6-1-2017

Functions and contextual triggers of offensive language on Twitter

Deena Mohamed Mansour

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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

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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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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my mother … I really owe it all to you. You have always provided me moral and emotional support in my life. Thank You!

My forever interested, encouraging and always enthusiastic supervisor, Dr. Plumlee … Thank you for your help and support. Thank you for your tolerance. Thank you for advice and recommendation.

I am quite grateful to Dr. Agameya. For the love and support ... For appreciation and understanding … For constructive feedback and invaluable learning experience … Thank you

I am also very grateful to Dr. Bassiouney for her recommendations and invaluable feedback during the thesis defense.

I cannot forget Dr. Khaled Elghamry the one who inspired me to conduct my linguistic research on Twitter … Thank you!

I was lucky to have a friend like Heba Alaa who has been always there for me whenever I needed her. We shared all the tough times as well as times of success Thank you Heba for the love, for the unfailing support and assistance.

And finally, last but by no means least, also to all my colleagues: Hala Alaa, Sahar Mashhour, Fatma Elzahraa, Eman Elfeky … and the most helpful and thoughtful lady in the department Sarah Tarek!

Thank You!
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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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 operational 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/squirter/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
impoliteness¹, positive impoliteness², negative impoliteness³, sarcasm or mock politeness⁴, and withhold politeness⁵. 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

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
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 computer-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 were 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 \[\text{manyakah} \text{ al tablah we al saksakah}\] ; it was an allusion to a pop song substituting its original words \[\text{darbakah}\] which means ‘chaos’ with the very offensive word \[\text{manyakah}\] which means ‘\text{fucking party}’ . It was observed that tweeps used offensive words and expressions in order to ridicule ironic situations or political issues. The example \[\text{xara afurrby wir} \text{ kharah everywhere}\] referring to “\text{bullshit}” was quite representative as the tweep sarcastically referred to everything around as "\text{shit}" and the tweet included the English word \text{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 elmtnæk] or [mitnæk] 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 [eltaɾi:s mala elki:s] which means “pimping 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

\textit{fæfel wə sərs\. sərs wə fæfel}

‘loser and pimp, Pimp and loser.’

2) ده انتوا اريس من مرتضي منصور والله #الاخوان

\textit{dæ ʔwntɔ ðiʔsær ʍən mortad'aː; mans'ər wallah el?xwaːn}

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

3) هايفدوانا ل 9 رسمي .عيشة بنت متناكة و شغل ابن متناكة و بنك مركزى ابن متناكة

\textit{hæifədɔnə lɔ 9 rasmiː ʔiːʃaː bænt mʊtnəkə wə ʃɔɡl ʔbən mʊtnəkə wə bæŋk markaziː ʔbən mʊtnəkə}

‘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 "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**

Example (4) in which a tweep is ridiculing the shit people

**Example (5)**

Where to find a bag that would carry all your shit... this needs a super bag for shit.

**Example (6)**

With the smell and the grainy texture of shit

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 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.

لا إله إلا الله إنا يعني

la ḥalla: ḥa: ḥa:h ḥa: jaːni:

‘There is no God but Allah, shit.’

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 ّحا [ˈḥaː] which is used in this tweet sarcastically to express a feeling of astonishment. The word ّحا 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 ّحا 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 حباً is used to communicate a feeling of admiration to a song that the tweep loved very much.

\[
\text{‘Guys! Wow! I loved this song so much. It is delightful and so is the clip.’}
\]

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.

 meshes عاجبك انتي بتشم العرص؟ طب كم امك ع كم امه 

mesh ʕagbak ʔunny bashtem el-ʕarsˤ? tab kos ʔomak ʕala kos ʔomoh

‘You don’t like that I’m fucking off that pimp? Fine, Fuck your mother and fuck his too.’

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 كم 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.

 السيسي خول #تصويب 

elsi:si: xawal #tasˤwi:b

‘Elsisi The fagot #shooting.’
The same result shown in Examples (9) applies to Example (10) as the word “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.

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.
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.

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

أزهى عصور كليم الرأي

؟زها: يوسر كيسوم ايرا؟

‘The best era of fucking opinions.’

17

مخصص منك شهر سوء تعريص

maxs‘u:m mənak fahr su:? ta{i:s‘i:

‘A month is deducted from your salary for poor pimping.’

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.
‘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 “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) 

كمسام الجيوب الانفيه قولا واحدا

*kos om elgju:b el?nfija: qawlan wahedan*

‘In a nutshell, *fuck off* sinus.’

20) 

تويت في كمسام الحالة المزاجية بتاعة "مفش" والحالة بتاعة "عادي" عند البنات

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\(^8\) Sedki Sobhy is Egypt’s Minster of Defense
‘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.

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.

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.

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.

طب ده يترد عليه ينقل لكسمة أيه؟

tˤab dah jetrad Šali:h jetqa:l łokussmuh eih?
'Well, how the fuck to answer this one?'

آي نعم يا كسمك .. وبالعربي الفصيح يا حري امك .. وفي كتاب المستطرف لكل فن مستظرف يا ماس ينظر إمه .. عاوز تاني ولا كتابه؟

ai naṣm ja: kussmak .. ja: ḥur umak .. ja: masʕ ba zʕr umuh Sawiz tani: wala kefa:jah

Yes, motherfucker .. fucked up asshole! You want more? Or that’s enough?

ولما انتم مش قد التعرص بتعرصوا ليه؟

wə lama: ?ntum mif qad eltafri:sʕ boṭkarasʔu li:ḥ?

As long as you’re not up to pimping, why are you pimping?

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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9 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.

10 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) ‘Fuck Bashar AlAsad .. Well are you OK with what ISIS is doing with …. Fuck ISIS and Fuck you too.’

26) ‘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) ‘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 أم محمود طاهر و مارتن 65 يول

waʔaheb ?koss om mahmo:d 'ahor wə ma:rtin jol

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

29) 

كسمك يا كهربا حتى مطلع الفجر

kossomak ja: kahraba: hatta: mat'laš elfagr

‘Fuck you Kahraba till the rise of dawn.’

