːq sɔːr ... twɑːhɛstɪ tɪχɑːlwdɪ dɛnyɑ bɜːzɑːylɔːk fɪtɑːnɪyɑ ɑːf dɑːk thɛdɪrɪ mɜːɑ rɜːɑl ɔ dɑːχlɪ flɦkɑːm ... lɪχɪr hɔːwɑ lɪ kɔːn dɛrtɦ fɛlsɑːnɛk ɔ rɔːbɪtɦ bɪn snɑːnɛk, zɑːd bɑːlɪ rɑːnbɔːdlɔːk ɔ ndɑːwɪk mɛn tɑːɦrɑːmɪyɑt dɪɑːlɔːk ... rɑːdɪ nrɜːzɛk lɜːɪftɔːk lɑːdɪmɑ dɔːrɪ bɪn lswɑːq tɛsrɔːqɪ ɔ tɛnhbɪ ɔ tɔːbqɑːy dɪmɑ hrɜːbɑːnɑ/ (who permits you to look out from the fence ... you missed your situation of deceiving people with your evil deeds, who allowed you to speak to men and to intervene in judgements ... you should have done good with yourself and your tongue, to tie it in your teeth. I wanted to change you and to treat you from your evil deeds ... I will take you back to the way you were living in, to keep wandering in popular markets stealing and robbing, and to keep always running away). In this example, married women are represented as not allowed to talk to men or to intervene in the final judgements or verdicts. They have to conform to traditional roles that silence them. Such an example reinforces the idea that women's full responsibility lies in the domestic tasks, and her interests and jobs shouldn't touch tasks and social activities that are already dictated by social norms as purely male oriented. To illustrate more, an example from episode 5 from sitcom, *Kenza Fi Douar*, in Scene 1 when Latif says to Laatis referring to Kenza, his colleague at work, /rɑːdɪ tɔːqɔːl lɪhɑ lɑːlɑ kɛntɪ dɑːbɑ tkɔːnɪ mɜːɑ wlɪdɑːtɛk kɑːtɜːzɛnɪ fɛlmɪlɑːwɪ, hɪnɑ rɜːɑl rɑːdɪ nrɪχɛrɜːɔ nbdɑːw nɦɑlbɔ bɛlmɔːsɑːwɑt mɜːɑ lɪmra/ (you will go and tell her, madam, you have to be a good housewife who prepares food for her children and takes care of them, one day we, men, will call for equality with women) (referring to if women keep dominating the public sphere according to him, men will call for gender equality, one day). In this example, the man Latif, is explicitly stating that he is disturbed by women's inclusion in the public sphere as their first place, according to him, should last only in the kitchen doing the housework, and has to conform to social norms that dictate on them to be devoted mothers.

