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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

# Functions and Contextual Triggers of Offensive Language on Twitter

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The degree of Master of Arts

By

**Deena Mansour**

Under the supervision of Dr. Marilyn Plumlee

May 2017

The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

**Functions and Contextual Triggers of Offensive Language on Twitter**

A Thesis Submitted by

**Deena Mansour**

Submitted to The Department of Applied Linguistics

May, 2017

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
The degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

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# ABSTRACT

The use of social media in daily life is dramatically increasing all over the world and microblogging websites, particularly Twitter, have become widespread and excessively used. These web-based mediums of communication host significant social interaction and distinctive user-generated content that are characterized by the use of unique lexical choices and structures. This has led to emergent and diversified research investigating how different the linguistic behavior on these web-based platforms is from other forms of interactions. A controversial linguistic phenomenon on social media is the use of offensive language, which is on the increase and suggests a new domain of linguistic research to answer many questions that have arisen in light of this phenomenon. This phenomenon applies to many languages one of which is Arabic, especially where colloquial Arabic is concerned. This study examines the expressive functions of offensive language on Twitter which were written in Arabic by Egyptians. It also examines the pragmatic categories utilized when this offensive language occurs, as well as the contextual triggers of this type of language. A large purposeful sample of 482 tweets was collected from the Twitter website from different Egyptian tweeps writing in colloquial Arabic. Based on Culpeper's (2010) impoliteness formulae, the collected data was classified into four pragmatic categories: insults, pointed criticism or complaints, negative expressives, and challenging or unpalatable questions. The results show that the offensive language used on Twitter serves expressive functions such as hate, anger, and sarcasm. The results also show that the most common contexts that trigger this offensive use of language are political, economic, personal, and soccer games. The study concludes that the use of offensive language on Twitter has become conventionalized and accepted by this speech community.

*Keywords*: offensive language, impoliteness, computer-mediated communication, Twitter

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CQ     Challenging or unpalatable questions

CR     Pointed Criticism/complaints

IN     Insults

NE     Negative expressives

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

**Introduction**

Due to the spontaneously developing use of language, novel research problems emerge every day in the field of applied linguistics. One of the recently emerging research areas that still has numerous gaps to be explored is the computer-mediated discourse. The emergence of a register containing more vulgar and aggressive language suggests a need for a pragmatic analysis to explore the characteristics of this language, how it is used, and how it develops (Herring, Stein, & Virtanen, 2013). A new-found feature of discourse used on computer-mediated interaction is the growing use of profanity and offensive language (Chen, Zhou, Zhu, & Xu, 2012; Reyes, Rosso, & Buscaldi, 2012; Xiang, Fan, Wang, Hong, & Rose, 2012). The nature of the offensive language, how it evolves, its implications, and in what contexts it is likely to be used prompt interest in exploring this phenomenon. Therefore, the current study attempts to investigate the functions and implications of the offensive language used on Twitter by Egyptian tweeps (Twitter users).

In order to investigate the functions and the contexts of offensive language on Twitter, impoliteness will be of significant relevance. Therefore, there are important relevant key concepts that should be highlighted in relation to impoliteness. The following sections cover how scholars of pragmatics defined impoliteness, and the emergence of social media and microblogging and its relation to the use of offensive language in virtual communication.

**Impoliteness**

Defining the notion of *impoliteness* involves beliefs, attitudes, and social norms. Hence, many researchers find that conceptualizing the term *impoliteness* is quite challenging. Impoliteness is not merely the opposite of politeness, but it is even more complicated and

multifaceted. In early research studies, impoliteness was restricted to interlocutors' misuse of the principles of politeness in a conversation. However, some scholars were highly interested in investigating impoliteness from perspectives that are different from that of Brown and Levinson (1987) in their theory of politeness. Culpeper (2010) defined impoliteness as "a negative attitude towards specific behaviors occurring in specific contexts" (p2010:3233). He elaborated on his definition of impoliteness saying that:

> […] situated behaviors are viewed negatively when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be or how one thinks they ought to be. These behaviors always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause offence (p3233).

Thus, when impoliteness occur in a linguistic behavior (in a face-to-face interaction), it happens purposefully and does not merely occur unintentionally (Culpeper, 1996, 2005, 2010; Culpeper, Bousfield, & Wichmann, 2003). In other words, there is also intended or hidden meaning representations for such impolite behavior. With respect to Twitter as a social network for online interaction, the use of offensive language does not occur arbitrarily, but it is used intentionally and has its meaning representations. The current study investigates what can be called impoliteness manifested in computer-mediated communication. This kind of impoliteness can be framed as any linguistic behavior which occurs in a virtual interaction that reflects contempt, rudeness, profanity, insult, or hate.

**Twitter and the era of digital media**

Social media has become a very significant daily practice to almost everyone who has access to the internet. The number of social media users is dramatically increasing every day. Microblogging, which is defined as writing short messages or posts on a website, has become particularly widespread and frequently used by internet users all over the world. The linguistic

output of microblogging in social media is one of the rich resources for linguistic analysis. There are a number of reasons that made microblogging a major interest for applied linguistics researchers, one of which is that "microblogging has appeared relatively recently; there are a [sic] few research works that were devoted to this topic" (Pak & Paroubek, 2010:1320). Another reason is the nature of the linguistic content of microblogging. In the case of Twitter, it is one of the most popular and commonly used microblogging sites since users are restricted to posting short 140-character messages known as tweets on a shared 'stream' known as a timeline to a number of interactants known as "followers" or "tweeps". Tweeps (twitter users) can follow each other so long as they do not have their accounts protected (a follow request is needed to be able to follow a protected account). Hence, the nature of Twitter allows people who do not know each other to interact easily, share opinions, news, and also to socialize. Furthermore, many tweeps prefer to keep their real personalities unknown and choose fake identities and fake names to represent themselves. As a result, a large number of tweeps have started to use language very bluntly as they perceive no threat to their face. All of the above reasons made Twitter platform a very rich source of data for the current study.

**Offensive language in social media**

The use of offensive or inappropriate language in social media is a significant human linguistic behavior since it "meta-represents" meanings and implications that go beyond the mere physical words (Reyes et al., 2012). In other words, the offensive words or expressions convey an implicature and a hidden meaning rather than the mere surface meaning. The emergence of Web-based mediums has introduced distinct types of social interaction and significant user-generated content, and as a result new feelings and attitudes started to appear and have become ubiquitous. Some people started to escape reality and resort to virtual world and virtual relationships, creating different names and characters for themselves. Some

researchers assume that Twitter user-generated content gives insights into people's emotions and how they express them (Thornton, 2013). People started to use the offensive language freely as they hardly know each other and their face is not threatened. The different nature of interaction on these web-based platforms and the language used on these social networks suggest a number of linguistic research problems that need to be investigated within a framework of impoliteness.

With respect to impoliteness, most research studies investigated conflictive illocutions in face-to-face interactions. The approach to impoliteness in the current study is different as discourse used in virtual interaction in social media when tweeting, writing comments, chatting or even sharing posts is of a distinct nature. A tweet takes the form of a written text, but it also has some features of spoken discourse due to the instant interaction with other users in social media. To put it differently, in face-to-face interaction, speakers are subject to "the rule of self-respect and the rule of considerateness; a situation in which a speaker would be keen on saving his or her own face as well as the other's" (Upadhyay, 2010:110). The case in social media interaction is dramatically different as interactants do not generally consider what the other would feel or think of them, or whether their linguistic behavior would be accepted or rejected by other interactants. Twitter is a typical example of social media interaction as tweeps – twitter users – interact with each other on the timeline instantly. When a tweep uses crude or offensive language, it is not necessarily to attack or offend another tweep, but in many cases offensive language is used to express an opinion or reflect on an incident. In many situations when a tweet includes profanity or offensive language, a tweep would not expect an offensive or defensive response from other tweeps. Tweets, therefore, have a different illocutionary force from that of face-to-face interaction. In such cases, offensive language is mostly used to reflect different emotional states of the tweep such as anger, hate, ridicule, sarcasm or contempt.

## Statement of the research problem

Social networks have become very important and popular on the World Wide Web today. Consequently, the number of people using social media is dramatically increasing all over the world as is the amount of online user-generated content (Chen et al., 2012; Xiang et al., 2012). As a result, a rapid increase in microblogging by social media users has been noted, and the lack of a need to protect one's face in this microblogging context has led to the increase in offensive content (Chen et al., 2012). The researcher in the current study observed, as a tweep for more than six years, that there is a dramatic increase in using profanities and offensive language on twitter, and the tweeps' reactions to the use of offensive language have significantly over the years. Tweeps used to react negatively, and sometimes aggressively, to the use of this language rejecting it and some tweeps preferred to block tweeps who use offensive language. Nevertheless, these profanities and offensive language have become more accepted and conventionalized as a norm of the Twitter speech community. In addition, tweeps hardly ever block or unfollow other tweeps who use such language. Tweeps nowadays no longer feel offended when offensive language is used, and they have become more accustomed to this language. As a result, the use of offensive language on Twitter which was once a marked usage has now become an unmarked usage.

Very little research has been done on the use of offensive language in social media and a few studies have been devoted to this topic (Pak & Paroubek, 2010). Recent studies investigating offensive language on Twitter have been conducted from a computational linguistics perspective (Chen et al., 2012; Xiang et al., 2012). There is no research found in the literature investigating the phenomenon of offensive Arabic language used on Twitter. In addition, the linguistic content of tweeting which appeared relatively recently suggests that there are pragmatic interpretations that need to be investigated and analyzed. Different from

the current study, most previous studies on impoliteness focused mainly on the use of offensive language in face-to-face interactions. The present study is trying to break the mold and explore the offensive language used in social media discourse where face-to-face interaction is not involved and participants do not feel constrained to maintain social norms or enhance relationships.

It is worth mentioning that the literature reveals that social networks, particularly Twitter, contain extensive data that constitutes rich source for analysis for the diversity of attitudes, values, beliefs, and linguistic behaviors. For example, it has been claimed by a number of researchers that Twitter "provides a forum for inconsequentiality and narcissism" (Arceneaux & Weiss, 2010). Other scholars believe that the information retrieved from this social network gives 'insights' into people's emotions and how they express them (Thornton, 2013) . All of this encourages the researcher to explore that linguistic phenomenon growing on Twitter. Finally, it would be a contribution to the literature if this study resulted in a framework for investigating impoliteness and offensive language in social media and internet-mediated communication.

**Research question(s)**

The discursive pragmatic use of offensive language is generating a number of research questions that have the potential to have the potential to serve as a catalyst in the investigation of impoliteness from a very different perspective. The current study addresses the following questions:

1. What are the functions of offensive language utilized on Twitter?
2. What are the pragmatic categories of offensive language used on Twitter?
3. What contexts trigger the use of offensive language on Twitter?

**Theoretical and operational definitions**

In the following section, the theoretical and operation definitions used in this study will be explained.

**Theoretical definitions**

The theoretical definitions upon which this study is based are conventionalized impoliteness, offensive language, functions of language, impoliteness formulae, and context.

### Conventionalized impoliteness

Conventionalized impoliteness is when a specific impolite or offensive expression is considered conventionalized in a given context by a speaker of a specific language. When Culpeper (2010) came to define his conventionalized impoliteness, he explained that there is 'a pragmatic meaning' which is 'conventionally associated' with an expression of impoliteness. In other words, there are certain language forms that co-occur in specific contexts which make them conventionalized. When applying this definition to impoliteness in social media, research may reveal that there are specific contexts in which these offensive words or expressions have become conventionalized by users of social media.

### Offensive language

It is quite difficult to establish a universally valid definition for offensive language. Generally speaking, the term is used to indicate words or expressions that are inappropriate to be used publicly or in an everyday normal conversation (Chen et al., 2012; Fitzgerald, Sapolsky, & McClung, 2009; Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Xiang et al., 2012). Specific to the context of this study, words and expressions that have sexual or crude connotations and that

are considered taboo outside specific and constrained in-group contexts within Egyptian society are counted as offensive.

**Functions of language**

Functions of language are defined as "characteristic uses or purposes of language" (Allott, 2010:81). It is the "use of language to convey information about states of affairs". Jakobson (1960) proposed six functions for language: referential, expressive, conative, phatic, metalingual, and poetic. The typically representative function that applies to the collected data in the current study is the expressive function. Jakobson defined the emotive or "expressive function of language as "a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about. It tends to produce an impression of a certain emotion, whether true or feigned … A man, using expressive features to indicate his angry or ironic attitude, conveys ostensible information" (Jakobson, 1960:4).

**Impoliteness formulae**

In Culpeper's (2010) conventionalized impoliteness formulae, he identified a number of categories under which he classified the impolite patterns he collected from his data of spoken discourse. Culpeper's pragmatic categories are patterns which "are semantically congruent in some way and which have grammatically patterned co-texts. They create specific meanings as a whole" (Culpeper, 2010:3242). Meaning is understood to include pragmatic meanings. Culpeper (2010) grouped these categories according to their structural commonalities. The following categories are excerpted from Culpeper's (2010) conventionalized impoliteness formulae as they are applicable to the nature of the data analyzed in the present:

**Insults**

**1. Personalized negative vocatives**

- [you] [fucking/rotten/dirty/fat/little/etc.]

[moron/fuck/plonker/dickhead/berk/pig/shit/bastard/loser/liar/minx/brat/

slut/squirt/sod/bugger, etc.] [you]

**2. Personalized negative assertions**

- [you] [are] [so/such a]

[shit/stink/thick/stupid/bitchy/bitch/hypocrite/disappointment/gay/nuts/nuttier than a fruit

cake/hopeless/pathetic/fussy/terrible/fat/ugly/etc.]

- [you] [can't do] [anything right/basic arithmetic/etc.]

- [you] [disgust me/make me] [sick/etc.]

**3. Personalized negative references**

- [your] [stinking/little] [mouth/act/arse/body/corpse/hands/guts/trap/breath/etc.]

**4. Personalized third-person negative references (in the hearing of the target)**

- [the] [daft] [bimbo]

- [she] ['s] [nutzo]

**Pointed criticisms/complaints**

- [that/this/it] [is/was] [absolutely/extraordinarily/unspeakably/etc.]

[bad/rubbish/crap/horrible/terrible/etc.]

**Challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions**

- why do you make my life impossible?

