

**Entertaining Impoliteness in Egyptian TV Shows: *Abla Fahita* as a Model**

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**Abstract**

*Impoliteness can be defined as the use of “communicative strategies” which are “designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony” (Culpeper et al., 2003: 1564). The present study applies Jonathan Culpeper’s (2011a) model of ‘impoliteness’ after being supplemented by the notions of jocular mockery, jocular abuse, and recipients’ responses (Bousfield, 2008, 2010) to the TV show Abla Fahita. Abla Fahita, (Egyptian Arabic: أبله فاهيتا [ʔabla faʕhi.tæ]), is a puppet character which regularly appears on Egyptian television since 2011. The show has huge popularity and, indeed, can be considered a phenomenon for being watched by 8 Million Egyptians, according to the Egyptian Centre for Research on Public Opinion. It should be noted, however, that Abla Fahita and other similar TV shows are considered radical in terms of the Egyptian politeness standards and conservative nature. Hence, such shows have been condemned as degrading and low-moral and have been accused of causing the deterioration of the Egyptian culture. Despite all denunciation, Abla Fahita still enjoys a huge audience and dominates in terms of the viewers’ rates. Actually, a part of the show’s popularity can be ascribed to its characteristic impoliteness, particularly Abla Fahita’s off-beat expressions in mocking her guests and her sexual innuendos, which might be seen as entertaining by some viewers. The study shows that Abla Fahita employs what can be called a humour-impoliteness formula to entertain viewers. It is hoped that this paper would present a significant contribution to the study of impoliteness in Colloquial Arabic by investigating the exploitation of impoliteness for entertainment purposes in Abla Fahita.*

**Keywords**

Entertaining impoliteness, the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian TV shows, *Abla Fahita*

**1. Introduction**

The concept of politeness has attracted the academic concern in the 1970s (cf. Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987; Leech 1983). Politeness can be described as the discursive behaviours that participants use in order to avoid conflict and maintain harmonious relations (Holmes et al., 2012). It is considered the normative unmarked form of appropriate behaviour, i.e. the “default behaviour” (Terkourafi, 2002: 197), which complies with expectations and social norms and therefore passes unnoticed (see

Culpeper, 2011a, 2011b; Haugh, 2013). Deviations from social norms may be perceived as violations of the appropriate behaviour. Such deviations would involve impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011a). '[T]here is no solid agreement [...] as to what 'impoliteness' actually is' (Locher and Bousfield, 2008: 3). Impoliteness is a term that is 'struggled over at present, has been struggled over in the past and will, in all probability, continue to be struggled over in the future' (Watts 2003: 9). However, impoliteness can be broadly defined as the 'use of strategies that are designed to [cause] social disruption' instead of maintaining social harmony (Culpeper, 1996: 350); the 'communicative strategies designed to attack face' (Culpeper et al, 2003: 1545); the 'behaviour that is face-aggravating in a particular context' (Locher and Bousfield, 2008: 3); and the 'rudeness, aggressive language, the causing of offence' or linguistic behaviour which may be termed as 'socially-negative' (Bousfield, 2010: 101).

During the last three decades, attention has been devoted to the study of politeness. Even when the academic interest has switched to the studies of impolite discourse, earlier studies (e.g. Culpeper, 1996; Lachenicht, 1980) have been closely modelled on Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) classic work on politeness. However, the new millennium has witnessed a growing interest in exploring the notion of impoliteness, which can be particularly seen in the works of Jonathan Culpeper (1996, 2003, 2005, 2011a,b) and Derek Bousfield (2008, 2010). Various discourse types have been investigated in order to spot the usage and frequency of impolite or offensive language such as army training discourse (Culpeper, 1996), family discourse (Vuchinich, 1990), adolescent discourse (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1990), doctor-patient discourse (Mehan, 1990), everyday conversation (Beebe, 1995), radio talk shows (Hutchby, 1996), fictional texts (Culpeper, 1998), political discussions and courtroom interactions (Archer, 2011a, 2011b; Harris, 2011; Penman, 1990; Tracy, 2011), emergency calls (Tracy and Tracy, 1998), customer settings and service encounters (Archer and Jagodziński, 2015) and so on.

Impoliteness, it seems, is 'ubiquitous' (Locher and Bousfield 2008). It can be sophisticated, creative, subtle and 'entertaining' (e.g. Bousfield 2008, 2010; Culpeper 1996, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2008, 2011a,b; Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann 2003). Culpeper (2005, 2011a,b) and Lorenzo-Dus (2009) note that impolite discourse can actually have an 'entertainment' or 'aesthetic' value. In other words, impoliteness can be used as a strategic vehicle for entertainment and humorous purposes since people are likely to laugh at the expense of others. This may account for

the fact that some film and media productions have been marketing ‘comedies’ which contain offensive or impolite language. The entertainment industry spends billions of dollars every night of the week to make us laugh and considers ‘comedy’ as a ‘giant’ within television entertainment, particularly the ‘comedies’ which contain offensive language (Zillmann and Bryant, 1991: 261). This suggests that impoliteness can somehow be entertaining and humorous. Such overlapping nature between humour and impolite discourse has not been missed by television producers who propagated a large number of media productions using this impolite-humorous formula in the name of ‘entertainment.’ Surprisingly, media communication researchers have acknowledged that entertaining impoliteness, which has been described by Culpeper (2011a: 233) as ‘exploitative’, is a ‘ubiquitous phenomenon’ (Zillmann and Bryant 1994: 437). They have defined it as any activity designed to delight and, to a smaller degree, enlighten through the exhibition of the fortune or misfortunes of others, but also through the display of special skills by others and/or self (Zillmann and Bryant 1994: 438). This implies that (in certain contexts) being entertained can be encapsulated by being ‘delighted’ at the misfortunes of others and endorses Culpeper’s (2011a) argument that impoliteness, which is designed for entertainment purposes, functions to amuse others, particularly those who are not targets of the impoliteness.

Culpeper (2011a: 234-9) attempts to explore the reason behind the pleasure we experience when viewing impoliteness as entertainment and posits five sources of such pleasure:

1. ***Emotional pleasure:*** We experience an inherent emotional enjoyment when viewing conflict.
2. ***Aesthetic Pleasure:*** This type of pleasure is derived from ‘socially negative uses of verbal creativity’ (Culpeper 2005: 46), which can be a very effective (and amusing) way of conveying face-attack (Culpeper, 2011a: 239).
3. ***Voyeuristic pleasure:*** This kind of pleasure can be gained through the observance of others in conflictive situations.
4. ***The pleasure of being superior:*** We gain pleasant feelings of superiority when we compare ourselves favourably to others.
5. ***The pleasure of feeling secure:*** Entertainment-through-security can be gained from our appreciation of what we have when compared to the grave distress of others.

In Egypt, television producers have followed this trend and exploited the impolite-humorous formula initiating shows such as *Saturday Night Live in Arabic* and *Abla Fahita: Live from the Duplex*

which is the focus of this study. Abla Fahita is a puppet without strings which has regularly appeared on Egyptian television since 2011. The show, which is broadcasted on the CBC Egyptian TV Channel on Friday and Saturday nights, can be considered a phenomenon for being watched by 8 Million Egyptians, according to the Egyptian Centre for Research on Public Opinion. In the show, Abla Fahita is treated by her celebrity guests and the audience in the Duplex as a real woman not merely as a puppet. She represents an Egyptian middle-aged acid-tongued widow, a single mother of two children Karkoura and Boudi, a founder of the (fictional) association for single women, widows and divorcees, and a frivolous cougar who likes handsome men. With her snide comments, sexual innuendoes and distinctive appearance (i.e. trademark rollers, thick eyeliner and glamorous outfits), Abla Fahita has gained enormous popularity.

### Research Question

This paper attempts to answer the following research question:

To what extent is the humour-impoliteness formula exploited in the TV show *Abla Fahita*?

To answer this question, I have investigated 12 interviews featuring Abla Fahita with celebrity guests and extracted impoliteness events using mainly Culpeper's (2011a) impoliteness bottom-up model with a supplement of a number of notions from other models. In the next section, I provide a review of these notions.