5.3. Reification and Dismissive Attitudes in Moroccan TV shows

Mills (2008, p.26) argues that women are addressed as a 'bitch'. Such a proposal strengthens the data found above that consider women's bodies as the object of sex, and adultery if they are not controlled by their husbands' authority. This idea can be illustrated in the example given from series *Zina* in episode 2, Scene 6: Khalid to his father, Brahim, /χɑːsnɪ ntɜːɔwɛzɦɑ ɔ ndrɪ lɪhɑ zɔːqɑːlhɑ w ɪlɑ brɑːt tɦtɑːh tɦtɑːh fɪ dɑːr/ (when I marry her, I will make her wise and if she wants to dance, she will dance in her house). In this example, women's bodies are seen as objects of sex that need to be controlled by the husbands. Crawford (1995, p.133) argues that sexual humorous contexts are made by men as a way of keeping women under their authority. The men, therefore are the dominant of the public spaces, but women are always seen as sexual tools of public criticism (Crawford 1995, p.146). This can be well illustrated in the Moroccan media in series *Zina*, Scene 3: a character from the tribe to his friend, /hɑ mɔːlɑt rɛkzɑ zɑːt/ (the woman with the horny dance came). The woman according to social norms and rules is regarded as a sexual being, and the sexual harassment illustrated in this scene is treated as normal as the male in the social traditional belief is right to sexually harass women and treat them as sexual objects. Women are culturally described as: /ɦɪχɑ/ (slut), and women's marriage to men is understood as an obligation since the man is seen as the one who covers the woman. This is well illustrated in *3ors Eddib* Scene 8: 9. Moulay Ismail to his wife, /kɑːnt zɛnqɑ χɑːwɪyɑ ɔ mɪrɑt lɦɑz smɑːzɪl χɑːrɜːzɑ kɑː dɔːr fɪ znɑːqɪ, smɜːɑ ɑ lɑː lɑ ɑnɑ rɑːnɪ tɜːɔwɛzɦɑ mɪrɑ bɑːf 'dɔːg ɪtɑːdɦɑ mɑːfɪ χɛː fɔː dː fɔː rː dɪwɦɑ nɑːs wɪ rɜːɪbɔːhɑ bɪ dɔːwɑhɛt lɦɪχɑm ... sɔːktɪ wɑːf ɑnɑ nɔːgɔː lɪk kɛlɪmɑ trɛː dɪ zɪlɑ bɪ ɑːfɪrɑ lɪ gɛlɦɑ ɑnɑ fɪ hɑd dɑːr hɔːwɑ lɪ kɔːn mɑːbqɑ χɪrɜːz ... ntɪ rɑːkɪ mɜːɔwɪzɑ bɪ rɑːzɛl ɔ rɑːzɛl hɜːzɛrtɔ tɑːqɪlɑ fɪ lɪblɑd ... sɛmɜːɑ yɑhɑd lɪmra ... ɦkɔːn ɪtɪbɑhɑ bɪk w ntɪ kɪɦbɛr ... rɑ tsɔːktɪ wɪlɑ lɑ, rɑtsɔːktɪ ... zː mɪ fɔːmɛk ɔ hɑyɪdɪ hɑd ɦrɑwɛt hɑdɔː/ (the street was empty, and Lhaj Ismail's wife is out rambling in the streets, listen to me, I married a woman so that she gives me children, not a woman who goes outside whenever she likes and people are calling her the one who visits every coin in the city ... shut it up, I say one word, you reply by ten. All I say in this house has to be done my word should be heard in this house and only mine, you will never go outside again, you married a man with authority ... listen to me ... who is going to pay attention to you and you are too short, shut it up, zip it and take off these clothes). In this example, the man is seen as the one who has the full control over his wife: the man has to limit if not to forbid his wife's freedom of going out alone and whenever she likes. Another example that illustrates women's social status as a source of eliciting men's sexual desires can be given from Aouicha Douiba in Scene 5 when Tajer Jafer sexually harasses Aouicha, /ɑːf hɛb χɑːtɛr lɪzɑlɑ ... wɑːf nrɪχɑlɪ hɑd zɪn kɔːlɔ wɑːqɛf qɔːdɑm lɦɑnɔːt/ (what does the beautiful lady want? Shall I let all this beauty wait here?).

The stigmatized linguistic discourse is also manifested in trivializing women's interests and social activities. Such discourses are embedded in contexts of humour such as comedies. Sexism can be indirect and tied within humorous speech (Mills, 2008, p.140). Such proposal justifies my option for Moroccan comedies to unravel how sexist language is proclaimed. Humorous contexts are not made innocently, but rather carry gendered stereotypes. Within humorous contexts, men are more invited to make fun of the jokes about women which in fact need to be corrected (Sunderland, 2007, p.213). An example can be given from what Brahim says to his son, Khalid, in episode 4, Scene 3, /ɦɪɑ mɦɑt ɔ ntɑ tɑːbɛzɦɑ bɑːrɪ twɛlɪ dɑːɦkɑ fɛ dɔːwɑr/ (she has gone and you are looking for her, you want the whole tribe to laugh at you). This example illustrates that women's interests and desires are treated as secondary and unimportant. Another example is given from Aouicha Douiba, Scene 3 when Moulay Abed

to one of his servants, /zændɪ mən hmʊ:m dnɪə məytəqda ʊ:la vtqada zad nzɪd χraɪf nsa hta hɪə/ (I have many important things to deal with, I shall not take care of women's issues). The scene represents men's sexist language against women, but because it is embedded in a humorous context, the TV audience considers it as natural and gender free. However, the fact is that it carries gendered stereotypes which depict women and their social problems as irrelevant, and marginal.