30) 

حلوة يا كهربا يا خول

helwa: ja: kahraba: ja: 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 tweet 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 أم “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) يا ولاد الشرموطة الدولار بينهار ووصل 18 جنيه يا ولاد الشرموطة

\textit{eldula:r bj\text{"o}nha:r wə wasal 18 genih ja: welə:d elfarmu:tah}

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

32) ؟ المتناك طب وبالنسبة للوضع الاقتصادي المتناك؟

\textit{ṭəb wə belnisbah lelwad\text{"u} elʔqtesadi: elmutnaek}

‘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) كسس أم اي حاجه تعكنن عليك ياجدع

*kosom awwa haga: tešknin dali:k ja: gada:*'

‘Fuck off anything that could make you angry.’

34) كسس أم الضحك بصراحة

*kos um ed'hk bes'ara:*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_يجماعة_يعني

36) طيب ما_كسم_مصر_يا_جماعة

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.
REFERENCES


# Transcription symbols

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ا</th>
<th>/a/</th>
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<td>Tweet #</td>
<td>Insults [IN]</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>لسه عاوز الزهر يلعب بابن المتاناكه</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>مفيش ابصين من الزيطة اللي زايطها العرس اللي اسمه حازم عبد العظيم .. بقى ثوري و معارض</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>في منبع نالوقتي علي نجوم اف ام معروس أكثر من إبراهيم الجارجي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>هو ابن اللبوب خالد صلاح ملوش اكون حواك انت في توتر ؟</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>كس ام الاخوان من أول البنية حتى اصغر عرس فيهم .. هم جزء كبير قوي من سبب ميناكم من كل قلبي والله</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>اذا بقالا كثير ما قولتش كسن ام الاخوان على فكرة فكس امكم من كل قلبي والله</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>باسم أمين ده أوسي واحتر وأعروس وأخلو حد هنا بعد هشام سراي</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>كمسك على كسم اللي علامك التبرير والتعريض</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>اسمهم شهداء يقناة بنت متاناكه زي اصحابك</td>
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<td>اضحك يا عرس عشان الصورة تطلع وسخه</td>
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<td>اي حد هيعلق هيخليه يندم !! تصدق خنش وركبي يختط على طيزيك ، كمسك من غير مناسبة يا عشبي</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ايه ياسواريز يا عرس عاوز ايه الخول ده</td>
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<td>بكري عامل زي لامواخذه يعني المنت الشرشلي كل ماتيجيه تقول دي دي مولعب</td>
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<td>الحمد شاهنا مش محتملين جول والحكم العرس دا موجود ضر بربان جزاء رسمي محتمل منهم واحده</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>يا أخي موت بقى يلعن متين يبضانك</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>الرز ده تحطه ف كمسك ، وتعلن عليه الناز اوي .. عشان يسوي كويس</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>لو سمحت ممكن افه حاجة !! - افضل !! - هو انت بنتين امك لسه يتبطرق للعرس ليه يا عرس العرس ؟</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>كمسك على كسم اللي علامك التبرير والتعريض</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>دموع المعروضين</td>
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</table>
وفي نفس ضخم هايوصل لكمكم .. استناء

اي حد يهمل هبهله بهند!! تصدق خفته وركزي بتخطى على طيزك ، كسمك من غير مناسبة يا

عشرى

ايه ياسورين ياعرص عاوز ايه الخول ده

بكري عامل زي لامواخذ بهني السيد الشرشري الي كل ماتيجيه سيبربه واحده فادها تقول دي مولعب.

الحمد الله انا مش محتاجين جدول والحكم العرض دا موجود ضرباني جزاء رسمي محسب منهم واحدة

يا أخي موت بكي بعلن متيين بيضانك

الزه ده تحطه ف كسمك وتعلطك عليه النثار اوي .. عشان يستوي كوبس

عزة الله الرحمن وكم قطر قيادة وحكومة وشعبا

الله بعلنك وبلعن كسم اللي جانتك

وانت لايس نتبرك ليه ياصهب ..؟؟ مسترجل كده ياخول

ابراهيم الجارحي مش عايز يصرف على بناته ٢٥٠ جنيه في الشهر ويبيلكلي انا عملت مشروع فرواله

عطلح وبيكسب بيع محج مجنٍّة .. المعصر برضحه

وفي سياق متصل بلهن أبوه لأبو أمة

الوب الطالح ايو وش كلال بيجول العنف لا بولد الا العنف. حدد قاله كسمك عا الصبح فا الصلاة

بقت عنف يانجس .. بلعن امك لأم اللي كتبلك التغريدة !!

في كم وساحة وقذارة في الهاشتاج ده غير مسبوقة .. باخي بلعن أبو السلفيين والوهابيين واخوان

ولاد المتناكة واحد واحد #حلب

يا بدوي يا شافع عمر جمال خول ومش نافع

بتلو دراعنا يا ولاد المتناكة يا قحاب، يا نمسح التويتس علي مطاياكم يا اما منعرفش نكمل دخول

اكثنتنا، كس دين أمك يا جاك يا درسي

معلش أصل عنهن ظروف يبحكمنا عرص

حلو الصباع بنتج بوتين في وشنا كس امك يا بوتين انت ولي معاك

اماني الخياط: زياد稨 الاسعار دي سلاح رينا عشان باديونا وجوع وتفخف جمل أبسانا ويفولك رد

عليهم ف السياق اوك " ياالى يا معصرهم " دي في سياق

هوا مين وائل نواره ابن المتناكه دا ٢ مين ولاد متيين الشراميط الي بيطالع علينا كل شوبي يفولو

الشعب عطان والحكومة فله؟ في اي بقاه؟

شعبي بنت متناكة دلوقتي أي واحد عايز يقول على واحدة مش تامه يقولو 

جاجلين بتعرف المصطلح. كس أم الإنترنت.

مسيرة المجاهلين ده مش نحتاج تصريح طبعا طبقا للقانون رقم كس أمك

الصراحة انا زهقت من كسم الموضوع ده .. كوجاك خول مسجل ف جمعية الخولنات المصرية ومعاه

رخصة ممارسة الخولن ..

