



AN ENUNCIATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE OF INSULT IN CHIMAMANDA ADICHIE'S *PURPLE HIBISCUS*

N'da Adjoua Eve KOUASSI

evenda787@gmail.com

Université Alassane OUATTARA

Doctorate candidate

Abstract: This study aims at analysing the discourse of insult in the novel *Purple Hibiscus* written by Chimamanda N'gozi Adichie. In the novel, the discourse of insult is performed by the father of Kambili, papa Eugene, who does not miss opportunities to demean his whole family by insulting them. The study uses the framework of C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni's (2009) enunciation theory with a descriptive qualitative method to unveil the subjectivity that lies behind the discourse of insult. The description of subjectivity markers used in this discourse demonstrates that the performer of the insult sets a distance between him/her and the person the insult is addressed to conveying to the speaker a meliorative image and identity. As such, the performer appears to be a better individual than the addressee, the person who is insulted. Thus, there is a subjectivity hidden behind the discourse of insult which positions the self over the other.

Key-words: discourse, enunciation, identity, insult, self, subjectivity

Résumé : Cette étude vise à analyser le discours de l'insulte dans le roman *Purple Hibiscus* écrit par Chimamanda N'gozi Adichie. Dans le roman, le discours de l'insulte est tenu par le père de Kambili, papa Eugene, qui ne manque pas d'occasions de rabaisser toute sa famille en l'insultant. L'étude utilise le cadre de la théorie de l'énonciation de C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2009) et la méthode descriptive qualitative pour dévoiler la subjectivité qui se cache derrière le discours de l'insulte. L'analyse des modalités utilisées dans ce discours montre que l'auteur de l'insulte met toujours une distance entre lui et la personne à qui l'insulte est adressée en lui renvoyant une image et une identité mélioratives de lui-même. Ainsi, le locuteur de l'insulte apparaît comme un individu meilleur que l'interlocuteur, la personne insultée. Il y a donc une subjectivité cachée derrière le discours de l'insulte qui positionne le moi au-dessus de l'autre.

Mots clés: discours, énonciation, identité, insulte, moi, subjectivité

Introduction

Discussing the etymology and the primitive meaning of the concept of insult, B. Fracchiolla and L. Rosier (2019, p. 1) mention that insult appears for the first time in the 16th century and comes from the Latin “insultus” meaning a materialised aggression and an assault used in the military domain. However, since then, the meaning of the word has progressed as B. Fracchiolla and L. Rosier (2019, p. 3) define it, insult is “(...) une parole visant à outrager ou constituant un outrage, une injure, une offense, dans le sens actif où l’on insulte quelqu’un”. In truth, insult is an oral or written discourse which consists in using specific linguistic patterns, offensive language, to demean a person or a group of people. According to H. Fowler (1965, p. 124) to demean is “to lower, to debase”. This clarification from H. Fowler implies that the insulted individual is lowered in terms of personality and identity. Generally, the language used to insult is pejorative and aims at mentally hurting the addressee (A. Bucur et al., 2021).

Therefore, insulting depicts an individual who has the firm assurance that when performing the act of insulting, he/she is telling the truth or speaking frankly to the interlocutor. That is what E. Larguèche (2016, p. 105) points out when she says: “Ce n’est pas une insulte, c’est la vérité”. She argues that even if truth is relative¹, people used to defend themselves when they are accused of insulting by saying that they are not insulting but telling the truth. Then, it appears that the locutor of the discourse of insult defines his/her discourse of insult as an objective one, believing that what he/she means is the truth and the reality. This is the case in the novel *Purple Hibiscus* written by Chimamanda Adichie in which papa Eugene, a family father, performs insults towards his whole family including his children, Kambili, Jaja, and his wife Beatrice. Insult is one of papa Eugene’s favourite discourse. For him, insult is one of the best ways to impose his family respect and dignity.