6. Conclusion and implications

The mass media's role is not only limited to informing or entertaining its viewers, but it aims at reinforcing gender stereotypes through creating false gender images and truths. As argued by Foucault (1995), through the transmission of false understandings and interpretations of gender roles, the media as a social power serves what social beliefs and traditions are aiming to propagate among people through influencing, and negatively affecting their consciousness about gender portrayals. The mass media creates dominant ideologies and imposes the male domination over women.

Sunderland (2007, p.213) argues that in contexts where comedy emerges, sexism is incorporated and is not innocently made. In contrast to men, women are unlikely to laugh at jokes about men. They in general do not naturally dispose in favour of their own sex (Kottof, 2003, p.59). The gender stereotypes or discourses display women as talkative, but men as admires of fatty food that are made by women, as it is women's primary responsibility according to social rules and norms is to please men (Sunderland, 2007 p.216). In the same context, Cameron (2006, p.41) argues that the social media do not feel embarrassed when using sexist language in Tv programmes as they already know that if they are challenged, that will be interpreted only as one's personal reading which does not represent the view of the majority.

This study concluded in determining that language does not function outside of social institutions. It is deeply rooted in the social system. The media creates part of the social institutions. Through its production of films, series and sitcoms. It contributes to the perpetuation of the gender ideologies and norms. The data collected in this study reveal the stigmatization pertaining in the media and therefore in society. Language has a domination characteristic imposed over individuals to conform to society's rules. The findings of this study have proved that stigmatization is coded under derogatory terms, gender stereotypes, objectification or reification of women's bodies and dismissive attitudes.

The conclusions and implications of the study come to highlight the various linguistic types of gender ideologies depicted by the mass media as a tool for emphasizing traditional gender roles. This study's conclusion is an occasion for encouraging readers to reflect on the conducted study and to consider its objective that mainly lies in raising awareness towards what the media is trying to mislead the audience through making the gender stereotypes addressed in films, sitcoms or in series seem natural and normal.

The present conclusions play a salient role that is manifested mainly in solidifying the argument being discussed above, and to make it more convincing and impactful. They also provide insights towards upcoming research, and paving the way for more exploration in future related topic studies.

7. Study Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The present study provides a great occasion towards revealing how sexist language is manifested in prevailing within social beliefs and norms is represented in the mass media and how does the latter reinforce prerequisite patriarchal rules and gender stereotypes. Whereas it may miss to treat explicit profane words that are used to stigmatize or insult women's interests, social attitudes or bodies and to address the latter as the source that elicits men's desire. Such profane words can be present in some Moroccan films that literary translate what reality carries in terms of profanity that is directly addressed to women. Conducting empirical studies on the type of films that use direct profane words addressed to women can be of great interest and will find its connection to the present study as the latter provides empirical research on how sexist language is implicitly present in the Moroccan mass media. This paper paves the way for studies that treat gender and language from media perspectives to take place and to provide more insights on sexism represented in media discourses and its implications on women's gendered representations within social rules and norms.

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Appendix

Transcription of Collected Data

The Moroccan series: Zina by Yassine Fennan (2014).