د. محمد #العريفي #عرص
خذ المفاجأة بقي.. اللبحة دي مش مصرية تخيل لما تيجي شرمطة من اي بلد تتكلم عن مصر .. كسمك
وكم السبب اللي مايفضلكي كسمك
لا واين الأحبه بيتعظنا عاللفتحيين بصوت عالي وببترقنا " لو سمحتو متكلمون في الموضوع دا...."
تأتي " هيا ماك أهك؟
كمس بشار الأسد -- طيب يعني عامجيك داعع ولي يتعلمو في ال .. كسم داعع علي كسمك انت
كمان
كمسها .. كسم قناة النهار .. كسم صاحب قنوات النهار .. كسم مدير البرامج في قناة النهار .. كسمها
تاكي
احنا مش خايفين يا كسمك بس انت خايف.
وماله .. المهم ثبت للأخر ومششندش أيوتكي زي الخول مالك عضلي
فمح يا اين الوسادة خليك في المانش
 يعني يا كسمك جي ضعفي في وقت محتاجين اي كوره فيه
كمس تركيبا علي كسم الخلفية انت بتعرفي في اية على اساس اني اخوان مثلا؟
مالك عضلي ايه ايوتشه اللي الداخلية كلها اصلا تفكير فيه مش السيسي .. ايه بجادعن دى دولة يا
جماعة مش شوية عيل سيس عاملين فيها وها ولاد احبة
اهي فترة الديكتاتور لمحمد صبحي صاحبي في مسرحية تخاريف بتكشف قد ايه هو معرص دلوتقو
ما علينا .. باكش تولع بجاز ابن وسخا وسخ
فكسم البلد تاني وكسم تيران وصنافير وكسم السعودية وكسم السيسي وكسم اللي مش عاهبه
الاجابه كسم مريم علي احمد
استقلال ايه يا خول!
كس اختلك عا كسم اخت الاستقلال الإسرائيلي
فشل وكل مؤيدين فشلة ولاد قحبة زيك يا عرص
يالا اعمل سيرش علي اسمك الحقيقي يا متناك #الجربوع
هيدا كائن متناك
أدي يا عم ولاد الوسخه
صابرين دي كسم ام البضان
#الشعب_يريد_تكريم_السيسي
حلوة يا كهربا يا خول
انت اللي وسخ ومنبع الاحباط غور ف ستين داهية وبلاش خولنة

يا عرص

ليلي علوي تمثلها خريان فشخ

الفيديو الكامل لتعزيز الزعيم قدام السيسي

كمس ده دفاع علي كسمك يا شريف

ومين محمد عباس ده كمان.. كس امه ميدّية علنّا لو المدفع ضرب وملحقش...

كسمك يا أبو هشيم#

ذكر يا جرووع رد #الجريبوعرص

مغلوطه يا ابن القحبه

فشل و عرص .. عرص و فاشل

المواحد فطر على مينتين شكلك يا عرص

ينفع كة حطشتنا القمة يا ابن الكلب

و رينا ما يحكم عليكم واحد زبي يا شوية أو غاد

Retweet commenting on Sisi

العرص اللي يقول لنا ماناكلش بيشرب ميا مستوردة

الخول الأعظم

Bieber quote retweet referring to Justin

كم لـ البرق على محمود طاهر على رمضان صبيحي اللي يهمني الاهل مش لاعب عرص مدي

وداهه لوكيل اعماله وخلاص

ده الفروض خبر بقي!!! طب كملوا الخبر والجملة:”السيسي يتخولن بدراجته في المعمورة وتتنتابه

ينجول في افريقيا وعيد...

حسام غالي خول رسمي

سيد الف Minority العرص بقى من اهم مثقفين مصر .. يأخي بجدي احا

referring to Obama

بين الشرموطة يا وخ

هذا العرص احدي كبار دعاء القتل و الدم في الشرق الاوسط .. يتصاول الان علنّ عارف ان اسياه

Shaikh Oreify referring to street

tweep blocked him referring to another

جبان و عرص و منافق .. كس امل عادي

حب حبى كثير يا عرص #اردوجان

حظ بقى ال8 صوايع دول ف طيزك يامعرص #القلاب تركيا

شكانا هفضل نكسم محمود طاهر كثبيبر

اللي يشوف مؤمن زكريا ينيكه يا جامعه

ابو حامد العرص عامل لي بلوك.. ولمت كسم كل المعصرين يعموا لي بلوك.. افشدنا مين؟
كسمك يا كهربا حتى مطلع الفجر
كسم الرئيس الصيف على المضيف، ساعة ونص في الطريق!
انت شافين معيتين؟ املك أن أولدان مهيد من أشارة التجنيد #الاختيار
يا سيسى يا خول...

الصورة دي عار على أي عرض ما عرض مؤيد للعرص ابن انه. كم عرض في ذلك؟
ده انتوا اوسخ من مرعبى منصور والله #الإخوان
انا معديش اي فكرة عن الي هيجعلص ف مصر... لكن انا واثق منه ان السعودية هنننن ام عكن عفتها
الصدر الي ه فيها...

لعبت شطرنج مع واد أمريكى ملحقات أنتفخ ونشتخي إبلمرة
تمسوعوش كلام حد غيري.. مطلكموش غير بابي.. بارع العفنة يو ديكاتور حزْب يا مسخ الروساء
#الراحل

عمرو حمزاوي العرض قرر أن الجمهور سعودية
صدق اللي قال #إنتخبوا العرض

السياسوية ولاد الفحة ولاد الحرام لو السيسي ده باع اسكودريلا ورشيد لو باع القاهرة نفسها هيجوا له
المبترات #العواد_أطرش_الثور_وصناف_مصرية
انزل بابني باسطوانة انتوا بتشمتو في بلدي بلا يا عرض مثلها له ، احنا نشتمت في قتالين قولة
فشلة مستبدين. السيسي ورجاله مش مسرح يا عرض

حكومة خولات، المفروض يسيو ديك ام تركيا باردوغانها بجولانها، بس السيسي طري عامل مؤدب
الإرياني اعرض مرات عيني من البشر وماوتش شاهد موسى لاني يقول من البشر الباردعي جميل
ولطيف وعالم لكنه كاذبنا وذاكا

مش مصدق العدد اللي اتصفي في سينا ده من كبير زي الورد عشان خطير.Wاحد ابن وسخة اسمه
مرسي هو وجماعته وليسا جزءة أصغر عسكري فيكي بي مصر !!
مني الشاذلي متخذ لقب ابيضن سيدة ف مصر عن جدارة #الجاهزة_مكدة
مش عاجبك اني بشتتم العرض؟ طب كمس املك ع كمس امه

الإخوان ولاد ميتيين الوضعه الابنجان قاطعين طريق الزقاقين هيهما
لما احمد موسى يمتنيك أبقوا قولوا له. پالا يا عرض بالي السيسي مبصص برناكمك.
انتو مسحه ولا ايه الموضوع كبير وفيه نبي اتهان وفيه كله اسمه الزند لسه موجود وفيه رئيس
معرض هو سبيل كل ده

أعضاء هيئة تدريس جامعة حلوان الشراميط الانجاس
لما احمد موسى يمتنيك أبقوا قولوا له. پالا يا عرض بالي السيسي مبصص برناكمك.

