Impoliteness, Mock-Impoliteness and Underpoliteness Strategies in *Abla Fahita*'s TV Show

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt at exploring impoliteness strategies in the language of *Abla Fahita*'s TV show (*The Duplex*). *Abla Fahita* is an online public figure on Egyptian social media, who has become an online 'millionaire'. The show gained popularity for its 'off-beat' utterances in mocking social issues. The Duplex currently plays a significant role in public discourse in Egypt. Impoliteness, mock

impoliteness and underpoliteness appear prominently in the Duplex with the intention (not) to cause offence. New vocabulary appeared having embarrassing connotations conceived of as a form of cooperative and simulated rudeness. *Abla Fahita* gives a new model of the Mock-Impolite or Underpolite Person.

Keywords: Impoliteness, Mock Impoliteness, Underpoliteness, Abla Fahita.

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Introduction

Linguistic politeness maintains the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place (Leech, 1983: 82). The most recurrent politeness studies are employed to maintain social harmony. Brown and Levinson (1987:1) believe that "politeness, formal diplomatic protocol, like presupposes that potential for aggression as it seeks to disarm it, and makes possible communication between potentially aggressive parties."

This study examines 131 extracts from *Abla Fahita*'s TV show 'The Duplex'. The focus is on impoliteness incurred in a friendly setting of the Duplex. As a result of the analysis of the utterances, the paper uses another variety of impoliteness, namely 'mock impoliteness' and 'underpoliteness'.

The term "underpoliteness" has first been introduced by Leech in his article "Pragmatic Principles in Shaw's You Never Can Tell" (1992). Leech defines it very briefly as "causing offence in all innocence" which is really "unwitting offense" (Methias, 2011:16).

Methias believes that underpoliteness and mock-impoliteness are used without malice. They occur as a result of socializing habits (2011: 11). However, mock-impoliteness and underpoliteness generate feelings of embarrassment or unrest. Face embarrassment thus been deployed in two key ways in pragmatic

research. In politeness research the focus has been on face threat avoidance or reduction, while impoliteness research has concentrated on deliberate or aggressive face threats, often glossed as either face attack or aggravation (Culpeper,2005:38; Limberg, 2009:1376; Locher and Bousfield. 2008:3-4; Tracy,2008:175-176). The analysis is made at the micro level of single utterances. Occasionally, utterances are taken into consideration for the reconstruction of the speech activity to assist determining the exact degree of offense incurred or not. The heart of this paper comprises analysis of impoliteness strategies in Abla Fahita's TV show 'The Duplex'.

Impoliteness

In order to define impoliteness, politeness must be introduced. Politeness might be defined as a means of minimizing confrontation in discourse - both the possibility of confrontation occurring at all, and the possibility that a confrontation will be perceived as threatening (Lakoff, 1989:102). Works related to impoliteness have noted that, 'compared to the robust literature about politeness, there is a paltry literature concerning amount impoliteness' (Bousfield 2008a: 17). The notion of impoliteness is settled as the opposite ofpoliteness. Politeness "maintain[s] the "social equilibrium and friendly relations" (Leech, 1983:82). Impoliteness creates social disorder. It is defined as "communicative strategies designed to attack face and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony."(Culpeper et al., 2003: 1546).

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Surprisingly, the opposite occurs with Abla Fahita's show for its positive or negative impoliteness is the source of its success and credit. Culpeper (1996: 335) considers impoliteness "the parasite of politeness". Viewers' perception of face damage is taken into account. Face attacks are "communicative acts perceived by members of a social community to be purposefully offensive." (Tracy and Tracy, 1998: 227). Goffman defines face threats as "calculated to convey complete disrespect and contempt through symbolic means" (1967: 89). Malice and spite conveyed by the offender are "with the intention of causing open insult" (Ibid,

Watts suggests that impoliteness is an important form of social behaviour because it objects the acceptable and appropriate behaviour (2003: 18). Allan and Burridge examine impoliteness and politeness, from a viewpoint of taboo language and as it interacts with *ortophemism* (straight talking), *euphemism* (sweet talking), and *dysphemism* (speaking offensively). According to them, people censor their language by default in order to be polite and because they want to enhance the well-being of themselves and others. (2006:1-2).

Impoliteness is not incidental face attack (Tracy and Tracy, 1998: 226; Culpeper et al., 2003: 1550; Culpeper, 2005: 36; Goffman, 1967: 14). It is not "caused inadvertently as a result of a person pursuing a particular course of action." Impoliteness consists of malice and spite face attacks that are "intentionally nasty". Impoliteness is also more likely to appear if there is an extreme intimate relationship among participants. *Abla Fahita* and *Karo*, for example, know which aspects of their guest's face are sensitive to attack while even predicting the kind of retaliation that would follow (Culpeper, 1996: 354).

Mock Impoliteness

Culpeper states that it is "impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offence" (1996: 352). Examples of bantering are "jihiddukum بهدكم, and anistik w-sarraftik وشرفتك " which are uttered repeatedly by Abla Fahita to its audience and viewers as a way of bantering especially in contexts of competing against each other with insults.

Mock-impoliteness in *Abla Fahita*'s show is not meant to be offending and the hearers can know this because the insults are clearly untrue. This kind of mock impoliteness used in *Abla Fahita*'s show is categorized into negative and positive strategies (see Analysis and Categorization). Mock impoliteness can even show solidarity and reflect and foster social intimacy (Leech 1983, cited in Culpeper 1995: 352).

Leech defines banter as mock-impoliteness meant to encourage social harmony, yet does not readily define what mock-impoliteness means apart from stating it in terms of banter (1983: 254). Terkourafi (2008: 68) defines mock impoliteness as 'unmarked rudeness'. Furthermore, the closer the relationship, the less important politeness is. Intimate friends can be impolite towards each other. This is why one has to be careful with bantering if it is targeted towards people who are not very close to oneself. (Culpeper, 1995: 352-353).

Underpoliteness

Underpoliteness is to be considered as yet another variety of impoliteness. Malice and spite are not necessary prerequisites for underpoliteness. Not all offensive acts involve animosity or hatred. Underpoliteness is vivid in *Abla Fahita*'s TV show as a means of creating broad viewing and intimacy. Rebuking or

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reproaching utterances like personalized negative vocatives:

زفت، مقصوف الرقبة، عنتيل، قطقوط، خرع، يا ولية، موز، أم أربعة وأربعين، سوسو، روح الأبلة، سخامة مقصوف، البرك، ابن الحرام- المجنونة، الحربوقة

zift, ma2Souf Irra2aba, 'antijl, 2aT2u:T, Xiri ',ja wiljja, muzz, umm 2arba'a warbi'aijn, su:su, ro:H l2abla, ma2Souf, , saxa:mit lbirak, 2ibnlHara:m-lmagnu:na, 2ilHarbu:2a, respectively.