Episode 1:

Scene 2: 3. Zina's father to her, /datha fəlrna ʊnsat lɔda lah mɔzalha qazɔda/ (she kept singing and forgot the lunch what a bad habit)

Scene 3: 2. Khalid to Zina, /lhəna fʃaɜrək zwɔ:na ... hta ntzɔwzɔ ʊ fəʃhɪ lɪa ana/ (the henna in your hair smells wonderful ... till we get married then dance for me the way you like)

Episode 2:

Scene 2: 1. a character from the tribe to Khalid, the one who wants to marry Zina, /ɪla kant mratak sɪr həkəm zɪha/ (if she is your wife, control her)

Scene 3: a character from the tribe to his friend, /ha mɔlat rəkza zət/ (the woman with the horny dance came)

Scene 4: 3. Zina's father to her and her mom, /fɔwəhtɪni fə dɔwar wɪtɪ fɪɣa ... mrat lfqɪh wəlat ʃalqa fɜv:ratha ʊ katzazɜt ... wɪt rɑdɪ fdɔwar ʊ hani rasi ... fdi zɪa bəntək mənbrɪhɔf tɜ:t lɔatba dial lbab/ (you made me shameful in the tribe as you became a belly dancer ... the priest's wife let her hair down and ululated ... I started walking in the tribe with head down ... I said forbid your daughter from getting outside the house)

Scene 6: 2. Brahim to his son, Khalid, /lbnat lmtbtat lmhasnat ɜʃahɔm lah ʊ nta tabəz lɪa hadɪk ɣavɪ/ (women with a good behaviour are everywhere and you are running after that ugly one)

Scene 6: 2. Khalid to his father, Brahim, /ɣasni ntzɔwəzha ʊ ndrɪ lɪha ɜqalha w ɪla brat tʃtəh tʃtəh fi dar/ (when I marry her, I will make her wise and if she wants to dance, she will dance in her house)

Episode 3:

Scene 6: 3. Zina's father to his wife, /matbqayf tfakrɪni fhad lmosɪba/ (do not remind me of that catastrophic girl)

Episode 4:

Scene 3: 2. Brahim to his son, Khalid, /hɪa mʃat ʊ nta tabəzha bari twəli dāhka fə dɔwar/ (she has gone and you are looking for her, you want the whole tribe to laugh at you)

The Moroccan film: Aouicha Douiba by Fatima Ali Boubakdi (2003)

Scene 3: 7. Moulay Abed to one of his servants, /zəndɪ mən hmɔ:m dnɪa maɪtəqda ʊ:la ɪtqada ɜad nzɪd ɣɪɪvɪ nsa hta hɪa/ (I have many important things to deal with, I shall not take care of women's issues)

Scene 5: 1. Tajer Jaafer sexually harassing Aouicha, /af həb ɣatɜr lɪzala ... waf nɣali had zin kulɔ waqəf qɔdam lhanɔ:t/ (what does the beautiful lady want? Shall I let all this beauty wait here?)

Scene 7: 1. the servant to Tajer Jaafer referring to Aouicha, /ʃlaqɪt hadɪk ləfza lgərɪʃa/ (I met that viper)

Scene 10: 1. Ihejjam to Aouicha Douiba, /zɪdɪ a ləfza ləznatɔ lahɪ ɜlɪk ... səkɪma tmʃɪ ɜəl fɜ:k/ (come, viper, curse on you ... shut it up, I wish you walk on thorns)

Scene 12: 7. Moulay Abed to his two wives, /mzɔwəz bəhbɪlat/ (I am marrying stupid wives)

Scene 13: 1. The servant to Moulay Labeled referring to Aouicha, /had lmtɜsa zəbnaha/ (we brought to you this nasty woman)

Scene 15: 7. Moulay L Abed to his mother, /fɪʃana/ (the devil)

Scene 17: 7. Moulay L Abed to his servants referring to Aouicha, /rəɔ balkɔm mənha raha fɪʃan/ (be careful with her, she is a devil)

Scene 18: 1. One of the servants to his colleague, /nsɪtɪ mlɪ galɪna mɔlay lɜabəd had lmra raha fɪʃan/ (did you forget when Moulay L Abed told us that this woman was a devil)

Scene 20: 7. Moulay L Abed sexually harrasing Aouicha, /msɪrɪra/ (beautiful)

Scene 22: 7. Moulay L Abed asks surprisingly replying to an action that is male oriented, /mra?/ (a woman?)