- which lie are you telling me?

- what's gone wrong now?

- you want to argue with me or you want to go to jail?

**Negative expressives** (e.g. curses, ill-wishes)

- [go] [to hell/hang yourself/fuck yourself]

   - [damn/fuck] [you]  (p3240-3241)

   **Context**

   Context is one of the most common notions that is used in researching linguistics. Context can be defined as "a source of clues that aid the hearer in working out what the speaker intended to convey… the context of an utterance is often thought of as everything that's available to be brought to bear on the utterance's interpretation, except the form or the content of the phrase or the sentence uttered" (Allott, 2010:38-39). The context of an utterance must also include all the information about "the immediate physical environment and the prior discourse" (Allott, 2010:39). Investigating context is "analyzing the parts of meaning that can be explained by knowledge of the physical and social world, and the socio-psychological factors influencing communication" (Cutting, 2005:2). Huang (2007) defined context from a broad sense as "any relevant features of the dynamic setting or environment in which a linguistic unit is systematically used" Huang (2007:13). He distinguished between two types of context: physical context and linguistic context. The physical context refers to "the physical setting of the utterance" while the linguistic context refers to "the surrounding utterances in the same discourse" (Huang, 2007:13).

   **Operational definitions**

   The operational definitions used in this study are pragmatic categories, expressive functions, contextual triggers.

   **Pragmatic categories**

   As per Culpeper's (2010) impoliteness formulae, four pragmatic categories are selected to describe the impoliteness formulae utilized through the use of offensive language on Twitter. The four categories are insults, pointed criticism/complaints, challenging or unpalatable

questions and/or presuppositions and negative expressives. There are other categories in Culpeper's impoliteness formulae (condescensions, dismissals, silencers, and threats), but they do not apply to the nature of the collected data from Twitter. They typically apply to spoken discourse in face-to-face interactions, but they almost never occur in online, virtual interaction. With respect to the impoliteness utilized on Twitter through the use of offensive language, the three categories are particularly selected as each of them represents linguistic patterns identified in the collected data that is labelled as offensive.

**Expressive functions**

In terms of Jakobson (1960) definition of expressive functions, the current study will investigate the functions of offensive language utilized in the Arabic tweets in order to identify the emotions communicated through the use of such offensive language.

**Contextual triggers**

In light of the theoretical definition of context, the current study will investigate the clues to identify the dynamic setting or the immediate environment of the tweets that triggers the use of offensive language. This analysis will involve both the topical context represented in the circumstances, events, or experiences associated with the tweet including offensive language and the linguistic context represented in the lexical items used in the tweet that refer to the setting and the reason for using offensive language.

# CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The use of offensive language in social media is a phenomenon that could be approached from different perspectives. The current study proposes three research questions that investigate the use of offensive language on Twitter from a pragmatic perspective: the pragmatic categories of the offensive language on Twitter, the implicatures of this offensive language when it is used by tweeps, and the contexts that trigger the use of this offensive language on Twitter. In this chapter, the researcher will review the literature with respect to the concept of impoliteness and a special focus is given to the works of Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2010). This chapter also review the literature of computer-mediated communication and computer-mediated impoliteness and offensive language.

**Culpeper's impoliteness**

There has been a great deal of research exploring politeness theories and how communicative strategies are utilized in order to maintain a harmonious interaction among interlocutors. Culpeper was quite interested in exploring the opposite side: impoliteness. In 1996, he started to investigate the notions of inherent and mock impoliteness and what contextual factors could be associated with it. He attempted to build a framework for impoliteness to parallel Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness but working in the opposite direction. In this study, he investigated communicative strategies of impoliteness in the army training discourse and in drama dialogue (Culpeper, 1996:359). Culpeper (1996) suggested impoliteness superstrategies opposite to those politeness superstrategies introduced by Brown and Levinson (1987). He explained that these superstrategies of impoliteness are directly used to attack and damage face. He suggested five impoliteness superstrategies: bald on record

impoliteness[1], positive impoliteness[2], negative impoliteness[3], sarcasm or mock politeness[4], and withhold politeness[5]. Culpeper clarified that adopting impoliteness in the army training context, which he was examining, was not a haphazard behavior due to a disagreement or a dispute taking place. On the contrary, it was purposefully implemented in a "systematic way" to reflect the nature of the job they were preparing themselves for. The data Culpeper (1996) used for analysis was a documentary called *Soldier Girls* which had been filmed at an American recruit training base in 1980. Culpeper (1996) focused on a six-minute-interview with a sergeant, who was a woman, after receiving a punishment for not performing well. According to his classification of impoliteness superstrategies, Culpeper found that the strategies employed in the interview with the sergeant were mainly of positive impoliteness such as using taboo language like bullshit, ass, damn, goddamn. Also, a number of negative impoliteness strategies were implemented such as using *little* to refer to the sergeant and "associating her with negative aspects". Very few examples of sarcasm and mock politeness, which the sergeant used in the interview, were to stress her disapproval (Culpeper, 1996:363). Culpeper in this study tried to create a framework for impoliteness suggesting five superstrategies of impoliteness opposite to those of Brown and Levinson's politeness. However, his application was somewhat limited as the setting of the data collected was an army environment. In his following works, Culpeper developed his framework of impoliteness through different applications and sources of data.

In 2003, Culpeper, Bousfield, and Wichmann revisited Culpeper's impoliteness framework in order to justify 'why an impoliteness framework was needed' and to investigate whether the impoliteness strategies that were suggested in his early work in 1996 would occur

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[1] Bald on record impoliteness: implementing a face threatening act in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way when minimal politeness is required.

[2] Positive impoliteness: the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive wants.

[3] Negative impoliteness: the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants.

[4] Sarcasm or mock politeness: when face threatening act is implemented through using a politeness strategy that is not sincere

[5] Withhold politeness: When the speaker maintains no strategy of politeness deliberately /clear and direct impoliteness. (Culpeper, J. 1996:356-357)

in other types of discourse (Culpeper, Bousfield, & Wichmann, 2003:1545). Culpeper et al. (2003) proposed three types of actions which can be the reason for face damage. First, it could be a direct malicious or spiteful action by the offending person in order to deliberately insult the addressee. Second, it could be an accidental action that unintentionally causes an offense. Third, it could be an "incidental offense" which is triggered by the action itself not the language use (Culpeper et al., 2003:1550). They investigated the communicative strategies of impoliteness in a BBC TV documentary, and focused on disputes between traffic wardens and car owners. Culpeper et al. (2003) found that impoliteness strategies classified in Culpeper (1996) existed in the car parking disputes they analyzed. They concluded that in the setting of car parking disputes "people choose to expedite their goals" as they choose to attack face rather than protecting it (Culpeper et al., 2003:1575). They also pointed out that there were two options of response when an impoliteness utterance occurred: Offensive-Defensive and Offensive-Offensive.

In 2005, Culpeper continues working on his model of impoliteness and proposes a detailed and more succinct definition for the notion of impoliteness, considering definitions made by other researchers such as Tracy and Tracy (1998) and Goffman (1967). Tracy and Tracy (as cited in Culpeper 2005:38) defined face attacks as communicative acts that are intentionally and purposefully offensive which are directing an insult to the hearer. Goffman (as cited in Culpeper 2005:38) pointed out that the acts intend to cause a direct open insult. Culpeper explained that impoliteness is not an "incidental offence"; it almost never occurs unintentionally; it is not considered 'bald on record politeness'; and it is difficult to be considered as 'banter' (Culpeper, 2005:37). Culpeper examined here a TV game show called *The Weakest Link* which was based on contests among a number of participants. It was a live entertainment show that had a studio audience, remote TV audience, and a host, and it was based on question-answer sequences and contestants. Culpeper analyzed phonetic and prosodic

aspects of the speakers' utterances during the show. He found that sound patterns used by speakers (specifically the host Anne Robinson) were flouting "the maxim of manner implicating particular impolite beliefs" (Culpeper, 2005:51). Culpeper added a new impoliteness strategy in this paper which was "off-record impoliteness" that implicated sarcasm and mockery. Culpeper concluded that "communicative resources for impoliteness go well beyond lexical and grammatical aspects" (Culpeper, 2005:68). Offense was largely communicated in *The Weakest Link* through prosodic aspects. Culpeper (2005) pointed out that many impolite instances would have never been understood without prosody. He added that impoliteness could be entertaining when employed creatively and in a funny way. Finally, Culpeper referred to the argument of whether impoliteness in the context of *The Weakest Link* and others (military training) was genuine; he argued against this point claiming that it depended on the 'counter-strategies' and 'non-verbal interaction' and whether the addressee considered the action as a face-threat or not.

One of the most significant contributions made by Culpeper on impoliteness is his conventionalized impoliteness formulae. Based on the work of Terkourafi (2001) on formulaic politeness expressions, Culpeper (2010) proposed his framework of conventionalized impoliteness formulae, and he also proposed two methods for identifying 'conventionalized impoliteness formulae'. Culpeper meant by conventionalized here "the pragmatic meaning which is associated with an expression …" (Culpeper, 2010:3237). He collected different datasets: tapped phone calls, fly-on-the-wall documentaries, fly-on-the-wall pseudo documentaries, "exploitative" TV shows, and graffiti dialogues. The data collected by Culpeper was situated exclusively in a British culture-based context. Culpeper listed a number of pragmatic categories in his impoliteness conventionalized impoliteness formulae: insults, pointed criticisms or complaints, challenging or unpalatable questions and or presuppositions, condescension, message enforcers, dismissals, silencers, threats and negative expressives

(Culpeper, 2010:3243). Some of these categories apply to the social media impoliteness that is investigated in the present study. Culpeper (2010) also identified a number of implicatures that are used in analyzing data in the current study: hate, personal attack to cause offense, sarcasm, anger, and humor.

**Web 2.0 and computer-mediated communication**

When the World Wide Web first started, its content depended primarily on the web creator, and there was no interactive content of any kind. Since then, web 2.0 has emerged to introduce a new era of user-generated content social media, a phenomenon which has enriched the transformed the use of language over the last decades. Social media is a broad term that encompasses all websites and platforms that facilitate social interaction among people around the world and allows internet users to share a variety of content on the web. In addition, the type of data available in social media is quite interesting for linguists since there are new meanings that are emerging in this virtual environment. Research on the language used on the internet, especially in social media, is relatively new, having started during the late 90s and significantly followed by a boom during the 21st century. This field of research is known as computer-mediated communication (CMC) or web-based discourse. A variety of linguistic disciplines have turned their research focus on web-based discourse.

Many linguists have become concerned with exploring "the role of social media in individuals' self-expression and person perception. Specifically, it has been established that individuals' online representations of themselves correspond quite accurately to others' impressions of their personality" (Strain, Saucier, & Martens, 2015:123). The heavy use of social networks in everyday life by different people of all ages and the different communicative interactions taking place resulted in novel forms and patterns of discourse that are changing and developing. In addition to this, social media platforms, particularly Facebook and Twitter,

provide an enormous amount of language content that is reachable and can be effortlessly collected and downloaded. This encouraged researchers to turn their attention to online content produced by social media users. One of the noticeable features that characterizes online discourse is the excessive use of offensive language; this comes as a result from the fact that there is no face-to-face interaction in the computer-mediated communications, and this encouraged social media users to adopt impolite linguistic behaviors and use blunt crude and offensive words or expressions.

**Computer-mediated impoliteness and offensive language**

Brennan and Ohaeri (1999) raised the question as to why people who were interacting online behaved less politely than in physical interactions. They claimed that interactants in the virtual world are "depersonalized" and hardly ever abide by social norms (Brennan & Ohaeri, 1999:227). They created a corpus of conversations that were conducted by participants of 26 groups of three persons each who had either face-to-face interactions or met electronically. They focused on collecting hedges and questions that implicate doubt or requesting information from other participants. They found that interacting through typing is different from face-to-face interaction since it makes expressing politeness during a virtual interaction not always necessary. Their evidence was that hedges were used by face-to-face groups more than electronic groups. They claimed that online interactants care more about communicating the message than maintaining social relations. They added that in a face-to-face conversation the tone of voice, intonation, and also facial expressions are involved in the interaction, which makes interaction easier and more flexible than virtual interaction (Brennan & Ohaeri, 1999). They concluded that virtual communication tends to be less polite than physical communication; however, there is no evidence that virtual interactants ignore "face-management" altogether or that they are "deindividuated" (Brennan & Ohaeri, 1999: 234).

With respect to offensive language on media, there are a number of studies which have investigated the use of offensive language publically in the media. Kaye and Sapolsky (2004) investigated the offensive language on seven broadcast networks in 2001 and they discovered that the use of offensive words increased between 1997 and 2001 to a rate of one word every eight minutes (Kaye & Sapolsky, 2004). They highlighted the offensive words or expressions that were increasingly used on the TV programs in question. They explained that 'age and content-based' ratings for television programs started in 1997 to warn viewers in advance about offensive content. They also claimed that being subjected to the offensive language in media specifically TV has 'negative psychological effects on viewers, especially children, who may imitate the inappropriate language they hear on television' (Kaye & Sapolsky, 2004). Similarly, Sapolsky, McClung, and Fitzgerald examined the offensive language spoken on some of the well-known morning radio programs broadcast on the five highest-rated radio stations (Fitzgerald et al., 2009). They found that there were around 872 examples (4.36 words per hour) of the offensive language used on radio. They concluded that the increasing exposure to this 'crude' language would lead to an increase in the use of this offensive language, especially by younger listeners who are important audience of the early-morning radio programs. They found that men use more offensive language than women. For example, men used 76% of the crude language detected in their study. In contrast, the situation is dramatically different in social media where 'crude' language is widely spread as everyone has the full freedom to use whatever language a person wants as there is no face-threatening.

There is also another approach from which impoliteness has been investigated: representation of identity. Upadhyay (2010) investigated impoliteness and identity in computer-mediated reader responses. The researcher analyzed reader responses retrieved from the online versions of the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and *CNN's Cafferty File* applying a social psychological theory of identity. The theoretical framework which Upadhyay

(2010) used is Simon's (2004) Self-Aspect Model of Identity which "offers insight into deeper understanding of linguistics impoliteness" expressed through language use or behavior in computer-mediated communication (Upadhyay, 2010:114). According to Upadhyay (2010), this framework allows the analysis of both individual and collective identities. The study concludes that readers might use 'linguistic impoliteness' to express disagreement, to attack another group's ideological views, or discredit ideological opponents, and this is through "overtly face-aggravating comments" (2010:123).