### 2. Literature Review

Culpeper first proposed his impoliteness model, which is a reversal of Brown and Levinson's ([1978] 1987) face-based politeness model, in 1996. Then, he has made significant revisions of this model in 2005 and 2011(a,b). Indeed, Culpeper (2005) is of crucial importance to my study because Culpeper has considered an additional function of impoliteness. He suggests that face-attacks can be used creatively for the specific purpose of generating entertainment for a third party. He postulates that impoliteness which may target its victims via sarcasm, mimicry or implicatures can be considered humorous by many people. He adopts the same line of the 'Superiority' theories of humour (e.g. Bergson, 1911), which advocate that humans are able to find pleasure at the expense or misfortune of others. He argues that in the TV shows, which exploit the mixture of impoliteness and humour for the sake of entertainment, viewers tend to gain voyeuristic pleasure from observing others in a worse state than themselves.

In this paper, I adopt as my analytical framework the latest version of Culpeper's impoliteness model (2011a). Culpeper (2011a) has replaced the term 'strategy' with 'trigger' and suggests two types of impoliteness triggers: conventionalised impoliteness formulae and implicational impoliteness. The first trigger is inspired by Terkourafi's frame-based politeness approach (2002). Culpeper (2010: 3240-3241, 2011a: 135-136) provides a list of conventionalised impoliteness formulae, based on co-occurrences of particular linguistic realisations of impoliteness and particular contexts, including insults, pointed criticisms/complaints, challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, condescensions, message enforcers, dismissals, silencers, threats, and negative expressives (e.g. curses, ill-wishes). The second impoliteness trigger, i.e. implicational impoliteness, involves 'an impoliteness understanding that does not match the surface form or semantics of the utterance or the symbolic meaning of the behaviour' (Culpeper, 2011a: 17). Culpeper classifies implicational impoliteness into three types, each involving mismatches of some sort: 1. Convention-driven (*sarcasm or mock politeness*), 2. Form-driven (*off-record impoliteness*), and 3. Context-driven (deviation from expectations in the context).

Culpeper (2011a: 223-235) does not only suggest forms of impoliteness, but also identify its functions. He has listed three instrumental functions of impoliteness: affective impoliteness (an intense emotional display directed at the target), coercive impoliteness (imposing harm on the target's social identity or forcing compliance), and entertaining impoliteness (the exploitation of a target for entertainment purposes, such as game shows). Entertaining impoliteness is particularly interesting for the purposes of this paper.

Haugh and Bousfield (2012) get quite close to the notion of entertaining impoliteness while examining the use and interpretation of banter or mock politeness. They manage to identify two distinct interactional practices *jocular mockery* and *jocular abuse*. Jocular mockery needs to be created within a jocular frame and can be induced by the speaker's 'overdoing' or exaggerating particular actions. Jocular abuse, on the other hand, is a specific form of insulting whereby the speaker casts the target into an undesirable category or ascribes him/her negative characteristics using a conventionally offensive expression within a non-serious or jocular frame. The jocular abuse is executed by using a remark that 'puts someone down, or ascribes a negative characteristic to them' (Hay, 2002: 20); and by picking on or debasing 'a person's physical appearance and mental ability, character, behaviour, beliefs, and/or familial and social relations' (Allan and Burridge, 2006: 79).

Responses to jocular mockery may include laughter (Drew, 1987; Everts, 2003; Glenn, 2003; Jefferson et al., 1987), explicit accord with or appreciation of the mockery, as well as (partial) repetition of the mocking remarks (Drew, 1987; Jefferson et al., 1987). Generally speaking, Bousfield (2008: 195-202) suggests that responses to an offending situation may take two forms. The recipient of the offending situation may either choose:

(a) Not to respond.

(b) To respond either by accepting the face-attack or countering the face-attack offensively or defensively.

In my study, there is an intensive use of *jocular mockery* and *jocular abuse* by Abla Fahita targeting both her celebrity guests and other celebrities. Abla Fahita constructs a jocular frame within which mockery and/or abuse are considered humorous for the celebrity guest, the audience at the Duplex and the viewers at home since the whole situation is not to be taken 'too seriously'. Such jocular insults or 'banter', which constitute a form of 'underpoliteness' (or 'lack of politeness'), create solidarity and establish or maintain 'a bond of familiarity' among people (Leech, 1983: 144).

The mix between humour and impoliteness creates a kind of formula that tends to be successful, attractive, and intimacy-promoting. Academic Research has explored this humour-impoliteness formula and analysed practices such as teasing (Butler, 2007; Drew, 1987; Everts, 2003; Grainger, 2004; Hay, 2002; Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006; Mullany, 2004; Schnurr and Chan, 2011; Straehle, 1993), jocular mockery (Haugh, 2010, 2011), jesting or mild banter (Grainger, 2004; Haugh, 2011), humorous self-denigration (Holmes et al., 2012; Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006; Schnurr and Chan, 2011), jocular abuse (Goddard, 2006; Hay, 2002) and so on.

I have selected Culpeper's impoliteness model (2011a) and complemented it with notions from Bousfield and colleagues (Bousfield, 2008, 2010; Culpeper *et al.*, 2003; Haugh and Bousfield, 2012), namely, jocular mockery, jocular abuse and recipients' responses, to make it comprehensive enough to capture the dynamics of impoliteness in my data. A salient rationale behind my selection of Culpeper's (2011a) model is that it has been tested by Culpeper against impoliteness events reported by undergraduates from the UK, China, Finland, Germany and Turkey (see Culpeper *et al.*, 2010; Culpeper, 2011a), and has also been applied to other languages such as German and Japanese. This paper may support

the argument of the model's universality through its application to Arabic language and more particularly, the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

### 3. Application

I have selected for analysis twelve shows of *Abla Fahita* hosting twelve celebrities. The guests include seven male celebrities, namely, Zafer ElAabdeen, Hasan ElShafee, Ahmed Fahmy, Ahmed Malek, Hamada Helal, Ahmed Zaher, and Maged ElMasry; and five female celebrities, namely, Hend Sabry, Nawal ElZoghby, Yasmeen Sabry, Elham Shaheen, and Rania Yousef. My selection is motivated by the number of viewers on the Youtube. Each show has scored more than one million viewings; and sometimes, in the case of Maged ElMasry and Zafer ElAabdeen, for instance, viewings hit more than two million times. The shows have been downloaded from the Youtube and broadly transcribed.

All instances of impoliteness have been extracted in the light of Culpeper's 2011a model. I have noticed that all the impoliteness instances encountered in the data can be seen as a sort of jocular mockery or jocular abuse. It should be noted that the show generally involves constructing a playful, non-serious or jocular frame which belongs to the 'contexts in which the impoliteness is understood to be untrue' (Culpeper, 1996: 352). Within this jocular frame, *Abla Fahita* employs jocular mockery and/or jocular abuse and the guest celebrity joins her game and jokingly interacts with her in order to entertain and amuse the audience.

In the tables below, I provide a list of some examples of the impoliteness events encountered in the data. I have translated all examples into English and classified them according to Culpeper's 2011a model.

#### 1. Conventionalised Formulae

##### 1.1 Insults

###### 1. Personalized Negative Assertions

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
1	Fahmy	فاهيتا: مامتك اتوحت علي غسل! اتاريكي زنانة طول اليوم	Fahita: Your Mum was craving honey while pregnant with you [...] That's why you are buzzing all day.
2	Helal	فاهيتا: أنا فاكرا يا حمادة انت اول لما كنت بموت ف صوتك [...] طلعت كانت خاما بكر كدا مسرعة [...] شوية بس جميلة	Fahita: I remember, Hamada, when you first appeared [...] I really loved your voice [...] you were 'virgin' material – a

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
			countertenor (falsetto), but beautiful.
3	Elham	فاهيتا :-اه هي دايمًا الست القادرة منظر على الفاضى	Fahita: yes, the strong (tyrannical) lady is always an empty charade ( just a big mouth).
4	Elham	فاهيتا : يا حبيبتى ، وأنا بقول ليه وأنا [...] عندك خد أكبر من خد . اللي فكراه البوتوكس ، طلع محمود المليجي .	Fahita: Oh, dear! And I was wondering why you have one cheek larger than the other. [...] I thought it was Botox but it turned out to be Mahmoud ElMeleegy.

## 2. Personalized Negative References

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
5	Elham	فاهيتا :-ها يا إيلي بقى الجريمة دى كانت فى أى فيلم؟ الفنية	Fahita: Elly, in which film was this artistic crime?