Scene 23: 7. Moulay L Abed to his wife, Aouicha, /af dak tɣəɣay lhrim u tɣli mən fəq sur ... twaħəfti tɣalwdi dənva bfəaylək fɪtəniva af dak thədri mza rɣal u daxli flhkam ... lɣir hōwa li kun dərthi fəlsanək u rbəthi bin snanək, zad balı ranbədlek u ndawik mən təhrəmıvat dialək ... radı nrɣzək lɣıftək lqdıma dōri bin lswaq tsərqi u tnəhbı u tbqay dıma hrbana/ (who permits you to look out from the fence ... you missed your situation of deceiving people with your evil deeds, who allowed you to speak to men and to intervene in judgements ... you should have done good with yourself and your tongue, to tie it in your teeth. I wanted to change you and to treat you from your evil deeds ... I will take you back to the way you were living in, to keep wandering in popular markets stealing and robbing, and to keep always running away).

Episode 1: The Moroccan sitcom, Kenza fi Douar, by Hisham El Asri (2014).

Scene 1: 4. Laatis to Boutaleb and Bouchareb, /hdıw mza hlıma la tmfi tbdı lıma kəlfi/ (be careful with Hlima. I am afraid that she will distort everything)

Scene 5: 4. Laatis to Zoubir, /kū:n salət ələk rəbi bhal hlıma kun nsaltı hwayzək/ (If you met like Hlima, you would take off your clothes)

Scene 6: 4. Laatis to Zoubir referring to Hlima, /tsunami hadı/ (she is a tsunami)

1. Zoubir to Laatis referring to Hlima, /hada li radı itzowəzha ɣas tkū:n zandū a sıdı zamayn dıyal lbū:ks u tıtsnı dıyal lkaratı u mdowəz lhəbəs ... mantzowəzha wəɣa rɣıwnı fıha zıɣ qhawı/ (the one who will marry her should have two years in boxing, three years of karate and should have experienced the jail ... I will never marry her even if they give me two cafés)

Scene 8: 1. Bouchareb to Kenza, /bayna mamzowzaf, tqəbli tkoni lıma rabza dıyalı/ (it is shown that you are not married, do you accept being my fourth wife)

Episode 2,

Scene 2: 5. Belhabshia to Laatis, /hadik faɣa maɣa dıyal mratək məayfak fı dənva ıməyzi mənha ... ana mazandı mandı bəlmra/ (your wife is wicked and nasty, you started hating life because of her ... I do not like women in my life)

Scene 5: 5. Belhabshia is addressing Hlima referring to Badia, /lqıti had lhbıla haza zıaylha u tabzak/ (you found that crazy woman, wearing that djellaba and following you)

Episode 3,

Scene 10: 1. Lbashir O Lmebshour to Lkhawda, /lmra brıtha qurɣasa u tkun hadga fərfara tkun katzraf ɣayəb u tkū:n maqarvaf mtkū:nf qal mən rəbzın/ (the women we want marry need to have a beauty like a bomb, the women need to be a good housewife: good at preparing food, illiterate and under the age of 40)

Episode 4,

Scene 4: 4. Laatis to Jouin, /ana af zıwəzıni bıbadıza ana ra za dayz smıt rıht marqət badıza ktəbt əlıha ləqəd/ (Badia's way of cooking food was the reason why I got married to her)

Scene 6: 3. Jouin referring to Hlima, /fıtan zətrıdū:r/ (the devil is circling)

Scene 7: 3. Jouin to Hlima, /malək məandək ɣaxısa/ (you have a weak personality)

Scene 8: 3. Jouin to Hlima, /fıti hadak buɣayb wəlah marətzəmıri lıh zaynıh ratzəmıri lıh rıf kərɣı/ (You will never please Bouchaib, you will please only his stomach)

Scene 9: 5. Belhabshia to Latif, /kanzraf lmɣmū:za u lhadga u layfıria u li katswa u li makatswaf/ (I know the lazy woman, the devoted housewife, the wicked, and the one with bad behaviours)