Darics (2010) investigated the computer-mediated discourse through analyzing "synchronous" interactions of a "virtual team"; she points out that "interactional politeness" is a rich research area that still needs more investigation in relation to compute-mediated discourse (CMD) (Darics, 2010:129). She drew attention to the importance of the interactional politeness in analyzing CMD and finding answers to research questions that have not been answered yet. She also highlighted the politeness strategies that were employed in a computer-mediated communication. She found through data analysis that many of her findings were opposed to previous generalizations by earlier researchers of CMD. For example, she noticed a number of backchannel signals that were used in the virtual communication, which contradicts some earlier findings which claims that CMD lacks backchannel signals (Darics, 2010). She also noticed that online communicators use creative orthography to substitute for the absence of "auditory cues" and to "evoke a sound effect", using "intentional misspelling, e.g. multiplied vowels", for instance (Darics, 2010:135-136). Regarding CMD, she suggested that many of the previous research findings in this field are in need of more investigation focusing on the interactional aspect in order to get a more succinct notion of how language is represented in this "text-based environment" (Darics, 2010: 146)

Mak & Chui (2014) investigated impoliteness strategies employed by some colleagues in an Italian restaurant in Hong Kong outside the workplace through examining their Facebook

status updates. They based their work on Wenger's (1998) framework of communities of practice and Culpeper's (1996) model of impoliteness. They analyzed 200 Facebook status updates collected over a period of seven months. They found that there are three strategies which are usually employed by the participants. On the one hand, participants tended to use the positive politeness strategy of "disassociating from others", and "being unsympathetic", and they used the negative politeness strategy of "not treating others seriously". In their discussion, they argued that Facebook status updates could work as a marginal and unconventional collocation of workplace talk which would allow work members to have more space of freedom to express their opinions in an "outside workplace" context (Mak & Chui, 2014: 182). This represented a potential for colleagues to employ "mixed" impoliteness with features of netspeak.

The literature draws the attention to the fact that more linguistic research on how impoliteness is manifested in different types of human interaction is needed. The rapid expansion of social media platforms and the unique type of interaction it has created emphasize the need to investigate impoliteness utilized in social media interaction, particularly the use of offensive language. With respect to the rampant use of offensive language in social networks, the current study attempts to contribute to the literature through investigating the impoliteness formulae represented in the use of offensive language on Twitter, identifying the expressive functions of this offensive language, and determining the contextual triggers of this offensive language used in tweets.

# CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

**Introduction**

The current study attempted to investigate the impoliteness formulae utilized on Twitter through the use of offensive language. It also attempted to identify the expressive functions of this offensive language used in Arabic tweets. In addition, the study attempted to determine the contexts that trigger this offensive language used on Twitter. In this chapter, I will describe the research design that was followed in the current study, the participants or the data subjects from whom the data was collected, the data collection procedures, and finally the data analysis techniques.

**The research design**

The present study is mainly descriptive, proposing a qualitative research design that explored the pragmatic categories and the functions of impoliteness manifested on Twitter when using offensive language. Based on Culpeper's work on impoliteness (1996, 2003, 2005, 2010), the offensive words or expressions contained in Arabic tweets were analyzed and classified into pragmatic categories. Likewise, the expressive functions which were embedded in these offensive words or expressions were explored and identified. Finally, the offensive language used on Twitter was further analyzed to identify which contexts triggered the use of offensive language.

**Participants**

The data in the present study were drawn from random Egyptian tweeps who either live in Egypt or in other countries (date, time, and usually location appear under each tweet). Those tweeps, whom the data was collected from, were mostly followed by the researcher. However, there were some tweets that were collected from other tweeps who were not followed by the

researcher herself; their tweets were retweeted by the tweeps whom the researcher follows. Participants (tweeps) come from different cities and towns all over Egypt and have different cultural and educational backgrounds as many of them mention this information in the Bio of their Twitter account. The ages of those tweeps range between 20 and 50, and the majority of them are males and a few of them are females. However, tweeps' backgrounds, age, and gender are not in question in the current study and do not affect the data collection or the data analysis. All tweeps involved in the data collection use Egyptian Colloquial Arabic when tweeting.

**Tweeps' privacy:**

Regarding the privacy of the tweeps, there are two options of tweets privacy on Twitter. The first option allows the tweep to have his/her tweets private (protected) which means that only those who follow that tweep have the access to the tweets; they can like the tweets, but they cannot retweet the protected tweets to other tweeps on the Twitter timeline. In the other option, tweeps make their tweets public, which means that everyone on the Twitter timeline can have access to their tweets. According to Twitter privacy policy, so long as the tweets are public, they can be used for market research and analysis (Twitter Inc.,2017, Twitter Privacy Policy). The tweets that will be used for analysis in the current study are all public ones that are collected from public accounts. The collected tweets are not mentions or replies among tweeps. Identity, personal information, and the Twitter name of the tweeps are all kept unidentifiable. Only the offensive words or expressions will be highlighted and analyzed with no reference whatsoever to the tweep or his/her identity on Twitter.

**Data collection**

A qualitative purposeful non-random sample of 482 tweets in Arabic was collected from Twitter. The target language was colloquial Arabic. Tweets that contained clear offensive

Arabic words or phrases were collected. This sample size was chosen in order to have enough data to be able to extract and analyze different offensive words and phrases and what functions they serve in different contexts, and to be able to draw significant, representative as well as credible conclusions that can answer the research questions of the present study. The data for conducting the current study was available on www.twitter.com. As mentioned previously, the data collected was online material that was available to the public. The data collection process was carried out on a daily basis and during different times of the day since there were tweeps that tweeted only during day time while there were others who tweeted only during the night. The main procedures which were followed in order to collect the data were first using the '*like*' option on Twitter, so that tweets that included offensive Arabic words or phrases were saved in the '*likes*' box of the researcher's Twitter account. Second, the tweets were retrieved and copied afterwards from the '*likes*' box to a Word document in order to be classified and analyzed. All the Arabic offensive words or phrases were highlighted.

**Data analysis**

Data analysis were carried out through three independent phases, each of which answered one of the research questions.

**Expressive functions**

In the first stage, the collected tweets were qualitatively analyzed in order to identify the expressive functions represented in the use of such offensive language in Twitter. The offensive language used in the tweets communicated different emotions and attitudes of the tweeps. For instance, many tweets which included personalized insults and pointed criticism ware mostly triggered by feelings of hate or anger. Differently, many tweets which included offensive and offensive expressions were used merely to express sarcasm. Other tweets included offensive language to communicate feelings of frustration and despair. An example

of a tweet that includes a crude expression of this type is منيكة منيكة ع الطبلة وع السكسكة [manyakah ʕal tablah weʕal saksakah] ; it was an allusion to a pop song substituting its original words [darbakah] which means '*chaos*' with the very offensive word [manyakah] which means "*fucking party*". It was observed that tweeps used offensive words and expressions in order to ridicule ironic situations or political issues. The example خرا ايفري وير [kharah everywhere] referring to "*bullshit*" was quite representative as the tweep sarcastically referred to everything around as "*shit*" and the tweet included the English word *everywhere* written in Arabic letters.

### Pragmatic categories

The second stage was identifying the impoliteness formula manifested through the offensive words and phrases. Based on Culpeper's (2010) conventionalized impoliteness formulae, these collected offensive words and expressions were classified into one of four suggested pragmatic categories out the nine categories identified by Culpeper (2010): insults, pointed criticism/complaints, challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, or negative expressives. Culpeper's (2010) framework had other categories which do not apply to virtual interaction found in social media. The four categories were coded in the analysis as follows: [IN] for insults, [CR] for pointed criticism, [CQ] for challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, and [NE] for negative expressives. The [IN] category was comprised of the tweets that included clear and offensive insults that targeted a particular person, either a public figure or another tweep on the timeline. Tweets in this category will be further classified according to their grammatical patterns: personalized negative vocatives, personalized negative assertions, personalized negative references, and personalized third-person negative reference. The [CR] category included the tweets that included offensive expressions of disapproval, fault, weakness, or disadvantage, and it was not directed to a specific person on the timeline or a public figure. The [CQ] category is the tweets that included challenging or unpalatable questions directed to another tweep, the followers on the timeline,

or they could be utilized rhetorically expecting no answer. The last category was [NE] and it included the tweets that included offensive words or expressions such as curses or ill-wishes. The offensive language in this category did not refer to any person or figure or group of people.

The four categories in this analysis were selected to be applicable to the types of impoliteness that were represented on Twitter. For instance, when insults [NI] were used in English, personalized negative formulae were very prominent such as personalized negative vocatives [you fucking loser or fuck you] and personalized negative assertions [you such a bitch] (Culpeper, 2010). The use of the second person pronoun was very common in direct insults. When Arabic offensive language was used, noun [NP] and adjectival phrases [Adjp] were predominantly used. The formulae in Arabic are mostly based on either an offensive head noun in the phrase, or make use of an offensive adjective as a modifier. For instance, the example يا سيسي يا خول [ja: sisi ja: xawal] which means "*Oh Sisi, you're a fagot*" represented a direct personalized insult [IN] to President Sisi using an offensive noun phrase. Insults and pointed criticism were not all personalized; sometimes the insult or the criticism were directed to something or to people who were supporting a particular stance. There was an example of pointed criticism [CR] which was depersonalized الفصيل المتناك [elfasi:l elmɪtnæk] or [mɪtnæk] which means "*the fucked up group*". This example harshly criticized non-identifiable group of people. Another similar example of depersonalized pointed criticism was الأشكال بنت الوسخة [elashka:l bent elwesxah] or [bent elwesxah] which means "*sons of a bitch*". In the previous two examples, it was observed that the second person pronoun was not frequently used. As for negative expressives [NE], there was the example of التعريص ملا الكيس [eltaʕri:s mala elki:s] which means "*pimping* [6]*becomes rampant*". It was just an offensive way of expressing negative emotions towards the status quo in Egypt in which pimping was everywhere.

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[6] The word pimping in the current study is a derivative from the noun 'pimp' which means a "man who earns money by finding customers for prostitutes."

**Contextual triggers**

The researcher investigated the contexts that triggered the use of offensive language in the collected tweets. In this stage of analysis, the researcher attempted to find linguistic clues (lexical items) that indicated the contexts of the tweets. The thread of these tweets was also traced checking other tweeps' mentions and the successive tweets in the same thread if found. While collecting tweets, the researcher took notes when necessary to be able to associate some tweets with the occasions in which they were posted. The researcher qualitatively analyzed the tweet threads and the occasions associated with them in order to identify the contexts that triggered the use of offensive language while tweeting.

# CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

**Introduction**

The current study analyzed social media discourse in order to identify the expressive functions and the pragmatic categories manifested through the use of offensive language on Twitter. The study also analyzed the tweets which contain offensive words and expressions to determine the contexts that trigger this offensive use of language. A purposeful non-random sample of 482 tweets in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic were collected from www.twitter.com and qualitatively analyzed. The tweets collected in the present study were exclusively drawn from Egyptian tweeps who either live in Egypt or in other countries. This chapter presents the three analyses which were conducted on the collected data: the expressive functions, the pragmatic categories, and the contextual triggers of the offensive language used on Twitter.

The data collected for this study consists of 482 tweets. They were all collected during different times of the day to get a variety of tweets by different tweeps (many tweeps usually tweet during evenings and hardly ever during mornings). As a general practice, during data collection, the researcher traced some tweets to be able to understand the hidden meaning behind using some offensive words and expressions. During data collection, notes were taken next to many tweets to facilitate the analysis and make it easier to understand hidden meanings and representations.

**Expressive functions of offensive language on Twitter**

In order to answer the first research question in the current study, a qualitative analysis was conducted on the collected tweets in order to determine the expressive functions that are communicated through the use of offensive language on Twitter. With respect to the offensive language used on Twitter, an expressive function of language is the purpose or the attitude that

is intended to be communicated through such use of language. An expressive function is that "impression of a certain emotion" that is produced by a particular use of language (Allott, 2010; Jakobson, 1960). The use of offensive language in Arabic tweets communicated a diversity of emotions and attitudes. The results show that the use of personalized, or even depersonalized, insults mostly communicates feelings of hate or anger. Tweeps use offensive language to express their feelings of anger or hate while following news, political events, or even while watching an ongoing soccer game. The analysis also shows that most offensive language used to convey hate or anger is particularly associated with specific public figures such as Egyptian President Sisi or American President Trump, and some media figures like Mostafa Bakri, the journalist, and Ahmad Mousa, the TV announcer. The following examples illustrate this conclusion.

**Hate and anger**

1) فاشل و عرص .. عرص و فاشل

*faʃel wə ʕarsˤ .. ʕarsˤ wə faʃel*

'loser and pimp, Pimp and loser.'

2) ده انتوا اوسخ من مرتضي منصور والله #الاخوان

*dah ʔntʊ ʔwsax mən mʊrtadˤa: mansˤʊr wallahı elʔxwa:n*

'I swear to God you are such creeps more than Murtada Mansour himself #MuslimBrotherhood.'

3) هايقعدونا ل ٩ رسمي .عيشة بنت متناكة و شغل ابن متناكة و بنك مركزي ابن متناكة

*haıʔaʕdʊna lə 9 rasmi: ʕi:ʃah bent mıtnækah wə ʃʊɣl ʔbn mıtnækah wə bæŋk markazi: ʔbn mıtnækah*

'Officially we will work till 9. It is a fucking life, a fucking job, and the fucking central bank.'

Example (1) constitutes an implicit insult to Egyptian President Sisi using the commonly used epithet عرص "*the pimp*" to refer to him. The offensive language used in this example communicates a combination of hate and contempt emotions. The same applies to Example (2) in which a direct insult is directed at Muslim Brotherhood comparing them to the president of Alzamalek Club Mortada Mansour, who is well-known for his use of offensive language and his nasty behavior. The offensive language is used in this example to convey the negative attitude towards Muslim Brotherhood, and to express feelings of hate and contempt. A clear feeling of anger is communicated by the use of offensive language in Example (3), denying the new working hours in banks, the thing that makes a tweep curse his life, his job, as well as the Central Bank which is behind the decision of the new working hours.