Motherly corrective behaviour in Abla Fahita- Karo reproach (see Analysis below) as well as impoliteness employed in the episodes is free from spite. In spite of preaching or reproaching being "heavily offensive" (Kienpointner, 1997: 274), in this context it is rated as underpolite. It is intended for the long term benefit of 'Underpolitenes is not triggered by malice. In underpoliteness, "offence may be used to reinforce in-group solidarity. Offensive acts may be double edged. They may have a dual role. The very performance of an offensive act directed to a target may simultaneously serve to grease the wheel of talk or to enhance social relations" (Methias, 2011, 12-13).

In underpoliteness, offence may be used to underpin group harmony. A participant may perform a purposefully offensive act with the paradoxical aim of gaining a turn at talk or a chance to put in a word or to express solidarity. In underpoliteness, impolite acts may have an incidental element.

The offender performs an action "in spite of its offensive consequences though not out of spite" (Culpeper, 2005: 36). An adult may shame a child into doing something that will be of a long-term benefit to him. Shaming, reprimanding, rebuking, preaching and frightening are instances of underpoliteness when they

occur as by-products of corrective behavior (Methias, 2011: 15).

Culpeper (2005: 40) proposes different types of face attack, namely: (1) attacks on quality face (2) attacks on social identity face, (3) attacks on equity rights, and (4) attacks on association right.

Politeness strategies are opposed to impoliteness strategies. To explain, opposition refers to both strategies orientation to face. Goffman (1967:213) defines face as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact." Accordingly, face is mutually constructed and sustained during social interactions.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 62) use the term MPs (Model Persons) who are willful and fluent speakers of a natural language, having two properties which are rationality and face. They distinguish two kinds of face:

negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others.

positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

Culpeper's (1996) paper 'Towards an anatomy of impoliteness' is the cornerstone of many studies ofimpoliteness. Culpeper refuses that impoliteness is 'marginal' in the social interaction. In contrary, it is an affecting phenomenon, which is the keystone of the language of Abla Fahita's program.

Culpeper proposes five super strategies that speakers use to make impolite utterances as follows:

1. Bald on record impoliteness: the FTA has a direct, clear, and unambiguous threat to the H's face in contexts where face is

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relevant and maximised. So, the attack of face occurs with the intention of the S to do the FTA (Culpeper, 1996; Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann, 2003).

- 2. Positive impoliteness: Archer (2008) assumes that when the FTA occurs to damage the positive face of the H, it will be a positive impoliteness strategy. There are many other substrategies within this strategy, as follows:
- Ignoring and snubbing the other. The S fails to acknowledge the other's presence.
- Excluding the other participants from an activity.
- Dissociating from the other. The S denies association or common ground with the other; so he avoids sitting together.
- Being disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic.
- Using inappropriate identity markers. The S uses title and surname when a close relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distant relationship pertains.
- Using an obscure or secretive language. The S mystifies the other with jargon, or uses a code known to others in the group, but not the target addressee.
- Seeking disagreement. The S selects a sensitive topic.
- Making the other feel uncomfortable.
 The S does not avoid silence, joke, or uses small talk.
- Using taboo words swearing, or using abusive or profane language.
- Calling the other names. The S uses derogatory nominations. (Culpeper, 1996).

- **3. Negative impoliteness:** the FTAs that attack the negative face of the H are called negative impoliteness strategies (Culpeper, 2005). As with positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness also has substrategies as follows:
- Frightening. The S threatens others that some detrimental actions will occur to them.
- Condescending, scorning, or ridiculing.
 The S emphasizes your relative power.
 The S is contemptuous.
- Not treating the other seriously. The S belittles the other (e.g. using diminutives).
- Invading the other's space literally (e.g. position yourself closer to other than the relationship permits) or metaphorically (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate to be shared).
- Explicitly associating the other with a negative aspect. The S personalizes using the pronouns 'I' and 'you'.
- Putting the other's indebtedness on record (Culpeper, 1996).
- 4. Sarcasm or mock impoliteness: This strategy is all about insincerity, and what is performed is the opposite of what is meant. The superficial FTA used is a politeness strategy, and the polite meaning of this strategy remains on the surface, whereas the intended meaning is impolite. There is no specific strategy to be used. Many strategies can be used as acceptable ones, but deeply they may mean the opposite (Culpeper, 1996; Bousfield, 2008a; and Mohammed and Abbas, 2015).
- **5. Withhold politeness:** As with the last strategy in Brown and Levinson's model of avoiding doing acts, this strategy is also about the avoidance of or failing in performing the polite strategy, the time it is expected to be performed. For example,

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when someone fails to thank somebody else for a favor or a present, it is interpreted as impoliteness (Culpeper, 1996; 2005; and Bousfield, 2008a).

Aim of the Study

This paper aims at analysing the utilization Arabic mock-impoliteness and underpoliteness in Abla Fahita's TV show "The Duplex". It presents a linguistic of impoliteness strategies exemplified in a sample of 131 utterances delivered by Abla Fahita. Karo, or the TV show guests. The paper is applied to a selected sample of corpora comprised of 131 Arabic lexis and utterances as shown in Analysis and Categorization. The sample is randomly selected to show the various linguistic patterns, of mock impoliteness and underpoliteness strategies of Arabic varities used in the program.

The study encompasses several domains pragmatics including (particularly impoliteness studies), and sociolinguistic studies. First and foremost this study adds value to previous researches impoliteness and TV shows audience. Also, it enriches the Arabic studies with the newly interest of impoliteness and underpoliteness in up-to-date televised or online contexts. The study identifies the types of impoliteness strategies in the Arabic language used in Abla Fahita's show.

Data Collection

The researcher had a few options to study the impoliteness, mock impoliteness and underpoliteness strategies in the Duplex: either to focus on the conversations between *Abla Fahita* and her guests, *Abla Fahita* and audience, *Abla Fahita* and *Karo*, or *Karo* and the guests. With the help of *Abla Fahita* youtube channel (*The Duplex*) available on the Internet, the researcher transcribed the selected extracts

that are all short utterances. Guests represent different kinds of age, gender, and social groups. The extracts are all from the episodes in seasons 2, 3, 4, and 6. In total, there are dozens of conversations between *Abla Fahita* or *Karo* and the guests in all the six seasons, so the data had to be narrowed down. The full list of the Arabic extracts is provided in the appendix.

Method of Analysis

The researcher analysed the data by going through each of the transcribed extracts and finding all the cases when *Abla Fahita* or *Karo* or their guests say something that can be considered *impolite*, *mock polite* or *underpolite*. Then she categorized all the cases according to Culpeper's strategies of impoliteness and Leech's rarely tackled variety 'underpoliteness'.

Turning now to the data, we can see the theoretical principles discussed above at work. The researcher will offer a table of Arabic extracts of 131 words or utterances (see Appendix) delivered by Abla Fahita or Karo or their various guests. The motivation for this is that, as suggested above. mock-impoliteness and underpoliteness are parasitic Ωn impoliteness; thus an analysis of mockimpolite or underpolite turns is predicated on a baseline description of impolite turns.