Scene 10: 5. Belhabshia to Badia, /badıza kadır fı makla mayaklıhəf lhlələf/ (Badia prepares disgusting food)

Scene 11: 1. Boushaib to Hlima, /mal zaynık kıramıfı yakma darbək 'səwah ... balı ranı kanmū:t bızı:z ... ləbsı qərfəfa ləbsı fərbıl baɣ tmfi lkū:zına/ (do you suffer from an illness in your eyes? They look abnormal ... hurry up! Bring me the food you have prepared for me ... wear sandals to go to the kitchen (your original place))

Episode 5,

Scene 1: 6. Latif to Laatis referring to Kenza, his colleague at work, /radı tɣul lıha lala kəntı daba tkoni mza wlıdatək katzəzıni fəmlawı, hna rɣal radı nɣərzu nbdaw nɣalbu bəlməsawat mza lıma/ (you will so and tell her, madam, you have to be a good housewife who prepares food for her children and takes care of them, one day we, men, will call for equality with women) (referring to if women keep dominating the public sphere according to him, men will call for gender equality, one day)

Scene 4: 6. Latif to Laatis, /mal rasək tqıl waf zəndək fıh lımarqa dıyal mratək/ (how stupid you are! Your brain is affected by your wife's brain)

Scene 6: 6. Latif to Laatis, /lyū:m hadık ɣıvəti li zava ranwəriha hna əlaf qadın/ (I will show to that woman who came, we (men) what we shall do)

Scene 8: 6. Latif to Lkhawda, /rɣı ɣəli rɣal ɣədamın/ (come back, let men work)

Scene 9: 6. Latif to Laatis, /hadık təhrəmıvat dıyal lıvalat maydırohəf əlıva/ (I am aware of the evil deeds of women)

Scene 10: 6. Latif to Lkhawda, /sıri katbki ldarkom/ (go home weeping).

The Moroccan film: 3ors EDDib by Sanaa AKroud. (2006)

Scene 2: 9. Moulay Ismail to his new wife, /uəzıdı rasək baɣ tıfı:fək lhəza, u ləbsı zraq, kıɣzəbıni zraq/ (prepare yourself so that lhajja will see you, and wear the blue as I like it)

Scene 4: 9. Moulay Ismail to his wife, /ana rıf 'mı li ɣtarətək lıa ana lglıulət ɣəzma kıɣamı lıa zaynıa ... matmıfıf u tɣəlını mlı nkū:n kanhdar mzak ... li tsəhər mza drarı ısbəh faɣər/ (mum who chose you to me for the first time. For me, I do not like short women ... never leave when I am speaking to you ... whoever has Sohūr with kids, will wake up having food).

Scene 6: 9. Moulay Ismail to his wife, /brɪt nɜːrɒf fɪn kɛntɪ kɑdɔːrɪ fɪ znɑqɪ bɔhɔdɛk, mɑzɑndnɑf lɪmrɑ lɪkɪtʃɛrʒ/ (I want to know where you were, you were wandering outside alone. Women are never allowed to go out alone)