**Sarcasm and humor**

**4)**    هو فين الكيس اللي يشيل التعريص بتاعكم.. ده عايز سوبر كيس فور تعريص!

*hwa: fi:n elki:s ʔlli: jəʃi:l ʔltaʕri:sˤ bətaʕkʊm dah ʕaɪjəz su:pər ki:s fɔː taʕri:sˤ*

'Where to find a bag that would carry all your <u>shit</u> .. this needs a super bag for <u>shit</u>.'

**5)**    بريحة وترميلة الخرا

*bəri:ħɪt wə tarmi:lɪt elxara:*

'With the smell and the grainy texture of <u>shit</u>'

**6)**    إحنا محتاجين أخبار وسخة أقل وأكل كتير..!

*ʔħna: məħta:gi:n ʔxba:r wəsxah ʔqal wə ʔkl keti:r*

'We need less <u>shitty</u> news and more food!'

The offensive language manifested in the tweets represents other expressive functions. There is a considerable number of tweets with clear offensive expressions that are used to express sarcasm or humor. Yet, these offensive words or expressions mean no offense to a particular person or a particular entity. In Example (4), the tweep is ridiculing the *shit* people

say on Twitter using some Arabized[7] English words (*super* and *for*). Many tweets include offensive language to indicate sarcastic humor. Many tweets include offensive words or expressions as a part of allusions to some comic movies or dramas, TV commercials or even pop songs. Example (5) is a funny allusion to one of the very famous Egyptian TV commercials of *'Ghee'*. The tweep substituted the word *butter* in the original slogan of the commercial with the offensive word *shit*. The offensive language used in this example clearly conveys sarcastic humor. Another example of offensive language for humor can be found in Example (6) in which the tweep is sarcastically making fun of the daily frustrating news reports. The results show that many tweeps tend to use offensive language for sarcastic humor to express their feelings of frustration and despair.

7)　　　　　لا إله الا الله احا يعني

*la ʔlaha: ʔla: ʔla:h  ʔħa: jaʕni:*

'There is no God but Allah, <u>shit</u>.'

A common tweeting behavior is the use of sacred quotes or religious sayings combined with offensive words. Pragmatically, this could be considered a somewhat bizarre linguistic behavior. It is widely used and accepted by some tweeps on Twitter, however. Analysis shows that sometimes using this combination happens spontaneously and there is no serious intention of causing offense to another tweep on the timeline or a public figure as is the case with insults. In Example (7), the famous saying "There is no God but Allah", which Muslims usually would use when they are surprised or shocked in a given situation, is combined by the word أحا ['ḫā] which is used in this tweet sarcastically to express a feeling of astonishment. The word أحا in slang Arabic has two different senses: the first sense is equal to "*shit*" in English, and the second sense is equal to "*wow*" or "*super-duper*". The word أحا is considered by most of the

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7 Non Arabic words that are written with Arabic letters and are pronounced with an Arabic-inflected accent

people in the Egyptian society as an offensive word even if it communicates admiration. In Example (8), the word أحا is used to communicate a feeling of admiration to a song that the tweep loved very much.

8)   يجدعان احا مش كدا حبيت الاغنيه دي فشخ مبهجه والفيديو مبهج اكتر

*ja:ged ʕa:n ʔħa: mesh keda ħabi:t eluɣneja:h di: faʃx mubhega w wə el vɪdiəʊ mobheg akθar*

'Guys! Wow! I loved this song so much. It is delightful and so is the clip.'

The analysis of expressive functions of offensive language on Twitter shows that this type of language is manifested and utilized to communicate different attitudes and emotions. Tweeps use offensive language to express their feelings of anger, hate as well as their feelings of frustrations. Many offensive words and expressions are employed to express sarcasm. Offensive language is also used to express admiration and astonishment.

### Pragmatic categories of offensive language on Twitter

In order to answer the second research question in the current study, a qualitative analysis was conducted on the collected tweets in order to identify the pragmatic categories of the offensive language used on Twitter. The tweets are analyzed and classified into one of the four hypothesized categories: insults [IN], pointed criticism [CR], challenging or unpalatable questions [CQ] or negative expressives [NE] (Culpeper, 2010). The four categories are applied to Arabic online discourse which is different data from that of Culpeper's (2010), which was spoken discourse. Hence, the grammatical structures which fall into each category differ completely from the structures used in the Culpeper (2010) framework.

### Insults [IN]

With respect to the Twitter discourse, the [IN] category is when offensive language is used to direct an insult to a particular person or to a specific public figure. A large number of tweeps direct egregious insults to a particular person or figure who could be a public figure or

a famous person– a president, a journalist, a TV announcer, an actor, or a politician – or to another tweep. The vast majority of the tweets of the first category include the name and the identity of the figures to whom the insult is directed. There are a number of patterns that are utilized in this category:

**Personalized negative vocatives**

In this pattern, personalized insults are utilized in nominalized forms. Offensive words and expressions are employed to attack a particular person or a public figure using an offensive noun phrase to describe the target of the intended insult. The use of epithets is quite common in this pattern.

9)    مش عاجبك انى بشتم العرص؟ طب كس امك ع كس امه

*mesh ʕagbak ʔnny bashtem el-ʕarsˤ? ṭab kʊs ʔʊmak ʕala kos ʔʊmʊh*

'You don't like that I'm <u>fucking off that pimp</u>? Fine, <u>Fuck your mother and fuck his too</u>.'

A clear example of this pattern is shown in Example (9). There is no name mentioned, but the context of the tweet and the use of the offensive *noun العرص* with the definite article as an epithet reveals the identity of the person to whom the insult is directed. There is also the use of the offensive noun *كس امك* "*fuck your mother*" that targets the same person. The tweep in this example is directing a personalized insult to the Egyptian President Sisi and anyone gets annoyed of insulting him.

10)    السيسي خول #تصويب

*elsi:si: xawal #tasˤwi:b*

'Elsisi The <u>fagot</u> #shooting.'

The same result shown in Examples (9) applies to Example (10) as the word خول "*fagot*" is used as a vocative personalized insult directed to the Egyptian President Sisi.

**Personalized negative assertions**

In this pattern, definite statements including offensive language is used. Different forms of modifiers are frequently used in this pattern.

11)    كاسياااا ده ابن شرموطه خول وهايضيعنا السنادي

*kasja: dah ʔbn ʃarmu:tah:tah xawal wə haɪdaja:ʕna: elsana:di:*

'Casilla is such <u>a son of a bitch and a fagot</u>, and her will ruin us this year.'

12)    باسم أمين ده أوسخ وأحط وأعرص وأخول حد هنا بعد هشام سري

*basim ʔmi:n dah ʔwsax wə ʔħatˤ wə ʔʕrasˤ wə ʔxwa:l ħad hena: baʕd hisha:m seri:*

'Bassim Amin is <u>such a son of bitch, fagot, and asshole</u> here much more than Hisham Serry.'

Example (11) includes two offensive words used as modifiers to assert the personalized insult directed to Kiko Casilla, the footballer who plays for Real Madrid as a goalkeeper. Another typical pattern is shown in Example (12) as the tweep, in a tone of hate and contempt, uses comparative modifiers in order to assert the personalized insult directed to another tweep called Bassim Amin and puts him in a comparison with another tweep, Hisham Serry.

**Personalized negative references**

Offensive language is employed through this pattern to modify a characteristic in the target of the insult. The offensive expressions that are utilized in this pattern include a pronoun reference and a modifier, or pronoun reference utilized with a noun phrase, as can be seen in Example (13), below.

13)    كس ام رخصكم على كس ام ذوقكم العفش

*kʊssʊm ruxsˤukum ʕala kʊssʊm ðuqum elʕfeʃ*

'<u>Fuck</u> your cheapness and <u>fuck</u> your <u>shitty</u> taste.'

The offensive language in Example (13) is used to describe the cheapness and taste of a group of people (they are not identified in the tweet). The pattern includes a pronoun reference and the offensive word is a head noun, not a modifier. This pattern is frequently used on Twitter; however, there are very few examples in the collected data.

**Personalized third-person negative references**

Different from the category in Culpeper's (2010) impoliteness formulae, which had its focus on spoken discourse and face-to-face interaction, this pattern includes a third-person negative reference that does not necessarily take place in the hearing of the target person. Examples (1)4 and 15, below, illustrate this pattern.

**(14** ليلي علوي تمثيلها <u>خريان</u> فشخ

*laɪla: ʕɪlwi: tamθi:lha: <u>xarja:n faʃx</u>*

'The acting of Laila Elwi is <u>fucking shit</u>.'

**(15** <u>كسمه</u> هو واللي اتخطب لها على <u>كسم</u> ده جورنال <u>اين قحبه</u>

*<u>kʊssʊmʊh</u> hwa: wə elli: etxatˤab laha: <u>ʕla kʊssʊm</u> dah gʊrna:l <u>ʔbn qahbah</u>*

'<u>fuck</u> him and <u>fuck</u> the girl he got engaged to and <u>fuck this fucking</u> newspaper'

Example (14) includes third person reference and a modifier, which is an offensive expression, to refer to an Egyptian actress Laila Elwi. The modifier is used to describe her acting talent. Example (15), which is a quote retweet, harshly comments on a news headline about the engagement of a charged terrorist and a girl at the court during the trial. The tweep uses a third-person reference to curse the charged person, the girl, and the newspaper.

### Pointed criticism/complaints [CR]

In terms of the nature of discourse on Twitter, the [CR] category refers to the offensive language used to direct a bitter comment to a particular person, a group of people, an entity, or a particular issue. The patterns utilized in this category are mostly noun phrases. Sometimes attributable adjectives are used in this pattern as modifiers. Examples (16( and (17) typically represent this category.

16)     ازهي عصور كسم الرأي

*ʔzha: ʕʊsʕr kʊssʊm elraʔj*

'The best era of <u>fucking</u> opinions.'

17)     مخصوم منك شهر سوء تعريص

*maxsʕu:m mənak ʃahr su:ʔ taʕi:sʕ*

'A month is deducted from your salary for poor <u>pimping</u>.'

The pattern of the offensive language used in the two examples is noun phrases. Example (16) alludes to the relatively known expression about freedom of opinion *"أزهى عصور حرية الرأي the best era of freedom of opinion"*. The word *freedom* is substituted by the word "*fucking*" instead of "*freedom*" to bitterly criticize repression and absence of freedom of expression. Likewise, in Example (17), a noun phrase pattern is used to sarcastically criticize of any "*pimp*" who is not perfecting their unacceptable behavior of buttering up to people in authority. This is revealed through analyzing the context of the tweet and checking previous tweet of the same person to be able identify what the tweep exactly means.

18)     الفصيل المتناك الى بيستنجد ب صدقي صبحي

*elfasʕi: elmɪtnæk elli: bjastengid bə sʕi: sʕubħi:*

'The fucked up group who are appealing to Sedky Sobhy.'

The pattern in Example (18) is different. An attributable adjective is used to harshly criticize the people who appeal to Sedki Sobhy[8] asking for help and support. The tweep uses an offensive adjective المتناك "*fucked up*" to criticize the people that are seeking support from the Minister of Defense against the Egyptian president, the thing that is considered by the tweep as reckless and irresponsible.

### Negative expressives [NE]

With respect to the nature of data retrieved from Twitter, this category is different from the Culpeper's (2010). In this category, the offensive language used does not represent insults to particular public figure or a specific person, and it also does not express criticism to a person, or a particular issue or a group of people. In tweets which fall into the [NE] category, tweeps tend to use offensive language in their tweets to express negative feelings towards a situation, ill wishes, curses, or to make fun of a negative situation sarcastically. The patterns used in this category differ. These curses or ill wishes or negative expressions are directed to persons to offend them. Nominalization is the controlling pattern in this category as noun phrases are usually employed in this category. Examples (19) and (20) provide illustrations of this category.

**(19)**     كس ام الجيوب الانفيه قولا واحدا

*kʊs ʊm elgju:b elʔnfija: qawlan waħedan*

'In a nutshell, <u>fuck off</u> sinus.'

**(20)**     تويت في كس ام الحالة المزاجية بتاعة "مفيش" والحالة بتاعة "عادي" عند البنات

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[8] Sedki Sobhy is Egypt's Minster of Defense

*twi:t fi: <u>kʊs ʊm</u> elħalah elmizagjah betaʕet "mafi:ʃ" wə elħalah betaʕet "ʕa:di: ʕand elbana:t*

'A tweet attributed to fuck off that mood of girls saying '*nothing*' or '*fine*'.'

Examples (19) and (20) typically communicate negative feelings towards different things. Example (19) curses sinus while Example (20) curses two answers which girls usually provide when asked a question like "*what's wrong with you?*" which are "nothing" and "fine". Tweeps, particularly males, usually criticizes girls for these two answers. The offensive language utilized in the two examples is nominalized.

**21)** Mood كسم الخرا يا ولاد المتناكه

*<u>kʊssʊm elxara:</u> ja: <u>wela:d elmɪtnækah</u> mu:d*

'I am in that mood of fuck off this bullshit, sons of a bitch.'

Example (21) also emphasizes the same results that the controlling pattern in this category is noun phrases. This example is complex as it includes three offensive expressions and they are all noun-based including two noun phrases كسم "*fuck off*" and الخرا "*bullshit*" and governed noun in a genitive construction ولاد المتناكة "*sons of a bitch*". The tweep in this example is clearly expressing her negative mood.

#### Challenging or unpalatable questions [CQ]

The last category introduced in this analysis is the least frequent pattern on Twitter. Very few instances occurred in the data. In this category, tweeps resort to using offensive language embedded in challenging or unpalatable questions. Examples (22), (23) and (24) are illustrative of this category.

**22)** طب ده يترد عليه يتقال لكسمة ايه؟

*tˤab dah jetrad ʕali:h jetqa:l <u>ləkussmuh</u> eih?*

'Well, how the <u>fuck</u> to answer this one?'

**(23)** اي نعم يا <u>كسمك</u> ..وبالعربي الفصيح يا <u>حر امك</u> ..وفي كتاب المستظرف لكل فن مستظرف يا <u>ماص بظر امه</u> ..عاوز تاني ولا كفايه؟!<sup>9</sup>

*aɪ naʕm ja: <u>kussmak</u> .. ja: <u>ħur umak</u> .. ja: masʕ <u>ba zʕr umuh</u> ʕawiz tani: wala kefa:jah*

Yes, <u>motherfucker</u> .. <u>fucked up asshole</u>! You want more? Or that's enough?