Analysis and Categorization

The analysis and classification of the Duplex utterances are done in accordance with Culpeper's impoliteness strategies. Culpeper (1995:356) has summarized Brown and Levinson's list of five strategies for doing FTAs as follows:

1) *Bald-on-record strategies*: The FTA is performed 'in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible' (Brown and Levinson 1987: 69).

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- 2) *Positive politeness:* The use of strategies designed to redress the addressee's positive face wants.
- 3) *Negative politeness:* The use of strategies designed to redress the addressee's negative face wants.
- 4) *Off-record:* The FTA is performed in such a way that "there is more than one unambiguously attributable intention so that the actor cannot be held to have committed himself to one particular intent" (Brown and Levinson: 1987: 69).
- **5)** *Withhold the FTA.* (Culpeper 1995: 356.)

The strategies and the substrategies used in the *Duplex*

1) Bald on Record Impoliteness:

The FTAs are performed 'in the most direct, unambiguous and shocking ways as exmplified in thse use of words and utterances like, 2um sfaltak, Huma:r, zaj jijjukum, ka'afri:t, 2abi:Ha, um ili gabitkum, and jixrib beit 2umk as shown in the utterances below. The speakers use expressions that are quite rude by Arabic Egyptian norms. Speakers and hearers are familiar with the impolite load of the expression in Egyptian Arabic, so there was no escalation of conflict.

- 1) jixrib beit zum sfaltak يخرب بيت ام سفالتك
- 2) Huma:r حمار,
- 3) gayyi:n fi leila zajji wi∬ukum جابين في ليله ذي وشكم
- 4) huwwa inti nawja tkamili: m'aaja <u>ka'afri:t</u> waln jantahi 'aadhab haðalkaaru هو انتي ناوية تكملي معايا جعفري<u>ت و</u>لن ينتهى عذاب هذا الكارو
- 5) 'aru:sa wzabi:Ha عروسة وقبيحه,
- 6) umukum w um ili gabitkum المكم وام الله جابتكم

- 7) <u>mama ʔaabiHaa</u> ana 'aaarif ماما قبيحه انا عار ف.
- 8) jixrib beit 2umk يخرب بيت امك
- 2) Positive Impoliteness:

Positive impoliteness strategies in *Abla Fahita*'s program are classified into sub-strategies as follows:

a- The use obscure or secretive language – for example, mystify the other with jargon, or use a code known to others in the group, but not the target.

This substrategy is very common in the Duplex. Based on the hearers' facial expressions, the utterances do not seem to be teasing.

The utterances include unclear and mostly odd Arabic lexical items (verbs or nouns) as follows:

- اتشيلط <u>it∬aljaT اتشيلط</u>
- 2- Hatitnifix هتتفخ,
- 3- <u>fahitaja:gra</u> Habaja tammam wa allah yirrHam 2il madaam فاهیتایجرا حبایة تمام والله پرحم المدام

Using odd morphological structures (adding Arabic feminine *taa2* to inanimate nouns or proper nouns):

- 4- 2ittilifizjo:na التليفيزيونة
- الويبة zilweiba
- 6- fein zizi:sa fein Hat∫ibsu:ta

فين إيز يسة فين حتشبسوتة

b- The use of inappropriate identity markers –

'Call the other names' is one of the substrategies used in the Duplex. For example using titles and surnames when a (close) relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distance relationship pertains. Based on the speakers' and hearers' facial expressions, the utterances do not seem to be teasing. The interesting thing is that the intonation and enthusiasm of melody

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achieved the positive aspect of impoliteness. Examples:

1. ي بقي فلول و لا مرتشيين eih ba?aa <u>fillo:l</u> walla murta∬i:n

2. قرشانات ₂il₂ara∫anat

3. بايسترو سليم ضبابBiqija:dit ilmajistru sli:m Daba:b

c- The use taboo words or expressions (embarrassing) or abusive profane language is very clear in the Duplex. The speakers expressions that are quite badmannered by Egyptian norms. Both interlocutors are familiar with the impolite load of the expressions in Egyptian Arabic, so there was no escalation or conflict. The hearers possible recognize the emotional/aggressive load of speakers' prior utterance and respond by laughter.

The speakers and the hearers are familiar with the socio-cultural load of the expressions and act accordingly: no escalation or conflict. If, however, not each interlocutor is familiar with the impolite load of formulae, misunderstanding may occur.

The underlined words are examples of socially embarrassing and unacceptable Arabic words:

قعدوه علي الخازوق-1

?a'aaduh 'aala ?ilxazzou?

يا خبر ده اغتصاب جماعي لا لا لا <u>تحرش ج</u>امد خالص -2

ja xabbar da <u>?ightiSab gama:</u>'i: la la la <u>taHarru∬ ga:mid xa:liS</u> عتعملي زي السنة اللي فاتت ؟ و أوسخ -3

hati'amili zajji issana lli fa:tit wi?awsax يقمل -4

<u>ja?amil</u>

<u>تبوز, تكرع -5</u>

tibawiz tikara'a

احيه-6

2aHeih

فشخه -7

fa∫xa

عامل اتخانق مع زميله جاب البواسير -8

'aamil aitxaania ma'aa zmi:lu gab ailbawasi:r

بحب لبنان عاشان الفشخ مش عيب عندكم -9

BaHib libnan 'ala∬an <u>ilfa∬x</u> mi∫ 'aeib 'andukum

بالنسبة للايح ايح-10

bilnisba <u>lilaih aiH</u>

على الكبري متحير وعايز يتسير-11

ʻalaa ilkubri mitHajar wi'aajiz_

<u>jitsaijar</u>

القصرية الشقية إاح ليك ولياً -12 il'uSriya i'∬azijah

i2H li:k willja

أردافي ملظلظة -13

ardafi mlzZhlaZhah 14- هترمى الحلق علشان شخه في الكابينيه

hatirmi zilHalaz ʻala∬an <u>∫axa</u>

fîlkabineih محباتي لما عرفوا انك جاي بعتوا اسئلة و رسائل

SaHba:ti lamma 'irfu innak gaaj ba'atu 2as2ila wrasa:jil <u>2abi:Ha</u> 2abi:Ha

اتفها من بؤى -16

قىيچە قىيچە -15

2atiffaha min bu2aij

مفرد كلمه بزابيز -17

mufrad kilmit bzabi:z

3) Negative Impoliteness:

The negative mock-impoliteness substrategies used in the Duplex are:

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a- Frightening or threatening

The following underlined extracts are examples of threatening and frightening acts:

شماعه ولا شبشب !-1

sama'aa wala siblib!

نديكوا بالحضن ولا نديكوا بالشبشب-2

niddi:ku bilHudn walla niddi:ku bi∬ib∫ib!