أعضاء هيئة تدريس جامعة حلوان الشراميط الانجاس
لما احمد موسى يمتنيك أبقوا قولوا له. پالا يا عرض بالي السيسي مبصص برناكمك.

بكري عامل زي لماواخذه يعني السنت الابناني اللى كل ماتيجي سيره واحده قدماها تقول دي ملعب.
كس املك .. الاكراد هافشخوا املك

دي املك اللي بنتاك ب 4 دولار في الأسبوع
كسمك انت وقطر يا مولانا
محمد سعد مين البضان دا اللي بيخلبه يعمل افلام تاني ويخنق البشره
هو مين ابن الوسمه الي اقتع إبراهيم الجارجي ان دم كسمه خفيف؟
كاسااااااا دا ابن شرموطه خول وهايضيعنا السنادي
العرص فالق وكير الكهرباء عالمي .. جاتك نيله ع امك
السيسي خول #تصويب
و احب اكس ام محمود طاهر و مارتن 65 يول
شكرأ مارتن يول كسمك
الميدالية الذهبية ف رياضه التعرض تذهب للمعرض حماده طلعت.
النور قطع مرتين ف 5 دقائق يا عرص يا ابن بنت الكلب
كسم العريفي برضه
انا فاهم الاخوانية ولاد العراهر و حازمون ولاد الفضائي يفرحوا في الناس اللي ينتقل .. من اي حد
تأتي له؟
بضينة اتى كيانس مكى في جميع أعمالها
يلعن كسم امك يا أياما
كسم رخيصكم على كسم ام دوفكم العشق .. ياخي يلعن مينين ام دي بلد الواحد مش عارف يستنضف
أو يستعنى القائمين عليها!
ومع كل هذه الرخص و انعدام النذور .. يخرج الآخ العفن (الشيك) و الاخت الفاشونيستا يقولوا
السيسي انقدي مصر و بنموت فيه .. قحابي صحت؟
التاريخ الاسلامي مليان ولاد شرموطة .. مش فاهم فين الاندهاشة !
الولد المصرى اللي بيعمل إعلان
trivago خول اوى
النور قطع مرتين ف 5 دقائق يا عرص يا ابن بنت الكلب
كسم العريفي برضه
كسم البلد بحالها معمولها
pause لغة بعد العيد
شعب بن شرموطة عازِي إبادة
العياش ولاد المنبوكة بتوع سيناء دول داخليين يملوا فلورز ويتمحون على خلق الله بالتضحيات وها ولاد
خول
كسم اسرائيل
الحمد لله اننا مش محتاجين جول والحكم العرصا دا موجود ضرباين جزاء رسمى محشش منهم واحدة
شوروا ابراهيم عيسى.. كل ما احسن راني يرحي وينين مصطفى بكرى ايه أكثر تعريضا يطلع احدهم
يقولي مصر هابرهك .. ابراهيم نفخوا هايل انهارده.
في موظف عديت عليه الاهليه يقول للخوف قوم وانا افعد مطرحك.
كس أم مصر

نساء _ مصر مع الترشيد صباح الخير بإشراك المطوف وكل المناطق

لة عازز الزهر يلعب بابن المتانة

مقيش ابضن من الزبيدة التي زايطها العرقص الذي اسمه حازم عبد العظيم .. بقي ثورجي و معارض

دلوتقم بروح امه ! #متانة_ مصر

في مذيع مؤقت على نجوم اف ام امعروض أكثر من ابراهيم الجارحي

هوا ابن اللويح خالد صالح ملش اكونت على تويتر ؟

Just in case

كس ام الاخوان من اول البنان حتى اصغر عرقص فيه .. هم جزء كبير قوي من سبب

نازل و متنزل #ما نحن فيه

انا بقالي كثير ما قولتش كس ام الاخوان على فكرة ف كس ام من كل قلبي والله

باسم أمين ده أوسخ وأحط وأعرص وأخلو حد هنا بعد هشام سري

فوريديا الشرموطة كلها عواجيز هيموتوا قبل ما يطلع عليهم النهار ولهن نفس يصوتوا. ديك أم

الديمقراطية والله.

الدولار بينهار ووصل 18 جنيه يا ولاد الشرموطة

حزب الزور السلفي بيقلك النبي اول من عوم الجنيه طيب يا ولاد المتانة كان لابس لايف جاكيت و لا

نازل بعلوم البلاس بس

تويته يتكسم ابن الحول الي عمل اشارات مصر الجديدة بتفتح 01 ثواني وتقفل 05 ثانيه ، صباح الخير

ياكسمك

دة بنك مركزى ابن متانة

الشناوي اتصاب يا ابن المره

الثمانية في اسرائيل ليس من الإسلام - باني بإذن الفحية اللي كتب الكلام ده

طب كسم تشيلسي شخر لندن

كس أم البلد الى تتبنى بافقر الناس

ان شاء الله نسيبها لكم يا اولاد العواهر .. ابقوا خلوا قد الدنيا مع ابن المتانة بدعاعكم

وده يا ولاد نموذج للرجل الخسيسي المصري العرقص .. قاله خليه يندم .. انا بقى لو شفت سحنتك

دى صدعه حاجيرك ملامح وشك

اليس من السياسية أو الدولبلجية رجل رشيد ؟ كليم ولاد قحبة ببAIM ؟ بجد !!!

شاراميطان

أعضاء هيئة تدريس جامعة حلوان الشرموطة الانجاز

خد مثلا اللي في بداية احتجازه للسيسي ، وجداهو يكتب ان كل الناس معروضين .. كانت تمهد لبير

عشار ضميره يستريح بدر البير

تعريصه in advance
إيه يا حبايبي؟ تأخذوا التويتات وتأيفوها وتتوّتوها بعدها بشهر فبقيتم مبتكرين؟ كان العرص نفع نفسه بما عرصات.