Scene 8: 9. Moulay Ismail to his wife, /kɑnt zɔnqɑ ʒɑwɪvɑ ɔ mrɑt lhɑʒ smɑzɪl ʒɑrʒɑ kɑ'duːrɪ fɪ znɑqɪ, smɜːɪ ɑ lɑ'la ɑnɑ rɑnɪ tʒɔwɛʒt mɪrɑ bɑf 'dɔg ʊtɑdɦɑ mɑʃɪ ʒɔ'fɔː d'fɔː ɪ'dɪwɦɑ nɑs ʊɪ ɪʒɪbɔɦɑ bɪ dɔwɑɦɛt lʒvɑm ... sɔktɪ ʊɑf ɑnɑ nɡɔ'ɪk kɛɪmɑ trɛ'dɪ ʒɪɑ bɪ ɑʃrɑ ɪ ɡɛɦthɑ ɑnɑ fɪ hɑd dɑr hɔwɑ ɪ kɔːn mɑbqɑ ʒɪvɔːʒ ... ntɪ rɑkɪ mʒɔwʒɑ bɪ rɑʒɛɪ ɔ rɑʒɛɪ hʒɛrtɔ tɔɪlɑ fɪ ɪblɑd ... sɛmɜːɪ vɑɦɑd ɪmrɑ ... ʃkɔːn ɪtbɑɦɑ bɪk ʊ ntɪ kɪʃbɛr ... rɑ tsɔktɪ ʊlɑ ɪɑ, rɑtsɔktɪ ... z'mɪ fɔmɛk ɔ hɑvɪdɪ hɑd ʃrɑwɛʃ hɑdɔ/ (the street was empty, and Lhaj Ismail's wife is out rambling in the streets, listen to me, I married a woman so that she gives me children, not a woman who goes outside whenever she likes and people are calling her the one who visits every coin in the city ... shut it up, I say one word, you reply by ten. All I say in this house has to be done my word should be heard in this house and only mine, you will never go outside again, you married a man with authority ... listen to me ... who is going to pay attention to her and you are too short, shut it up, zip it and take off these clothes)

Scene 9: 9. Moulay Ismail to his mother, /ɪbɛnt rɑ mfɛdɪvɑ msɑɪvɑ dɑvɪrɑ bɦɑɪ ʒbɑɦ nɦɑɪ ɪlɑ mɑʒɑk mɛnɔː ɪʒɛɪ ɪʒɪk mɛnɔː ɪʒɛdɑn ʊ ʃɔːk ɪmbɛnɛd ... mɛʒɪvɑɦɑ dɑʒɪɑ ʒɑrʒɑ bɦɑɪɑ mɑkɪn rɑʒɛɪ fɦɑd dɑr ... ɪmrɑ ɪ ʃɔːf mɑtrɛʒɛɪ sɔːf, brɪɦthɑ tkɔːn bɦɑɪ nɪsɑ ʃɑvʒɑ ɔ mɦɛsnɑ ɔ tɑbtɑ/ (the girl has nothing, she looks like a beehive, if you do not get honey from it, you receive biting and thorns, you let her going outside whenever she likes as if no man is in this house ... the woman who circumambulate never spins wool, I want her to be like women: obedient and devoted)

Scene 10: 9. Moulay Ismail to his wife, /ɪ ʃɑfɛk hɑk dɑ ɪɡɔɪ dɪwɪʃɑ mɑɦɑrɛkɛʃ dʒɑʒɑ ʒɪɑ bɑv dɦɑ/ (whomever sees you will think that you are nice although it is the opposite)

Scene 12: 9. Moulay Ismail to his wife, / wɛldɛk mɑkɑvɪnʃ ... r'dɪtɪnɪ dɑɦkɑ ... ʊɪɪtɪ tʒɔbɑv mɔrɑ sɛbɪɑn/ (you made people laugh at me)

Scene 13: 9. Moulay Ismail to his mother, /ɪlɑ mɑrɑbɑɦɑf bɑɦɑ ɑnɑ rɑdɪ nɜːɑwɪd ɪɦɑ trɑbɪ/ (I will discipline her if her father did not raise her in the good way)

Scene 15: 9. Moulay Ismail to his mother, /ɪ ʃɑfɦɑ hɑk dɑ ɪɡɔːɪ ʒɔbz rɛbɪ fʃbɡɔ hɪɑ rɑ ʒɑfɪvɑ mɛn tɛɦt rɪmɑd/ (whomever sees her will think that she is kind, the reality is that she is like hell under ash)

Scene 17: 1. El Kamla's father to her, /ɑn]ɑ ɪ ʒdɪt ɪk ʊɛldɛk bɑf tʒɔwɛʒɪ, hɪt ɪwɛld rɑdɪ ɪsɛd ʒɪk ʃɪrɪq/ (I was the one who took your son from you as I wanted you to get married for another time, your son would close the door of re-marrying for you)