The speakers and hearers are familiar with the innocent and not really offending impoliteness of the expressions in Egyptian Arabic, so there is no conflict. Although the speaker's expressions seem to carry a possible "escalatory" or even "motherly bantering" attitude, the hearers attempt to deescalate the banter by smiling and laughter.

b- Condescending, scorning, ridiculing are also very common in the Duplex. The speaker emphasizes relative power. The audience and hearers were familiar with impolite load of the underlined expressions in Egyptian Arabic, so there was no offence or conflict. Speakers and hearers were aware of the socio-cultural loads of the expressions and act accordingly: no escalation of conflict because of the appropriate hearers's response 'laughter'. If, however, not each interlocutor is acquainted with the impolite loads utterances. of misunderstanding may occur. The underlined extracts show the use of this substrategy:

<u>خدي الشر وروحي</u> -1 xudi ?i ∬ar w-ru:Hi

كارو يفصل جهاز التنفس الصناعي ومامته تموت ذي بابته ويطلع في اعلانات رمضان -2 ويبقي يتيم مشهور ويتبني اسره جديده ويبتدي علي نضافة <u>Karo jifSil giha:z ittanaffus</u> <u>iSSina:'i:</u> w- mammtu tumu:t zajji babtu w-jiTla' fi zilana:t ramadan w- jibza jati:m ma∫hu:r w-jibtidi 'ala naDa:fa

يلا ياحبيتي انستك وشر فتك - 3

jalla <u>jaHabibti ?anisstik w∬araftik</u> 4- وديني المقبره العب مع بابا wddiini lma2bara 2al'ab ma'a ba:ba

c- Invading others' space or privacy is also one of substrategies used in the *Duplex*. To invade the other's space in public-literally (e.g. position yourself closer to the other than the relationship permits) or metaphorically (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate given the relationship (eg. female/male body parts, underwear, homewear, urination...). According to Egyptian Arabic norms, the underlined extracts are examples of invading others' space substrategy.

مالهم كبر و اكدا -1

malhumm kibbru kidda

احمد لابس بوكسر لونه ايه -2

عطmad <u>la:bbis buksr lounu zih</u> لو الباروكه بتهرشك فكي كدا وخدي راحتك ورحرحي -3

law lbbarau:kka bituhr∬ik fukki kidda w xuddi ra:Htik wrHrHi: 4- احمد عنده حسنه مستخبیة فین ا

2aHmad ʻandu <u>Hassana</u> <u>mistixabija fejn</u> 5- بترقصلها باليه بالشورت

<u>bitr2auSlaha balih bil∬ort</u> امتي اخر مره <u>حمادة قص اظافر رجله او</u> قرضها؟ -6

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aimta aaaxir marra Hamada <u>aaS</u> <u>aaZHafir riglu aw araDha</u> مر اتك بتستلف منك بجاماتك

miratak hitstilif minak bi3amtak miri byjilbbis bukssar miri byjilbbis slib كله الأمام الكمام الم

الريحه -8

kulu aila ain <u>Had jiSawrak fil</u> <u>Hammam ila ailriHa</u> 9- لون البوكسر ايه ، اسود. اشوف

loun əil buksr əiih əiswd əa∬u:f

عملت بيبي في البحر كام مره -10

<u>'amallt bibbi: fil baHr kam</u> marrah

حلقة بطعم <u>لبن السرسوب -11</u>

Halaza bita'am <u>labban lsarsub</u> 12- شديتي السيفون وراك

<u>∬adity ₂issifoun</u> waraki

<u>بلابيص</u> -13

<u>balaabi:S</u> 14 - خظك من هانشك

HaZak<u>min han∫ak</u> عملتی حمام انهردا -15

<u>'aamallti Hammam zinahrda</u> اي منطقة بتغير فيها في جسمك -16

2aj manti2a bitghi:r fiha fi gismk

م<u>زنوقه</u> -17 <u>mazznu:2a</u> مره اتزنقت -18

marra 2itzanna2t 19- اتز نقت ز نقة مالهاش حل

<u> zizitzannazt zannza malha∬ Hal</u>

عندك بوكسر مخروم -20 'aandak bukksr maxru:m

مین ممکن تعمل بومبة قدامها -21

mi:n mumkin ti'ammil bomba 2udamha

مهتم بالنص اللي فوق بس -22

muhttam bilnuSS 2illi fou? bas

مين و اخده حلاوة قبل ما تيجي طيب مين فتلة -23

mi:n <u>waxdda Halawa</u> 2abl mati:gi Tajjib mi:n ffatla

مین بیلبس بوکسر مین بیلبس سلیب -24

يبقي الباقي مش بيلبس حاجة -25

jiba lbaai mi∬ bijilbbis Ha:ga

عمليات جراحية كبرت تيك ووتاك -26

ʻamalija:t graHijjah <u>kabrrit ti:k w</u>taak

4) Sarcasm or Mock Impoliteness:

The following examples include underlined utterances. They are superficillay innocent and polite, but the intended meaning is impolite:

اتاري المرحوم قالع الفائلة وماشي بالسليب - 1

əatari <u>ilmarHu:m əaalia'</u> əilfanilla wma: ∬i bissilib

وديني المقبره العب مع بابا -2

waddiini 2lma2bara 2ala'ab ma'a ba:ba

حاطه کیر اتین مش معقول <u>ده من</u>

النوع الرخيص -3

HaTTa kijrjatin mi∫ ma'a?u:l da min 沒ilnu'a ʔilrixiS

4- You should visit pyramids everything is very nice I am sample

برفانتك حلوه خالص ده <u>عطر</u>

قريش - 5

barfanatak Hilwa xaaliS da 'iTr qurai∫

دى مش اغانى طفل دى اغانى مطلق -6

di mi∫ 2aghani Tifl di <u>2aghani</u> muTala2

حماده تقرب لنجلاء بدر او مصطفى قمر او

حتى النجمه الذهبية -7

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Hamada ti2rab linaglaa? badr 2aw muSTafa 2amar 2aw <u>Hatta lnigma</u> <u>izhabja</u>

شدينا السيفون على الماضي -8

Jadijna zilsifon 'ala il maDy بيقولوا في علاقه بين مقاس رجل الراجل و مناخيره -9

byzoulu fi <u>'ilaza bein mazaas rigl</u> zilragil w manaxiru

لون بيجاماتك بنى ودانتيل -10

loun bi3amtak bunni w dantil اكتر مكان بتقعد فيه في البيت:الحمام :ييقي كده عندك امسك - 11 عدم عندك امسك - 2 aktar makan btu2aa'd fj fil beit: 2ilHammam jab2aa kjda 'andak