From what precedes, it is clear that the discourse of insult aims to tell the truth and therefore an objective one (B. Ambroise, 2018). However, insult as an utterance, produced by a locutor towards an interlocutor, emanates from enunciation which is, according to E. Benveniste (1974), the individual act of language appropriation. The theories of enunciation pose that the individual act of language use allows the speaker to position the self as a subject

See Chapter 4 of the book Antti Hautamäki “Viewpoint Relativism, A new Approach to Epistemological Relativism based on the Concept of Points of View”. Synthese Library 419. Springer 2020, pp. 75-103

exposing that speaker's intentions and identity. Consequently, the discourse of insult is likely to contain the traces of the speaker and these constitutes the subjectivity of discourse, namely the discourse of insult.

Hence the topic: An Enunciative Analysis of the Discourse of Insult in Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*. Therefore, how is papa Eugene's discourse of insult characterised and perceived in Adichie's *purple hibiscus*? Do they comply with Kerbrat-Orechioni's enunciative theory? What do the markers of insult reveal about the locutor? Using Kerbrat-Orechioni's enunciative theory and a descriptive qualitative method, the answer to these interrogations leads to find out the linguistic patterns used in performing insult, to discover the markers of subjectivity in the discourse of insult and finally, to discuss the compliance of these markers with the locutor's self.

1. Corpus Presentation and Research Methodology

1.1. Corpus Presentation

Purple Hibiscus is a novel written by the Nigerian Chimamanda N'gozie Adichie and published in 2003. The novel depicts a family whose father, papa Eugene, is physically and verbally aggressive. Verbal aggression is perceived through insults directed at his family. In fact, papa Eugene is described in the novel as a catholic Christian who strives to apply meticulously religious principles and expects his family to do so; except he uses violence to force them to do it. Then, papa Eugene appears to be a contradictory character who, despite knowing the commandments of his faith, which forbid all forms of violence, resorts to violence, especially verbal violence, to belittle his family.

1.2. Research Methodology

This paper adopts a qualitative method. A qualitative method is the one which aims at taking out the qualities and characteristics of a given phenomenon. Indeed, the paper aims at discovering how insult is characterised in the novel from an enunciative perspective. The data collected for this study are in forms of utterances highlighting papa Eugene's discourse reported by Kambili for the story is told from Kambili eyes. The data was collected using observation as data collection tool. In the conduct, the data collected will be analysed using Kerbrat-Orechioni's enunciation theory to bring out the markers of insult in papa Eugene's Discourse. After the analysis, the presentation of the results will be the place of the insult discourse's characterization.

2. Markers and Characterisation of the Discourse of Insult in Papa Eugene's Speech

2.1. Markers of the Discourse of Insult

This section aims at analysing the data extracted from the corpus to find out the markers of the discourse of insult in papa Eugene's speech.

2.1.1. Subjectivity and Marker of Self

Enunciative subjectivity is of a great recurrence in Papa Eugene's utterances of insults. This is underscored through the lenses of C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni's enunciative theory. The objective is to discover the different anchorages of subjectivity in papa Eugene's discourse of insult. Deixis are of a great potential to help describe them. C. Orecchioni Kerbrat (2009, p. 36) defines deixis as:

(...) ce sont les unités linguistiques dont le fonctionnement sémantico-référentiel (sélection à l'encodage, interprétation au décodage) implique une prise en considération de certains des éléments constitutifs de la situation de communication, à savoir : le rôle que tiennent dans le procès d'énonciation les actants de l'énoncé, la situation spatio-temporelle du locuteur, et éventuellement de l'allocataire (C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 2009, p. 36)

On the basis of these remarks from Kerbrat-Orecchioni, it is visible that deixis are linguistic items which give a number of information about the place, the time and the referent or the situation of enunciation. There are two types of deixis which are situational and contextual.

Deictics are personal pronouns, demonstratives and temporal adverbs. They are the markers of subjectivity which allow the speaker to specify his/her attachment or detachment towards his utterance depending on the type. The following utterance can help:

(1) I did not need to look at her to know that, but I looked at her, anyway. (C. N. Adichie, p. 46)

This utterance embodies the stamps of subjectivity. It can be seen through the presence of the explicitly first personal pronoun "I". This indicates clearly the authorial power of the subject in the production of the speaker. This subject does not adhere to the dialogically propositional content of the co-speaker according to which 'he needed to look at her to know that; though he looked at her, anyway'. In fact, the speaker has a reason not to agree with the co-speaker's view. One can figure out how he proceeds to defeat it.