**(24)** ولما انتم مش قد <u>التعريص</u> <u>بتعرصوا</u> ليه؟

*wə lama: ʔntum miʃ qad <u>eltaʕri:sʕ</u> <u>bətʕarasʕu</u> li:h?*

 As long as you're not up to pimping, why are you pimping<sup>10</sup>?

The pattern in this category is either a direct challenging question including an offensive word or expression, or a statement that presents a judgment of a situation followed by posing a challenging question.

### Contextual triggers of offensive language on Twitter

This qualitative analysis determined the most common contexts in which offensive language is manifested on twitter. There are five contextual triggers identified in this analysis: political issues, soccer games, economic and social issues, personal/decontextualized.

### Political context

Talking about politics is a major context on Twitter since a large number of tweeps argue about their different political views. The use of offensive language was quite frequent in the collected data when a political issue was currently under discussion since the tweeps tended

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<sup>9</sup> This is a very offensive tweet including the same offensive expression in more than variety of Arabic. I translated communicatively to transfer the meaning in the target language. I transcribed the offensive words only as the rest is irrelevant to the point under discussion and will not affect understanding.

<sup>10</sup> Emphasizing the meaning of "pimping" again, it refers to the disgraceful behavior of buttering up people in authority and ignoring their disastrous mistakes.

to resort to offensive language to attack each other's opinions and political views. The issues of the internal affairs of Egypt as well as the crises in the Middle East in general caused debates and disagreements on the Twitter timeline, and offensive language was widely used in tweets. Most of the offensive language utilized in the [IN] tweets had a politically-oriented context. The offensive language used in this context almost always communicates feelings of hate and anger, as can be seen in Examples (25), (26) and (27), below.

(25)    كسم بشار الأسد -- طيب يعني عاجبك داعش واللي بيعملوه في ال.. -- كسم داعش على كسمك انت كمان.

*kʊssʊm baʃa:r elʔsad tˤajeb jaʕni: ʕagbak da:ʕeʃ wə elli: bejʕmlʊ:h fəl kʊssʊm da:ʕeʃ ʕala kʊssʊmak ʔnta kaman*

'Fuck Bashar AlAsad .. Well are you OK with what ISIS is doing with …. Fuck ISIS and Fuck you too.'

(26)    بصوا يا جماعه الجزيرتين بتوع مصر وتحت سيادتها.. والموضوع ده بالنسبه لي مقفول.. واي حد يقول غير كده بالنسبه لي.. تعريصه عدي خط الخيانه

*bʊsˤʊ: ja: gamaʕah elgezerti:n bətʊ:ʕ masˤr wə taħt seja:dɪtha: wə elmawdˤʊʕ dah belnɪsbah li: maqfʊ:l wə aɪ ħad jəqʊ:l ɣi:r kedah belnɪsbah li: taʕri:sˤʊh ʕadda: xatˤ elxja:nah*

'Guys! Look! The two islands belong to Egypt and under its authority .. This issue is settled for me. Anyone would say anything different from this, his shit talk exceeded betrayal.'

(27)    معلش اصل عندنا ظروف بيحكمنا عرص

*maʕleʃ ʔsˤl bejʊħkʊmna: ʕarsˤ*

'It's Ok, we are ruled by a fucking pimp.'

The context of Example (25) was ISIS and the Syrian president Bashar Al-Asad. The offensive language was used to revile Al-Asad as well as ISIS. Similarly, the offensive language used in Example (26) was to bitterly attack anyone who agrees that Tiran and Sanafir were not

Egyptian Territories. With respect to the political context on Twitter, the most frequent context that almost always triggered offensive language was talking about the Egyptian President Sisi. Example (27) includes an epithet, an offensive word that indirectly refers to Sisi as a "*fucking pimp*" that rules Egypt. His name was mentioned in the tweet, but it could be easily inferred from the context and the reference to who is ruling Egypt. In the three examples, there were clear lexical items that indicate the contextual trigger of the offensive language used in the tweet, and the examples were taken from the [IN] category.

### Soccer games context

Another common context that has been associated with a considerable use of offensive language is soccer games. Tweeps who are soccer fans tend to use offensive language while tweeting about a running soccer game. Examples (28), (29) and (30), below, illustrate this type.

**(28)**    و احب اكس ام محمود طاهر و مارتن 65 يول

*wəʔaheb ʔkʊss ʊm mahmʊːd tˤahər wə maːrtin jʊl*

'I'd like to tell Mahmoud Taher and Martin 65 Jol: Fuck your mother.'

**(29)**    كسمك يا كهربا حتى مطلع الفجر

*kʊssʊmak jaː kahrabaː ħattaː matˤlaʕ elfagr*

'Fuck you Kahraba till the rise of dawn.'

**(30)**    حلوة يا كهربا يا خول

*ħelwaː jaː kahrabaː jaː xawal*

'Good pass Kahraba, the fagot.'

The offensive language in Examples (28), (29), and (30) is triggered by the soccer game context. In Example (28) the tweep sarcastically attacks Mahmoud Taher, the President of Al-Ahli club, as well as Martin Jol the coach.  The offensive word used in this tweet اكس ام "to

fuck off" is relatively unusual as it is hardly used as a verb in colloquial Arabic. The offensive language shown in example (29) is also unusual. The tweep uses the egregious expression كسمك "fuck you" in an allusion to a Quranic verse [Al-Qadr:5] to show anger towards a soccer player called Kahraba, and similar to previous examples, the offensive language occurs in association with sacred text. The offensive language that is used in the context of soccer games usually communicates feelings of anger as in Examples (28) and (29). In Example 30, the offensive language is represented in an epithet that most soccer fans use to refer to the soccer player Kahraba. Looking into Example (30), it does not communicate feelings of hate or anger, or even sarcasm since the tweep is praising his pass during the game. The tweep neither attacked the Kahraba nor ridiculed him; he just used the common epithet to refer to him.

### Economic contexts

There are many tweets in which offensive language is used to refer to economic issues in Egypt. A number of "hot topics" regarding the economic situation in Egypt trigger a dramatic use of the offensive language on Twitter.

31)    الدولار بينهار ووصل 18 جنيه يا ولاد الشرموطة

*eldula:r bjənha:r wə wasal 18 genih ja: wela:d elʃarmu:tah*

'The USD is collapsing and reached 18 EGP sons of a bitch.'

32)    طب وبالنسبه للوضع الاقتصادي المتناك؟

*tˤb wə belnisbah lelwadʕ elʔqtesadi: elmɪtnæk*

'What about the fucking economic situation?'

Example (31) shows this result as the offensive language is used to communicate a feeling of anger because of the price of USD against EGP. The context is easily inferred in this example due to the use of الدولار and the price in the tweet. Similarly, in Example (32), the tweep is

asking a challenging, unpalatable question about the critical situation of the Egyptian economy, and the offensive language is used to describe that situation.

**Personal/Decontextualized**

The data analysis also revealed that many tweets including offensive language were decontextualized that they did not provide a context that triggered this use of offensive language, or they might have referred to personal contexts that tweeps did not want to reveal. Such tweets included lexical items that were too general and did not indicate any specific context. In fact, there must be a context for any tweet that trigger such use of offensive language; however, some tweeps intend to be ambiguous or obscure when they use this language since they might be referring to a personal matter. There is always this possibility that offensive language is merely used for the sake of using offensive language. Examples (33) and (34), below, illustrate this type.

**33)**   كس ام اي حاجه تعكنن عليك ياجدع

*kʊssʊm aɪə ħaga: teʕknin ʕali:k ja: gada:ʕ*

'Fuck off anything that could make you angry.'

**34)**   كس ام الضحك بصراحة

*kʊs ʊm edˤħk besˤara:ha*

'Shit, this is fucking hilarious.'

It was challenging to identify the contexts of some tweets. In Example (33), the offensive language was used simply to revile anything that may be a bother. The offensive language in this example is decontextualized since it did not refer to any specific situation or person that might be the reason to trigger this use of the offensive expression. The tweet represents a very generalized case. Example (34) is different as the offensive language is used awkwardly to describe an extremely funny situation, which is not clear in the tweet. The context

of this tweet could be personal; the tweep supposedly had a situation that triggered this tweet. It also could be an indirect way of ridiculing what people tweet on the timeline and could be considered either funny or ridiculous for the tweep. The researcher noticed that this kind of tweets are very frequent on the timeline and in most cases the use of the offensive language does not represent a particular context.

**35)**    كسم_حياتي والله ياجماعة يعني#

*#kʊssʊm_ ħaja:ti: wallahi: ja: gama:ʕah jaʕni:*

'Fuck my life.'

**36)**    طيب ما كسم مصر يا جماعة

*tˤajeb ma kʊssʊm masˤr ja: gama:ʕah*

'Fine everyone, fuck off Egypt.'

There are many tweets that reflect the desperate feelings of tweeps and their indignation of their life conditions. Despite the fact that the context is not explicit in these tweets, it can be inferred from the bitter tone used in the tweet, or from the lexical items utilized in the tweet. In Example (35), the tweep is ridiculing his own life and cursing it through the offensive hashtag "كسم_حياتي#" which many tweeps wrote desperate tweets on this hashtag. This tweet reflects the tweep's feeling of frustration from his own life and its conditions. Reasons are not explicitly mentioned or referred to, but can be inferred. Example (34) is different. The tweep is reviling Egypt and ridiculing its conditions implicitly. The context of this tweet is not necessarily political, it is possible that the context is and the offensive word is used to bitterly comment on the social issues in Egypt. It is also possible that the context is political or economic, but it is not clear in the tweet which context triggered this insult to be directed to the country itself.

Many tweets that include offensive language in political contexts or soccer games context fall in the category of insults [IN] and the category of pointed criticism [CR]. Many tweets in the [NE] category refer to the personal affairs of the tweep, i.e. the context of the tweet cannot be easily inferred. A large number of tweets in this category represent the tweep's state of frustration and despair showing no explicit reasons.

The three qualitative analyses that were conducted on the collected tweets show that the use of offensive language has become conventionalized within Twitter community. In terms of Culpeper's (2010) conventionalized impoliteness, the linguistic patterns used on Twitter that have crude and offensive meanings co-occur in particular contexts which made them conventionalized in the Twitter world. Tweeps tend to use insults and bitter criticism to express their anger, hate, and contempt either towards public figures or towards different entities, or towards other tweeps on the timeline. Tweeps also use egregious negative expressives for sarcastic humor and to ridicule frustrating situations they experience. This use of offensive language is usually triggered by political economic, or social issues. Soccer games is one of the very recurrent contexts in which offensive language is used. Frustration and personal negative feelings are also a very common trigger for offensive language on Twitter. To conclude, the use of offensive language on Twitter has many expressive functions and is triggered by different contexts.

# CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The language used in computer-mediated communication suggests a large number of research problems that have not been investigated yet, one of which is the use of offensive language in computer-mediated communication. Given the fact that the internet has become available and affordable for almost everyone, the emergence of social networks and the rampant involvement of different people around the world in this new technology enhanced human interaction online. This online interaction among people around the world resulted in a massive user content which is quite rich for linguistic investigation in different fields of study, among which are sociolinguistics and pragmatics. The present study focused on the pragmatic perspective.

The present study focused on impoliteness in social media discourse which does not necessarily happen with such frequency between two or more interlocutors in a face-to-face interaction. According to Culpeper's theory of impoliteness and his proposed framework (1996, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2010), this study investigated the pragmatic categories of offensive language used on Twitter and the expressive functions embedded in such use of offensive language. Twitter was selected to be the domain for data collection due to its prevalence as a predominant social network used by a large number of internet users in Egypt. The current study answered three research questions regarding the use offensive language on Twitter: the first investigated the expressive functions represented by the use of offensive language on Twitter; the second question investigated the pragmatic categories of the offensive language used on Twitter; and the third investigated the contexts that trigger the use of offensive language on Twitter. This final chapter discusses the findings reported in the previous chapter.

With respect to the expressive functions, the results showed that there are a number of functions served when using offensive language on Twitter. Tweets that include personalized

insults to specific people or to public figures or to other tweeps mostly communicated feelings of hate and contempt towards the people at whom they directed the insults. Tweeps use egregious words and expressions that reflect their level of anger and hate. Similarly, tweets that include offensive language are employed to point bitter criticism or make a cynical comment on a given issue or a specific entity, and tweets that pose a challenging or unpalatable question communicated feelings of hate and anger, and sometimes sarcasm and ridicule. Tweeps use offensive language that causes no offense towards anyone or anything mostly communicated feelings of frustration, sarcasm and humor. Moreover, many tweeps find it funny and interesting to use offensive words or expressions in unusual allusions to popular songs, movies, dramas, or even allusions to sacred discourse. The use of offensive language on Twitter is remarkably weaving its own way into different types of discourse.

With respect to the second question, the researcher found that the offensive language used on Twitter falls into one of four major categories: insults [IN], pointed criticism [CR], challenging or unpalatable questions [CQ], and negative expressives [NE]. The analysis showed that the four pragmatic categories of impoliteness suggested in the current study have similar features to those occurring in Culpeper's (2010) conventionalized impoliteness framework, but they are used in different patterns due to the type of the language and the target discourse in the current study. The most frequent category was insults [IN]. There were different grammatical patterns utilized in this category. The most repeated pattern was *personalized negative vocatives* which was mainly controlled, in the data collected, by the use of noun phrases and epithets. There were very few instances in which modifiers were used in this pattern. Another pattern that was manifested when using offensive language on Twitter was *personalized negative assertions* which was controlled by the use of modifiers and comparative adjectives. The pattern of *personalized negative references* was not very frequent since it occurred in only one or two examples. This pattern is utilized through the use of

pronoun references and modifiers or noun phrases. A very common pattern in this category was the use of third-person negative references which mainly includes a third-person pronoun and a noun phrase or a modifier. The analysis showed that the four categories could be applied to online discourse paying attention to the different nature of interaction. The patterns of offensive language in the data of the current study were utilized differently with respect to the computer-mediated interaction.