<u>2imsa:k</u> العو اهو -12

<u>2il'aw 2ahu</u> 13- اموت في الابيض لما يحمر

ramout <u>flrabyad lama jiHmar</u> جر بت تلبس من قطو نیل -14

garabt <u>tilbis min qaTuni:l</u> 15- قرطسك ياعبده

<u>arTaSak ja 'abdu</u> 15- اموت في الشمال

2amu:t fi ∬imaal
معملتش جزء تاني من مسلسل حلاوه خفت
سنانك تسوس -17

ma'amalti∫ guza? tanj min musalsal Halawa xuft sinank tisawis

مقاس الرجل ٤٤. كل رجل وانت طيب -18

maa?as ilrigl ?arba'aawirbi'ai:n kul rigl winta Taib

ايه ده بتخرج لابس جاتوه سواريه -19

2ih da bituxrug labis gatu swarjh فيفي تعبانه ولازم تديلها حقنه علما بان الحقنه عضل و فيفي لسه و اكله كر نب -20

fifj ta'bana wlazim tdjlha Hu2ana ʻilman bi2anna <u>2011 yazna ʻaDal wfifj wakla krumb</u>

حباية فاهيتا ياجرا للسعاده الزوجية -21

Habajit <u>fahita jaagra lilsa'ada</u> 2 <u>ailzawgija</u>

آدم أعظم الثدييات -22

2adam 2a'Zam 2i®adjijja:t

المنتج المصرى بيقولو بيكرمش وبيمط -23

<u>2ilmuntag 2ilmaSrj bij2 u:lu</u> bijkarmi∫ wbijmuTT

هانش اتاك -24

<u>han∬ ?atta:k</u>

متجيب استثمار ونجيب منار -25

matgi:b istioma:r wingijb mana:r

مصريتنا وطنيتنا حماده هلال حماده هلال -26

maSrijjitna waTatnijjitna hama:da hila:l hama:da hila:l

5) Underpoliteness Strategies:

Underpoliteness is very clear in *Abla Fahita*'s TV show as a means of creating broad viewing and solidarity.

The derogatory names given below are considered as innocent rudeness or banter by Egyptian norms. Reproaching and mother daughter intimidations have underpolite implied meanings in Egyptian norms, so there is no real offence or malice. The hearers recognize the possible emotional loads of the speakers' utterances. Underpoliteness is really vivid in Egyptian Arabic.

The following examples include underlined derogatory nominations, intimidations and reproaching. They appear as part of corrective behaviour among *Abla- Fahita*, *Karo*, *guests* and *viewers*. Underpoliteness is one of the cornerstones of the *Duplex* credit.

ماما هو انتي <u>كدا حتبقي مر</u>حومة وتقابلي بابا في جهنم - آ

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ma:ma huwwanti kida <u>Hatib2i</u> marHu:ma wit2abli ba:ba fi gihannam

شايله فلوسك وصيغتك فين -2

Jajla flu:sik wSightik fein
البنت تقول لمامتها الحربوقة و هي بتموت - 3

2il-bint ti2u:l <u>limamitha lHarbu:2a</u> w-hijja bitmu:t استنطقو کی فی قسم

<u>يا بعيده</u> -4

vistanTavu:ki fi vism<u>ja b'i:da</u> ما اترحمتی یا بعیده -5

matraHamti ja b'i:da

يابن الحرام -6

jabni lHara:m

هو انتي بتقري على سمانتي -7

huwwanti bitzurri 'ala simmanti

متر ونص سمانه -8

mitr wnuSS sima:na

يا سوسو -9

ja su:su

لبسك عره خالص -10

libsik 'irra xaaliS

قراره ياختى -11

arrara jaxti

مش كبرتي عالهبل ده -12

mi∫ kibirti 'al<u>habal da</u>

مش معقوله الجاكته جبتها من مراتك و لا

منین -13

mi∫ ma'?oula 2il3akita gibtaha min miratak wala mnejn

14- You married good bye

يانصبتي ده عايز يشقط بنته -15

janSibti da <u>'aajiz ji∫2aoT bintuh</u> بابا وماما منفصلين ولا محبوسين -16

baba w mama munfaSili:n wala maHbusi:n

اهرشلي ضهري -17

uhru∫li Dahri

عايزين نشوف البياضه الحلوه دي -18

'aajzi:n ni∫<u>uf ilbayaDa zilHilwa di</u>

حقائق ذي الطين لظافر عابدين -19

Haqaiziq zai elTi:n liZHafir 'aabdi:n

بتحب البنت اللي...ها كبيره -20

bitHib ilbint 2ili... ha kibi:ra ايه الحاجه اللي تتكسف توريها في

جسمك -21

<u>2ih 2ilHaga illj titkisif twarjha fi</u> gismk

عار فه انك مش مؤدبه -22

'aarfa inik <u>mi∫ muaadaba</u> 23- وراء کل انکل عظیم طنط

waraa? kul ?ankle "azheem TanT ووراء كل طنط عظيمة نفسها وشويه

ميكب -24

wiwaraa? Kul Tant 'azhi:ma

nafsaha w∫wjt

مامتك عروسه محشية قطن -25

mamtik 'aarusa maH∫iya ?utn

اقفل رجليك -26

2i2fil riglejk

ياخا شوف تواليت -27

jaxa ∫ouf tuwilit

يخرب بيت جمال امك -28

jixrib bijt gamal 'umak

امك مربتكيش-29

2umik marbitki∫

احكيلي حكاية من اياهم -30

2iHki:li Hika:ja min iyya:hum

بدلع كارو ياسخامه البرك -31

saxamit il birak

كم عدد المقاريض /شاحطة كبيره / حلوفه

کبیر ہ -32

Kam 'aaddad <u>ilmaaari:D/</u>

∫aHTTa kbijra /Halu/;fa kbijra

<u>يا وليه-33</u>

ja wilja

يابن السوكه -34

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<u>jabin lsu:ka</u>

حضرتك المحصوره -35

HaDritak 2ilmaHsura

يامقصوف -36

ja ma2Su:f

البنت تقول لمامتها الحربوقة وهي

بتموت -37

2il-bint ti2u:l limamitha <u>lHarbu:2a</u> w-hijja bitmu:t

ام ٤٤ -38

2um 2arba'a wirbi'ajin

The underlined underpolite utterances are not motivated by malice or hatred and are socially acceptable according to expected Egyptian norms of behavior.

It is important to note that the analysis is not a comprehensive or detailed account of *impoliteness* and *mock-impoliteness* or *underpoliteness* in the Arabic utterances shown in the Duplex. Such an account would be extremely difficult. Rather, the analysis is intended to categorize these extracts. Nevertheless, these examples do shed light on some of the possible strategies interlocutors can use to express *impoliteness* and *mock-impoliteness* or *underpoliteness*.

Results and Conclusion

The study concluded the following results:

1- In this study "*underpoliteness*" as a rarely studied variety of impoliteness

is presented and analysed. Impoliteness and underpoliteness are incurred in a very friendly setting of the *Duplex*.