The use of “I”, enhanced by the negative formula “not”, subtends the prevalence of the will speaker to brew his own enunciative path. That shows the subjective process within which Papa Eugene’s utterances fall.

The subjectiveness of the utterances can be experienced in the utterance

(2) I stared at him. (C. N. Adichie, p. 46)

The locutor signals his presence in the above enunciative act. That is what E. Bassane (2019, p. 655) develops in these items “classiquement, “Moi” est un “je” qui se désigne, qui essaie de se voir en face. Autrement, le « moi » en quête de sa propre définition dans une espèce de tâtonnement sombre et imprécis » au sens de V. Hugo”. Indeed, the locutor wants to point at himself. His ambition is to assume the responsibility of the semantic burden of what he views in the preceding enunciative act. That is the reason why, Kambili produces the utterance (2) to show herself instead of directing to someone else. She is the one who gazes at the other.

Kambili pinpoints her definition as the self that wants to mark her presence as the owner of the formal apparatus enunciation. It means that she is the responsible of the propositional content of not only the utterances (1) and (2) uttered by Kambili. This self-definition can be seen through the following knead of linguistic units:

(3) I took the mirror, peered at it. (C. N. Adichie, p. 46)

This utterance allows the locutor to tell the handler of the mirror. He said that nobody handles it but “I”. As the marker of the speaker, “I” pictures a self that establishes a relationship with another self through the introduction of the mirror he hands. The first self is the addresser whereas the second is the addressee. The process of the addresser to build a relation with the addressee is a matter of subjectivity. Basically, he could have decided to build that link with him by introducing another object. The selection of the mirror is a personal decision of the Kambili.

2.1.2. From Alter Ego to Subjectivity

The expression of subjectivity is fomented at different levels of the communication flow among Adichie’s characters. The reference of the other suggests much. This utterance can help describe it:

(4) Has the devil asked you all to go on errand for him?” (C. N. Adichie, p. 102)



The presence of the alter ego is a reality in this utterance. Indeed, the use of the personal pronoun “you” is what helps describe the subjectiveness of the discourse of insult of Papa Eugene. “You” indicates the particularity of the thought of the locutor to his respect. The locutor could have referred to another person. Then, pointing at “you” is a process of setting on the agenda the will of the speaker. It implies that the reference of the personal pronoun “you” is a witness of the speaker, whose presence in utterance is got rid of any objectivity.

The subjectivity-oriented the presence of the other can be accounted for by the upcoming coming utterance:

(5) He turned to mama: “You sit there and watch her desecrate the Eucharistic fast, maka nidi” (C. N. Adichie, p. 102)

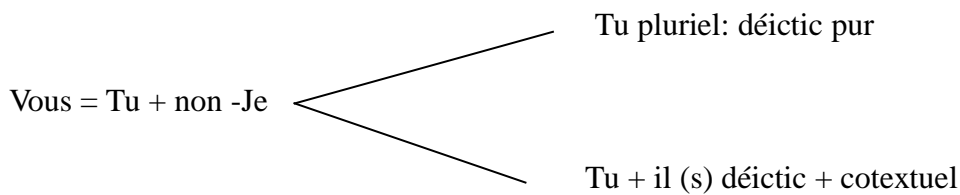
Through this utterance, one can figure out the enunciative theory of Kerbrat-Orecchioni as an implement to decipher subjectivity through a flow of an enunciation. Two enunciative acts are encapsulated in (5). The first speech act is built by “he” as the speaking subject who first say ‘You sit there and watch her desecrate the Eucharistic fast, maka nidi’.