Regarding the use of offensive language in the other three categories, the analysis showed that the patterns in the [CR] category were mostly nominalized. The use of noun phrases was predominant in this category, and there were few instances of attributable adjectives patterns. As for the [NE] category, nominalization is still the controlling pattern. There is also a frequent use of modifiers and genitive constructions. Finally, the least frequent category, challenging or unpalatable questions [CQ], had its tweets in question forms some of which started with judgmental statements.

The results showed that tweets of the [IN] category contain clear and personalized egregious insults to particular individuals. The analysis showed that many tweeps tend to use obscenity and offensive language to attack public figures or attack other tweeps with whom they have a disagreement with. Different from face-to-face interaction, where using offensive language is quite face-threatening, Twitter users resort to [IN] to attack other people who are not present on the timeline. Nevertheless, in many cases, tweeps use [IN] to attack each other on the timeline when they quarrel about a given issue, or when they have opposite viewpoints about a certain issue or person, for example when a pro-Sisi tweep responds to or attacks an anti-Sisi tweep or vice versa. The [CR] and [CQ] categories are similar to the [IN] as tweets in this category direct clear offensive insults to entities, situations, or certain issues. Tweeps point their bitter criticism at a group of people or a given issue using offensive language to make cynical comments on political or economic situations in Egypt, social issues, or decisions made

by officials. Analyzing the tweets of the three categories revealed that tweets which include offensive language have become conventionally acceptable in the Twitter community. When Egyptians started to use Twitter as a social platform after the revolution in January 25, 2011, they found the use of offensive language quite unacceptable, and many tweeps did not accept such use of offensive language. There were some angry reactions towards tweeps using offensive language, which included blocking them. Over the past six years, and gradually, the use of such offensive language on Twitter for bitter criticism and attacking other people or tweeps has became very common and acceptable. Tweeps no longer block other tweeps for that reason.

Regarding the third question, i.e., the different contexts that trigger the use of offensive language on Twitter, the analysis showed that political and recent economic issues in Egypt always trigger direct insults [IN], especially when tweeps angrily and offensively attack public figures such as the President, officials, TV announcers and journalists. The same applies to pointed criticism [CR]. Most offensive language meant to cynically or bitterly comment or criticize an issue or an entity is triggered by the context of politics and economic crises. The context of soccer games is a very common context that triggered an excessive use of offensive language while tweeting. The soccer game context always triggered direct insults as well as bitter criticism to players, coaches, as well as the presidents of the famous Egyptian clubs. In contrast, the tweets including negative expressives [NE] are usually triggered by the mental and psychological state of the tweeps. Many of the [NE] tweets are decontextualized as they do not refer to a particular context that triggers the use of offensive language, but they represent tweeps' state of ridiculing and rejecting a situation or a condition or whatever annoys them.

## Delimitations and suggestions for further studies

Impoliteness has usually been approached and researched from a perspective that focuses on spoken discourse and face-to-face interaction. The current study took a different perspective exploring impoliteness in social media discourse. Similar to what Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2010) tried to do in his research on impoliteness in spoken discourse, the present study tried to build up a framework for conventionalized impoliteness in social media. With respect to offensive language, there are many areas that have not been researched yet, and many questions that still need to be answered. This study attempted to analyze the pragmatics of the offensive Arabic language used by Twitter users as well as the contextual triggers for the use of this language. This study moved from a purely lexical and syntactic analysis to a semantic and pragmatic one. The purpose here was to reveal how different personal attitudes and feelings are reflected through the use of offensive language since this language is expressed in subtle and complex meanings which this study analyzed.

There are some variables such as age, educational background, and gender that have not been the focus of the current study. These variables are not researched in the current study due to the fact that they will make the focus of the study a sociolinguistic one, and this is not the aim of the study. These variables can be investigated in further sociolinguistic research as they are of a significant impact when the use of offensive language in social media is in question. Another point that can be investigated further by researchers in the field of computational linguistics — which is also not the focus of this study — is to create a large corpus of the offensive Arabic language in social media and investigate the frequency of the occurrences of impoliteness pragmatic categories and their implications and create statistics that arrange these categories and their functions from the most frequent to the least frequent. There is a phenomenon that has been observed during data analysis which is the shift from the

variety of Modern Standard Arabic to the variety of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic in the same tweet. Many tweets included an unusual diglossic shift from MSA to ECA accompanied by the unusual use of offensive language. This suggests that further research could fruitfully be conducted investigating sociolinguistic aspects such as register, dialects, gender or age differences.  One more thing to add here is that further research could apply the framework suggested in the current study to investigate the pragmatic categories, strategies of impoliteness and its functions in other social networks such as Facebook as this paper focused on only Twitter as a social network.

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# Transcription symbols

Appendix A. The Pronunciation of the Letters of the Arabic Alphabet

| ا | ʔ / a / a: |
|---|---|
| ب | **b** |
| ت | **t** |
| ث | $\Theta$ |
| ج | *g* |
| ح | *ḥ* |
| خ | *X* |
| د | **d** |
| ذ | ð |
| ر | **r** |
| ز | **z** |
| س | **s** |
| ش | ʃ |
| ص | sˤ |
| ض | dˤ |
| ط | tˤ |
| ظ | zˤ |
| ع | ʕ |
| غ | ɣ |
| ف | f |
| ق | q |
| ك | k |
| ل | l |
| م | **m** |
| ن | **n** |
| ه | **h** |
| و | w, uː |
| ي | **J, i:** |
| ء | ʔ |
| ة | **a, ah** |

Appendix B. Insult tweets

| Tweet # | Insults [IN] |
|---------|-------------|
| 1 | لسه عاوز الزهر يلعب يابن المتناكه |
| 2 | مفيش ابضن من الزيطة اللي زايطها العرص اللي اسمه حازم عبدالعظيم .. بقى ثورجي و معارض دلوقتي بروح امه ! #منايك_مصر |
| 3 | في مذيع دلوقتي علي نجوم اف ام معرص اكتر من ابراهيم الجارحي |
| 4 | هوا ابن اللبوه خالد صلاح ملوش اكونت على تويتر ؟ |
| 5 | كس ام الاخوان من اول البنا حتى اصغر عرص فيهم .. هم جزء كبير قوي من سبب  Just in case نازل_ومش_متنازل#ما نحن فيه |
| 6 | انا بقالي كتير ما قولتش كس ام الاخوان على فكرة ف كس امكم من كل قلبي والله |
| 7 | باسم أمين ده أوسخ وأحط وأعرص وأخول حد هنا بعد هشام سري |
| 8 | كسمك علي كسم اللي علمك التبرير والتعريص |
| 9 | اسمهم شهداء ياقناة بنت متناكه زي اصحابك |
| 10 | اضحك يا عرص عشان الصوره تطلع وسخه |
| 11 | احسن علشان خول |
| 12 | وفي نفق ضخم هايوصل لكسمك ..استناه |
| 13 | اى حد هيعلق هيخليه يندم !! تصدق خفت وركبى بتخبط على طيزك ، كسمك من غير مناسبة يا عشرى |
| 14 | ايه ياسواربز ياعرص عاوز ايه الخول ده |
| 15 | بكري عامل زي لامؤاخذه يعني الست الشرشر الي كل ماتيجي سيره واحده قدامها تقول دي مولعب. |
| 16 | الحمد لله اننا مش محتاجين جول والحكم العرص دا موجود ضرباين جزاء رسمي محسبش منهم واحدة |
| 17 | يا أخي موت بقى يلعن ميتين بيضانك |
| 18 | الرز ده تحطه ف كسمك ومتعليش عليه النار اوي ..عشان يستوي كويس |
| 19 | لو سمحت ممكن افهم حاجة!! ـ اتفضل!! ـ هو انت ب ميتين امك لسة بتعرص للعرص ليه يا عرص العرص؟ |
| 20 | كسمك علي كسم اللي علمك التبرير والتعريص |
| 21 | اسمهم شهداء ياقناة بنت متناكه زي اصحابك |
| 22 | اضحك يا عرص عشان الصوره تطلع وسخه |
| 23 | احسن علشان خول |
| 24 | دموع المعرصين |

| | |
|---:|---:|
| 25 | وفي نفق ضخم هايوصل لكسمك ..استناه |
| 26 | اى حد هيعلق هيخليه يندم !! تصدق خفت وركبى بتخبط على طيزك ، كسمك من غير مناسبة يا عشرى |
| 27 | ايه ياسواريز ياعرص عاوز ايه الخول ده |
| 28 | بكري عامل زي لامؤاخذه يعني الست الشرشر الي ماتيجي سيره واحده قدامها تقول دي مولعب. |
| 29 | الحمد لله اننا مش محتاجين جول والحكم العرص دا موجود ضرباين جزاء رسمي محسبش منهم واحدة |
| 30 | يا أخي موت بقى يلعن ميتين بيضانك |
| 31 | الرز ده تحطه ف كسمك ومتعليش عليه النار اوي ..عشان يستوي كويس |
| 32 | عز الله البحرين وكسم قطر قيادة وحكومة وشعبا |
| 33 | الله يلعنك ويلعن كسم اللي جابتك |
| 34 | وانت لابس نقاب ليه ياصهيب ..؟؟ متسترجل كده ياخول |
| 35 | ابراهيم الجارحى مش عايز يصرف على بناته ٧٥٠ جنيه فى الشهر وبيقولك انا عملت مشروع فراوله عالسطح وبكسب بيع ربع مليون جنيه , المعرص برخصه |
| 36 | وفى سياق متصل يلعن أبوه لأبو أمة |
| 37 | البوب الطالح ابو وش كالح بيقول العنف لا يولد الا العنف..حدش قاله كسمك عا الصبح هيا الصلاة بقت عنف يانجس.. يلعن امك لأم اللي كتبلك التغريدة ! |
| 38 | في كم وساخة و قذارة في الهاشتاج ده غير مسبوقة .. ياخي يلعن ابو السلفيين و الوهابيين و الاخوان ولاد المتناكة واحد واحد #حلب |
| 39 | يا بدوي يا شافع عمرو جمال خول ومش نافع |
| 40 | بتلو دراعنا يا ولاد المتناكة يا قحاب، يا نمسح التويتس علي مطاياكم يا اما منعرفش نكمل دخول اكاونتناتنا، كس دين امك يا جاك يا دورسي |
| 41 | معلش اصل عندنا ظروف بيحكمنا عرص |
| 42 | حلو الصباع بتاع بوتين في وشنا كس امك يا بوتين انت و اللي معاك |
| 43 | اماني الخياط : زيادة الاسعار دي سلاح ربنا علشان يأدبنا ونجوع ونخفف حمل أجسادنا ويقولك رد عليهم ف السياق اوك " يالا يا معرصه " دى فى سياق |
| 44 | هوا مين وائل نواره ابن المتناكه دا ؟ مين ولاد ميتين الشراميط الى بيطلعو علينا كل شويه يقولو الشعب غلطان والحكومه فله ؟ فى ايه ياقحابي؟ |
| 45 | شعوب بنت متناكة. دلوقتي أي واحد يقول على واحدة مش تمام هيقول single mother وأنتم جاهلين بتعريف المصطلح. كس أم الإنترنت. |
| 46 | مسيرة المجهولين ده مش بتحتاج تصريح طبعًا طبقًا للقانون رقم كس أمك |
| 47 | الصراحة انا زهقت من كسم الموضوع ده.. كوجاك خول مسجل ف جمعية الخولات المصرية ومعاه رخصة ممارسة الخولنه.. |
| 48 | د. محمد #العريفي #عرص |

49   خد المفاجأة بقى ..اللبوة دي مش مصرية تخيل لما تيجي شرموطه من اي بلد تتكلم عن مصر ..كسمك وكسم اللي مايقولكيش كسمك

50   لا وابن الأحبه بيز عقلنا عالتلفزيون بصوت عالى وبيبرقلنا " لو سمحتو متتكلموش فى الموضوع دا تانى " هيا ملك أمك ؟

51   كسم بشار الأسد -- طيب يعني عاجبك داعش واللي بيعملوه في ال.. -- كسم داعش على كسمك انت كمان

52   كسمها .. كسم قناة النهار .. كسم صاحب قنوات النهار .. كسم مدير البرامج في قناة النهار ..كسمها تاني

53   احنا مش خايفين يا كسمك بس انت خايف.

54   وماله ...المهم تثبت للاخر ومتمسحش اكونتك زي الخول مالك عدلي

55   قمح اية يا ابن الوسخة خليك في الماتش

56   يعني يا كسمك جي تشوط في وقت محتاجين اي كوره فيه

57   كسم تركيا علي كسم الخليفة انت بتهري في اية علي اساس اني اخوان مثلا ؟

58   مالك عدلى ايه ابوشخة اللى الداخلية كلها اصلا تفكر فيه مش السيسى .. ايه ياجدعان دى دولة يا جماعة مش شوية عيل سيس عاملين فيها وهما ولاد احبة

59   اهي فقرة الديكتاتور لمحمد صبحي في مسرحية تخاريف بتكشف قد ايه هو معرص دلوقتي

60   ما علينا .. ياكش تولع بجاز ابن وسخة وسخ

61   فكسم البلد تاني وكسم تيران وصنافير وكسم السعودية وكسم السيسي وكسم اللي مش عاجبه

62   الاجابه كسم مريم علي احمد

63   استقلال ايه يا خول!

