

Ministry of Higher Education and
Scientific Research
University of Anbar
College of Education for Humanities
Department of English



A Sociolinguistic Study of Taboos in English and Iraqi Arabic

A Thesis

Submitted to the Council of the College of Education
for Humanities University of Anbar In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
In English Language and Linguistics

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1436 A.H

2015 A.D

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

((مَا يَلْفِظُ مِنْ قَوْلٍ إِلَّا لَدَيْهِ رَقِيبٌ عَتِيدٌ))

صدق الله العظيم
سورة ق: ١٨

Whatever phrase he utters, an observer is present.

Qaf: 18

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my parents, especially to the soul of my father who passed away during the preparatory year.

To my sisters and brothers for their help.....

To my children for their patience.....

With Love and Respect

Acknowledgments

I have taken efforts in this thesis. However, it would not have been possible without the kind support and help of many individuals and groups. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to all of them.

First and foremost, all the compliments, praise and thanks to Allah for His mercy and help which enabled me to accomplish this study.

I would like to express my sincerest and deepest thanks to my instructor and supervisor Dr. Zeydan Khalaf Omar for his patience, knowledge, guidance and constant supervision as well as providing necessary sources and information regarding the thesis. Without his help, the thesis would have never seen the light.

My thanks are due to the Head of English Department Dr. Ahmed Hameed Ubeid for his encouragement. Words of thanks and respect go to all staff members of the English Department especially my teachers in the MA program.

Special thanks are due to my father Allah's mercy for his encouragement. A word of thank also goes to my sister's husband Mr. Mohammad Abbass Khalifah for his help. My deepest thank goes to Mr. Mohammad Ramadhan Hashim for providing me with valuable sources.

Thanks and appreciation are also due to all my colleagues for their help and support, especially, Raafat Nazar Muneer and Dhuha Ahmed Hammadi for their help and encouragement during the MA program. The last word of thanks goes to my dear sister Eman Abbass Suleiman for her help and support during the MA program.

Abstract

This study investigates one of the cultural and linguistic phenomena which is found in many societies. This phenomenon is taboo words and uses of offensive language in everyday speech. Taboo is the use of words that cause embarrassment and shameful to the hearer when said. This phenomenon is a form of vulgar and slang variety of language.

Taboo words are part of every culture and language and individuals at certain points in their life encounter taboo words. Sociolinguistics is the field that studies the relation between language and society, between the uses of language and the social structures in which the users of language live, since sociolinguistics studies how culture and society are reflected in language. The role played by social taboos in language behaviour is something that falls within the scope of sociolinguistics. This study investigates the use of taboo words by Iraqi Arabic and English speakers and how taboo words are conditioned by the social context in which they are used and the socio-cultural factors affecting their use. Taboo language refers to words which people may not use without causing offence, because they refer to acts, objects, or relationships which are widely felt to be embarrassing, distasteful, or harmful. Verbal taboos are usually related to sex, the supernatural, excretion, and death, but in some cultures they extend to other aspects of domestic life (such as in-laws, private names, and certain animals). Taboo language is not limited to obscenity, sacred language can also be tabooed. Moreover, it has been shown that social taboos and negative connotation are responsible for what are called 'euphemism' roughly, good or indirect terms for bad or tabooed things. This study aims at conducting a sociolinguistic study of taboo

language in conversations produced by speakers in Iraqi Arabic and English society to examine the differences and similarities in the causes and ways of using taboo language. These words were selected from different conversations in the Iraqi society. While in English society, they were selected from different movies.

This study falls into five chapters: Chapter One is an introduction specifying the nature of the problem, aims of the study, hypotheses, limits, methodology and value of the study. Chapter Two is devoted to the theoretical background concerning sociolinguistics, language and culture. It involves the main topics related to the main subject of taboo such as various definitions of sociolinguistics, language and culture, language variations, mixture of varieties, speech community, language and thought, standard language and components of sociolinguistics. This chapter ends with a cross-cultural communication section focusing on how people in different countries behave, communicate and perceive language. Chapter Three gives perspectives on the offensive language in English and Iraqi Arabic and types of taboos. It gives some previous studies of taboos and gives an idea about the terms politeness and impoliteness as adopted by Brown & Levinson(1978,1987) and Culpeper (1996) in the theory of the face. It shows the main topic in this thesis which is taboo and gives various definitions and euphemisms for different taboo words. This chapter also gives an idea about the two models and their divisions that the researcher adopts in analyzing data. Chapter Four deals with twenty conversations in English society from different movies and twenty conversations and their translations in the Iraqi Arabic society. This chapter presents the analysis of taboo words in those conversations by adopting the two models. Finally, Chapter Five shows Conclusions which contain some similarities and differences between those societies, Recommendations and some suggestions for future research.

Key to Phonetic Symbols in Iraqi Arabic

I-Iraqi Arabic Vowels

/i:/	as in	/ti:n/	Figs
/i /	as in	/kta:b/	Book
/a:/	as in	/msa:fir/	Traveler
/a /	as in	/qarya/	Village
/o:/	as in	/ho:r/	Marsh
/u:/	as in	/sudu:d/	Dams
/u /	as in	/tuffa:ḥa/	Apple
/e:/	as in	/le:l/	Night

II-Iraqi Arabic Consonants

/ʔ/	as in	/wija9/	Pain
/b/	as in	/ba:b/	Door
/p/	as in	/parda/	Curtain
/ĉ/	as in	/ĉibi:r /	Big
/j/	as in	/ijtima9/	Meeting
/d/	as in	/şadir/	Chest
/ḍ/	as in	/ḍarra/	Tom
/ḏ/	as in	/9aḏum/	Bone
/t/	as in	/taḥri:r/	Liberation
/ṭ/	as in	/ṭa:lib/	Student
/f/	as in	/farḥa:n/	Happy
/g/	as in	/galub/	Heart

/x/	as in	/xila:l/	During
/ġ/	as in	/luġa/	Language
/h/	as in	/hawa/	Air
/ħ/	as in	/ħub/	Love
/k/	as in	/kari:m/	Generous
/q/	as in	/qalam/	Pen
/l/	as in	/tawi:l/	Tall
/!/	as in	/wa!!a/	by God
/m/	as in	/huju:m/	Attack
/n/	as in	/na:r/	Fire
/r/	as in	/masraħ/	Theatre
/S/	as in	/sama:ʔ/	Sky
/Ş/	as in	/Şadi:q/	Friend
/Ŝ/	as in	/Ŝamis/	Sun
/Θ/	as in	/Θawra/	Revolution
/w/	as in	/walad/	Boy
/y/	as in	/yo:m/	Day
/z/	as in	/ziya:ra/	Visit
/9/	as in	/jo:9a:n/	Hungry

List of Abbreviations

Abbr.	Meaning
KLSB	Kiss, lick, suck, bite
MP	Model person
MMC	Middle middle class
LMC	Lower middle class
UWC	Upper working class
MWC	Middle working class
LWC	Lower working class

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the use of taboo words as form of offensive language in everyday speech in both English and Iraqi Arabic societies. Taboo refers to "the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behaviour believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment, or shame" Wardhaugh(2010:249). Depending on naturally audio recorded data, the present study tries to give a better insight into the use of taboo among people.