أكمل واقع العرص وإليك الشروطية هيفجي اللي ينشطها و هيملته اللي لابنهم حوالتهم مش هينفعكم يا مانيك.

مش عيب لما تكون راجل طول بعوض وتطول زي النسوان وتقول أصل الدايت أصل الكالوريز .. كالوريز ايه يا خول.

لما يبقى رد فعلك الأول أنك تبرئ الإسلاميين وتتهم الدولة دون دليل باصداع تفجير ضخم في كنيسة.

هو ابن العرص إلى بيشتم في الراجل المصرى هو انت شايف نفسك مش راجل مثلا وإلي في وشك ده

ما كسم الإرهابيين على المتعاطفين على اى ابن شروموطه بيستحل دمنا تحت شعار الدين

شجهن في الجنه وقلاكم في النار يا ولازم الوسخه.

لا تثرى علي اطلع ثلاث كسم لما اشوكم

ما تقوش ولاد شروموطه هيفجي اللي يملئها و هيملته اللي لابنهم حوالتهم مش هينفعكم يا مانيك.

وهتخروا نفسكم الدنيا وأخرى. ضعيفة ضمير يا أوساخ.

وهل كسم البائعين على السواقين على اى ابن شروموطه بيستحال دمنا تحت شعار الدين.

هو فجأة المنايك كلهم اعترفوا باللله السبب ولا أنا بيهالي؟

هي المزيكا الاندرجراوند متناكة في العموم .. و اخص بالذكر اللبناني منها #حقيقة

هاب اضيف سعاد ماسي .. #مزيكا #خريانة

كسم شكلك يعني وانت رايح تقول لوحد متكلمش فلانه عشان تخصني وفجأه يثبتلك ان هي اللي بتكلمه

حينشتيني ولاد متناكه طبعا

هو فجأة المنايك كلهم اعترفوا باللله السبب ولا أنا بيهالي؟

الجو حر فهننزل بكت ومن غير برا و هه كسم الديريس كود

ربنا رزقنا بالمنايك اللي ركوا الفلايك بقوا روساء جمهوريات العرب

طيب سكري بوز شكلها بنت وسخة راخر. احنا نلغي الإعلام من الدنيا.

ياولاد الوسخه وفروع طيارات مالوش علاقة بأي دين ياباولد مينين الوسخه

و الرجالة بنت المناكه اللي بيجوزها اطفال .. دول لازم يحبسهم اخصاء كامل

وهي ال CNN وب ال BBC

في رجالة شرابيغ فعلا ومنش شرابيغ عشان ببتاكوا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا لا ولاو
طيب ما كسم مصر يا جماعة
في زحمة التايم لاين على الماتش اللي يلعب فيه بس كم ام الكورة ويارب الفريقين
يخسر معرش ازاي

ماتش بضان.و الريال كان بضان
 قضية النقيب وأعضاء المجلس احيلت للمحكمة يا شراميط يا ولاد الوسخة يا اللي دفعوا الكفالة
 معديش مشكلة مع توجيه أي حد الدينى، بس بقهر جدًا من الملحد وصولي مقوله ان محدد
 بس مدورها سف على الدنات وصل الماتش وس.انت دخل على الخوارات اللي مطرفين مسلمين ويرتيونتي وتتشجعه

طب ما تأسوا هيئة أمر بالمعروف اند نهي عن المنكر زي بتاعت السعردية يا ولاة القحايب
انا عازو اعرف ولاد الوسخة بتعو السكس بيعملوني فوق في رمضان اللي يا ولاد الوسخه بدحل اعمل
لما انتو فاعمين اسرار النفس البشرية ودهاليز العلاقات العاطفية. فاشن لبينا ولولة طول اليوم فيه
على حب فشخكم ولاد الوصي ان؟

ولد الوسخة المعرقين عاملين فيها حققانيين دوت كوم، وواحد فيه مثلاً أو حكم ضربة
جزاء ظلم لفريته هيداه. عن قرار الحكم القلم بالاستئناء
البيساريين و النشطاء ضد مبدأ الثقل الانتخابي اليمنى على اي حايل. طب و انا البس في الحيطة
عشان ولدنا حاليا ولا فلاحية بهاي؟

بعد تجيب ساويرس. جمال عملي بلاك. ملاكم يا ولاد الوسخه. جالكم فرح يا منايك؟

عبدنيو #الحرية_لمجهر_الأهلي_با_شوية_منايك

ايه المتناك اللي بيتكلم في الفيديو ده #يازينك_على_بطاك
وكتم فدافون اللي يتحذ إنعلانها في الثلاثة شمالي.

علي و هشام توأم. بدأنا ام الصفر بدؤواش نجوم في الشعبي. بعض النظار ان غابهم كلها بنت متناك
بالاوي متمنين. #قصة_نجاح

ياسمس السينار عملي يا متمسكون... مش مصاصيه في باب المره...

الدكتورة الشمطا افتشخت

ابو انتو بيسسوك حكوته ولا حاحي جرابيع ولا وسوه

يلعن متناك اللي عرف نبيل الحلفاوي سكة تويتر . كنت بحبوه قبل كده و الله . استخفص
مهاش بس وس ولكن والكلش. كم ام الاقلاب قولا واحد

كمس اللي حارمه من المدرج

احمد موسى جايب قضاء اترك واخدنه من الجلسة لحسن يانهات!!!حرح في ولاد القحايب بوقع

التموج التركي
محبحة أعرف مفهوم النصر عن شراميط النظام، ففتحت الشوارع للكابك وفضلت طول اليوم تفضّل من طول اليوم.

قد يقول لولد الكرة الوسخة إن الكعبة مش في طلعت حرب،!

هانطع عرص فزقوك دع علم اختصر الوسخة.. عادي جدا، هاوقوه كمس امك،

بالاش علوفته وتعريص.. قول للعرص يا عرص كسم كسح موضوح كود، باشكمفارغ.