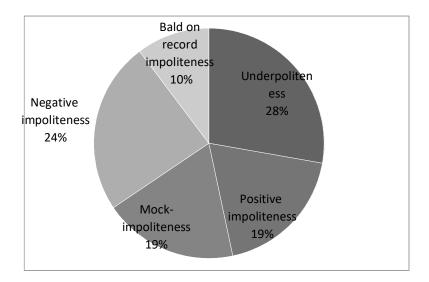
2- The Arabic variety used in the *Duplex* is rich of communicative sources that can be used as underpolite or mockimpolite strategies like personalized negative vocatives:

- 3- Underpolite communicative acts are not motivated by malice, spite or hatred and are socially acceptable according to expected norms social of behaviour. Reproaching, derogatory nominations and intimidations have been classified as underpolite when they appeared as part of corrective behaviour among the *Duplex* characters, viewers and guests.
- 4- Underpoliteness, Negative Impoliteness, Mock Impoliteness, Positive Impoliteness, and Bald on Recod impoliteness are the cornerstones of the Duplex credit and success. The strategies are arranged accordingly depending on the number of their ocurrences in the Duplex.
- 5- This study tackled 131 utterances realizing impoliteness strategies in four seasons of the *Duplex* TV show. The configuration of *five* strategies realized by the extracts exploited is as follows:

Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Underpoliteness	38	28 %
Negative Impoliteness	33	24%
Positive Impoliteness	26	19%
Mock Impoliteness	26	19%
Bald on Record Impoliteness	8	10

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The following chart represents the average and percentage of the *five* strategies found in the *Duplex*:



- 6- Underpoliteness represents the dominating percentage among others. The focus on underpoliteness incurred in the friendly settings of the Duplex underpins harmony among *Abla Fahita* as a Model Person, *Karo* as another Model Person and the audenice or guests.
- 7- As a result of the analysis of the utterances, the paper uses another variety of impoliteness, namely mock impoliteness and "underpoliteness".
- 8- Negative impoliteness comes next to underpoliteness. Positive and mock impolitenesses present the same average while Bald on record impoliteness forms the least percentage of the Duplex.

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Phonemic Symbols

Cairene "ق" and "ج" are pronounced as /2/ and /g/ respectively.

Appendix

Arabic Extracts from Abla Fahita's TV Show

The following table includes a list of 131 various Arabic extracts taken from *Abla Fahita*'s TV show. The speaker (S) and hearer (H) of each extract are identified. All extracts are transcribed.

No.	Speaker (S)	Hearer (H)	Utterance
1.	Abla Fahita	Maged Elmasry	يخرب بيت ام سفالتك jixrib beit zum sfaltak
2.	Abla Fahita	Maged Elmasry	المنتج المصري بيقولو بيكرمش وبيمط ilmuntag 2ilmaSrj bij2 u:lu bijkarmi∫ wbijmuTT
3.	Abla Fahita	Maged Elmasry	مهتم بالنص اللي فوق بس muhttam bilnuSS zilli fouz Bas
4.	Abla Fahita	Maged Elmasry	صحباتي لما عرفوا انك جاي بعنوا اسئلة و رسائل علي الواتس اب قبيحه SaHba:ti lamma 'irfu innak gaaj ba'atu 2as2ila wrasa:jil 2abi:Ha 2abi:Ha
5.	Abla Fahita	Maged Elmasry	متجیب استثمار ونجیب منار matgi:b istiºma:r wingijb mana:r
6.	Maged Elmasry	Abla Fahita	وانتي في حد يتكلم معاكي الا في القباحة winti fi Had jtkalim m'aakj 2la fil2baHa 2baH: :indecent or nasty speech or actions
7.	Abla Fahita	Hany Ramzy	هانش اتاك han∬ 2atta:k
8.	Abla Fahita	Hany Ramzy	Huma:rحمار
9.	Hany Ramzy	Abla Fahita	احكيلي حكاية من اياهم 2iHki:li Hika:ja min iyya:hum
10.	Abla Fahita	Audience	جاين في ليله ذي وشكم gayyi:n fi leila zajji wi∬ukum
11.	Abla Fahita	Audience	مين واخده حلاوة قبل ما تيجي طيب مين فتلة mi:n waxdda Halawa 2abl mati:gi Tajjib mi:n ffatla

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12.	Abla Fahita	Audience	مین بیلبس بو کسر مین بیلبس سلیب mi:n bijilbbis bukssar mi:n bijilbbis slib
13.	Abla Fahita	Audience	يبقي الباقي مش بيلبس حاجة jibɔa lbaaɔi mi∬ bijilbbis Ha:ga
14.	Karo	Abla Fahita	ماما هو انتي كدا حتبقي مرحومة وتقابلي بابا في جهنم ma:ma huwwanti kida Hatibzi marHu:ma witzabli ba:ba fi gihannam
15.	Karo	Abla Fahita	شایله فلوسك وصیغتك فین Jajla flu:sik wSightik fein
16.	Karo	Abla Fahita	مينفعش اقولك خدي الشر وروحي xudi 2i ∬ar w-ru:Hi
17.	Karo	Abla Fahita	كارو يفصل جهاز التنفس الصناعي ومامته تموت ذي بابته ويطلع في اعلانات رمضان ويبقي يتيم مشهور ويتبني اسره جديده ويبتدي علي نضافة Karo jifSil giha:z ittanaffus iSSina:'i: w-mammtu tumu:t zajji babtu w-jiTla' fi zilana:t ramadan w- jibza jati:m ma∫hu:r w-jibtidi 'ala naDa:fa
18.	Karo	Abla Fahita	مصريتنا وطنيتنا حماده هلال حماده هلال maSrijjitna waTatnijjitna hama:da hila:l hama:da hila:l
19.	Karo	Abla Fahita	هو انتي ناوية تكملي معايا كعفريت ولن ينتهي عذاب هذا الكارو huwwa inti nawja tkamili: m'aaja ka'afri:t waln jantahi 'aadhab haðalkaaru
20.	Karo	Abla Fahita	البنت تقول لمامتها الحربوقة و هي بتموت 2il-bint ti2u:llimamitha lHarbu:2a w-hijja bitmu:t
21.	Abla Fahita	Karo	استنطقو كي في قسم يا بعيده 2istanTa2u:ki fi 2ism ja b'ai:da
22.	Abla Fahita	Hana sheha	عمليات جراحية كبرت تيك ووتاك 'amalija:t graHijjah kabrrit ti:k w-taak
23.	Abla Fahita	Karo	ما اترحمتي يا بعيده matraHamti ja b'ai:da
24.	Abla Fahita	Audience	يابن الحرا jabin lHara:m
25.	Karo	Audience	وديني المقبره العب مع بابا waddiini 2lma2bara 2ala'ab ma'a ba:ba