1-1 Problem of the Study

Language is "the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral-auditory arbitrary symbols"(Hall, 1968 as cited in Lyons, 1981:4). Language is the mirror of culture. It reflects people's hopes and feelings. People in Iraqi Arabic and English societies use many utterances and words which are tabooed in language. The use of taboo language adds further complexity to the use of language in general for smooth and sublime communication. The hearer has to find appropriate strategies in order to communicate properly in those societies. Such expressions of taboo work according to the requirements of the discourse. This study investigates the linguistic taboos in English and Iraqi Arabic societies in terms of their relationship with the social context of the speakers using them and the socio-cultural factors leading to use them. The study explores why and how various forms of taboo are used by speakers in Iraqi Arabic and English societies along which some comparisons between Arabic and English language are made.

1-2 Aims of the Study

This study aims at:

- 1-** Conducting a sociolinguistic analysis of taboo language or words in conversations produced by speakers in Iraqi Arabic and English societies to examine the differences and similarities in the causes and ways of using taboo language.
- 2-** Examining and describing the different categories of the linguistic taboos in English and Iraqi Arabic societies and the strategies used by English and Iraqi Arabic speakers to avoid the use of these words, and how these strategies are conditioned by the social and cultural norms of the society.
- 3-** Identifying more social and cultural characteristics and properties of English and Iraqi Arabic societies and their influence in the emergence of new items of linguistic taboo.
- 4-** Identifying the connotations of the linguistic culture of both languages (English and Arabic) through adopting a comparative study of the English and Iraqi Arabic taboos.

1-3 Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that:

- 1-** Taboo expressions are frequent in Arabic and English society, but they may be realized differently, as a result of the different social context and socio-cultural factors of using taboo.
- 2-** Iraqi Arabic and English speakers use different categories of linguistic taboos.
- 3-** Iraqi Arabic and English speakers use various strategies to avoid the use of these words through different types of replacement of taboo words with more suitable words such as using jargon terms, constructions, creating antonyms, euphemism, circumlocution, avoidance language and use of standard Arabic terms.

- 4- There is a relationship between the speaker's educational level and the use of taboo words. Taboos are expected to be used by less educational society than that of the high level society.
- 5- The use of taboo words provides, though negatively, different communicative and interactional functions.

1-4 Limits of the Study

The present study shows that some taboos that have sectarian or obscene connotations due to their high sensitivity will be ruled out of the study. This study will be limited to data produced in the Iraqi society in general and in Fallujah town and suburban areas (rural areas) that are around it in particular and the English society. Twenty conversations from each society will be examined under this study to see why and how taboo words are used and mitigated in different contexts.

1-5 Methodology

1-5-1 Procedures of the Study

The following steps will be conducted to achieve the study aims:

- 1-Taboos will be selected from everyday utterances by speakers in Iraqi and English society.
- 2-The present study will analyze these utterances and their relation with the social context in which they are used, and the socio-cultural factors influencing their use.
- 3-This study adopts the 'politeness' approach which is suggested by Brown and Levinson (1978-1987) as the theoretical framework basis, but in analyzing of linguistic taboo words in Iraqi and English society the researcher adopts two models of analyzing data. The first is Geoffrey Hughs (2006) model and the second is Magnus Ljung (2011) model according to their divisions of taboo words.

4- Discussions of the results of the data analysis are presented.

5-Conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research are presented.

1-5-2 Data Collection

The interaction data for the study are obtained from twenty conversations in each society. The data collected will be analyzed in isolation. This gives a wider and better insight into the use of taboo. This helps to study the relationship between the use of taboo and the speaker's educational level. In the Iraqi society, the data will be audio recorded by using a smart phone. It provides much clear recording than that of the traditional tape recorders. The data in Iraq will also be taken from different Iraqi TV channels. The data of English will be taken from a number of different movies

1-6 Value of the Study

The value of this study comes up from the fact that it will uncover new words and expressions that take place everyday in our society and these words are not standard language and how these words give a sentiment of shame and they are offended to the hearer's sensibilities or his beliefs. This study is valuable for speakers to replace these words (i.e. taboo words) by other words that are more standard and appropriate for language communication. The study is of a value or significance for English language teachers and learners where it helps them to enrich their language competence with socio-cultural values reflected through such type of studies . As a result, learners of English will easily acquire taboo words and their social contexts, and avoid the socio-pragmatic failure in communication.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

2-0 Introduction

It is a recent branch of linguistics. It is related to the aspects about the relation between language and society. It is an interesting field of knowledge because it is related to the data about our language and society. Hudson (1996:1) defines sociolinguistics as "the study of language in relation to society ". This term studies the aspects and data related to language and society. Wardhaugh (2010:1) argues that when we discuss the relationship between language and society and the different roles of language that is performed in society, we should define each of these terms. In this respect, society is "any group of people who are drawn together for a certain purpose or purposes". Hence, language is "what the member of a particular society speaks". It is noticed that language and society are not separated from each other.

As a branch of linguistics, Trudgill(1995:20) affirms that sociolinguistics is concerned with the connection of language as a phenomenon of culture and society. Kuczaj (1982: 41) contends that in the field of sociolinguistics the researchers concerned are from different disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, linguistics and psychology. As being cited in Kuczaj (ibid), Mishler (1978) notes that sociolinguistics is concerned with the "ways in which structural features of a language express or realize dimensions of social relationships". That is, they are interested in the social features of the situation, such as the participants' relationships of status, for example how a speaker varies speech according to the relationships between the participants such as mother - child, teacher- pupil. More elaborately, Kuczaj (ibid: 43) states that sociolinguistics is concerned with "how a speaker knows what is the appropriate speech modification to make in a given situation".

Spolsky (1998:3) agrees with other scholars in giving a definition for this field of linguistics. He defines it as "The field that studies the relation between language and society, between the uses of language and the social structures in which the users of language live". In the same vein, Crystal (2003:S.V. sociolinguistics) defines sociolinguistics as "a branch of linguistics which studies all aspects of the relationship between language and society ". This field studies the items of language such as sounds, words and so on. It studies the social items and its requirements and arrangements. As being cited in Wardhaugh (2010:10-11) Chambers (2002) maintains that "sociolinguistics is the study of the social uses of language and the most productive studies in the four decades of sociolinguistic research have emanated from determining the social evaluation of linguistic variants. These are also the areas which are most susceptible to scientific methods such as hypothesis-formation, logical inference, and statistical testing".

Further, Holmes(1992:16) draws attention to the idea that "the sociolinguist's aim is to move towards a theory which provides a motivated account of the way language is used in a community and of the choices people make when they use language". Wardhaugh (2010:11) holds that we should notice the variable of language and what variation tells us about language and speaker of the language. In addition, Wardhaugh (ibid:16) makes obvious that sociolinguistics is an empirical science that requires a solid database to come from a variety of sources such as, documents, surveys and interviews. However, sociolinguistics tends to study taboos through making a bridge between language and culture.