الحمة... رينا رقبا فتني وولد وسخة.. المرسمية واهمها، وسخة.. بس، مينين أبويكم أنتو الجوزم

بصوا يا جماعة الجُرمدين بتوع مصر وتحت سيادتها.. وخصوص دا بالليسه لي مقطو.. وأي حد

يقول غير كده بالنسبة لي. تعرّضه عدي خط خيره،

بالنسبة لطابور المعرصين اللي بيفتو في موضوع ما يعرّفون عنه أي حاجة: كسم أمك يا أوسخ زيلة

الأرض

الانشغال بنت الوضعية داكلي لو الجسر ده اعمال أول الناس هايروها يتشريحووا في شرم #فحاب

أكثر حاجة بتعقلني من أي حد بيركب معنا العربية ان يشرب سجاير انا مااشترش فيها باولاد المرااااا

كسم القانون

كسم اهل سينا نفر يبتدروا وألبي ينزل عاليها واطيها طالما عارفون الآل بابيام اللي عاشين

وسطهم ومبيبغوش عليهم ولا يسلموهم.

شراميط بناير

خد مثل اللي في بداية انحيازه للسيسي، وجدناه كتب إن كل الناس معرصين.. كانت تمهيد لبرير

تعريصه عشان ضميره يستريح بدي بدي in advance و الأوساخ حاطين يفط في كل حصة تقولك تطور منتجاتنا.. منتجات ابنية يا أولاد المواس.. يافي الله

يعلن أبو ده يوم اولادنا في ام نبت وبسها و الوهابيين ولاد الوسخة زعلانين انهم مش من اهل السنة والبيتاج.. انتو المفروض ما بتقوش من

البشر اصلا يا شوية اوساخ.

هو مين ابن الوسخة اللي اقع ابرازهم الجارحي إن دم كسمه خفيف؟

ببيع مش عشان مش متعدد يتغلب من خوات

فيه ناس بتتدفع وتتحرض تحرج وقول هنغير في الطرف الثاني.. كسم امك جمولة وتفصيلا حقيقية،

عاشان لما مايغروش بترجعوا لتلوما عليه وتفشحوهم

الإسلاميين المتواجدين من الاشغال دي هي أحد أسباب فشل البلد.. العرض عاجبه الدكتوره المختلة نفسها

الي لابسة نقاب تعالجه

هايجدونا ل 9 رسمي. عيشة بنت متناكة وشلاب ابن متناكة ونجل مركزي ابن متناكة

احنا لسنا عفيف بالراميط بالنجاح كسم_حياته والله يامجعة يعني

منظمة ارهابية بتزعمها عرص اسمه اللهو الخول
بعد قراءة التعريفة الجمركية الجديدة اقدر اقول ان دي حاجة بت متلاكية تماما.. دايمًا في فلسفة في السياسة الجمالية حاليا هي سياسة تثبت بالسلاح اللذي تبقى غير واصله ببرفس دو يشل قودو وله ويقى صريح مع نفسه.

الناس اللي عم탈ها قيمه وحده تنطيط عليا كسمها بالتعيي فيوست الكسيمات السفلي ما كفية بقى يا بلد يا بضينة يا بنت الوسخة .. كفية خرا بجد و الله .. احا هو احنا ما نقصيش عليكي !

كمس ام البضان في موضوع ان شخص ما يحظ صورته مع شخص ثاني على انستجرام علشان عيد ميلاد الثاني .. #خصاء

عاشر اهل الدخان والحشائش علشان اهل العيش والبلح طلعو معرسين حاضر يا كسمك هقوم اشتك وايرك موصلات كالجحيم واختي ف شوارع زي الخرده واروح شغلي بمرتب قيمته قلت النص وارفع مش عارف حاجب كيلو دل او كيلو سكر كلنا أولاد متلاكة .. أومال احنا جيننا ازاي؟

نظرية بقى انت تدافع عنه علشان "انا ملاك" مش زيكم حفك .. روح العب مع أصحابك ف كسم الجنه وسينا احنا يا شيابين مع نفسنا ..

و ناس بنت متلاكة و ناس ثانية بنت قصة ! يعني تقولوا الى مس عاجبه يسبب البلد .. ولما يسيبها تقولوا هجره غير شرعيه .. محتاج تقف قدم المراية وتستكمك ع فكره ..

وعيشي يا دولة الشراميط البهايم والمناك

يابن الوسخة يا اللى امك وسخم #الارق
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweet #</th>
<th>Negative expressives [NE]</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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</table>
| 2       | ملاحظات في اليوم الأول - الماء غير أي حاجة غيرها وأحلى من الباقين - يمكن، لو حابب، يومك يمشي من غير قهوة وسجائر - كم أم الإعلانات 
في عين بنت وسه خشنتي أنا والأجزاء |
| 3       | كُس دين أم متطلبات الحياة والمجتمع المريض التي احنا فيها ده |
| 4       | نو مان نو بضان |
| 5       | بعد سماع صوت الناس اللي كانت مدمنة و بطلت، بعد يا جماعة كسم المخدرات دي، يعني مشكلتك مش هتحل بالعكس انت هتضيف مشكلة أكبر ليها كل واحد عايز يفسي فسية يقوم عامل جروب ع الواتس.. بعد احا بي قي | |
| 6       | وبأ ريت ال يتشف حاجه بيدان يعمل نفسه مش شايفره بدلا ما يشاركنا فيها | |
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| 9       | أيه الجو الخبره ده !!! ده خره بشرئتمن | التلفزيون سعره زاد من ٥٠٠٠الي ٥٥٠٠ ف آقل من أسبوع .. كسم الدولار الصراحه |
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| 20      | في لمواخذة شرطه طبيعيه وشرطه مكتسه والكتبه دى بقت عاليه فشك عند كثير من الرجاله | |
الخول هو من تخول له نفسه أن يحكم شعبا بقوة السلاح أما العلق فهو ذلك الشعب الذى علق آماله على
ذلك الخول
اطلب بتصنيف كلمة "معرص/عرص/تعريص" ككلمة ذائبة ينفع استخدامها قدام تيتا عادي
إلى بعرص للسيسي و بعدين يتحبس أو ينتمح من السفر ده الصراحه بثمت في امه
العينة الطييز والله
ما عليك المساء والسهارة والله

ب وعن دين مسقط راسك . مثل

ابدوع بدون بيضان يارب.
هزل ابن متناكة
إحنا محتاجين أخبار و سنة أقل وأكل كثير!!
كده عندها أكثر من مه و خمسين كسمائه
لا إلا الله انا احال معي
ولا أرى قول "احا" في تلك المواقف عيبا ..!!
90 عاما من التعريص .. برافو يا كوكو
2017 هتبقى بنت متناكة عادي برضه
الجو تلج وجاجه ف منتهي كم آتشا خالص
كس أم الضحك بصراحة
عام العلويه
خدني الحنين عشان خول
لا تقبل بعلاقة لا تكون فيها على طبيعتك كسللها ومع السلامه لها عابده عا العلاقة عشان محدش
يفهمها غلط