The personal pronoun “he” is different from the “he” in the utterance (5). Basically, he is sheltered under the umbrella as the prior locutor. This dynamic lets appear the volunteer of the implicit “I” hence subjectivity. Of course, it is this implicit “I” who appoints the individual that “you” refers to, be it male or female, white or black. The second enunciation is the act of an “I” who has left not trace in the utterance. This subject is the reporter of “he turned to mama: “You sit there and watch her desecrate the Eucharistic fast, maka nidi”. This subject’s will is effective because of his particular intention for retelling what “he” said. The subject could have reported the words of another being. However, it is the words of the individual “he” refers to that he decided to report. Then, the mindset of the locutor is understandable through not only the representation of the other by “he” and “you”. That testifies how none of the utterances of insults is void of subjectivity. There is a case of subjectivity in the following data: **(6) *Ask that girl to bring it” papa said.* (C. N. Adichie, p. 12).**

In this data, Kambili reports remarks from papa Eugene using direct speech. In this utterance, papa Eugene is talking about Sisi, the family cook and housekeeper. Although she has a name, papa prefers referring to her as “that girl”. In this phrase, papa uses a spatial deictic to refer to Sisi to intentionally give the reader an information about the value of the spatial relation that both of them share. This same spatial deictic is used when he blames mama Beatrice, his wife, for having supported Kambili in boycotting the fast as in **(5) “He**

(papa Eugene) turned to mama: “You sit there and watch her desecrate the Eucharistic fast, maka nidi” (C. N. Adichie, p. 102).

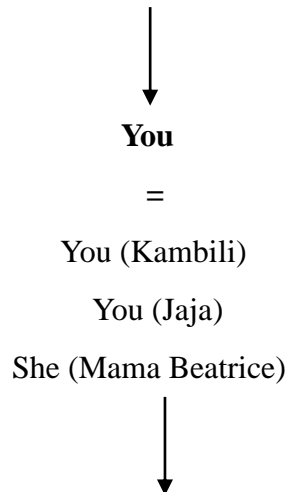
There is also the use of deictic pronouns in papa Eugene’s offensive language. This is catchable in (4) “Has the devil asked you all to go on errand for him?” (C. N. Adichie, p. 102). In this utterance, papa is addressing mama Béatrice, Jaja and Kambili. He uses the deictic pronoun ‘you’ designate these three people excluding himself. This “you” falls under the rule of deictic pronouns given by C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2009, p.40). She provides with a number of formulas about pronouns and their value. The formular concerning the pronoun “you” is:



Vous = tu + tu et/ou tu + Il with its English version : you (plural) = you (singular) + you (singular) and/or you (singular) + he.

The demonstration clearly shows the withdrawal of the “I” pronoun from the “you” pronoun depicting the exclusion of ‘I’ pronoun in this painting. Then, when this rule is applied to (2) knowing that papa Eugene, as the locutor, is talking to Kambili and Jaja before turning to mama Beatrice, the three of them constituting the allocators, it results in the following demonstration:

(4) “Has the devil asked you all to go on errand for him?” (C. N. Adichie, p. 102)



You = You (Kambili) + You (Jaja) + she (Mama Beatrice) – I (Papa Eugene)



You = - papa Eugene

This demonstration shows that papa Eugene excludes himself (the I pronoun) from the ‘you’ he associates with the image of the devil. Then, “you” in (4) is a pronoun deictic used by the locutor, papa Eugene, to subtract himself from the present allocutors who are Kambili, Jaja and mama Beatrice.

2.2. Characterisation of the Discourse of Insult in Papa Eugene’s Speech

2.2.1. Spatial Deictics in the Discourse of Insult

The discourse of insult is characterised by spatial deictics. The usage of spatial deictics by Papa Eugene can effectively marginalize and belittle the individual being referred to. In fact, the phrase “that girl” in (6) *Ask that girl to bring it” papa said. (C. N. Adichie, p. 12)* functions as a feature of insult in papa Eugene’s speech. The use of the spatial deictic “that” can create social distance and convey disrespect. Spatial deictics like “that” operate not only to indicate physical distance but also to reflect social and psychological distances. In this context, “that” implies a form of detachment and objectification. This signals that papa Eugene views the referent (Sisi) as inferior or less significant.