2.1 Language and Culture

An overview about the most important concepts of the relationship between language and culture seems to be essential to be offered in this section. Kramsch(2005:3) states that when language is used in context of communication, it is bound up with culture in complex ways. According to Harold and Russell (1972:192,194), language and culture are intertwined. Language is an outcome of culture and also language is a vehicle in which the facets of culture are shaped and communicated. Language and culture are connected in dynamic ways. Language is a product of culture; language and culture reinforce each other. Culture starts by giving a viewpoint; language gives this notion oral expression which gives validity and habit response to the point of view (Mayr; 2008:17). In other words, language is embedded socially in culture. It is used in order to express and understand our perceptions about the world. Language has what is called interpersonal function in the society because language enables us to communicate with other people and to express and understand feelings and attitudes. Language also has textual function, how parts of information are foregrounded or backgrounded. Agar(1994:64) adopts the term (language culture) to express the inseparability of language and culture. An important contribution to understanding the dynamics between language and culture was made by the anthropologists and linguists Sapir and Whorf.

In the same vein, Risager (2007:166,169) mentions two concepts about the relationship between language and culture, one of them is that language can be seen closely linked to its culture. The second concept is that language can be seen as a means of communication that has nothing to do with culture. He adds that in order to understand the relationship between language and culture, we should distinguish between three perspectives; a sociological, a psychological and a system –oriented perspective. Lyons (1981:302-303) identifies that the term culture is employed by anthropologists in the social

sciences. He defines culture as "socially acquired knowledge". By the word knowledge, he means two points; it covers both practical and propositional knowledge. He adds that this kind of knowledge includes myth, religious belief, etc.

Wardhaugh (2010:230) emphasizes that "the close relationship between language and culture, maintaining that they were inextricably related so that you could not understand or appreciate the one without a knowledge of the other". He (ibid) argues that the claim that concerns to the relationship between language and culture is that the way in which speakers view the world is determined by the structure of a language.

2.2 Language

Language is the best means of human communication. It is a system of signs and symbols. Speakers can identify themselves and understand each other through their use of language. Speakers can express their ideas and emotions only through the use of language. As being cited by Lyons (1981:3), Sapir (1921) defines language as "a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols". This means that language is a means (i.e. a system of signs) used for expressing ideas and emotions (Lyons ibid: 4-5).

Hall (1968:158) in his essay on language tells us that language is "the institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral- auditory arbitrary symbols". Hall sees that language is a means of communication and interaction among people for understanding each other. It is oral-auditory means between the speaker and the hearer (between the sender as well as the receiver) for using the vocal signals that can identify language utterances (words or phrases). Considering language as a human institution, Hall contends that the language that is used by a particular group of society is a part of that society's culture. It is bound

with culture in complex ways. From the two above definitions, it is concluded that language is a system of symbols designed for the purpose of human communication.

According to Crystal (1992:S.V. language) language could be defined as "the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self expression". Likewise, Richards and Schmidt (2002:S.V.language) define it as "the system of human communication which consists of the structured arrangement of sounds (or their written representation) into larger units, e.g. morphemes, words, sentences, utterances". They also refer to the common usage of language by non-human systems of communication such as the use of language by the bees and the dolphins. The nature of language depends upon the people who involved with various aspects of language. Language constitutes material objects and social practices as meaningful and intelligible.

2.3 Culture

Yule (2006:267) states that the term culture is used "to refer to all ideas and assumptions about the nature of things and people that we learn when we become members of social groups". Or it can be defined as "socially acquired knowledge". The kind of knowledge is like our first language, we initially acquire knowledge of our language without conscious awareness then we develop awareness of our knowledge and culture.

On the other hand, Kramersch (2009:10) holds that culture can be defined as "membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings". Hudson (1996:70, 73)states that culture could be taken in the sense and it is something that everyone has. He adds that culture is one part of our memory. This part is called 'acquired socially'. Culture differs from one person to another, from one society to another. Hudson (ibid:78) gives a definition to culture as "the kind of

knowledge which we learn from other people, either by direct instruction or by watching their behaviour". That is, we learn our culture from people around us and we share it with them. This kind of knowledge is very important for us to communicate and interact with others. Culture is a means of communication among societies which have their own cultures that differ from one another.

As cited in Wardhaugh (2010:229), Hall (1997) points out that two people that belong to the same culture can interpret the world in the same way and can express themselves, their notions and feelings about the world in the same way that can be understood by each other. So, culture relies on its members in interpreting what is happening around them. In this connection, Richards and Schmidt define (2002:S.V.culture) as "the set of practices, codes and values that mark a particular nation or group: the sum of a nation or group's most highly thought of works of literature, art, music, etc". Relationally, Yule (1996:246) argues that many anthropologists treat language as one element among other beliefs within the definition of culture as 'socially acquired knowledge', linguistic variation is tied to the existence of different cultures, different groups not only have different languages, but they have different world views reflected in their languages.

2.4 Language Variations

The language that we use in everyday living is not fixed, but it is varied from one group to another. Some investigators believe that each language is truly a homogeneous entity. Each language has its own systems and rules that differs from other languages. What is possible in one language may be impossible for another language. In any language, there is considerable internal variation. No one speaks the same way all the time. This implies that speakers of a specific language sometimes speak different dialects of that language (Wardhaugh,2010:4-5). Hudson (1996:22) defines a variety of

language as "a set of linguistic items with similar distribution". This definition allows us to name any of the following as varieties of language, English, French, London English, and the English of football commentaries. It could be clear that the notion 'variety' includes examples of what would be called languages, dialects and registers. According to Hudson (ibid), this definition is taken "to treat all the languages of some multilingual speaker, or community, as a single variety, since all the linguistic items concerned have a similar social distribution". Correspondingly, Ferguson (1972:30) defines the term variety as:

anybody of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogeneous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all formal contexts of communication.

2.4.1 Dialectal Variations

Spolsky (1998:122) defines dialect as "a variety of a language used recognizably in a specific region or (a social dialect) by a specific social class". While Akmajian et al. (1997:260) confirm that it is difficult to define what a dialect is, in common usage. The term dialect refers "to a form of a language that is regarded as 'substandard', 'incorrect' or 'corrupt', as opposed to the 'standard', 'correct', or 'pure' form of a language ". People speak the same language, but use different words, or pronunciation of words and grammatical rules according to their geographical areas. According to Fromkin et al. (2007:409), these differences are owing to age, sex, social situation, where and when the language was learned. They add that "different groups of people who speak the same language speak it differently", and that "when there are systematic differences in the way different groups speak a language, we say that each group speaks a dialect of that language".

In this respect, O'Grady et al. (1996:372) expound that it is difficult to determine that two linguistic communities speak different languages or dialects of the same language. This involves the phenomenon of 'mutual intelligibility' which is "mutually intelligible varieties of a language can be understood by speakers of each variety". With reference to this phenomenon, the English of London, the English of Sydney, the English of Edinburgh, the English of Miami can be treated as dialects of the same language. So we conclude that different dialects belong to the same language.

According to Crystal (1992:S.V. dialect) a dialect is "a language variety in which the use of grammar and vocabulary identifies the regional or social background of the user; the systematic study of dialects is known as dialectology or dialect geography". A regional dialect can convey the information about the speaker in a particular geographical area, whereas, a social dialect can convey the information about the speakers in a specific class or social status. Lyons (1996:38) mentions that "dialect geography tends to concentrate on rural areas to avoid the complexities of towns". On the other hand Hudson (1996:41-42) sees that there are two factors that "make a speaker more similar in language to people from the same social group in a different area than to people from a different social group in the same area", firstly, people move from one place to another taking their dialect to that place. Secondly; it is because of social class, sex and age.