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		1	
26.	Abla Fahita	Audience	التايغيزيونة rittilifizjo:na
27.	Maya Diab	Abla Fahita	عروسة وقبيحه ʻaru:sa w2abi:Ha
28.	Maya Diab	Abla Fahita	هو انتي بتق <i>ر ي</i> علي سمانتي huwwanti bitzurri 'ala simmanti
29.	Abla Fahita	Maya Diab	متر ونص سمانه mitr wnuSS sima:na
30.	Abla Fahita	Ahme Fahmy	j ja su:su يا سوسو
31.	Abla Fahita	Ahme Fahmy	آدم أعظم الثدييات 2adam 2a'Zam 2i∾adjijja:t
32.	Abla Fahita	Audience	نديكو ا بالحضن و لا نديكو ا بالشبشب ! niddi:ku bilHudn walla niddi:ku bi∫ib∫ib
33.	Abla Fahita	Audience	الويية 2ilweiba
34.	Abla Fahita	Audience	فين إيزيسة فين حتشبسوتة fein ʔizi:sa fein Hat∫ibsu:ta
35.	Abla Fahita	Audience	حظك من هانشك HaZak min han∫ak
36.	Abla Fahita	Audience	بقیاده المایسترو سلیم ضباب Biqija:dit ilmajistru sli:m Daba:b
37.	Abla Fahita	Ahmed Fahmy	اتاري المرحوم قالع الفائلة وماشي بالسليب 2atari ilmarHu:m 2aalia' 2ilfanilla wma: ∬i bissilib
38.	Abla Fahita	Audience	یا خبر دہ اغتصاب جماعی لا لا لا تحرش جامد خالص ja xabbar da 2ightiSab gama:'i: la la la taHarru∬ ga:mid xa:liS
39.	Abla Fahita	Audience	حتعملي زي السنة اللي فاتت ؟ وأوسخ hati'amili zajji issana lli fa:tit wizawsax
40.	Abla Fahita	Audience	لبسك عره خالص libsik 'irra xaaliS
41.	Hala Sarhan	Abla Fahita	قراره ياختي 2arrara jaxti
42.	Abla Fahita	Audience	اي بقي فلول ولا مرتشيين reih baraa fillo:l walla murta∬i:n
43.	Abla Fahita	Audience	مش کبرتي عالهبل ده mi∫ kibirti 'alhabal da

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44.		Abla Fahita	Audience	يلا ياحببني انسنك وشرفتك jalla jaHabibti ?anisstik w∬araftik
45.		Abla Fahita	Audience	مالهم کبروا کدا malhumm kibbru kidda
46.	p	Abla Fahita	Audience	مش معقوله الجاكته جبتها من مراتك ولا منين mi∫ ma'2oula 2il3akita gibtaha min miratak wala mnejn
47.		Abla Fahita	Audience	You married good bye
48.		Abla Fahita	Audience	You should visit pyramids everything is very nice I am sample
49.		Abla Fahita	Audience	حاطه کیر اتین مش معقول ده من النوع الرخیص HaTTa kijrjatin mi∫ ma'azu:l da min zilnu'a zirrixiS
50.		Abla Fahita	Audience	بر فانتك حلوه خالص ده عطر قریش barfanatak Hilwa xaaliS da 'iTr quraj∫
51.		Abla Fahita	Ahmed Noor	القرشانات 2il:aara∫anat
52.		Karo	Hamada Helal	دي مش اغاني طفل دي اغاني مطلق di mi∫ zaghani Tifl di zaghani muTalaz
53.		Karo	Hamada Helal	حماده تقرب لنجلاء بدر او مصطفي قمر او حتي النجمه الذهبية Hamada tizrab linaglaaz badr zaw muSTafa zamar zaw Hatta lnigma izhabja
54.		Abla Fahita	Nicola Moawed	لو الباروكه بنهرشك فكي كدا وخدي راحتك ورحرحي law lbbarau:kka bituhr∬ik fukki kidda w xuddi ra:Htik wrHrHi:
55.		Abla Fahita	Amr Mostafa	يانصبتي ده عايز يشقط بنته janSibti da 'aajiz ji∫2aoT bintuh
56.		Abla Fahita	Amr Mostafa	شدينا السيفون علي الماضي Jadijna zilsifon 'ala il maDy
57.		Abla Fahita	Amr Mostafa	بيقولوا في علاقه بين مقاس رجل الراجل و مناخيره byzoulu fi 'ilaza bein mazaas rigl zilragil wmanaxiru
58.		Abla Fahita	Ahmed Fahmy's wife	احمد لابس بوكسر لونه ايه 2aHmad la:bbis buksr lounu 2ih
59.		Abla Fahita	Ahmed Fahmy's wife	احمد عنده حسنه مستخبية فين؟ا 2aHmad 'andu Hassana mistixabija fejn?

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60.	Abla Fahita	Ahmed Fahmy	بترقصلها باليه بالشورت bitr:auSlaha balih bil∬ort
61.	Abla Fahita	Ahmed Fahmy's wife	امتی اخر مره حمادة قص اظافر رجله او قرضها؟ rimta 2aaxir marra Hamada 2aS 2aZHafir riglu aw 2araDha
62.	Karo	Iyad Nassar	مر اتك بتستلف منك بجاماتك miratak bitstilif minak bi3amtak
63.	Karo	Iyad Nassar	لون بيجاماتك بني ودانتيل loun bi3amtak bunni w dantil
64.	Karo	Iyad Nassar	اكتر مكان بتقعد فيه في البيت:الحمام :يبقي كده عندك امساك 2aktar makan btu2aa'd fj fil beit: 2ilHammam jab2aa kjda 'andak 2imsa:k
65.	Abla Fahita	Iyad Nassar	كله الاان حد يصورك يا اياد في الحمام الا الريحه kulu 2ila 2in Had jiSawrak fil Hammam ila 2ilriHa
66.	Abla Fahita	Iyad Nassar	بابا وماما منفصلين و لا محبوسين baba w mama munfaSili:n wala maHbusi:n
67.	Karo	Hazem Imam	العو اهو 2il'aw 2ahu
68.	Karo	Hazem Imam	مفرد کلمه بزابیز mufrad kilmit bzabi:z
69.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	اموت في الابيض لما يحمر 2amout fl2abyad lama jiHmar
70.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	لون البوكسر ايه ، اسود. اشوف loun zil buksr ziih ziswd za∬u:f
71.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	جربت تلبس من قطونیل garabt tilbis min qaTuni:l
72.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	اهرشلي ضبهر <i>ي</i> uhru∫li Dahri
73.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	عازين نشوف البياضه الحلوه دي 'aajzi:n ni∫uf ilbayaDa 2ilHilwa di
74.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	فشخه fa∫xa
75.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	قرطسك ياعبده 2arTaSak ja 'abdu
76.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	لحم رخیص laHm rxi:S