لأ الناس كلها الصلاة و قراءة القرآن بتريح قلبها .. أمال الناس ولاد و سخة ليه ؟
طب بلاش درام تعالوا نتكلم في موضوع جديد لانج يا جماعة ، ايه رايكم في برج الجوزاء ابن
المتناكة؟ قولوا رايكم بحرية طبعا

توبيت في كم ام الحالة المزاجية ب باقة "مفيش" والحالة باقة "عادي" عند البدنات
كل واحد عابز بفسق يقوم عامل جروب ع الواتس.. بدد احا بقى
ويا ريت اللي يشوف حاجه بيضان يعمل نفسه مش شاقةها بدلا ما يشاركان فيها.
قالك الأخوان اجتادهم الأنتار .. كم اهم الفسا
و كل شيء .. جامد فشخ .. جامد احا .. نادر نيك
كان العلق نفع نفسه .. العلوق بقوا رؤوسه
مفتش ايضن من كلمة الوطن العربي!!

اء وانا مش بتاع سياسة اصلا لولاكن مش عارف ابطل احب كسم البلد

أيه الجو الخره ده !!! ده خره بشرطين
الله ارحمنا من منكيه الحرايين .. مشاء كانوا او سابين.
عن كسم تويتات نشر الايجابيات علي حبل الغسيل ..
ما هذه المنيكة الفارعة التي وقعنا تحتها؟

الاجابات النموذجية بنت الوسخة بتاعت المقابلات .. بجد خرا
ما شوفتش اوسخ من الكائن اللي يختلف مع واحدة ست في الرأي يقولها ع المطبخ ياخي ملون ابو
التي طبخت و اكلت جحش زيك و خلته بجي يحتفر الستات هنا

في عالم موازي ، يوم الثلاثات هيهآجر بره مصر ولم يسألوه هيقولوه دي عالم متناكة يابا أي بلوة حتى
لو حصلت يوم الخميس يليسو هالي بردو
كس أم ثقافة "داري على الفضيحة" بتعكيم وكس ام موضة "أصليهم مرضي نفسين معش".
السوشيال ميديا لماكتم في دماغكم والله أو محتاجين تتربوا من جديد
يا منايك بطلوا استغلال موت الناس لأي هدف .. يلعن ابو اشكارك #الطيره المكونه

بتازة

بالنسبه للمهندسين اللي اتمن عايزينهم يغسلوا اطباق .. اتمن متخيلين لو مفيش زيكم كده بطيزها كان
شكلا بقي اي؟
أوعي تخلي ناس واطية بنت ستين كلب تعصبك و توتوت ذاكي .. او ايي .. "بكم نفسي".

الفراغ نايك الناس

وتلاقي العرص من دول يقولك .. افروض مثله ان انت خول .. نعم يا كسمك .. من فضلك ادبي فرصه
اكل شرح وجه نظري
عمرو شوفت مزيكا بتدعوا للقلط وقطع الرقاب؟ لا ، المزيكا بتدعوا لللهجة والحياه يا احبابي العالم
هنروح ونقول مين ، نص صفوفنا معروضين!!
على رأي الشيخ غنيم شراميط و أنجاس.

كس ام ابن الوسخة اللي اخترع موضوع الطاقة الإيجابية و الطاقة السلبية .. كانت لحظات خريانه
احيي .. دي هانتضن نيك
لما ببقي فاضي برتكبي في اللي حواليا جرايم بنت متناك.
محدش يسكن جنب قهاري ولا جوامع يلعن كه ام الدوشة اللي يتيجي منهم
ماقيش إهانة أكثر من إن حد يقول عليك "مبن ابن الوسخة ده!" يعني مبن ابن وسخة لا، وكمان
من ولاد الوسخة المعروفين ..! و
انا مش ديبلوماسي بن لا أذكر أن قرأت في وثيقة رسمية ألفاظ من هذا النوع .. الله يخرب بيوتكم يا
ولاد الكلب يا مواشي
كس أم اي حاجة تعكن عليك يااجدع
مرسى علم و القشخة التاريخية
وطبعا أول ما الواحد من دول تعملوا له ريتويت ينجزع ف الاكاونت ويجود .. الي هو كه ام
بيضانكم يعني .. عملوا للخري سعر .. الرحمن
طب بيني و بينك .. عيني في عينك .. مين في بستانك مين؟
كس أم كيلو عين الجمل ده اللي فشخ الناس في دماغها
يه بالمناسبة، التصوف مش سِبَح وأغاني بن عربي وزين محمود والشيخ برين .. كفاية استعراص binding
كوكب التعريض
يا جماعه ريتويت البيضان بيضان ف رمضان ..
المهم "كمسك" اني صائمه
إنت ضيعت هيبة التعريض والمعارضين ..
ده ارض يا ولاد الشرموطة على المسا
بس أنتم selective في التعريض . جميل
بلالش نبضن بعض كده يا جماعه مراعة للشهر الكريم حتى
انا هافنشك بالشرموطة .. بن حضرتك ينتشطى ولا ملكش فيه؟
اما من نهاية لهذه المفشخة ؟
شهر بضان بنكهة ضبط النفس
أوه بضاني a girl commenting on sth in a mention
الثبات الإقليمي للاقتا
لا و الظروف انها عاملة برنامج اسمه افهم .. المفروض اننا كمان ارد ببرنامج اسمه اشكر ! #الشمطاء
بس السعوديين فشحوها فشخة
ماشاء الله .. عيان يروعي في ميت .. قمة المنائكة الكونية
قالك العدو الاوحد و الوحيد و الدائم .. كس أم الفسا
مصبات لعلاج ادمان العلويه.

سوف أقوم بتشينم الطيزيك حمرا زون.
منيكة فارغة لو تعلمون
في خولنة في الريتويت واضحة جداً للعيان
منائكة منيكة .. غ الطبلة و رع السكسة
كتيب في كوكب بضنين

ابن الوسخة معاه فيرمي - قول ما شاء الله!! - ما شاء الله ابن الوسخة معاه فيرمي

. overdose

مصر .. مقبرة ولاد المنائكة هيرودوت ابو التاريخ
بلدك مشهورة ب الخرا.. خرا إفرير وبر
احساس البيت بالليل احساس بضنين!