In communication, the choice between “this” and “that” can subtly alter the perceived closeness or relevance of the referent. According to E. Friginal et al., (2017), referring to someone as “that girl” rather than by name or as “this girl” can implicitly demean her. This signals that Sisi is not within papa Eugene’s immediate social or psychological space, thereby diminishing her importance. This usage of spatial deictics seems to be the same as in (5) when papa Eugene’s talks to his wife by using the spatial deictics “there” in (5) **“He turned to mama: “You sit there and watch her desecrate the Eucharistic fast, maka nidi” (C. N. Adichie, p. 102)** though there is no real physical distance between both he and she.

In political discourse, for instance, such deictic expressions can be used strategically to undermine opponents or discredit arguments. By creating a sense of otherness and detachment, the speaker can subtly convey contempt or disrespect. For A. Salama (2022), these linguistic choices in political speech can influence audience perceptions, reinforcing negative connotations about the referent. Furthermore, A. Rosingana (2018) discusses the broader implications of deictic usage in discourse. This emphasises how these seemingly minor linguistic choices contribute to the construction and reinforcement of social hierarchies and power dynamics. The use of “that” in phrases like “that girl” exemplifies how language



can subtly encode and communicate attitudes of disdain. The words of papa Eugene “that girl” employs the spatial deictic “that” to establish social distance and convey a lack of respect. This functions as a subtle marker of insult. Thus, this usage highlights the nuanced role of deixis in shaping interpersonal relations and power structures in communication like insult.

2.2.2. Pronoun Deictics in Insult Discourse

Pronoun deictics can stand as a feature of insult in discourse. Indeed, considering the utterance (4) “**Has the devil asked you all to go on errand for him?**” (C. N. Adichie, p. 102) from papa Eugene, it is visible the deictic pronoun “you” is used in a manner that can be seen as insulting. The deictic “you” directly addresses mama Beatrice, Kambili and Jaja, while the inclusion of “the devil” and the errand implies a strong negative judgment. In enunciation, deictic expressions are context-dependent and their meaning shifts based on the situational context and the relationships between the speakers and listeners. According to S. Levinson (2015), personal pronouns like “you” anchor utterances to the speaker’s perspective. This can be used to direct attention and responsibility to the addressee by making it particularly potent in conveying criticism or insult. P. Brown and S. Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory is also relevant in this context. It suggests that direct address forms, especially in negative contexts, can threaten the listener's face and convey disrespect, thereby insult.

Recent studies build on these ideas by exploring how politeness and impoliteness are negotiated in interaction, showing that pronouns can strategically enhance the perceived rudeness or aggression of a statement. For example, M. Haugh (2015) discusses how direct forms of address amplify the personal attack and make the insult more explicit like “you” when used in conjunction with negative or accusatory statements. This is the case with the use of “you” directed to mama Beatrice in data (5). Similarly, D. Bousfield et al. (2018) examines how deixis and direct address can serve as tools for managing interpersonal relations, often being employed to assert dominance or express disdain. In (4), “you” functions to personally Kambili, Jaja and mama Beatrice in a negative context, thus serving as an insult. The rhetorical question format, combined with the negative connotations of “the devil” and the errand, suggests that their actions are so misguided or malevolent that they must be acting under evil influence. This direct and personal implication intensifies the insult.

3. Discourse of Insult and the Construction of Self

3.1. Locutor's Ethos Enhancement through Deixis in the Discourse of Insult

The act of insulting always depicts two individuals who are the insulter and the insulted one. The individual who insults creates a distance between him or her and the insulted one. The locutor arranges to detach his/her image from the insulted person's image. This contributes to enhance that locutor's ethos. Ethos can be defined as the image that the locutor constructs of himself according to A. Alsafar (2014). It refers to all the discursive strategies used by the locutor to show or to persuade the audience that he/she reflects a good image.