64   كس إختك عا كس إخت الاستقلال الاسرائيلي

65   فاشل و كل مؤيدين فشلة ولاد قحبة زيك يا عرص

66   يالا اعمل سيرش علي اسمك الحقيقي يا متناك #الجربوع

67   هيدا كائن متناك

68   أدي يا عم ولاد الوسخه    quote retweet and commenting

69   صابرين دي كس ام البضان

70   ابن ستين شرموطةquote retweet commenting

71   غرامة تلسوعك يا قاضي المنايك

72   كنت مبطل شتيمة بس مش خسارة فيك لما اقولك كس امك

73   سيقف التاريخ امام هذا الرجل ليقول له كسمك #الشعب_يريد_تكريم_السيسي

74   حلوة يا كهربا يا خول

| | |
|---|---|
| 75 | انت اللي وسخ ومنبع الاحباط غور ف ستين داهية وبلاش خولنة |
| 76 | يا عرص Take a bow |
| 77 | ليلي علوي تمثيلها خريان فشخ |
| 78 | الڤيديو الكامل لتعريص الزعيم قدام السيسي |
| 79 | كسم ده دفاع علي كسمك يا شريف |
| 80 | ومين محمد عباس ده كمان.. كس امه مبدئيا علشان لو المدفع ضرب وملحقتش.. |
| 81 | كسمك_يا_ابو_هشيمه# |
| 82 | دكر يا جربوع رد #الجربوع العرص |
| 83 | مغلوطه ايه يابن القحبه |
| 84 | فاشل و عرص .. عرص و فاشل |
| 85 | الواحد فطر على ميتين شكلك يا عرص |
| 86 | ينفع كدة حتطرشنا اللقمة يا ابن الكلب |
| 87 | و ربنا ما يحكم عليكم واحد زيي يا شوية اوغاد quote Retweet commenting on Sisi statement |
| 88 | العرص اللي بيقول لنا ماناكلش بيشرب ميا مستوردة |
| 89 | الخول الأعظم Bieber quote retweet referring to Justin |
| 90 | كسم نادر شوقي على محمود طاهر على رمضان صبحي،اللي يهمني الاهلي مش لاعب عرص مدي ودانه لوكيل اعماله وخلاص |
| 91 | ده المفروض خبر بقي!!! طب كملوا الخبر والجملة:"السيسي يتخولن بدراجته في المعمورة ونتنياهو يتجول في افريقيا ويعقد... |
| 92 | حسام غالي خول رسمي |
| 93 | سيد القمني العرص بقى من اهم مثقفين مصر .. ياخي بجد احا |
| 94 | يين الشرموطة يا وسخ referring to Obama |
| 95 | هذا العرص احد كبار دعاة القتل و الدم في الشرق الاوسط .. يتنصل الان علشان عارف ان اسياده استنكروا الجريمة .. وسخ Shaikh Oreify referring to |
| 96 | جبان و عرص و منافق .. كس امك عادي tweep blocked him referring to another |
| 97 | حبايبك كثير يا عرص #اردوجان |
| 98 | حط بقى ال8 صوابع دول ف طيزك يامعرص #انقلاب_تركيا |
| 99 | شكلنا هنفضل نكسم محمود طاهر كتيبير |
| 100 | اللى يشوف مؤمن زكريا ينيكه يا جماعه |
| 101 | ابو حامد العرص عامل لي بلوك.. ولمت كسم كل المعرصين يعملوا لي بلوك.. افشخ انا مين؟ |

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| 102 | كسمك يا كهربا حتى مطلع الفجر |
| 103 | كسم الرئيس الضيف علي المضيف، ساعة ونص في الطريق! |
| 104 | انت شايف بميتين امك أن أولاند هيعدي من أشارة التجنيد #احا |
| 105 | يا سيسي يا خول.. |
| 106 | الصوره دي عار علي اي عرص ابن عرص مؤيد للعرص ابن امه. كم عرص في ذلك؟ |
| 107 | ده انتوا اوسخ من مرتضي منصور والله #الاخوان |
| 108 | انا معنديش اي فكره عن الي هيحصل ف مصر.. لكن الي واثق منه ان السعوديه هتتناك علشان فتحه الصدر الي هي فيها.. |
| 109 | لعبت شطرنج مع واد أمريكي ملحقتش أتنفس وفشخني ابنلمرة |
| 110 | متسمعوش كلام حد غيري.. متتكلموش غير بإذني.. ياعره الفاشية يا ديكتاتور هُزُء يا مسخة الرؤساء #ارحل |
| 111 | عمرو حمزاوي العرص قرر ان الجزر سعودية |
| 112 | صدق اللي قال #انتخبوا_العرص |
| 113 | السيساوية ولاد القحبة ولاد الحرام لوالسيسي ده باع اسكندرية ورشيد لو باع القاهرة نفسها هيجدوا له المبررات #عواد_باع_أرضه #تيران_وصنافير_مصرية |
| 114 | انزل يابني باسطوانة انتوا بتشمتوا في بلدكم يالا يا عرص منك لها له ، احنا بنشمت في قتالين قتلة فشلة مستبدين . السيسي ورجاله مش مصر يا معرص |
| 115 | حكومة خولات، المفروض يسبو ديك ام تركيا باردوغانها بجولانها، بس السيسي طري عامل مؤدب |
| 116 | الابراشي اعرص ما رات عيني من البشر وماقولتش احمد موسي لاني بقول من البشر البرادعي جميل ولطيف وعالم لكنه كذاكذا وكذا |
| 117 | مش مصدق العدد اللي اتصفي في سينا ده من شباب زي الورد عشان واحد ابن وسخة اسمه مرسي هو و جماعته ولا يسووا جزمة اصغر عسكري فيكي يا مصر !! |
| 118 | مني الشاذلي تاخد لقب ابضن سيدة ف مصر عن جدارة #حقيقة_مؤكدة |
| 119 | مش عاجبك اني بشتم العرص؟ طب كس امك ع كس امه |
| 120 | الاخوان ولاد ميتين الوسخه الانجاس قاطعين طريق الزقازيق هييا |
| 121 | لما احمد موسي يتمنيك أبقوا قولوا له.. يالا يا عرص يالي السيسي مبيتصلش ببرنامجك.. |
| 122 | انتو مسيحه ولا ايه الموضوع كبير وفيه نبى اتهان وفيه كلب اسمه الزند لسه موجود وفيه رئيس معرص هو سبب كل ده |
| 123 | أعضاء هيئة تدريس جامعة حلوان الشراميط الانجاس |
| 124 | بكري عامل زي لامؤاخذه يعني الست الشرشر الي ماتيجي سيره واحده قدامها تقول دي مولعب. |
| 125 | كس امك .. الاكراد هايفشخوا امك |
| 126 | دي امك اللي بتتناك ب 4 دولار في الاسبوع |

| | |
|---|---|
| كسمك انت وقطر يا مولانا | 127 |
| محمد سعد مين البضان دا اللي بيخليه يعمل افلام تاني ويخنق البشريه | 128 |
| هو مين ابن الوسخه الي اقنع ابراهيم الجارحي ان دم كسمه خفيف؟ | 129 |
| كاسيااااا ده ابن شرموطه خول وهايضيعنا السنادي | 130 |
| العرص قالك وزير الكهرباء عالمي .. جاتك نيله ع امك | 131 |
| السيسي خول #تصويب | 132 |
| و احب اكس ام محمود طاهر و مارتن 65 يول | 133 |
| شكرا مارتن يول كسمك | 134 |
| الميدالية الذهبيه ف رياضه التعريص تذهب للمعرص حماده طلعت.. | 135 |
| النور قطع مرتين ف ٥ دقائق يا عرص يا ابن دين الكلب | 136 |
| كسم العريفي برضه | 137 |
| انا فاهم الاخوانجية ولاد العراهر و حازمون ولاد القحابي يفرحوا في الناس اللي بتتقتل .. بس اي حد تاني ليه ؟ | 138 |
| بضينةً انتى كايناس مكى فى جميع اعمالها | 139 |
| يلعن كس امك يا أوباما | 140 |
| كس ام رخصكم على كس ام ذوقكم العفش .. ياخي يلعن ميتين ام دي بلد الواحد مش عارف يستنضف او يستعني القائمين عليها ! | 141 |
| و مع كل هذه الرخص و انعدام الذوق .. يخرج الاخ الفنان (الشيك) و الاخت الفاشونيستا يقولوا السيسي انقذ مصر و بنموت فيه .. قحابي صح؟ | 142 |
| التاريخ الاسلامي مليان ولاد شرموطة .. مش فاهم فين الاندهاشة !! | 143 |
| الولد المصرى اللى بيعمل إعلان trivago خول اوى | 144 |
| كسم البلد بحالها معمولها pause لغاية بعد العيد | 145 |
| شعب بن شرموطة عايز إبادة | 146 |
| العيال ولاد المنيوكة بتوع سينا دول داخلين يلموا فلورز ويتمحنو على خلق الله بالتضحيات وهما ولاد خول | 147 |
| كسم اسرائيل | 148 |
| الحمد لله اننا مش محتاجين جول والحكم العرص دا موجود ضرباين جزاء رسمي محسبش منهم واحدة | 149 |
| شوفوا ابراهيم عيسي.. كل ما احسم رائي بينه وبين مصطفي بكري ايهم اكثر تعريصا يطلع احدهم يقولي اصبر هابهرك... ابراهيم نفخوا هايل انهارده. | 150 |
| في موظف عديت عليه النهارده يقول للخول قوم وانا اقعد مطرحك.. | 151 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 152 | 11:11 كس أم مصر |
| 153 | #نساء_مصر_مع_الترشيد صباح الخير ياشراميط المنطقه وكل المناطق |
| 154 | لسه عاوز الزهر يلعب يابن المتناكه |
| 155 | مفيش ابضن من الزيطة اللي زايطها العرص اللي اسمه حازم عبدالعظيم .. بقى ثورجي و معارض دلوقتي بروح امه ! #منايك_مصر |
| 156 | في مذيع دلوقتي علي نجوم اف ام معرص اكتر من ابراهيم الجارحي |
| 157 | هوا ابن اللبوه خالد صلاح ملوش اكونت على تويتر ؟ |
| 158 | كس ام الاخوان من اول البنا حتى اصغر عرص فيهم .. هم جزء كبير قوي من سبب Just in case #ما نحن فيه نازل_ومش_متنازل |
| 159 | انا بقالي كتير ما قولتش كس ام الاخوان على فكرة ف كس امكم من كل قلبي والله |
| 160 | باسم أمين ده أوسخ وأحط وأعرص وأخول حد هنا بعد هشام سري |
| 161 | فلوريدا الشرموطة كلها عواجيز هيموتوا قبل ما يطلع عليهم النهار ولهم نفس يصوتوا. ديك أم الديموقراطية والله. |
| 162 | الدولار بينهار ووصل 18 جنيه يا ولاد الشرموطة |
| 163 | حزب الزور السلفي بيقولك النبي اول من عوم الجنيه طيب ياولاد المتناكة كان لابس لايف جاكيت ولا نازل يعوم باللباس بس |
| 164 | تويته بتكسم ابن الخول الي عمل اشارات مصر الجديده بتفتح ١٠ ثواني وتقفل ٥٠ ثانيه ، صباح الخير ياكسمك |
| 165 | دة بنك مركزى أبن متناكه |
| 166 | الشناوي اتصاب يا ابن المره |
| 167 | الشماتة فى اسرائيل ليس من الاسلام - ناديلى ابن القحبة اللى كتب الكلام ده |
| 168 | طب كسم تشيلسى شخر لندن |
| 169 | كس ام البلد الى تتبنى بافقار الناس |
| 170 | ان شاء الله نسيبها لكم يا اولاد العواهر .. ابقوا خلوها قد الدنيا مع ابن المتناكة بتاعكم |
| 171 | وده يا ولاد نموذج للرجل الخمسينى المصرى العرص .. قالك هخليه يندم .. انا بقى لو شفت سحنتك دى صدفه حاغيرلك ملامح وشك |
| 172 | اليس من السيساوية او الدولجية رجل رشيد ؟ كلهم ولاد قحبة بهايم !!! بجد ؟؟ |
| 173 | شراميط يناير |
| 174 | أعضاء هيئة تدريس جامعة حلوان الشراميط الانجاس |
| 175 | خد مثلا اللي في بداية انحيازه للسيسي ، وجدناه يكتب ان كل الناس معرصين.. كانت تمهيد ليبرر تعريصه in advance عشان ضميره يستريح بدري بدري |

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Appendix C. Negative expressive tweets

| Tweet # | Negative expressives [NE] |
|---|---|
| 1 | دموع المعرصين |
| 2 | 3 ملاحظات في اليوم الأول - المياه غير أي حاجة غيرها وأحلى من الباقيين - ممكن، لو حابب، يومك يمشي من غير قهوة وسجاير - كس أم الإعلانات |
| 3 | في عين بنت وسخه فخشتني انا والأجازة |
| 4 | كس دين ام متطلبات الحياة والمجتمع المريض اللي احنا فيه ده |
| 5 | نو مان نو بضان |
| 6 | بعد سماع صوت الناس اللي كانت مدمنة و بطلت، بجد يا جماعة كسم المخدرات دي، يعني مشكلتك مش هتتحل بالعكس انت هتضيف مشكلة اكبر ليها |
| 7 | كل واحد عايز يفسي فسية يقوم عامل جروب ع الواتس.. بجد احا بقى |
| 8 | ويا ريت الي يشوف حاجه بيضان يعمل نفسه مش شايفها بدل ما يشاركنا فيها. |
| 9 | قالك الاخوان اجدادهم التتار .. كس ام الفِسا |
| 10 | و كل شيء .. جامد فشخ .. جامد احا .. نادر نيك |
| 11 | آيه الجو الخره ده !!! ده خره بشرطتين |
| 12 | التلفزيون سعره زاد من ٥٩٠٠ الي ٦٥٠٠ ف اقل من اسبوع.. كسم الدولار الصراحه |
| 13 | احساس ان الواحد مستباح ده بضان فشخ |
| 14 | كِس إختكن بإجري |
| 15 | الاهلي بيتناك حرفيا.. |
| 16 | كس ام البوكيمون |
| 17 | الفيس بوك بقي منتدي فتكات.. دخلت جروب المدرسه اتردمت صور ورد وقلوب وشوكولاتة.. كسم كده يعني.. داحنا معملنهاش لما كنا ف المدرسه نفسها |
| 18 | المنيكة خير صديق وقت الضيق. |
| 19 | قد استهلكنا كثيرا من المنيكه الفارغه |
| 20 | كس ام الجيوب الانفيه قولا واحدا |
| 21 | التعريص الهادف للربح |
| 22 | شغلوني لجنة ب خمستلاف دولار شهرياً و حاعرص |
| 23 | مصر شالت فوق طاقتها معرصين .. تيراراا |
| 24 | فى لامؤاخذة شرمطه طبيعيه وشرمطه مكتبسبه والمكتبسه دى بقت عاليه فشخ عند كتير من الرجاله |