## 3. Personalized Third-Person Negative References

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
6	Zafer	فاهيتا: والله ده أنا بقالي خمس دقائق وجزعت! محتاجة أشوف محمد رمضان، أحذق	Fahita: I swear it is only 5 minutes and I feel I have had too much sweet. I need to see Mohamed Ramadhan to get a savory taste.
7	Zafer	طيب بص يا ظفورة، قبل ما أهدك فاهيتا: أنا قررت [...] وندخل جوّه يا حبيبي [...] أشارك جمهوري واديهم حتة منك، شايقين الهدايا؟ [...] سيلفي مع ظافر مش منى الشاذلي اللي بتوزع خلاطات في عيد الأم!	Fahita: Ok. Look Zafora (nick name), before I take you inside, my love, [...] I have decided that I will share with my audience and give them a piece of you, a selfie with Zafer [...] See the gifts? Not like Mona ElShazli who gives away blenders on Mothers' Day.
8	Nawal	أبلة فاهيتا: وخصوصا شيرين تصاحبها عشان تخلصي من لسانها	Fahita: And particularly Sherine, you get to be her friend to get rid of her acid tongue.
9	Nawal	احلام جابتهملك (حلق أبلة فاهيتا) نوال: أنا بموت فيها ودى كريمة جدا [...] بس فى الاكل مش فى ..ابوة أبلة فاهيتا: السيغة	Nawal: Ahlam got those for you (Fahita's diamond earrings)? [...] Nawal: I love her to death and she is very generous. Fahita: yes, but with food not

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
			with jewellery.
10	Fahmy	فاهيتا: طب مين اكثر واحدة في صاحبات أميرة بتسخنها عليك .... فهمي: مروة فهمي: لا هي طيبة مروة طيبة بس. فاهيتا: خرابة بيوت ولا حاجة	Fahita: Which one of Amira's friends eggs her on the most against you? Fahmy: Marwa! She is good BUT... Fahita: a home-wrecker or what?
11	Malek	أبلة فاهيتا : طب وسن المعجبات بقا بيوقف 50:40:30 ؟ (ضحك) عند كام ؟ 60 ، ودى هتعلقها جلوكوز والا [...]. هتعلقها دى ؟ 60 سنة وعائزه تتعلق. يا نصيبتي عليكو نسوان!!!!!!	Fahita: What is the upper limit of age of your lady-fans? --- 30? 40? 50? (laughter) [...] 60? In this case, would you administer glucose drip to her? Or would you pick her up? 60 years and she craves an affair? To hell with you women!!
12	Helal	فاهيتا : دلوقتي مفيش علي الساحة من النيرة دي غير أحمد موسي ( ضحك )	Fahita: Currently, there is no one in the arena with this tone of voice except Ahmed Mousa. (laughter)
13	Helal	فاهيتا : اه يوووه بوسي شلبي بتطلع بردو كلام أي كلام	Fahita: yes, Pousi Shalabi is propagating false things.
14	Helal	فاهيتا : اممم لا يا حبيبي بس هو حميد فعلا اللي طور الأغنية المصرية دا اول من دخل الصقفة والسكسكة [...]. والبنطلونات المقطعة أم [...]. والاولتات كوسر دي علي الأغنية المصرية	Fahita: no, my love! Hameed really developed the Egyptian song [...] He is the first to introduce to the Egyptian song the clap, the treble sounds, the epaulettes [...] and the torn trousers with pleats.
15	Helal	فاهيتا : اه بصي يا اختي كان شكله عامل يا حبيبي الخالق [...]. ازاي ( ضحك ) الناطق مني الشاذلي ( ضحك ) اممم نفس بلوزات مني الشاذلي [...]. CBC قبل فلوس ال	Fahita: look sister, how he looked like (laughter) [...] my love, an identical resemblance of Mona ElShazli (laughter) [...] The same as Mona's blouses before she's got the CBC money.
16	Helal	فاهيتا : لا استني مجدى عبدالغني جاي [....] اهو كابتن مجدى عبدالغني حمادة هلال : كابتن مجدى عبدالغني -يعني الله الغني الله الغني يامصريين -اللي دلنا	Fahita: no wait! Magdi Abdel Ghany is coming. [...] Hamada Helal: Captin Magdy Abdel Ghany, which means, may Allah spare us from having anything to do with him. Captin Magdy

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No.	Guest	Example	Translation
			Abdel Ghany, who has humiliated us. Oh Egyptians, may Allah spare us from having anything to do with him.
17	Helal	حمادة هلال : إنتي هتورطيني في لميس [....] (ضحك) فاهيتا : ياخويا الشعب كله متورط فيها	Hamada Helal: You are going to implicate me with Lamees (laughter). Fahita: O brother, forget it. All the nation is implicated with her.
18	Zaher	دكتورة اشطر مامته ... مميم فاهيتا [....] مصر في تخسيس من لها راحت صاحبتى واحدة فاهيتا وزى نجحت العملية لله والحمد سنتين حبيبتى يا لسه هيا بس ... الفل وقتها فاكره أنا) [....] ضحك(مفاقتش !نجيريا من راجعة لسه حتى كانت حقيقي دا ايوه :أحمد بتتقب هناك؟ ايه بتعمل كانت طب فاهيتا !فيل اسنان بتهرب ولا دهب عن	Fahita: his mother is the best dietitian in Egypt. [...] A friend of mine went to her two years ago and thank God the surgery was successful. But my darling friend has not regained her consciousness till now. (laughter) [...] I remember at that time she (his mother) has just returned from Nigeria. Ahmed: Yes, that is correct. Fahita: what was she doing there? Mining for gold? Or smuggling elephants' teeth?
19	Zaher	. القمر وزى اهي حلوة ماهى : فاهيتا وخنشرت كبرت بس بتقول اومال[....] ليه .	Fahita: She is so beautiful and gorgeous [...] Why have you said that she has become old and lost her femininity.
20	Maged	أبله فاهيتا : مابيبانش عليها 62 سنة [....] (ضحك) أبله فاهيتا : لا لعلكم أنا أحبها خالص [....] أبله فاهيتا : غادة دون عن جيلها كله	Fahita: she doesn't look 62 years old. (laughter) [...] for your knowledge, I love her so much. Fahita: Ghada, apart from her generation of actresses.
21	Elham	فاهيتا :بس إنتي عليكي شلة يا إلهام مش هو اللي يشوفكوا [....] ناقصكوا غيري . بحقيقي من بره يقول شرانبين وحرابيق بس انتوا من جوه خسة خسة .(ضحك) [....]	Fahita: But you have quite a coterie, Elham, that only misses me [...] whoever sees you would truly think you are evil chameleons but deep down you are amicable. (laughter)
22	Rania	انك حبيبتى يا كفاية لأ :- فاهيتا أبله هاني مع فيديو ميوزك ثلاثة استحملتي ومنتحرتيش شاعر	Fahita: It is enough darling that you have tolerated three music videos with Hany Shaker without committing

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
			suiside.
23	Hasan	فاهيتا: زي كارو عندها لغة بردك مبفهمهاش خالص حسن: اه بس هي متربية احسن شوية	Fahita: Just like Karo. She uses a language that I don't understand at all. Hasan: Yes, but she has better manners compared to Karo.

## 1.2 Challenging or Unpalatable Questions and/or Presuppositions

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
24	Zafer	فاهيتا: إيه ده ها؟ الوالدة كانت بترضعك إيه؟ بتبدرك ب إيه بتنشك ب إيه؟	Fahita: What is this? What was your mother feeding you? Which baby powder did she use? What did she use to get you dry?
25	Zafer	فاهيتا: مش ناقص كمان غير تقوللي إنك بتحبها؟	Fahita: What is missing is that you tell me that you love her?
26	Zafer	فاهيتا: وياسمينا بقى يا ظفورة واخدة بقى شفايف باباها؟ ولا عيونه؟ ولا خدوده؟ ولا شعره؟ ولا سكس [...] ولا لذائته؟ باكاته؟	Fahita: Zafora, Yasmina has taken after her dad's lips? Eyes? Cheeks? Hair? Cuteness? [...] or his six packs?
27	Fahmy	فاهيتا: طب أحمد عنده حسنة مستخبية فين؟	Fahita: Where does Ahmed have a hidden macula?
28	Fahmy	فاهيتا: أحمد فهمي بياخد كام في (ضحك) أراب ايدول أميرة: طب بجد أنا مش فاكرا	Fahita: How much money does Ahmed get from <i>Arab Idol</i> ? (laughter) Amira: Seriously, I don't remember.
29	Fahmy	فاهيتا: طب امتي حمادة قص ضوافره او قرقضها؟	Fahita: When has Ahmed clipped his nails or bitten them?
30	Fahmy	فاهيتا: أحمد لابس بوكسر لونه ايه ؟ أميرة: اف	Fahita: What is the colour of Ahmed's boxers, Amira? Amira: Oh..
31	Fahmy	أميرة الست اللي بتعملها فاهيتا: حواجبها اسمها ايه؟	Fahita: What's the name of the lady who does Amira's eyebrows?