The term dialect is used to point out to different shapes of the same language that is used in different geographical areas or may be within the same geographical area, there are differences between the language of social classes (Palmer,1981:64). A dialect is used by a particular group of people such as hunters, fishermen and so on. The language that is used in print differs from the language that is used elsewhere that the former is considered formal, while the later is informal or colloquial.

2.4.2 Register Variations

People speak one way with friends, another with their manager and still another way at their home with their family. These ways are called 'registers or styles'. Everybody has an informal and formal style. In an informal style, we use the rules of contraction, but the syntactic rules of negative and agreement may be altered, questions are often shortened with the subject 'you' and the auxiliary verb deleted for example one can ask (Running the marathon? Or (you running the marathon?). In the formal style we say (Are you running the marathon? (Fromkin et al., 2007:438).

In line with Fromkin et al. (2007), Spolsky (1998:34) defines register as "a variety of language most likely to be used in a specific situation and with particular roles and status involved ". According to Hudson (1996:45), register is commonly used in sociolinguistics to refer to "varieties according to use". He (ibid: 46) adds that "your dialect shows who (or what) you are, whilst your register shows what you are doing". Wardhaugh (2010:48) asserts that register is a complicating factor in any study of language varieties. He defines it as "sets of language items associated with discrete occupational or social groups ". Yule (1996:244-245) maintains that all the social factors are related to variations according to the user of the language. Register can also be stated as variation according to use in a limited situation. For example, consider a religious register such as 'ye shall be blessed by him in times of tribulation '. One of the key features of a register is the use of jargon which can be defined as "technical vocabulary associated with a special activity or group". Jargon helps to connect the persons that they call themselves as 'insiders' and to exclude 'outsiders'. Taboo words can be listed under the term 'Register' since some words can be used with friends for example but not with the manager.

2.5 Mixture of Varieties

Sociolinguistically, there are many cases in which varieties combine with one another. The main cases are the following:

2.5.1 Code- Switching

Hudson (1996:51-52) employs the term code- switching to refer to a case in which "anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to circumstances". This means that speakers choose a language that the other person can understand it. This case is common in community multilingualism where the different languages are used under different circumstances, and the choice between them can be controlled by social rules. This means that one language is used at home and another is used in the wider society (for example, when shopping). In village for example and among friends people speak more informally, while in school, at work and in church or mosque they speak more formally. Sometimes, speakers switch from one language to another in order to avoid taboo words. For example, in Iraqi Arabic a boy who loves a girl and wants to tell her, but he feels shame in saying (احبج) instead it he switches to English phrase (I love you) to avoid embarrassment.

Akmajian et al. (1997:290) proceed to say that code-switching refers to a situation where varieties of language are used according to the situation. This occurs in everyday speech. This view is supported by Fishman (1970, cited in Palmer 1981:65) who affirms that in the case of bilingual society there are two distinct languages that are in use. When the speaker is in conversation, he may switch from one dialect or language to another such as from English to Spanish ...etc. Fromkin et al. (2007:444) add that children also mix like adult because they have lexical gaps. Code-switching reflects the grammar of the two languages and it is not considered bad grammar. Moreover, code-switching occurs in a particular situation and when groups of bilingual people speak the same two languages.

2.5.2 Code -Mixing

In code –switching, language change occurs due to the situation changes, while in code –mixing, Hudson (1996:53) states that "a fluent bilingual talking to another fluent bilingual changes language without any change at all in the situation". Spolsky (1998:49) notices that "immigrants often use many words from their new language in their old language, because many of the people speak to know both languages ". Code- mixing can occur in conversation and can also occur between sentences or within a single sentence (Wardhaugh 2010: 98). As being cited in Wardhaugh (ibid), Gal (1988) states that "code-switching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations". Hudson (1996:53) concludes that the purpose of code –mixing is to symbolize an ambiguous situation and the speakers balance the two languages.

2.5.3 Borrowing

Borrowing means mixing the systems of languages, a word borrowed from one language will become part of the other language. Borrowings or loan words include words or items for foods, plants, institutions, and so on. For example, the contrast between 'get' and 'obtain'. The word 'obtain' was borrowed from Latin, whereas the word 'get' was borrowed from (old Norse) and the contrast between them as informal and formal (Hudson; 1996:55-56).

Spolsky (1998:121) defines borrowing as "the integration of a word from one language into another". Elaborately, Fromkin et al. (2007:474) expound that the words that are borrowed from other languages are an important source of new words or items. Borrowing occurs when one language borrows a word from another language to its own lexicon. Fromkin et al. (ibid) argue that "a language may borrow a word directly or indirectly". A direct borrowing means that the borrowed word is a native word in the language from which it is borrowed, e.g. 'feast' was borrowed directly from French and can be

returned to Latin 'Festum', while the item 'algebra' was borrowed from Spanish, which had borrowed it from Arabic. So 'algebra' was indirectly borrowed from Arabic. According to (Aliakbari and Raeesi, 2015:101) some borrowed Arabic words are used widely in Iranian society. The terms (ehtelam oe jenaba) are used to refer to men's semen flowing out when sleeping.

2.5.4 Pidgins

Spolsky (1998:124) defines the word pidgin as "a variety of language that is not a native language of anyone, but is learned in contact situations". Hudson (1996:60) says that pidgin is a trade language. The members of the community want to communicate with other members for the purpose of trading. The language of some communities may be used by the other communities as a language for trade, for example, English and French are used in many parts of Africa as trade languages. According to Akmajian et al. (1997:279-280) a common language must be served as a medium of communication between people who are native speakers of other languages. Moreover, pidgin is derived from the English word 'business' which is pronounced in Chinese pidgin English.

As a particular type of language, Wardhaugh (2010:57) defines pidgin as "a language with no native speakers: it is no one's first language but is a contact language". It means that pidgin is the product of a multilingual situation. Trudgill (1995:157) explains that a pidgin language is a lingua franca which has no native speakers and "it is derived from a 'normal' language through simplification, reduction and interference or admixture, often considerable, from the native language or languages of those who use it".

2.5.5 Creoles

Hudson (1996:63) defines Creole as "a language which has acquired native speakers", whereas the process by which a pidgin can turn into a Creole is called "Creolisation". Creole has great interest than pidgin and Creole language is spoken by the descendants of African slaves. Akmajian et al. (1997:282) hold that children may learn it as their first language under specific circumstances, a pidgin starts to acquire native speakers who use it as their primary language, this is called a Creole language. Wardhaugh defined a Creole as "a pidgin that has become the first language of a new generation of speakers" (2010:59).

Aitchison (1994:3177) states that "Creoles arise when pidgins become mother tongues". Wardhaugh (2010: 59) adds that Creole is a normal language which has no simple relationship to the standard language. Trudgill (1995:160) elucidates that Creole languages are simpler than their source languages. They are more regular but less redundant. The process of transforming pidgin into Creole is known as Creolisation which is defined by Trudgill (2002:67) as "a process which a pidgin language has undergone during the course of pidginisation".