This strategy is used by papa Eugene in uttering abusive remarks towards his family. In fact, in his speech, by associating his interlocutors with a pejorative image; he implicitly shows a meliorative image of himself. By doing so, papa Eugene demonstrates that he has a better self-esteem than the other people receiving his abusive remarks. Then, he cannot associate his image with theirs. That is the reason why, he uses deixis which express distance between him and the other people the abusive remarks are addressed to. This attitude of the locutor reflects the rhetorical and discursive ethos as discussed by R. Amossy (2014) when she supports that at the same time as the locutor shapes his/her image, he/she also designs the interlocutor's image in relationships to his/hers. She terms it as :

[...] l'émetteur (ou locuteur) A se fait une image de lui-même et de son interlocuteur B ; réciproquement B se fait une image de A et de lui-même. C'est dans cette interdépendance que se met en place l'éthos comme image de soi construite dans le discours.

(R. Amossy, 2014, p. 21)

3.2. Identity Affirmation through Negative Axiologisation in Discourse of Insult

The analysis of the data revealed the presence of negative axiology which refers to the value that the locutor assigns to referent. This is visible in the following utterances from papa Eugene.

(7) “These pagan funerals are expensive. (C. N. Adichie, p. 198)/ “See how being with a heathen has changed them, has taught them evil” (C. N. Adichie, p. 192)

In this context, the value assigned to papa Eugene’s use of the adjective “pagan” and the substantive “heathen” to qualify his father funerals is negative. Logically, the antonym of “pagan” is “christian”. This pair of words makes reference to two socially opposed and known groups which are Christians and non-Christians. They work as rival groups in ‘competition’ as for Christians, pagans are not on the salvation way. Then, they consider pagans as out group. Out-group and in-group are two concepts of H. Tajfel and C. Turner’s social identity theory which stipulate that groups strive for a more positive identity through social distinctiveness and refer to their own group positively and to the out group negatively according to E. Richard and J. Plight (1984, p. 371).

The idea developed by social identity theory matches with the attitude of papa Eugene with the use of the substantive with a negative axiology used in reference to an out group which he qualifies as “pagan”. In fact, for him, those who do not attend the catholic church as he does, are considered as belonging to an out group, that is, he does not share the same group as them. Then, in the worries to distinguish himself as much as possible, he comes to use negatively this adjective to refer to those people (members of his family or not) who do not share the Christian faith as he does. It were as if he was claiming his social identity in relationships to his interlocutor’s social identity: they do not belong to the same group. As such, he refers to them with a specific range of vocabulary charged with negative value judgment.

The negative evaluation is intended to confer the locutor, papa Eugene, a superior identity over the people the negative evaluation is addressed to. Actually, on the one side, papa Eugene identifies himself to his social group (Christians) which he views as having a better social identity. On the other side, papa Eugene's parents belong to another social group (pagans) which has a negative like social identity in the understanding of papa Eugene. As such, by associating a negative value with his father's funerals, he affirms his own identity and image which reflects his social group's positive image. By doing so, on the reverse, he denies and debases the personal and social identity of his relatives, stressing the differences between his own image and their image. Thus, this reveals a sort of power relations existing between the insulter and the insulted: a superiority and inferiority relationship. That is what confers identity insult as developed by K. Korostelina (2014) when saying that



Group X can use divergence insults to stress the differences between groups by emphasizing the negative characteristics of an out-group. [...] Thus, when members of an in-group evaluate their own group and other groups in the process of social comparisons, they increase their self-esteem by attributing to the in-group preferred qualities or other forms of superiority. (K. Korostelina 2014, p. 217, 218)

CONCLUSION

The paper has sought to analyse insult in papa Eugene's discourse. Subjectivity lies at the heart of language. At any time when language is used, the speaker arranges to intrude his/her utterance. This is manifested in any occasion of language use even in the performance insult by papa Eugene. Insult is an abusive use of language by a locutor towards an interlocutor. In this context, the discourse of insult is subjective. In the production of insult, the locutor is likely to use markers such as deixis to express his/her exclusion from the interlocutor and adjectives and substantives having negative values. These linguistic items mark the discourse of insult and translate the subjectivity of the person performing the insult.