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
32	Fahmy	فاهيتا: طب أميرة بتحبك تلبسها ايه لما ترقص لها؟	Fahita: What does Amira likes you to wear when you dance for her?
33	Malek	فاهيتا : ها بتلبس لبس اختك ؟ عمرك استلقت من ماجدة ؟	Fahita: Would you wear your sister's clothes? Have you ever borrowed clothes from Magda?
34	Helal	فاهيتا : مش أنا بس اللي زعلانة أنا وكل الارامل فين العضلات ؟ [....] فاهيتا : ايه فسيت انت بعد الجواز ؟ [....] (ضحك) حمادة هلال : بسببها ف البيت [....] (ضحك)	Fahita: It is not noly me who is sad. All the widows, too. Where are the muscles? [....] Have you been deflated after marriage? (laughter) [....] Hamda Helal: I leave them at home (laughter) [....]
35	Zaher	في أعمالك مديرة دخل إيه :فاهيتا (ضحك) (بوكسر اناك) هي أعمالي مديرة ماهو :أحمد مراتي.	Fahita: What does your business manager have to do with your underwear (boxers)? Ahmed: My business manager is my wife.
36	Zaher	اطول؟ بوزه مين طب :فاهيتا ماما علي المضرب ترفع :البنات يا إنتي عليهم منكدة :فاهيتا هدهودى	Fahita: Who has a longer face? (The girls answer it is their mother) Fahita: you give them hard time, hadhoudy (nick name).
37	Maged	أبله فاهيتا: مش معقولة حلوة مين [....]خالص الدقن البيضا دي بياعلك فيها ؟	Fahita: It is unbelievable how sweet is this grayish beard. [....] Who strokes it for you?
38	Maged	أبله فاهيتا: بتسالك بقا بولا ياما جد الشفاف المستوية دي طبيعي ولا منفوخة؟	Fahita: Paula asks you, Maged, these ripe lips are natural or augmented / silicone?
39	Maged	أبله فاهيتا: مس فينا بتسالك بتنام بايه بالليل بالشورت ولا انجليزي؟ (ضحك)	Fahita: Miss Feena asks you, how do you sleep at night wearing shorts or naked? (laughter)

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
40	Maged	أبلة فاهيتا: طيب السؤال دا بقا من دي ربة منزل [...] ماما شموع وعندها صفحة علي الفيس بوك بتبيع نباتات و اكل بيتي بتسالك بقا وبتقولك انت بنشك متدفنش؟	Fahita: This question is from Mama Shmooa (candles). [...] She is a housewife and she has a facebook page which she uses to sell plants and home-made food. She asks you whether you bulk up your breast??
41	Maged	أبلة فاهيتا: يهدك يا فايقة علي دا المهم فايقة صأحبتني [...]سؤال هي علي طول بتشوفك في البولز جيم فا بتقول ان انت مش مهتم ياترا بالرجلين وبتلعب بس فوق ليه؟!	Fahita: Damn you, Fayqa, for this question. [...] Anyway, my friend, Fayqa, sees you all the time in the Bulls' Gym, and she says that you are not exercising the legs and that you only work out the upper part of the body. We wonder why?
42	Maged	أبلة فاهيتا : يلابقي السؤال المرة دي من الأنسة مهجة ماجد: أنسة؟! أبلة فاهيتا: أه 52 سنة (ضحك) وبتدير شبكة منافية للأداب بالنسبالك بقي انك [...] (ضحك) نجم سنيمائي مز ومتابع الفن ف العالم كله مين اكثر ست سيكسي في العالم بالنسبالك ؟	Fahita: The question this time is from Miss Mohga. Maged: A virgin? Fahita: Yes. She is 52 years old (laughter) and she runs a prostitution network (laughter) [...] Since you are a sexy film star and a follower of art all over the world, who is the sexiest woman on the earth for you?
43	Maged	أبلة فاهيتا : طب يلا في سؤال من ببيسان 27 سنة ممسوكة في قضية ازدرء اديان (ضحك) بتقولك موضوع الزوجة [...] الثانية دا كتر خالص يا ترا المز ممكن يعمله ولا انت مكتفي خلاص [...] بالخيانة ؟ (ضحك) عرفنا الإجابة مكتفي اه مكتفي	Fahita: There is a question from Bebesan, 27 years old and a convict in a contempt of religions case. (laughter) [...] She tells you that bigamy (having a second wife) is widespread. Would the sexy guy do it or is he satisfied with cheating? (laughter) [...] Now we

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
			know the answer, satisfied! Yes, satisfied. (laughter)
44	Elham	فاهيتا :-الحلق الالماظ هياكل من دا ايه ضربات [...]الأسة حتة افلام ولا تهرب ضريبي عادى؟ فاهيتا :-عشان أبقي استلفه حتى يبقى حلو عليا [...]منك أوى أوى وأنا حتى ودنى أحلى من ودنك إلهام : ليه أنا ودنى أحلى	Fahita: The diamond earring is matching with the fringe. [...] You got (the money to buy) it from film blockbusters (hits) or normal tax evasion? [...] I may borrow it from you [...] It would definitely suit me since my ear is more beautiful than yours. Elham: Why? My ear is more beautiful
45	Elham	فاهيتا :-امال مين اللي بيدلحك يا إلهام؟	Fahita: Who coddles you, Elham?
46	Elham	فاهيتا :-بس أخبار الحساب فى البنك ايه يا إلهام؟	Fahita: How is your bank account, Elham?
47	Elham	فاهيتا : ايلى فاكرا ادوارك وافلامك ولا الذاكرة ذهبت مع الريح؟	Fahita: Elly (nick name), do you still remember your roles and films or your memory is gone with the wind?
48	Elham	فاهيتا : ومعقولة العمر ده كله مفيش واحدة بطحت التانية علي حلة [...] دماغها بكسرولة ؟ تسريحة؟ بيوركس ، مرآة	Fahita: Is it possible, after all this time, no one hit the other on her head with a casserole? [...] a Pyrex pot? A mirror?
49	Elham	فاهيتا : اتجوزت ولا إلهام واقفة حالك؟	Fahita: Have you got married or Elham gets in your way?
50	Rania	حببتي يا بقا ولسه : فاهيتا أبلة الزهر ولا الجديدة مصر فى قاعدة لعب؟	Fahita: Do you still stay in Misr ElGedeeda or you made a killing?
51	Rania	طريقك فى بقا دوستي :- فاهيتا توصلي؟ عشان واحدة كام علي	Fahita: How many women have you trodden to get to the top?
52	Rania	اللي بقى ايه و طب : فاهيتا أبلة بقا يمززه و الباشمهندس بيميز	Fahita: What distinguishes the engineer and makes him

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		سوابقك؟ عن	special when compared to your Exes?
53	Rania	اد بتقعد رانيا طيب -: فاهيتا أبله الحمام؟ في ايه	Fahita: How long does Rania stay in the toilet?

### 1.3 Condescensions

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
54	Zafer	ظافر: اخر مرة اخدت بنتي ورحنا نتفرج علي فيلم كرتون أنا اللي رجعت معيط [....]سوسو يا فاهيتا: لا قلبه قلب جرجيرة ،اية يا حبيبي ميكي موس مات في اخر الفيلم ولا اسبونج بوب غرق	Zafer: The last time I took my daughter to the Cinema to watch an animation film, I broke into tears. Fahita: Oh, Soso. [...] He has the heart of a rocca. What happened, darling? Micky Mouse has died at the end of the film? Or Spong Bob has drowned?

### 1.4 Threats

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
55	Zafer	اقعدى اترزعي مكانك، فاهيتا: هنا ممنوع لمس المعروضات، أنا بس اللي المس. واللي هتفكر تقرب أنا محاوطة الدوبليكس بـ سلك شائك دايرن داير --- واللي هتضحى بـ الكلون وهتعدى السلك الشائك، القناصة هيصطادوها	Fahita: Sit down! Don't budge. Here, it is forbidden to touch the displayed goods. I am the only one allowed to touch. Whoever thinks of getting close, I have surrounded the Duplex with barbed wire. The one who would sacrifice her stockings and attempt to cross the barbed wire will be taken down by the snipers.