كان بضنين راسة كبيرة النعامة ده غير انه هو اساسا بضينة خرطيت اهل!!

هزل ابن متناكة
اسبوع بدون بيضان يارب..
خطه في منتهي البضان
التعريص ملا الكيس

إحنا محتجين أخار وسخة أقل وأكل كثير!!

علم و لاكدكم التعريص عشان ينحووا في حياتهم

الخليجيين بيترحموا على صدام دلوقتي .. يا اخي بجد احنا
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweet #</th>
<th>Pointed criticism/complaints [CR]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ولما انتم مش قد التعريص بتعرصوا ليه؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>دول بفي اسمهم عصاره ولاد المتتناكه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>أروح اعيش فيه يارب عشان ابعد عن بضان عبيدك</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>احنا مكن بتعب من السجن بس بنتبضن منه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>مخصص مكن شوه تعريص</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>العالم أصبح قريه بضانه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>الدنيا زي الشربوطة يوم تحت و فوق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>الحب و هم ابن متتناكه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>عالم بضان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ماهية الله .. عيان بيو عظ في ميت .. قمة النيكية الكونية</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>المفرغ المصريين يلمو نفسهم و يعملو نفسهم عدة عرب كده و بيشوفو حل المحبوب اللي احنا فيها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>و اليساء قالو المصري أحنا نكسب في التعريص</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>وزارة التعريص &quot; الوقف سابقاً &quot; . خطبة اليوم تحت عنوان &quot;الطريق إلى السعادة&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>عزيزي، التعريص ليس من الوطنية من شيء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>يا ابنى انت عمل تويتر عشان تبضن عليا و تعمل مفروت !!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>صحيح، ده بفي تعريص عابر للقارات، بيتعريص لفرنسا اللي ماعرصتش لنفسها و بتهم كل من بيررت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>الحرب منيكة مما كانت ممراتها</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>مصر، حبيبي، انت بقيت بضان قوي</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>اقسم بالله نظام اهم اهدافه البشرية .. احنا بضان و هانخفضن اللي خلفوكم !</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>فرنسا ما تستحق تشيكو عشان لعبها ونها و الحكم بيتعصوبم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>انا بكره العلمانية بس باتبسط فشخ لما أسافر تفسح في الغرب العلماني الكاره للاسلام .. باتبسط فشخ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>المسكون من دول عنده الحجازة المقدسة اهم من البشرا، شرق اوست ابن صنعة ولله</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>طبيب ماني بهدوش المعرصين دول ليه هم اللي يعملوا الشغل .. عشان يطلع عالي الجودة ولا احنا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>هاشتاج سف انقلب بضان عشان ناس بضان و معدلة و نظريات الموارنة نانا بضانهم</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix D. Pointed criticism tweets
الفصيل المتناك الى بيستنجد ب صدقي صبحي
طب وبالنسبه للوضع الاقتصادي المتناك؟
اي شخصيه قبلت او عايزه تبقى عامه
لازم تستحمل النقد بلاش منيكه
في تعويم كامل .. وفي تعيم مدار .. إحنا إخترعنا تعويم جديد وهو التعويم الخول
في ايه .. راجل طويل عريض المنكبين شلولخ 47 سنه عندي مصور فنجان قهوه بيقولك
مساءكم جميل كفهوتي .. ايه فرة الخولنة اللي ضربت البلد دي
ايام الجماعه الاسلاميه مكانتش في ثورجه ولا خولات ولا سوشيال ميديا اصلا فحجم الاعاطات كان
قليل وقائتن الداخليه عارفه تركز كريس بدون انتقاد
ليه كل الإعلانات ب المصرية (للماينين فقط) ؟ عارفينو شعب بحب المنيكة
يا جدعان عرصوا بالعقل، يعني حللوا حتى القلمة اللي بتاكلوها مش كده
زمان كنت يستغرب ليه الناس تصور الأكل او تكتب تشوك ان بس فيما بعد بقيت ان كمان بعمل كده ،
بس الشهادة لله موضوع الورد على راسكم ده بيضر نيك
azu هي عصور كسم الرأاي
azu هي عصور حرية رأاي المعرسيين
التعريص يجري في دماؤنهم محرر الدم في العروق .. #منيكة
هو طبيعي ان يبقى في ناس obsessed بواحد من المشاهير بالشكل ابن القحبة اللي الواحد بيشوفه ؟
هو ففن الكبس اللي يشيل التعريص بتاعكم .. ده عايز سوبر كبس فور تعريص!
إحنا مش بنسامح في حقنا عبان خولات لاقدر الله ومايعرفش نجيبه إحنا بنسامح عبان مانبقاش أوساخ
زيكم لما تعمل القلة معاكم.
Appendix E. Challenging or unpalatable question tweets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweet #</th>
<th>Challenging or unpalatable questions [CQ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ابن الشرموطه شايف الحل انا تشتعل وملئات دعوه بالحكومه . اقولك كام واحد فتح مشروع في خلال سنة وقبله بسبب الحكومه وسياساتها الفاشلة ياكسكم؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>اقولك كام مستثمر كان مشغل عنده مصريين وسرحهم وقلل مراتبهم بسبب سياسات الحكومة بنت المتناك انها مش بابا ياكسكم؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>اقولك كام واحد بيشتعل شغلاته وانتين وتلاته واربعه عشان يكون بيكيفه وبرضه مش عارف رغم انه قلل مصاريفه بسبب سياسات الحكومة بنت الشرموطه ياكسكم؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>اي نعم يا كسمك .. وبالعربية الفصيح يا حرم املك .. وفي كتاب المستطرف لكل فن مستطرف يا ماس بطر امه .. عاوز تاني ولا كفايه؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>طب ده يتبرد عليه بتيقال لكمسة ايه؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>البغل رئيس الوزراء قالك العمليات الإرهابية لن تعقل مسيرة الاستقرار في مصر .. استقرار ايه يا ابن الوسخة؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>لا حضرتك المبدأ لسه خلصان .. تاخذ بداله تعرص؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>باضني جدا بعض السياساية (المعتدلين) اللي بيدافعوا عن القانون و سيادة القانون .. قانون ايه يا منيك اللي بتدافع عنه؟ القانون له سيادة دلوتي؟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>