| | |
|---:|:---|
| 25 | الخول هو من تخول له نفسه أن يحكم شعبا بقوة السلاح أما ذلك العلق فهو ذلك الشعب الذى علق آماله علي ذلك الخول |
| 26 | اطالب بتصنيف كلمة " معرص/عرص/تعريص" ككلمة دارجة ينفع استخدمها قدام تيتا عادي |
| 27 | الى بيعرص للسيسى و بعدين يتحبس او يتمنع من السفر ده الصراحه بشمت فى امه |
| 28 | العين فلقت الطيز والله |
| 29 | منايك المساء والسهرة والله |
| 30 | يلعن دين مسقط راسك . مثلا insult suggesting new phrase for |
| 31 | اسبوع بدون بيضان يارب.. |
| 32 | هزل ابن متناكة |
| 33 | إحنا محتاجين أخبار وسخة أقل وأكل كتير..! |
| 34 | كده عندنا اكتر من ميه وخمسين كسمايه |
| 35 | لا إله الا الله احا يعني |
| 36 | ولا أرى قول " أحا " في تلك المواقف عيبا .. !! |
| 37 | ٩٠ عاما من التعريص .. برافو يا كوكو |
| 38 | 2017 هتبقي بنت متناكه عادي برضه |
| 39 | الجو تلج وحاجه ف منتهى كس أم الشتا خالص |
| 40 | كس ام الضحك بصراحة |
| 41 | عام العلوقيه |
| 42 | خدني الحنين عشان خول |
| 43 | لا تقبل بعلاقة لا تكون فيها على طبيعتك كسملها ومع السلامة لها عايده عا العلاقة عشان محدش يفهمها غلط |
| 44 | |
| 45 | الناس كلها الصلاة و قراءة القران بتريح قلبها .. امال الناس ولاد وسخة ليه ؟ ها ؟ |
| 46 | طب بلاش دراما تعالوا نتكلم في موضوع جديد لانج يا جماعة ، إيه رأيكم في برج الجوزاء إبن المتناكة؟ قولوا رأيكم بحُرية طبعا |
| 47 | |
| 48 | تويت في كس ام الحالة المزاجية بتاعة "مفيش" والحالة بتاعة "عادي" عند البنات |
| 49 | كل واحد عايز يفسي فسية يقوم عامل جروب ع الواتس.. بجد احا بقى |
| 50 | ويا ريت الي يشوف حاجه بيضان يعمل نفسه مش شايفها بدل ما يشاركنا فيها. |
| 51 | قالك الاخوان اجدادهم التتار .. كس ام الفِسا |

| | |
|---|---|
| و كل شيء .. جامد فشخ .. جامد احا .. نادر نيك | 52 |
| كان العِلق نفع نفسه .. العلوق بقوا رؤوساء | 53 |
| مفيش ابضن من كلمة الوطن العربي ! | 54 |
| اه وانا مش بتاع سياسة اصلا لولاكش مش عارف ابطل احب كسم البلد | 55 |
| | 56 |
| | 57 |
| آيه الجو الخره ده !!!  ده خره بشرطتين | 58 |
| اللهم ارحمنا من منيكه الحرانين.. مشاه كانوا او سايقين.. | 59 |
| عن كسم تويتات نشر الايجابيات علي حبل الغسيل.. | 60 |
| ما هذه المنيكة الفارغة التي وقعنا تحتها؟ | 61 |
| الاجابات النموذجية بنت الوسخة بتاعت المقابلات .. بجد خرا | 62 |
| ما شوفتش اوسخ من الكائن اللي يختلف مع واحدة ست في الرأي يقولها ع المطبخ ياخي ملعون ابو اللي طبخت و اكلت جحش زيك و خلته يجي يحتقر الستات هنا | 63 |
| | 64 |
| في عالم موازي ، يوم التلات هيهاجر بره مصر ولما يسألوه هيقولهم دي عالم متناكة يابا أي بلوة حتى لو حصلت يوم الخميس يلبسوهالي بردو | 65 |
| كس أم ثقافة "داري على الفضيحة" بتاعتكم وكس أم موضة "أصلهم مرضى نفسيين معلش" السوشيال ميديا ناكتكم في دماغكم والله أو محتاجين تتربوا من جديد | 66 |
| يا منايك بطلوا استغلال موت الناس لاي هدف .. يلعن ابو اشكالكم #الطايره_المنكوبه | 67 |
| احنا شعب بضان يا زينب.. بضان اوي والله | 68 |
| بالنسبه للمهندسين الي انتم عايزينهم يغسلوا اطباق.. انتم متخيلين لو دبي بتفكر زيكم كده بطيزها كان شكلها بقي ايه؟ | 69 |
| إوعى تخلي ناس واطية بنت ستين كلب تعصبك و تبوظ مودك ..إوعى. *بكلم نفسي*. | 70 |
| الفراغ نايك الناس | 71 |
| | 72 |
| وتلاقي العرص من دول يقولك.. افرض مثلا ان انت خول.. نعم يا كسمك.. من فضلك اديني فرصه اكمل شرح وجه نظري | 73 |
| عمرك شوفت مزيكا بتدعوا للقتل وقطع الرقاب ؟ لا ، المزيكا بتدعوا للبهجة والحياة يا قحابي العالم | 74 |
| هنروح ونقول مين، نص صفوفنا معرصين!! | 75 |
| علي رأي الشيخ غنيم شراميط و أنجاس. | 76 |
| كس ام ابن الوسخة اللي اخترع موضوع الطاقة الايجابية و الطاقة السلبية .. كانت لحظات خريانة | 77 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 78 | احيه .. دي هاتتبضن نيك |
| 79 | لما ببقي فاضي برتكب في اللي حواليا جرايم بنت متناكة |
| 80 | محدش يسكن جنب قهاوي ولا جوامع يلعن كس ام الدوشة اللي بتيجي منهم |
| 81 | مافيش إهانة أكتر من إن حد يقول عليك "مين ابن الوسخة ده..؟!" يعني مش بس ابن وسخة لأ، وكمان مش من ولاد الوسخة المعروفين..! |
| 82 | انا مش ديبلوماسي بس لا أذكر أني قرأت في وثيقة رسمية ألفاظ من هذا النوع... الله يخرب بيوتكم يا ولاد الكلب يا مواشي |
| 83 | كس ام اي حاجه تعكنن عليك ياجدع |
| 84 | مرسى علم و الفشاخة التاريخية |
| 85 | وطبعا اول ما الواحد من دول تعملوا له ريتويت ينجعص ف الاكاونت ويجود.. الي هو كس ام بيضانكم يعني.. عملتوا للخري سعر.. الرحمه |
| 86 | طب بيني و بينك .. عيني في عينك .. مين في بضانك مين ؟ |
| 87 | كس ام كيلو عين الجمل ده اللي فشخ الناس في دماغها |
| 88 | آه بالمناسبة، التصوف مش سِبَح وأغاني بن عربي وزين محمود والشيخ برين.. كفاية استعراص بقى |
| 89 | كوكب التعريص |
| 90 | يا جماعه ريتويت البيضان بيضان ف رمضان.. |
| 91 | اللهم "كسمك" اني صائمه |
| 92 | إنت ضيعت هيبة التعريص والمعرصين.. |
| 93 | ده ارض يا ولاد الشرموطة على المسا |
| 94 | بس أنتم selective في التعريض. جميل. |
| 95 | بلاش نبضن بعض كده يا جماعه مراعاة للشهر الكريم حتى |
| 96 | انا هاقنعك بالشرمطة .. بس حضرتك بتتشقطي و لا ملكيش فيه ؟ |
| 97 | اما من نهاية لهذه المفشخانة !؟ |
| 98 | |
| 99 | شهر بضان بنكهة ضبط النفس. |
| 100 | أووه بضاني a girl commenting on sth in a mention |
| 101 | بريحة وترميلة الخرا allusion to Rawabi commercial |
| 102 | الثبات الإنفعالي اتناك |
| 103 | لا و الظريف انها عاملة برنامج اسمه افهم .. المفروض انا كمان ارد بيرنامج اسمه اشخر ! #الشمطاء |
| 104 | بس السعوديين فشخوها فشخة |

Appendix D. Pointed criticism tweets

| Tweet # | Pointed criticism/complaints [CR] |
|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | ولما انتم قد التعريص بتعرصوا ليه؟ |
| 2 | دول بقى اسمهم عصارة ولاد المتناكه |
| 3 | اروح اعيش فين يارب عشان ابعد عن بضان عبيدك |
| 4 | احنا مش بنخاف من السجن بس بنتبضن منه |
| 5 | مخصوم منك شهر سوء تعريص |
| 6 | العالم أصبح قريه بضينه |
| 7 | الدنيا زي الشرموطة يوم تحت وفوق |
| 8 | الحب وهم ابن متناكه |
| 9 | عالم بضان |
| 10 | ماشاء الله .. عيان بيوعظ في ميت .. قمة المنيكة الكونية |
| 11 | المفروض المصريين يلمو نفسهم و يعملو لنفسهم قعدة عرب كدة ويشوفو حل ف المقحبة اللي احنا فيها دي |
| 12 | و القساوسة قالو المسيح أحنا نكسب في التعريص |
| 13 | وزارة التعريص " الاوقاف سابقاً ": خطبة اليوم تحت عنوان "الطريق إلى السعادة" |
| 14 | عزيزي، التعريص ليس مِن الوطنية مِن شيء. |
| 15 | يا ابني انت عامل تويتر عشان تبضن عليا وتعملي فيفورت !! |
| 16 | صحيح، ده بقى تعريص عابر للقارات، بيعرص لفرنسا اللي ماعرصتش لنفسها و بيتهم كل من يبرر لبلده بالتعريصquote retweet commenting |
| 17 | الحرب منيكة مهما كانت مبرراتها |
| 18 | مصر، حبيبتي، انتِ بقيتي بضان قوي. |
| 19 | اقسم بالله نظام احد اهم اهدافه البضينة .. احنا بضان و هانبضن اللي خلفوكم ! |
| 20 | فرنسا ما تستحقش تكسب علشان لعبها وسخ و الحكام بيعرصولهم |
| 21 | انا بكره العلمانية بس بانبسط فشخ لما اسافر اتفسح في الغرب العلماني الكاره للاسلام .. بانبسط فشخ الفشخ #منيكة |
| 22 | المؤمن من دول عنده الحجارة المقدسة اهم من البشر ، شرق اوسط إبن قحبة والله |
| 23 | طيب مابياخدوش المعرصين دول ليه هم اللي يعملوا الشغل؟حتى عشان يطلع عالي الجودة ولا احنا مكتوب علينا الخرا في كل حاجة؟Retweet Quote |
| 24 | هاشتاج سف اتقلب بضان عشان ناس بضان ومعقدة ونظريات المؤامرة نايكة دماغهم |

| | |
|---|---|
| 25 | الفصيل المتناك الى بيستنجد ب صدقي صبحي ... ,,!,, |
| 26 | طب وبالنسبه للوضع الاقتصادي المتناك؟ |
| 27 | اي شخصيه قبلت او عايزه تبقى عامه لازم تستحمل النقد بلاش منيكه |
| 28 | في تعويم كامل .. وفي تعويم مدار .. إحنا إخترعنا تعويم جديد وهو التعويم الخول |
| 29 | في ايه ..راجل طويل عريض المنكبين شلولخ 47 سنه عندي عالفيس مصور فنجان قهوه بيقولك مساءكم جميل كقهوتي ..ايه فرة الخولنة اللي ضربت البلد دي |
| 30 | ايام الجماعه الاسلاميه مكانش في ثورجيه ولا خولات ولا سوشيال ميديا اصلا فحجم الاشاعات كان قليل وكانت الداخليه عارفه تركز كويس يدون انتقاد |
| 31 | ليه كل الإعلانات بمصر بيكتّبو (للجاّدّين فقط)؟ عارفينو شعب بيحب المنيكة |
| 32 | يا جدعان عرصوا بالعقل، يعني حللوا حتى اللقمة اللي بتاكلوها مش كده |
| 33 | زمان كنت بستغرب ليه الناس تصور الأكل او تكتبت تشيك إن بس فيما بعد بقيت انا كمان بعمل كده ، بس الشهادة لله موضوع الورد على راسكم ده بضان نيك |
| 34 | ازهي عصور كسم الرأي |
| 35 | ازهي عصور حرية رأي المعرصين |
| 36 | التعريص يجري في دمائهم مجرى الدم في العروق .. #منيكة |
| 37 | هو طبيعي ان يبقى في ناس obsessed بواحد من المشاهير بالشكل ابن القحبة اللي الواحد بيشوفه ؟ |
| 38 | هو فين الكيس اللي يشيل التعريص بتاعكم.. ده عايز سوبر كيس فور تعريص! |
| 39 | إحنا مش بنسامح في حقنا عشان خولات لاقدر الله ومانعرفش نجيبه إحنا بنسامح عشان مانبقاش أوساخ زيكم لما نعمل القِلة معاكم.. |

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Appendix E. Challenging or unpalatable question tweets

| Tweet # | Challenging or unpalatable questions [CQ] |
|---------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1 | ابن الشرموطه شايف الحل اننا نشتغل وملناش دعوه بالحكومه , اقولك كام واحد فتح مشروع فى خلال سنه وقفله بسبب الحكومه وسياستها الفاشله ياكسمك؟ |
| 2 | اقولك كام مستثمر كان مشغل عنده مصريين وسرحهم وقلل مرتباتهم بسبب سياسات الحكومه بنت المتناكه الى هيا مش بابا ياكسمك ؟ |
| 3 | اقولك كام واحد بيشتغل شغلانه واتنين وتلاته واربعه علشان يكفي بيته وبرضه مش عارف رغم انه قلل مصاريفه بسبب سياسات الحكومه بنت الشرموطه ياكسمك؟ |
| 4 | اي نعم يا كسمك ..وبالعربي الفصيح يا حر امك ..وفي كتاب المستطرف لكل فن مستظرف يا ماص بظر امه ..عاوز تاني ولا كفايه؟! |
| 5 | طب ده يترد عليه يتقال لكسمة ايه؟ |
| 6 | البغل رئيس الوزراء قالك العمليات الإرهابية لن تعرقل مسيرة الاستقرار في مصر .. استقرار ايه يا ابن الوسخه؟ |
| 7 | لا حضرتك المبدأ لسة خلصان .. تاخد بداله تعريص ؟؟ |
| 8 | باضني جدا بعض السيساوية (المعتدلين) اللي بيدافعوا عن القانون و سيادة القانون .. قانون ايه يا منيك اللي بتدافع عنه؟ القانون له سيادة دلوقتي؟ |