### 1.5 Negative Expressives (e.g. curses, ill-wishes)

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
56	Zafer	فاهيتا: يهذكوا !!	Fahita: Damn you all!
57	Zafer	فاهيتا محادثة الجمهور: إنكادي، موتي بـ غيظك، والله	Fahita: (speaking to the audience) You die! Die of

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		ماهتطولي حتى فرع من الفروع دي * تشم الورد مرة أخرى *	envy! I swear you will not get even one branch of this flower (she sniffs the flower again)
58	Yasmeen	فاهيتا: طيب . مين اكثر فنانة ضحت عشان خاطر مصر ؟ ياسمين صبري : نادية الجندي . عقبالك كده [...] فاهيتا: صح حبيبتي لما تبقي زيها يا وتجسسي وتتخطفي وتتصعقي وتتحرفي وتتعرفي كده	Fahita: Which artist has sacrificed the most for Egypt? Yasmeen: Nadia ElGuindy. Fahita: Correct. [...] I wish you become like her and you get to do espionage, and get abducted, electrocuted, burnt and famous.
59	Maged	ماجد: ماقدرش اقول أنا مراتي قاعدة أبلة فاهيتا: يهداها (ضحك)	Maged: I can't say because my wife is here. Fahita: Damn her (laughter).
60	Elhman	فاهيتا : بكره تكبري وتتهدي وينتقموا منك	Fahita: Tomorrow, you will get old and weak and they will have their vengeance.
61	Elham	فاهيتا : الحلقة بتخلص والسنة بتخلص ولازم اختك دي تتهد [...] إلهام : ربنا يهدك	Fahita: The show is almost finished and the year is almost finished and your sister has to be weakened! [...] Elham: May Allah weaken you!

## 2. Implicational Impoliteness

### 2.1 Convention-driven

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
62	Zafer	بس ع العموم يا ظافر لو حبك لـ مراتك يا حبيبي هو اللي هيجيبك تعيش وسطينا هنا مفيش مانع [...] نحتضنها. ولا إيه يا بنات؟ نحتضنها آه، أنا متأكدة يا ظافر إنها لو جت مصر هنا هتشوف	Fahita: Generally speaking, Zafer, if your love for your wife will drive you to come and live with us here, we don't mind to accept her. What do you think, girls?

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		ترحاب عمرها ما شافته.	[....] We will accept her, yes. I am sure, Zafer, that if your wife came to Egypt, she would get a welcome she had never witnessed in her life.
63	Zafer	فاهيتا: بس انت شطور يا ظافر، عجيني جدًا دورك في The Da Vinci Code [....] ظافر : بتتريقي يا أبله؟ Tom Hanks اتشال؟! هو كده، على طول منفسن.	Fahita: But you are so clever, Zafer. I really liked your role in <i>The Da Vinci Code</i> . Zafer: You are being sarcastic, Miss? [...] Fahita: Removed? It is Tom Hanks. He is always jealous.
64	Hasan	فاهيتا: ويا تري بقي البنوتة واخدة حلاوة باباها ولا زن مامتها؟؟ حسن: (ضحك) لا واخدة حلاوة مامتها طبعا	Fahita: I wonder whether the girl takes after her father's sweetness (beauty), or her mother's buzzing? Hasan: (laughter) No, she takes after her mother's beauty, of course.
65	Nawal	أبله فاهيتا: أنا بحب الناس العزاز أوى يقعد أغنيها لكارو طول [....] اقولها يا حبيبتى إنتى [....] النهار من اعز الناس عندى (ضحك) سمعينا بقا أغنية يلعن ابو [....] الناس العزاز	Fahita: I love the song 'the dear ones' very much [....] I keep singing it to Karo all day long. [....] I tell her you are one of the dearest to me, darling (laughter) [....] Now sing to us 'damn the father of the the dearest ones'
66	Nawal	أبله فاهيتا: أنا عاجبنى دور زينة جابت المز وخذت فلوسه [....] ودمرت حياته وقهرت ودمرته قلب مراته أنا بحب الكاركثير الواقعى ده علشان كده أنا مش [....] نوال : عاوزه اشوفك عندى فى البيت خالص أبله فاهيتا: يا اختى يعنى هخطف	Fahita: I like Zeina's role. [....] She managed to ensnare the sexy guy, take his money, destroy his life, and break his wife's heart. I love this realistic caricature. Nawal: [....] That's why I don't want to see you at my house at all.

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		ايه من البيت الكلب	Fahita: Sis, what would I snatch from your house? The dog?
67	Yasmee n	أبلة فاهيتا : دى أسهل حلقة حياتي . هعملها في ياسمين: اشمعنا؟ أبلة فاهيتا: احنا يا حبيبتى لو متكلمناش ومفتحناش بوقنا برضك هتتفرج. الرجالة	Fahita: This would be the easiest show in my life. Yasmeen: How come? Fahita: Even if we have not uttered a word, the men will still watch it.
68	Zaher	ليك ظهور اول فاكرة أنا: فاهيتا فيلم فى محورى دور فى كان شوفناه كلنا اه[....]- وارانب افواه الاحداث مسار غير دور دا [....] - تماما [....] فعلا: أحمد! ! سين ماستر: فاهيتا	Fahita: I remember your first appearance. It was a leading role in the film 'Mouths and Rabbits'. [....] we have all seen it. [....] It is a role that made a twist in the events. Ahmed: Indeed [....] Fahita: It is a master scene.
69	Zaher	الحقيقية بدايتك انت بس لا: فاهيتا الجبل ذئاب مسلسل فى كانت بردك واحد مشهد كان اينعم [....] اوسكار بس اوسكار أوى اوسكار: أحمد واحدة كلمة فيه قولت أنا...ياأبلة! أبلة يا	Fahita: No, your real start was in the TV series 'The Mountain Wolves'. [....] True, it was also one scene, but you deserve an Oscar. Ahmed: Yes, an Oscar, indeed. I have only said one word in it, Miss.
70	Elham	فاهيتا : يا حبيبتى اللى عطاكى يعطينا إلهام : ما إنتى اهو لابسة جولرى ولابسة اميرالد ولابسه آخر شياكة إنتى هتتعدى تقرى	Fahita: Oh, darling, may Allah grant us wealth like you! Elham: You yourself are wearing jewellery and emerald and you are so elegant. So, don't be envious.
71	Rania	والشعر مشدود الوش : فاهيتا أبلة [....] مشفوط والدهن مفروود مش إنتى : يوسف رانيا تحسدي عماله إنتى بتدرددشي	Fahita: The face lifted, the hair straightened, the fat sucked! [....] Rania: you are not chatting with me, you are envying me.

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
72	Rania	معملتيش إنتي أن :- فاهيتا أبله بتبقي اللي الحلوة البنات زي تعمل تقوم ف تتشهر عايزه فيديو ميوزك في تطلع أو إعلان تتجوز أو ايجيبت مس تخش او عملتي حبييتي يا إنتي [...] منتج (ضحك) الاربعة	Fahita: You haven't followed the path of those beautiful fame-starved girls who become models in commercials and music videos, participate Miss Egypt Beauty Pageant, or get married to a film producer [...] you have done the four things, my darling. (laughter)

## 2.2 Form-driven

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
73	Nawal	أبله فاهيتا : بس يا نوال اصعب مرحلة فى تربية الاولاد مرحلة شعر كثير [...] المراهقة وسجاير وتاخير في الحمام	Fahita: The most difficult phase in bringing up boys, Nawal, is adolescence. [...] Too much hair, cigarettes, and delay in the toilet.
74	Yasmeen	أبله فاهيتا : احنا زي بعض بالظبط . ياسمين :ازاى؟ أبله فاهيتا : إنتى حلوة ... ياسمين : اممم . أبله فاهيتا : وأنا قمر . ياسمين : صح . أبله فاهيتا : إنتى قوية.. وأنا اقوى . ياسمين : صح . أبله فاهيتا : إنتى بتحبي الرياضة وأنا بموت فالرياضيين .	Fahita: We have typical resemblance. Yasmeen: How? Fahita: You are pretty Yasmeen: mmmm Fahita: and I am gorgeous Yasmeen: True Fahita: You are strong and I am stronger Yasmeen: True Fahita: You like athletics and I love the athletes.
75	Zafer	فاهيتا: يا حبيبي، وهي لما بتوحشك يعني بتقول عايز جوان؟ هاتولي جوان؟ نفسي ف جوان؟ ظافر: نفسي في جوان.	Fahita: Oh, darling! And when you miss her you say I want Joan? Get me Joan? I crave Joan? Zafer: I crave Joan!
76	Hend	الدنيا حلوة .امممم:أبله فاهيتا ضحك( مسلسل محتاجة ديه وهيا [...] ) وليمون وسكر ميه ديه محتاجة	Fahita: 'The sweetness of the world'? Does this need a TV series? (laughter) [...] It needs water, suger and lemon.