These markers also correlate with the speaker's self. On the one hand, they contribute to enhance the speaker's image by lowering the interlocutor's image as to insult means to demean, to debase. Basically, the act of insulting appears to be an occasion which allows the self be lifted upon the other. The self-image seems to be valorised over the others. On the other hand, these markers allow the speaker to affirm his/her social identity. This is the place to praise the social group the speaker belongs to and demean the opposite group which the speaker does not share membership with. Globally, the subjective tendencies of the speaker contribute to the realisation of insult.

In the context of healing language, it is visible that this way of using language cannot do anyone any good. On the contrary, this subjective way of using language can hurt people. Of course, when people perform insult, they think and say that they are just telling the truth. However, this way of telling the truth should avoid subjectivity, that is not letting the unconsciousness, meaning the self-filled with emotions and feelings speaks, but allow the conscience guide the speech. In *Purple Hibiscus*, the theme of Christianity is at stake. By the way, papa Eugene is a fervent catholic christian in the novel. As such, Colossians chapter 4 verse 6 falls under this study when it says that "Let your speech always be gracious, seasoned with salt, so that you may know how you ought to answer each person"² (Col. 4v6).

² The Christian Standard Bible Version 2017 by Holman Bible Publisher

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

AMBROISE Bruno, 2018 « Pouvoirs et empêchements de l'insulte », *Langage et critique sociale*, p. 1-15.

AMOSSY Ruth, 2014, « L'ethos et ses Doubles Contemporains. Perspectives Disciplinaires », *Langage et Société*, p.13-30.

BENVENISTE Emile, 1974, *Problèmes de Linguistique Générale 2*, Paris, Gallimard.

BOURMAYAN Anouch, 2020, "Axiological connotation and the semantic-pragmatic distinction", *Lexis*: [http:// journals.openedition.org/lexis/6979](http://journals.openedition.org/lexis/6979); DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/lexis.6979>.

BOUSFIELD Dereck and MCINTYRE Dan, 2018, "Creative Linguistic Impoliteness as aggression in Stanley Kubrick's Full Metal Jacket", *Journal of Literary Semantics*, 47 (1). pp. 43-65.

BUCUR Anna and *al.*, 2021, "An Exploratory Analysis of the Relation Between Offensive Language and Mental Health", *Association for Computational Linguistics*, p. 3600-3606.

FRACCHIOLLA Béatrice and ROSIER Laurence, 2019, « Insulte » <http://publictionnaire.humanum.fr/notice/insulte/>, Consulted on 06/04/20224.

CULPEPER Jonathan, 2011, *Impoliteness: Using Language to Cause Offence*, New York, Cambridge University Press.

FRIGINAL Eric and *al.*, 2017, *Exploring Spoken English Learner Language Using Corpora*, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan.

FOWLER Henry Watson, 1965, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, 2nd éd., Repr. with corrections, Britain, Oxford University Press.

KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI Catherine, 2009, *L'Enonciation de la Subjectivité dans le Langage*, Paris, 4^{ème} édition, Armand Colin.

KOROSTELINA Karina, 2014, "Intergroup Identity Insults: A Social Identity Theory Perspective", *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, p. 214-229.

LARGUECHE Evelyne, 2016, « Ce n'est pas une insulte, c'est la vérité ! » Alors pourquoi donc blesse-t-elle ? », *Les insultes : bilan et perspectives, théorie et actions*, Langages, p. 105-112.



N'GOZI Adichie Chimamanda, 2005, *Purple Hibiscus*, Harper Perennial.

RICHARD Eiser and PLIGT Joop, 1984, "Attitude in a Social Context" *The Social Dimension: The European Developments in Psychology*, New York, Maison des sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press, Henri Tajfel Edition, Vol 2, p. 363-376.

TOH Zorobi Philippe, 2021, *Aspect of Discourse Analysis*, Paris, Harmattan.

LEVINSON Stephane, 1987, *Pragmatics*, New York, Cambridge University Press.

SALAMA Amed, 2022, "Spatial Deictics in Digital Communication: Analysing Insult Mechanisms" *Discourse Studies*, vol. 24, N° 4, pp. 465-482