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77.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	عملت بيبي في البحر كام مره 'amallt bibbi: fil baHr kam marrah
78.	Abla Fahita	Hazem Imam	اموت في الشمال 2amu:t fi ∬imaal
79.	Abla Fahita	Audience	امكم و ام اللي جابتكم umukum w um ili gabitkum
80.	Abla Fahita	Audience	حلقة بطعم لين السرسوب Hala?aah bita'am labban lsarsub
81.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	بلابیص balaabi:S
82.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	شماعه ولا شبشب ∫ama'aa wala ∬ib∫ib!
83.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	بدلع كارو ياسخامه البرك saxamit il birak
84.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	يق <i>ەل</i> ja२amil
85.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	بنبوز . نکرع tibawiz tikara'a
86.	Yasmin Sabry	Abla Fahita	احیه 2aHjh
87.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	شديتي السيفون وراك ∫adity zissifoun waraki
88.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	لعبت في مناخيرك قريب l'abit fmanaxi:rk ?urajb
89.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	اتفها من بؤي ?atiffaha min bu?ai:
90.	Abla Fahita	Yasmin Sabry	عملتي حمام انهر دا aamallti Hammam zinahrda'
91.	Abla Fahita	Zhafer Abdin	حقائق ذي الطين لظافر عابدين Haqaiziq zai elTi:n liZHafir 'aabdi:n
92.	Karo	Zhafer Abdin	معملتش جزء تاني من مسلسل حلاوه خفت سنانك تسوس ma'amalti∫ guzar tanj min musalsal Halawa xuft sinank tisawis
93.	Karo	Zhafer Abdin	مقاس الرجل ٤٤.كل رجل وانت طيب maa?as ilrigl 2arba'aawirbi'ai:n kul rigl winta Taib
94.	Karo	Zhafer Abdin	ایه ده بتخرج لابس جاتوه سواریه 2ih da bituxrug labis gatu swarjh

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95.	Abla Fahita	Zhafer Abdin	اي منطقة بتغير فيها في جسمك 2aj mantiza bitghi:r fiha fi gismk
96.	Abla Fahita	Zhafer Abdin	بتحب البنت الليها كبيره bitHib ilbint 2ili ha kibi:ra
97.	Abla Fahita	Zhafer Abdin	فيفي تعبانه ولازم تديلها حقنه علما بان الحقنه عضل وفيفي لسه واكله كرنب fifj ta'bana wlazim tdjlha Hu2ana 'ilman bi2anna zilHua2na 'aDal wfifj wakla krumb
98.	Abla Fahita	Zhafer Abdin	ايه الحاجه اللي تتكسف توريها في جسمك 2ih 2ilHaga illj titkisif twarjha fi gismk
99.	Abla Fahita	Rojina	کم عدد المقاریض /شاحطة کبیره / حلوفه کبیره Kam 'aaddad ilma₂ari:D / ∫aHTTa kbijra /Halu/;fa kbijra
100.	Abla Fahita	Rojina	لو وقع خاتمك في القعده هاتججبيه
101.	Karo	Rojina	ام ٤٤ 2um عarba'a wirbi'ajjn
102.	Rojina	Karo	امك مرينكيش ≥umik marbitkj
103.	Abla Fahita	Rojina	هترمي الحلق علشان شخه في الكابينيه hatirmi 2ilHala2 'ala∬an ∫axa filkabineih
104.	Abla Fahita	Audience	ېمزنوقه mazznu:2a
105.	Lamis Elhadidy	Abla Fahita	عارفه انك مش مؤدبه 'aarfa inik mi∫ mu?aadaba
106.	Karo	Lamis Elhadidy	وراء کل انکل عظیم طنط waraa2 kul 2ankle "azheem TanT
107.	Karo	Lamis Elhadidy	ووراء كل طنط عظيمة نفسها وشويه ميكب wiwaraa? Kul Tant 'azhi:ma nafsaha w∫wjt
108.	Lamis Elhadidy	Karo	مامتك عروسه محشية قطن mamtik 'aarusa maH∫iya 2utn
109.	Abla Fahita	Nawal Elzoghby	يا وليه ja wilja
110.	Abla Fahita	Nawal Elzoghby	عامل اتخانق مع زميله جاب البواسير aamil zitxaaniz ma'aa zmi:lu gab zilbawasi:r
111.	Abla Fahita	Nawal Elzoghby	بحب لبنان علشان الفشخ مش عیب عندکم baHib libnan 'ala∬an ilfa∬x mi∫ 'aeib 'andukum ilfa∫x :sitting with legs widely apart.

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			Slang: fuck or punish severly
112.	Abla Fahita	Medhat Shalaby	يابن السوكه jabin lsu:ka
113.	Abla Fahita	Medhat Shalaby	بالنسبة للايح ايح bilnisba lilzih 2iH
114.	Abla Fahita	Medhat Shalaby	اقفل رجليك rizfil riglejk
115.	Abla Fahita	Medhat Shalaby	مره اتزنقت زنقة مالهاش حل marra 2itzanna2t
116.	Abla Fahita	Medhat Shalaby	یاخا شوف توالیت jaxa ∫ouf tuwilit
117.	Medhat Shalaby	Karo	ماما قبیحه انا عارف mama 2aabiHaa ana 'aaarif
118.	Abla Fahita	Medhat Shalaby	عندك بوكسر مخروم 'aandak bukksr maxru:m
119.	Karo	Ahmed Malek	مقصوف الرقبة ma?Su:f zirazaaba
120.	Abla Fahita	Ahmed Malek	حضرتك المحصوره HaDritak 2ilmaHsura
121.	Hasan Elraddad	Abla Fahita	علي الكبري متحير و عايز يتسير alaa ilkubri mitHajar wi'aajiz jitsaijar''
122.	Hasan Elraddad	Abla Fahita	القصرية الشقية إإح ليك وليا il'uSriya i'∬azijah izH li:k willja
123.	Hasan Elraddad	Abla Fahita	أردافي ملظلظة عardafi mlzZhlaZhah
124.	Hasan Elraddad	Abla Fahita	a'aaduh 'aala ?ilxazzou?جقعدوه علي الخازوق
125.	Hasan Elraddad	Abla Fahita	اتشلیط 2it∬aljaT
126.	Hasan Elraddad	Abla Fahita	هنتنفخ Hatitnifix
127.	Hasan Elraddad	Abla Fahita	يخرب بيت جمال امك jixrib bijt gamal 'umak
128.	Abla Fahita	Hasan Elraddad	مین ممکن تعمل بومبة قدامها mi:n mumkin ti'ammil bomba 2udamha
129.	Abla Fahita	Hasan	حباية فاهيتا ياجرا للسعاده الزوجية

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TEXTUAL TURNINGS

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		Elraddad	Habajit fahita jaagra lilsa'ada 2ilzawgijah
130.	Abla Fahita	Hasan Elraddad	فاهيتايجرا حباية تمام والله يرحم المدام fahitaja:gra Habaja tammam wa allah yirrHam 2il madaam
131.	Abla Fahita	Hasan Elraddad	يامقصوف ja ma2Su:f