2.5.6 Diglossia

Spolsky (1998:63) defines diglossia as "two distinct varieties of the same language are used, side by side, for two different sets of functions". This term is essentially modelled on the word bilingual. Lyons (1981:284) expounds that the term diglossia is used in many bilingual communities and the members of these communities use one dialect for formal use and the other for informal.

Hudson (1996:49-50) elaborates that diglossia is used in bilingual societies where there are two distinct varieties of same language; one is used on formal occasions while the other is used under normal circumstances or

informal occasions. These two varieties are called 'standard' and 'vernacular' or 'high' and 'low', for example, in an Arabic-speaking diglossic community, the language used at home is 'vernacular' while at university, in a mosque or among educated people the language that is used is 'standard'. Yule (1996:246) states that this term is used to describe a situation where two very different varieties of language co-exist in a speech community. There is a 'high' variety for formal uses and a 'low' variety for informal uses. A form of diglossia exists in most Arabic-speaking countries where the high variety is used in lectures, religious speech and formal political talk, while the low variety is used in everyday speech and it is a local dialect.

Finally Ferguson 1972 (cited in Hudson,1996:49-50) gives a definition of this term:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

2.5.7 Isoglosses

The term isoglosses has its own origin in Greek 'iso' means 'same' and 'gloss' means 'tongue' (Hudson,1996:38). Each language is spoken in different varieties. We should know how many varieties and how we can classify each variety. The boundaries that are drawn for each area is called 'isogloss'. We can distinguish many varieties of the same language such as British, American, Australian, and other varieties of English from one another as different dialects for the same language (Wardhaugh,2010:43).

Wardhaugh (ibid:138) adds that dialect geographers want to reproduce their findings on maps in what they name 'dialect atlases'. They want to show the boundaries of a particular linguistic feature by drawing a line on a map. This line is named as 'isogloss'. Hudson (1996:39) gives his conclusion about this term by saying that "isoglosses need not delimit varieties, except in the trivial sense where varieties each consists of just one item".

Fromkin et al. (2007:414) give a clear idea about this term by saying that "a line drawn on the map to separate the areas is called an isogloss ". When someone crosses an isogloss, it means that he is passing from one area of dialect to another. Many isoglosses may coincide with others such as at political boundary or at natural barrier such as a mountain. These groups are called a bundle of isoglosses.

2.6 Speech Community

Speech community is a widely used as a sociolinguistic term whereby many scholars are interested to write about and they give different definitions for it (Hudson, 1996:24). One of those scholars is Bloomfield who wrote a chapter on speech community in his book. Those scholars show their disagreement about what language a speech community is, but the simplest definition for this term is given by Lyons (1970) as being cited in Hudson (ibid), "speech community: all the people who use a given language (or dialect)". But a complex definition is given by Hockett (1958) as being cited in Hudson (ibid), "each language defines speech community: the whole set of people who communicate with each other, either directly or indirectly, via the common language".

Richards and Schmidt (2002:S.V. speech community) define speech community in their dictionary as "a group of people who form a community, e.g. a village, a region, a nation and who have at least one speech variety in common". Spolsky (1998:24) gives another definition for this term. He says

that speech community is a group of people who speak a single language such as English or French. The members of a speech community share notions and norms of their community. Furthermore, O'Grady et al. (1996:540) confirm that speech community can be small such as a town or village or it can be large such as a nation. They add that the most important features of a speech community are that its members share the same language as well as the norms that are appropriate for the use of this language in social context.

Crystal, in his dictionary of linguistics and phonetics (1992: S.V. speech community), defines speech community as "a regionally or socially definable human group, identified by the use of a shared spoken language or language variety. It can vary in size from a tiny cluster of speakers to whole nations or supranational groups (such as the Russian-using speech community in Asia ". It seems that all scholars give a close definition for the term of speech community that a group of people speak the same language and share the same norms and notions. Kramsch (2009:131) agrees with other linguists by saying that speech community is "a social group that shares knowledge of one linguistic code and also knowledge of its patterns of use ". There is another definition in which the emphasis put to share attitudes and knowledge. This definition is made by Labov (1972:120):

The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

2.7 Language and Thought

We may think about how language can be related to thought. As we know language is often defined as the best means of human communication but thought can be defined by Hudson (1996:72) as "a mental activity". Fromkin et al. (2007:25-26) postulate that language would influence the way people think about the world around them and how they perceive it. There are many claims about the nature of the relationship between language and thought, one of them is related to the linguist Sapir and his student Whorf. This claim is called the Sapir –Whorf hypothesis. This hypothesis has two forms which are linguistic determinism which is called the strongest form and the linguistic relativism which is the weaker form of the hypothesis. In the first form, the language that we speak determines how we think about our world. The second form indicates that the speakers of different languages think in different ways about their world. Kramsch (2009:11) states that the structure of the language that everyone uses would influence the way that one thinks about the world around him. Relationally, Palmer (1981:44) sees that the difficulty in the relationship of the world to the language depends on the way in which we can see the world that depends on the language that we use. Learning about our world and learning about our language cannot be separated because our language determines our world.

Hymes (1974:18) states that differences in language interact with differences in world view. Lyons(1981:304) states that language and thought are interdependent. The Sapir- Whorf Hypothesis combines the linguistic relativity and the linguistic determinism (language determines thought). They say that we are "at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for {our} society".

2.8 Standard Language

A standard language is the language that is used by the educated people at the universities in various forms of literature, in educational and scientific documents, in law courts and so forth. Standard language is the opposite of non-standard or vernacular language that is used in everyday speech. Standard language is the correct form or the pure form of language. Akmajian et al. (1997:267) state that standard language is a form of politics and it is the language that is used in the schools as a media for education. Trudgill (1995:5-6) defines standard language as follows:

Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations. The difference between standard and nonstandard, it should be noted, has nothing in principle to do with differences between formal and colloquial language, or with concepts such as 'bad language' standard English has colloquial as well as formal variants, and standard English speakers swear as much as others.

Hudson (1996:32) states that "standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society". He calls this intervention as 'standardisation'. The process of standardisation involves many factors which are (ibid: 33):

1-Selection: A particular variety must be selected as developed into a standard language. This choice is a matter of social and political importance.

2-Codification: Some academy must write dictionaries and books of grammar to fix the variety. So it becomes necessary for ambitious citizen to learn the correct forms and to let incorrect forms that exist in their native variety.

3-Elaboration of function: To use the selected variety in the central government and with writing such as in parliament.

4-Acceptance: This variety has to be accepted by the relevant population such as the variety of the community.

Kramsch (2009:74-75) defines standard language as "artificially conventionalized linguistic code, fashioned from a multiplicity of dialects spoken within a national community, and imposed as the national code". He adds that standard language is the language that can be taught as national educational systems such as in the ancient Greek times, anyone who did not speak Greek was called a 'barbarian'. So that the term barbarism "denotes any use of language that offends contemporary standards of correctness or purity".