*Sexual innuendoes*

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
77	Zafer	فاهيتا: دي حاجات مستوردة مينشوفهاش كل يوم. فيلا رجبوا معايا بالمرون جلاسيه اللي كلنا نفسنا فيه " ظافر عابدين "	Fahita: These are exported goods that we don't see everyday. Come on welcome with me the Marrons Glacés we are all craving, Zafer Abdeen.
78	Zafer	فاهيتا: عديت من المطار إزاي؟ إنت المفروض يا حبيبي الجمارك تصادرك ونعملك مزار، مزار قومي. تيجي بقي [...]. (ضحك) الستات تزورك ويحطولك القرابين، ونعمل بيك سياحة عابدينية.	Fahita: How come you passed the Customs at the airport? You should be confiscated by the Customs and made into a national shrine. (laughter) [...] Women would come to visit you and present their offerings. We can initiate Abdenian Tourism.
79	Zafer	بس تقوللي يا فوقة، إحنا فاهيتا: خلاص بعد اللي حصل إمبراح مبقاش بيننا تكليف يا ظافر. ظافر: (ضحك) لا خلاص	Fahita: Call me Fofa (a nick name). After what happened between us yesterday, we have become intimate, Zafer. Zafer: (laughter) You are right.
80	Zafer	فاهيتا: في خمسين مكان ثاني مش لازم كل يوم ن..... علي السرير. ن ايه؟	Fahita: There is another 50 places. We don't have to ... on bed everyday. To what?
81	Zafer	فاهيتا: يبحب اوي لما البننت بتلعلبي في...ي؟ ! ظافر: الموضوع كبير يا أبله... تلعلبي في... شعري	Fahita: I love it when the girl plays with my.....? Zafer: It is getting too far, Miss. ... to play with my mmm hair.
82	Zafer	ظافر: أنا بشرب من بوق الأزازة حبيبي انت تشرب من فاهيتا: يا بوقي لو عاوز	Zafer: I like to drink out of the bottle mouth. Fahita: Oh, Darling. You may drink out of my mouth if you like.
83	Hasan	فاهيتا: أنا عايزه منك خدمة بسيطة خالص	Fahita: I need a small favour from you.

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		حسن: انسي فاهيتا: ليه بس يا سنسن حسن: وائل كافوري لاء فاهيتا: و النبي يا سنسن تظبطني معاه	Hasan: Forget it. Fahita: Why, Sonson? Hasan: Wael Kafoury is off limits. Fahita: Please, Sonson set me up with him.
84	Hasan	فاهيتا: يا ختي فين الشباب اللي بيقتمم الغرف ده ما أنا طول النهار بعمل مساج و سايبه الباب مفتوح علطول و محدش بيقتمم طبعاً كنت صغير أنا [...] حاجة دلوقتي لو دخلت و الله ما اطلعك	Fahita: where are the guys who break entry into rooms? All day long, I am having a massage and I leave the door open and no one enters. [...] Of course, because you were young. If you enter my room now, I swear I will not let you out.
85	Hend	فاهيتا: طيب في مسلسل قضية رأي عام تم اغتصاب الفنانة يسرا، ولا لقاء الخميسى ولا ألفت [...] عمر كنت هموت واشترك في المسلسل دا، بس ماجليش الورق	Fahita: In the TV series 'A Case of Public Opinion', who was raped? Yousra, Leqaa Elkhameesy, or Olfat Omar? [...] I was desperate to participate in this series, but I didn't get the script.
86	Nawal	نوال: (ضحك) إنتى موتى جوزك ازاي؟ أبلة فاهيتا: يوووووه دى قصة حفلات تنكرية [...] طويلة والعباب زوجية واقراص زرقاة وبنية (ضحك)	Nawal: (laughter) how have you killed you husband? Fahita: Oh, it is a long story [...] masquerades, marital toys, and brown and blue bills. (laughter)
87	Nawal	أبلة فاهيتا: عارفه ايه كمان بحبه ان الفشخ [...] في لبنان يا نوال اه... احلي [...] عندكم مش عيب [...] حاجة الفشخة نوال: انت بتحبي الفشخة المصري مش اللبناني	Fahita: do you know, Nawal, what else I love in Lebanon? [...] There, 'forcing legs open' is not taboo. [...] Yes, the best thing is 'forcing legs open'... Nawal: You like the Egyptian not the Lebanese

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
			sense of the word.
88	Yasmeen	أبلة فاهيتا : لاء أحب أنا الماسوس الراجل .	Fahita: No, I like the male masseuse.
89	Fahmy	فاهيتا: اوعى بقا تحكيها عن رحلتنا في بيروت اوعى (ضحك) (فهمني: لا	Fahita: Don't ever tell her about our trip in Beirut! Beware! Fahmy: I wouldn't.
90	Fahmy	فاهيتا: بس بقا مراتك قاعدة أميرة: انتوا عاملين حساب لمراته اصلا	Fahita: Stop it! Your wife is here. Amira: Have you ever taken the presence of his wife into consideration?
91	Fahmy	فاهيتا: جوزك كل صحباتي هيموتوا عليه وعايزين الطلاق ( يحصل النهارده قبل بكره (ضحك) جم قالولي يا أبلة خليها [...] تقفشك معاه	Fahita: All my friends are craving your husband. They want your divorce to take place very soon. (laughter) [...] They told me 'let his wife bust you in the act with him'.
92	Fahmy	فاهيتا: يلا اشكروا معايا اختي وحببيتي واللي زي قربيتي أميرة اللي هتروح ومعاها [...] فراج واشكروا [...] فلفة القمر دا! برديو حبيبي أحمد اللي الدوبلكس مفتوحه وقت الانفصال	Fahita: Thank with me my sister, my beloved, and who is almost my relative, Amira Farag [...] who would go home with this beauty. [...] Thank also my beloved Ahmed for whom the Duplex will be open when he gets a divorce.
93	Malek	قدمت تنازلات؟ أبلة فاهيتا :	Fahita: Have you made any involuntary concessions?
94	Zaher	بقى بيتها يقلى أنا لكن اه : فاهيتا لما غير الانتشار محققش انك الاغراء قدمت ! الاغراء قدمت أبلة يا أنا : أحمد المشهد ... اهو [...] اه اه فاهيتا (ضحك) اهو بس دى الفضايح أبلة يا ليه : أحمد	Fahita: But I think that you have not reached the climax of your career until you taken seduction roles. Ahmed: Me? I have performed in seduction roles?

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		! - الشغل فى اتبسطت شكلك :فاهيتا شكل بس اه[....] عادل مع (ضحك) متبسطش امام عادل الدور حجم عشان يمكن[....] ! شوية صغير أبلة يا عيب أبلة (أحمد: ضحك) .	Fahita: Yes yes. [...] Here is the scene. (laughter). Ahmed: Why these scandles, Miss? Fahita: you have been pleased with your work with Adel [...] but Adel was not pleased. (laughter) [...] Maybe because the size of the role is tiny! (laughter) Ahmed: This is taboo, Miss.
95	Maged	أبلة فاهيتا: جيبنا لكم منتج مصري رحبوا .[....]نجر به مع بعض معايا بالمنتج المصري (ماجد المصري). لا منتج يفرح ، مالصناعة [...] ] المحلية حلوة اهه ، او مال الناس بتشتكي ليه	Fahita: We brought for you an Egyptian product that we will try together [...] Welcome with me the Egyptian product, Maged EIMasry. [...] The product is satisfactory. The local industry is really good so why are people complaining?
96	Maged	أبلة فاهيتا: دا الاحتباس الحراري عند الستات بقا صعب خالص دا النسوان بقيت [...] (ضحك) شرقانة (ضحك)	Fahita: The global warming of women has become very problematic. (laughter) [...] The women have become sex-starved (laughter).
97	Maged	ماجد: بس مش عارف ليه دا بيعيبوا في المنتج المصري ،دا المنتج المصري تمام يعني أبلة فاهيتا: امممم بيقولوا ماجد: هو ايه اللي ..بيكرمش بيكرمش؟! أبلة فاهيتا: آه ،بس بيعيش بيقولوا بيعيش ماجد: هو من ناحية بيعيش ، بيعيش يعني وبيستحمل أبلة فاهيتا: ام وبتغسله كام مرة بقا	Maged: I don't know why they speak ill of Egyptian products. The Egyptian product is perfect. Fahita: They say it shrinks. Maged: What shrinks? Fahita: Yes! But it lives longer. They say it lives longer and endures. Maged: Yes, it lives