2.9 Components of Sociolinguistics

Coulmas(1997 : 2) states that micro - sociolinguistics studies the way that people are affected by social structure and how varieties of language correlate with the social patterns such as, sex, class and age. These micro-sociolinguistic components involve:

2.9.1 Sex or (Gender)

The word sex is used in the biological field, whereas the word gender is preferred to be used as a technical term in linguistics. Spolsky (1998: 12, 36, 37,123) holds that gender is preferred to use as a technical term in linguistics. He (ibid) argues that gender is a grammatical class and a term for socially marked sexual variation and that the differences between the way that male and female speak are restricted to grammatical features, for example differences in morphology between male and female in different languages. These differences cause many problems to speakers of language such as English, where grammatical gender is marked by pronouns. From the historical point of view, these differences have arisen from customs which encourage marriage outside the community. For example, if a man from village A marries and brings home a woman from village B, then the speech

of a woman in village A is marked by different features of the village B dialect. He adds that there is a popular norm that women talk more than men, but many such as internet discussion groups show the opposite to be true. O'Grady et al. (1996:449,552) agree with Coulmas in that the word gender refers to social distinction between men and women, whereas the word sex refers to the differences in speech between men and women that these differences are biological rather than social. They mention that one of the differences between man and woman's language is that woman is more frequent than man in the use of polite terms such as in the request woman says 'please open the window !' instead of 'open the window!'

Hudson(1996:102) gives many examples about the differences between males and females in language. One of them is the English distinction between the two words (Mrs. and Miss).It is more important for woman to use the word (Miss) to differentiate whether she is married or not, but not important for man to use the word (Mr.) because the married and unmarried men use this word.

Wardhaugh(2010:336)refers to the phonological differences between the man and woman in their speech which can be noted in a variety of language. In Gros Ventre, an American language of the Northeast United States, women have palatalized velar stop such as 'Kjatsa' (bread), whereas men have palatalized dental stop such as 'djatsa' for (bread). Fromkin et al (2007:27) observe that there are many languages that classify nouns as masculine or feminine for example, in Spanish 'key' is la llave (feminine) and 'bridge' is el puente (masculine). Trudgill (1995:64) says that men and women do not speak different languages, but they speak varieties of the same language. These differences of language are in lexical item only. Hudson (1996:142)gives examples about the differences between male and female behaviour. One of them is that females put more effort than males in order to make conversation go on by giving supportive feedback such as yeah, mhm.

2.9.2 Social Class

Another component of sociolinguistics is the class. Spolsky (1998:39) names it as social class as it is associated with different classes in a society. Yet, Labov(cited in *ibid*) in his study concerning New Yorkers, talks about 'social stratification'; which is "the study of class distinction in speech, as a major topic in sociolinguistics". Labov notices in New York that speakers sometimes pronounce /r/ after a vowel and sometimes do not. It is a notion of free variation which refers to "the choice of variant was uncontrolled and without significance".

Wardhaugh (2010:150) sees that the social class in the 1950s in England is different from today. As being cited in Wardhaugh (*ibid*:151 –152) Trudgill (1974) mentions five social classes which are: middle middle class (MMC), Lower middle class (LMC),upper working class(UWC), middle working class (MWC) and lower working class (LWC). Trudgill makes a study in order to relate linguistic behaviour to social class. He met ten speakers from each of five classes in Norwich in addition to ten school-age children from two schools. These sixty persons were classified on six factors; each is scored on a six-point scale (0-5): occupation, education, income, type of housing, locality and father's occupation. In a later study, he concludes that, his lower working class uses certain linguistic features (e.g. he go). The members of middle class use (he goes).He concludes that "there is a difference in linguistic behaviour between those at the top and bottom of Trudgill's 30-point scale".

2.9.3 Age

The third component of sociolinguistics is age-grading phenomenon which is associated with the idea that "young children speak differently from older children and, in turn, children speak differently from mature adults,

studies which show that the varieties of language that speakers use reflect such matters as their regional, social, or ethnic origin and possibly even their gender "(Wardhaugh 2010:10). He illustrates that the language that is used by younger speakers is different from that used by older ones (ibid: 201). As being cited in Wardhaugh (2010:200-201) Chambers (2003) reports that children in southern Ontario (and Toronto) call the final letter from the alphabet 'zee' for a long time, but then they change this pronunciation into 'zed' by the time, "they reach adulthood and this declining use of 'zee' as people grow older repeats itself in succeeding generations". Eckert (1997:153) in this respect writes:

Community studies of variation frequently show that increasing age correlates with increasing conservatism in speech. With just the evidence from apparent time, it is ambiguous whether the language patterns of the community are changing over the years or whether the speakers are becoming more conservative with age –or both. Without evidence in real time, there is no way of establishing whether or not age stratified patterns of variation actually reflect change in progress.

If we want to know that language is changed along then we should survey the language of younger people and then survey their language when become in twenty or thirty years, when they become in the middle age in order to see whether they have the same language.

2.10 Cross-cultural communication

It is an academic field of study and research. It deals with how people, how different countries behave, communicate and perceive languages. Spolsky (1998:57) states that language is considered one of the most important ways of identifying a person as language is involved in the process of socialization. The language that is used by a specific social group, determines the social identity for that group. It constitutes and organizes thoughts for people and establishes social relations. While the idea of Hudson(1996:9) is that each language contains words in order to express the concepts that related to the culture of that language.

Spolsky (1998:75) adds that people can perceive another language that they do not speak it through trading or tourism such as 'Swahili in Africa' or when one country occupies another country and this will make the occupied country learn and speak the language of that country, such as the occupation of France to Algeria. According to Fromkin et al (2007:342) when someone moves or travels to a new country which is not his/her native country, he/she will acquire the language of that country and the main concepts of its culture and how the members of that country live, behave and speak.

Chapter Three

Taboo As a form of Offensive Language in English and Iraqi Arabic Society

3.1 Offensive Language and Types of Taboo

Offensive language is the language that is considered to be impolite which is used by some persons to insult another's own face. As being cited in Ljung (2011:24) Montagu (1967) states that offensive language has different names and this term is an act of impoliteness. He (ibid) states that there are alternative names for offensive language such as, 'swearing' which involves "expressing the feeling of aggressiveness that follows upon frustration in words possessing strong emotional associations".

Another form is 'cursing' which involves "the calling down of evil upon its object". While 'profanity' is "the form of swearing in which the names of attributes of the figures of objects of religious veneration are uttered". Profanity is an offensive language which is also called bad language, strong language, coarse language, and foul language, lewd language, cursing language, cussing or using expletives. Profanity shows the intense of emotion and takes the form of words or verbal expressions, but can include gestures (such as flipping the middle finger) or other social behaviours (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/profanity).

On the other hand, Montagu(2001:102) divided taboo into the following types: profanity, obscenity, vulgarity, insult, and name-calling / prejudices. For profanity, he states that profane is "the abuse of anything sacred". This means that profanity refers to items which are not belonging to religion. Profanity refers either to a word or expression that shows disrespect of someone or something(ibid). While obscenity as Montagu

defines it as "a form of swearing that makes use of indecent words and phrases"(ibid: 105). 'Blasphemy' is "the act of vilifying or ridiculing the figures of objects of religious veneration ". While 'vulgarity' "is a form of swearing that makes use of crude words such as 'bloody' ". Montagu (ibid) states that this word means not polite and it is considered a language of the street which is employed to devalue the individual or thing that is described.

For the term insult, as being cited in (Babou, 2014:112), Jay (1996) states that this type of taboo exists in different forms across cultures and languages. It is considered offensive because it expresses the opposite of one's value especially when it is intentional. He(ibid) adds that "such words are spoken with intent to harm, demean, or denigrate the listener". The last term is name-calling /prejudices; children use words of this type such as 'stupid', 'idiot', ... etc. to address their friends. Parents also find themselves using those words to address their children or others(ibid: 113).Crystal, (1987:60) notes that:

The subject matter ranges from subtle forms of intellectual sarcasm and humor to the crudest possible attacks on a person's courage...At one level, attacks may be subtle and indirect, involving allusion and figurative speech; at another, there may be explicit taunts, boast, name-calling, and jokes at the other's expense .

While for prejudice, Brown (1995:8) defines it as "the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behavior towards members of a group on account of their membership of that group". Finally, we have the term of 'euphemistic swearing' which is "a form of

swearing in which mild, vague or corrupted expressions are substituted for the original strong ones" (Ljung:ibid) .

MCenery (2006:2) adds that swearing is considered an example of bad language, yet blasphemous, homophobic, racist and sexist language can also cause offence in our world. Offensive language can be viewed as being associated with different factors such as age, sex, education and social class. Swearing is very common now and this behaviour is considered socially unacceptable, and nowadays, this behaviour becomes the norm for many people. Ljung (2011:31) argues that the technical meaning for the term swearing is "an utterance intended to invoke a supernatural power to inflict harm or punishment on someone or something". In general, cursing expresses a wish on the side of the speaker. Curses contain a subjunctive verb such as 'The devil takes you' or a modal auxiliary such as 'May the devil take you'. There are examples of curses such as (Damn you! Fuck you! sod the consequences!). As he (ibid) mentions that the main function of cursing is to call down evil on somebody. While in the Iraqi society the terms /Allah ya!9a'anak/ 'God damn you', /allahy-axeḏak / 'God take you' are used when the speaker feels angry towards the hearer about something and wants him to go to hell or be dead.

Ljung (ibid: 97) speaks about the two oldest forms of swearing which are, oaths and curses. He defines oaths as "a solemn promise often invoking a divine witness, regarding one's future action or behaviour". He (ibid) talks about formal oaths by saying that formal oaths are used in formal occasions such as giving evidence in Anglo-Saxon courts of law especially in telling the truth by uttering the words "I swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God".

Ljung (ibid:30-31) states that the main function of oath was to swear by something or somebody else such as, by God, by Almighty God. He

also(ibid :100) adds another function of oath as to call on a higher being to support the speaker's claim to be telling the truth such as constructions that are made up of the preposition 'by' followed by the name of a higher being such as ' by God ', ' by Christ ', etc. While the members of Iraqi society in general use terms of oath such as /walqura'an alkeri:m/ 'by the Holy Qura'an' , /wallah l9ađi:m/ 'by the great God' when they want to swear and to ensure some truths or when they swear at laws in telling the truth about something. They use these terms to support the speaker's claim that he is telling the truth and these terms are used in formal occasions. On the other hand, some people use the term of swear /wda9tak/ 'by you' and this term is considered informal and always used among close friends for joking. In Islamic sharya'a, swearing by anything except Allah is not acceptable and considered taboo.

The use of taboo words in Iraqi Arabic can be seen clearly among drivers who do not notice the rules of traffic and use the wrong direction in their driving and all these behaviours will lead to quarrels. Those drivers use many words of cursing and dirty words or words related to animals such as /xarah/ 'shit', /na9al/ 'shoe' /θo:r/ 'ox' ,/zma:l/ 'donkey', /t̪ili/ 'lamb'/ ,etc. in addition to the use of words that are related to sexual organs and activity. People of the Iraqi society widely use the exaggeration when using taboo words. For example, one says /makel t̪an xara/ 'I have eaten ton of shit' or /makel t̪an teben/ 'I have eaten ton of hay'. When someone says such expressions, he uses the word ' ton ' to describe how he is in a miserable situation. Other words are /an9al salfa salfa:k/ ' damn your ancestor's ancestor ' or /an9al waled walde:k/ 'damn your fathers' parents'.

Ljung (ibid:114) mentions three types of swearing which are, Ritual insults, Name-calling and Unfriendly suggestions. He states that these types of swearing can express the feelings of the speaker towards the

addressee at the moment of speech. On the other hand, he argues that the curses "are verbal realizations of the speaker's wish that something evil should befall the addressee in the future and often contain invocations of heavenly or infernal powers".

Ritual insults contain formulaic expressions that are connected to the 'mother theme'. The ritual insults are widely used among black Americans. There is the use of the mother theme which is less offensive among American children and adolescents in the form of taunts like your mother is so fat / ugly / dumb /stupid / (that) she ... or you Momma is like a /an ... (ibid:120).In Arabic, children also use such terms and the ritual insults that are used will be related to the use of the mother theme such as /ibn aldubba/ 'the son of fat mother' or /ummak simi:na/ 'your mother is fat' these terms are used when someone wants to offend and to speak about another person. He begins to speak about his mother in order to offend him. Another term is /msalua9a/ 'weak' used to describe someone who is very weak .While the term /ibn lizmaala/ 'son of donkey' is used when the father speaks with his son about something and the son disobeys his father so the father shows disrespect for the son's mother and calls him such that and the term /ibn aljaħaŝ/ 'son of donkey' is also widely used among adults and children. According to Hughes (2006: xv):

Swearing is a perennial source of fascination for those interested in language and society, continuously provoking controversy and raising topical issues. An extraordinary range of style and content has evolved in oaths, profanity, foul language, and ethnic slurs over the centuries, on a scale from the most sacred utterances to the most taboo.

He (ibid) mentions two types of formal swearing which are "a ritual of social compliance and obligation : in marriage, in court, for high office, and as allegiance to the state" and the informal type which "constitutes a transgression of social codes ranging from the merely impolite to the criminal".

As being cited in Ljung (2011:123) Samarin (1969) states that there are languages that use ritual insults based on the form of physical descriptions such as 'you have a wide -mouth', 'your mouth is as flabby as the arse of an elephant ', and ' you have a big nose '. These forms of insults are used in a language that is spoken in the central African Republic and this language is called 'Gbeya'. There are other languages that use expressions referring to death which seem like ritual insults such as 'your dead relatives'. One of these languages is the dialect that is spoken in north- western California (ibid). While in Arabic there are ritual insults which are based on physical descriptions such as /um ḥaleg/ 'having a big mouth' this term is used to describe that this woman has a big mouth,/abu xaŜim/ 'having a big nose' used to describe a person who has a big nose. Another term is /abu kareŜ/ 'having a big belly', this term is used to describe that the person has a big belly that is not beautiful. While the term /abu Ōruma/ 'having no tooth' is widely used among children when someone's tooth fell down. While the terms /wajh elċaleb/ 'dog's face' and /wajh elna9al/ 'shoe's face' are used when someone wants to curse somebody and describe him that his face is like a dog or shoe. The previous terms are used when someone wants to insult another one. He describes and criticizes him with his parts of physical appearance.