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		دا مش [...] فالليوم (ضحك) معقولة النسوان دماغها وسخة خالص (ضحك) الاحتباس الحراري وصل [...] الدوبلكس	longer and and endures. Fahita: How many times do you wash it everyday? (laughter) [...] It is unbelievable. Women are so dirty-minded! (laughter) [...] The global warming has inflicted the Duplex.
98	Maged	ماجد: بسم الله ماشاء الله اتجوزتي كام مرة؟ أبلة فاهيتا: هي مرة يتيمة ماجد: مرة أبلة فاهيتا: اه اه مش دوقته غير مرة [...] ماجد: ودوقتي ايه بقا الفترة اللي فاتت؟ أبلة فاهيتا: دوقت اللبناني والمغربي والهندي بس كان [....] حامي شوية (ضحك) ماجد: اه الهندي اه بيحبيب أبلة فاهيتا: الهندي حراق ماجد: اه حراق	Maged: How many times have you got married? Fahita: Just once. Maged: Only once? Fahita: Yes, yes. I have tasted it only once. [...] Maged: And what have you tasted recently? Fahita: I have tasted the Lebanese, the Morrocan, and the Indian but the Indian was a bit hot (laughter) [...] Maged: Yes, yes the Indian comes! Fahita: The Indian is Hot! Maged: Yes, Hot.
99	Maged	أبلة فاهيتا: طنط كاريمان بتسالك بقا وتقولك كان [...] عنده كام سنة المز لما اول مرة اتعاكس ماجد: من سن المراهقة من اول 16 سنة احنا ف طنطا بنبدأ 10، المراهقة من بدري 12سنة سنين مراهق علطول أبلة فاهيتا: معقولة بلغت عندك عشر سنين (ضحك).	Fahita: Aunt Kareeman [...] She asks you how old was the sexy guy when he was hit on for the first time? Maged: In Adolescence beginning from 16 years old. In Tanta we start the adolescence early. 12- year-old and 10-year-old boys are adolescents. Fahita: Is it possible that you reached puberty when you were 10-year-old?

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
			(laughter)
100	Maged	<p>أبلة فاهيتا يالا بقي السؤال دا علي لسان الصديقة *ن م* اللي هي نرمين محمد عشان مش عايزة بتقولك [...] نقول اسمها (ضحك) لو كنت ممثل كنت تحب تعمل مشهد ساخن مع مين (ضحك) ماجد: هو ايه اللقاء الجنسي اللي أنا فيه دا (ضحك) ...مش فاهم يعني !! أبلة فاهيتا : ارامل بقا</p>	<p>Fahita: This question is from the friend N M, who is Nermeen Mohamed, but she doesn't want to say her name (laughter) [...] She asks you, if you were an actor, which actress would you like to have a sex scene with? (laughter) Maged: What kind of sexual intercourse I am in right now? (laughter)... I don't get it. Fahita: Typical widows.</p>
101	Maged	<p>أبلة فاهيتا : طنط شوشو الله يشفيها مريضة نفسيا وعايشة علي جهاز الكهرا .بتسالك مم الحلو بيجيب كام في الضغط (ضحك) ماجد: ضغط ! أبلة فاهيتا : ممم(ضحك)..بتجيب كام مرة (ضحك) ماجد: احم احم ..والله علي حسب المكان اللي أنا بلعب فيه (ضحك) [...] أبلة فاهيتا : طيب ماتقوم تلعب كدا (ضحك) ..الحلقة دي مش تتذاع</p>	<p>Fahita: Aunt Shosho, may Allah grant her recovery, who suffers from psychological disorders and is self-sustained by an electric device, asks how many push-ups the handsome guy can do? (laughter) (the question can be understood as an enquiry about the time of ejaculations he can have). Maged: Push-ups? Fahita: How many times (do you come)? (laughter) Maged: mmm It depends on the place I am playing in (laughter) [...] Fahita: why don't you play now? (laughter)... This show will be banned.</p>
102	Maged	<p>أبلة فاهيتا : اه غمضوا عنيكوا بقي ماجد مش لازم نفوت الفرصة دي</p>	<p>Fahita: (to the audience) Close your eyes. Maged, we should not waste this</p>

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
		[....] ماجد: واحدة مشبك بقي (ضحك)	opportunity. [...] Maged: Let's have a French kiss! (laughter)
103	Rania	كلام، مش حنيته : يوسف رانيا ...يعني موقف حنيته شوقتي لا هاااح، : فاهيتا أبله اجرب تشوفيه شوقتك لالا : يوسف رانيا كده تقوليش ما عيب تجربيه مش	Rania: His tenderness is not only words, it is actions. Fahita: Oh, you made me eager to try Rania: No, no. I made you eager to see him not to try him. This is taboo, don't say that!

### 2.3 Context-driven

No.	Guest	Example	Translation
104	Zafer	فاهيتا: بيتخانقوا؟ ظافر: (ضحك) أكيد، أكيد، أكيد [...].طبعًا. فاهيتا: ممم ده أحلى خبر سمعته والله [...]. انهارده، بيتخانقوا ها؟ ده دعوات الولايا اللي قاعدة دي كلها آه، لا ربنا ما يهدي سركم.	Fahita: Do you argue? Zafer: (laughter) sure, sure, of course. [...] Fahita: mmm This is the best news I have heard today. They do argue! [...] This is the result of the curses of all the poor women present here. May Allah inflict your marriage with problems.
105	Ahmed Zaher	حبيبي يا بقا ايه قد وبقالك : فاهيتا دا الزوجية قفص في حبسك سنة 16 حوالى بقالنا يعني : أحمد [....] فاهيتا: 16 سنة [...]. بس ماتقلش هما سنتين وتخرج حسن سير وسلوك (ضحك)	Fahita: How long have you been imprisoned within the cage of marriage? Ahmed: About 16 years. [....] Fahita: 16 years? [...] Don't worry it is only two more years and you will be released for good conduct (laughter).
106	Fahmy	فاهيتا: اتمني تكون الفقرة بينت حجم الفجوة اللي بينكوا	Fahita: I wish this section have shed light on the

			size of the gap between you both.
107	Fahmy	فاهيتا: كدا بقالكم كام سنة متجوزين أحمد: 14 سنة فاهيتا: يا خبر ده انسب وقت للطلاق	Fahita: How long have you been married? Ahmed: 14 years. Fahita: Oh, this is the most suitable time for divorce.
108	Nawal	أبلة فاهيتا: حلو أوى ..ندخل بقا فى سيرة وائل براحتنا نوال: ااه الله يولع وائل فى ايه سيبيه ده متجوز وعنده ولدین أبلة فاهيتا:يا اختى نخرّب البيت (ضحك) عادى مجراش حاجة	Fahita: That's nice. Let's gossip about Wael as we like. Nawal: Oh God! Damn Wael. Let him alone! He is married and has two sons. Fahita: It is ok to wreck the house, sis. (laughter)

To entertain viewers, a jocular frame is constructed in *Abla Fahita*. Within this frame, the puppet is treated by the celebrity guests as well as the audience at the Duplex as a real woman. Abla Fahita, however, is not an ordinary woman, she is rather a voluptuous, acid-tongued, sarcastic widow with two kids and great sense of humour. She employs both jocular mockery and jocular abuse to a great extent. Since she is famous for being acid-tongued and very quick to come up with snide comments, jocular abuse whereby she casts the target into an undesirable category or ascribes him/her negative characteristics is quite prominent in her use of the conventionalised formula of insulting.

The habits or personality of the guests have been used as targets of abuse and mockery, including reference to previously established 'likes', 'hates', 'habits', 'travels', 'artistic works', 'regular activities', 'friends', 'and so on. She casts Elham Shaheen as a dictator who derives her pleasure from controlling her siblings' lives (3, 49), and presupposes Rania Yousef's manipulative nature depicting her as a woman who would stop at nothing to achieve her ambition (51, 72). She condescends Zafer's softness in crying while watching an animation film with his daughter (54), and Elham Shaheen's physical appearance implying her resort to Botox and plastic surgery due to her old age (4).

There are also negative references to the guests's spouses (past and present). In the case of the male guests, Fahita would stress her jealousy of the guest's wife and her negative feelings towards her. In the case of

the female guests, on the other hand, she would flirt with the guest's husband. She describes Ahmed Fahmy's (1) and Hasan ElShafee's (64) wives as 'buzzing'. She refers to Ahmed Zaher's wife as being old and non-feminine (19). She expresses her intolerance of Zafer's love of his wife (25) and curses Maged ElMasry's wife (59). Abla Fahita's jocular abuse extends to encompass the guests' friends, other celebrities, women in general, and so on. She negatively refers to Elham Shaheen's friends (21); other programme hostesses including Mona ElShazli (7, 15), Bousi Shalabi (13), Lamees ElHadeedy (17) and hosts including Ahmed Mousa (12); other celebrities including Mohamed Ramadhan (6), Sherine Abdel Wahab (8), Ahlam (9), Hameed ElShaeri (14), Captin Magdy Abdel Ghany (16), Ghada Abdel Razeq (20), Hany Shaker (22); and others generally including a friend of Ahmed Fahmy's wife (10), older fans of Ahmed Malek (11), and Ahmed Zaher's mother (18). Not only does Abla Fahita abuse others with her snide comments but also she praises herself and presents herself as superior to others (74). Abla Fahita also expresses curses and ill wishes for her guests, their spouses, friends, fans, and the audience (57, 58, 65). She frequently uses the curse "بيهدك" (damn you), with all its morphological variations (41, 56, 59, 60, 61).

Within the jocular frame, Abla Fahita employs jocular mockery during most of the show. She establishes intimate relations with the guests, which may appear in using nick names in addressing her male guests (7, 25, 54, 67, 83) and in addressing Elham Shaheen (47) and Ahmed Zaher's wife (36). She also metaphorically invades the guests' private spaces with unpalatable questions about bank accounts, wages and wealth (28, 44, 46, 50); personal activities related to hygiene (29, 53) and beauty maintenance (24, 31); body parts (27, 34, 38, 40, 41), clothes and underwear (30, 33, 35, 39); relationship with spouse, family and friends (10, 32, 48, 49); family members' personality (36); career (47, 51); and sexual appeal, activities and (dis)likes (26, 37, 42, 43, 45, 52, 99, 100, 101).

In addition to Abla Fahita's intensive use of conventionalised formulae as clearly manifested in her insults, unpalatable questions and curses, she also manipulates implicational impoliteness to a great extent. Indeed, a great deal of Abla Fahita's appeal is likely to be ascribed to her implicatures and word play. Implicational impoliteness in *Abla Fahita* are found to be convention-driven, form-driven, and context-driven. Indeed, the majority of examples fall within the category of form-driven impoliteness since Abla Fahita exaggerates in using insinuation and sexual innuendoes.

Convention-driven impoliteness is manifest in Abla Fahita's sarcasm and mock politeness. She offers a positive assessment of Ahmed Zaher's and Zafer's marginal roles in the beginning of their careers (63, 68, 69). This positive assessment is somewhat incongruous with the insignificance of their roles. She also implies a negative view of Elham Shaheen's early films (5) and Hamada Helal's singing voice in the beginning of his career (2). She is not genuine, and her tone indicates the opposite of her utterances in referring to the warm welcome Zafer's wife would receive in Egypt (62). Cleverly, she employs jocular mockery in referring to Nawal's song (65), and Rania Yousef's actions to pursue her ambition (72).

Examples of form-driven implicational impoliteness are abundant. They include 'insinuation', 'innuendo', 'casting aspersions', 'digs', 'snide comments/remarks' (Culpeper 2011a: 156), all of which are quite regular within Abla Fahita's behavioural repertoire. Sexual innuendoes are the trademark of Abla Fahita. Actually, people may enjoy the hidden meaning or sexual content which lies at the core of Fahita's jocular remarks. In fact, academic research has shown that people tend to enjoy jokes involving taboo topics more than non-taboo topics (e.g. Kuhlman, 1985). The guests as well as the audience are quite sure that her jocular remarks might not be entirely innocent. The laughter at Fahita's remarks would point out that people are actually validating and enjoying her sexual innuendoes. Her sexual innuendoes involve references to the sexual appeal and good looks of the celebrity guests and others (26, 40, 41, 67, 77, 78, 91, 92, 95, 97, 99); sexual activities, (dis)likes, potency and relations (37, 39, 42, 45, 73, 80, 81, 86, 87, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 101); cheating (43, 91); women's lust and admiration of handsome and athletic stars (34, 39, 40, 41, 55, 96); and her own sexual desire and admiration of handsome and athletic stars (7, 55, 74, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 92, 98, 102, 103).

There are other instances of form-driven implicational impoliteness in Fahita's use of word play to create humorous effects. For the word "حلاوة", for instance, she implies the sense of meaning that refers to the product used by women for hair removal rather than the sense of 'sweetness' in commenting on Hend Sabry's new TV series (76). Also, in referring to the name of Zafer's British wife 'Joan', she evokes the Egyptian Vernacular homophone which has the meaning of a cigarette stuffed with drugs (75). She plays with the different sense of meaning of the word "فشخ" which simply means 'walking' in the Lebanese dialect and evokes sexual connotations by referring to 'forcing the legs open' in the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (87).

The use of context-driven implicational impoliteness is evident in Fahita's deviation from expectations. She expresses her ill wishes for Yasmien Sabry in her path towards fame (58). She is relieved when informed of Zafer's arguments with his wife (104). She is unexpectedly expressing her ill wish for marital problems and even the divorce of the guests and other celebrities (104, 105, 106, 107, 108).

The fact that Abla Fahita uses implicational impoliteness intensively is something which, in my opinion, makes the show entertaining for the viewers due to the creative ways in which Abla Fahita formulates her jocular mockery and abuse.

'[I]t is a convention about interaction that frankness, rudeness, crudeness, profanity, obscenity, etc., are indices of relaxed, unguarded, spontaneous, i.e. intimate interaction' (Jefferson et al., 1987: 160). Fahita can therefore be seen to be exploiting this convention by mocking her guests. Although ridiculing others is characterised as a basic impoliteness strategy (Bousfield, 2008:114-115; Culpeper, 1996: 358), Abla Fahita's ridicule is somewhat different in quality in that it is interactionally achieved within a jocular frame, and the target of ridicule doesn't take it seriously. This is clear in the guests' responses to the mockery and abuse which may range from accepting the ridicule, and even going along with it (34, 63, 68, 74, 79, 89), to defending oneself (30, 35, 64, 69, 81, 94, 103), to jokingly counter-attacking Abla Fahita (23, 44, 61, 66, 70, 71, 90). Also, the guests' remarks are always interspersed with laughter, thereby expressing 'appreciation' of Abla Fahita's acid-tongued humour.

A number of themes, comprising the content of Abla Fahita's jocular mockery and abuse, as targeted at her guests, have been found in the course of my analysis. There is a number of common themes when talking to male celebrities including their sexual appeal and Fahita's sexual advances towards them. Other themes appear when she hosts female guests including stereotypical female jealousy with Abla Fahita claiming that she is more beautiful and more desirable. Common themes for both male and female guests have been identified as follows: current and past relationships, friends and family, as well as habits and personality.

It should be noted that prosodic cues such as intonation and mimicry, which Culpeper defines as 'caricatured re-presentation' (2011a: 160), also play a significant part in Abla Fahita's success. In addition, facial or gestural cues, such as winks, hugs and kisses, are also quite prominent in the show. However, this falls beyond the scope of my paper.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have combined Culpeper's (2011a) model with notions such as 'jocular mockery' and 'jocular abuse', and also considered the recipients' responses to impoliteness for a comprehensive analysis of impoliteness in *Abla Fahita*. Due to the analysis made in this study, it can be argued that impoliteness, which much arise through deviating from the expected or the socially-accepted, has the potential to provoke laughter and amusement. The humour-impoliteness formula, which is manifest in *Abla Fahita*, is based on the concept of 'tendentious' humour, i.e. we experience pleasure when seeing other people targeted by ridicule or derision and occupying a less favourable position than ourselves. As viewers of *Abla Fahita*, we enjoy a sense of social release as we watch someone else break taboos or social conventions. Indeed, *Abla Fahita* can justly be decribed as 'The Most Impolite Woman on Egyptian Television'.

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