Calling names is another type of insult which is similar to ritual insults. This kind is the most commonly used by the Iraqi Arabic speakers. It includes using a genitive construction, such as the following words plus a word which is considered as obscene and disliked by the addressee to refer to males and females. These words are :/abu 'father', or 'owner' ,ax 'brother', uxt 'sister', ibn 'son' / ,as in the following examples /aburugbah/ 'the one who has a long neck ' ,/abu nuxrah/ 'father of mucus' or /um nuxrah/ 'mother of mucus' (the one who has a dangling mucus from his/her nose) Muarich & Omar (2013 :9).

Ljung (ibid:124-125) argues that name –calling is a kind of insulting illocutionary act. This type is similar to the ritual insults, both of them are related with the taboo themes and addressed to people who brought the speaker's dislike. This type is more varied and it is considered as a strong contender for the distinction for being a universal linguistic category. All languages need 'evaluative nouns' for expressing the speaker's opinion about other people. The evaluative nouns are denotative terms that are used to categorize different kinds of people such as carpenter, architect, etc. There are two kinds of evaluative nouns : firstly, nouns which express the speaker's positive feelings concerning others; secondly, those conveying his /her negative attitudes which are called 'epithets'. The epithets can be classified into types. The first is 'expletive' while the second, is 'non-expletive'. The first category includes taboo words such as (arsehole, bastard, wanker) while the second includes non –taboo words such as (fool, idiot, wimp). For the first category, people of the Iraqi society use the terms /ibn alḥara:m/ ,/naḡal/ 'illegal son'. These terms are used when someone feels angry with another one and calls him that he is an illegal son, but actually, he does not mean to call him that, but it is a moment of anger. Anger is the most important reason for uttering such taboo words, because when someone feels angry, he will

utter such words, but when he is relaxed he does not utter them. The term /naḡal/ is sometimes used when someone did certain work that another person could not accept it. While for the second category, there are examples such as /aθwal/. This term is used, for example when the mother wants her son to bring her something and he forgets to bring it so she calls him so. Other examples are /kdi:Ŝ/ 'donkey' , /ḡabi/ 'stupid' , /izma:l/ 'donkey' and /θo:r/ 'ox'. These terms are commonly used by the parents when their kids disobey and break the rules which they want to follow or when parents are teaching their children. We can see these words of the two categories in the following tree diagram (Ljung,2011:125) :

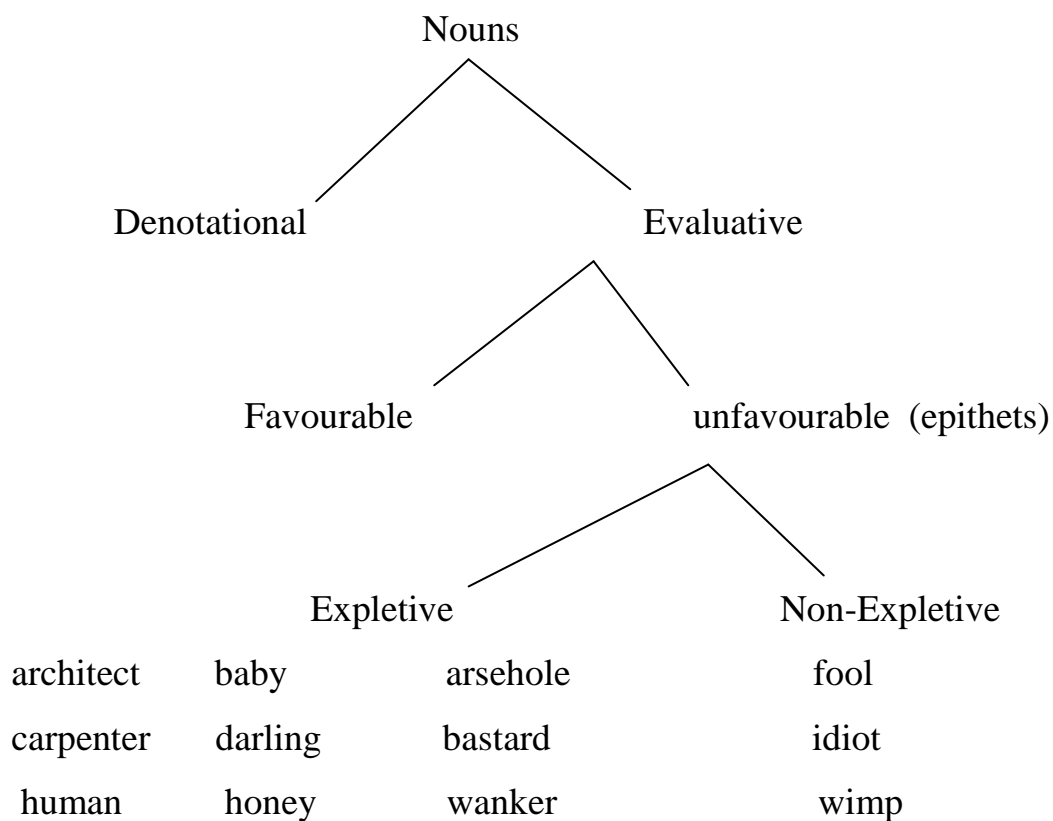


Fig. 3.1 Classification of Evaluative nouns

As regards the term unfriendly suggestions, Ljung (2011:137) states that "the number of potential unfriendly suggestions is in principle

almost infinite, but in actual fact only a limited number of the possible combinations are used". If the number of unfriendly suggestions was large so the addressees are unable to keep track of them and would be uncertain whether they insult or not. The unfriendly suggestions are used to express the aggression directed at somebody in a dialogue in order to indicate the reaction of the speaker to what is said.

Ljung (ibid) indicates that the unfriendly suggestions are better served by an analysis in terms of specific demeaning acts to the addressee suggestions that start with one of the verbs (kiss, lick ,suck and bite) which have been brought together under the collective label 'KLSB'. The unfriendly suggestions are not real suggestions, but their literal meaning may encourage the interpretation of them in order to make them real. Ljung (ibid:32) indicates that " the literal meaning ranges from the religious Go to hell ! to demeaning suggestions like kiss my ass /cock ! and various more or less impossible or at least implausible sexual acts ". While in Iraqi Arabic, these suggestions include such these terms, /ukil tibin/ 'eat hay', /ukil xarah/ 'eat shit/ ,/ukil tamur/ 'eat dates' etc. These expressions give the meaning of (shut up).

Allan & Burridge (2006:79) state that the aim of insulting is " to wound the addressee or bring a third party into disrepute, or both". Insults debase the physical appearance of person, his /her mental ability, character, behaviour and so on. For example, too small, too tall, too fat, too thin, or physical defects such as, short-sight, big nose, squint, sagging breasts, small dick. These insult words are regarded as dysphemistic. There are also insults of people by calling them with names of animals such as calling someone as bat, cat, fox, bitch, dog, monkey, etc.

In Iraqi society, people use the term /bu:ma/ 'owl' when they speak about someone especially, a woman who does not bring anything good. In Baghdadi society, the term /dangu:zya/ 'crafty' is used when speaking

about a woman who speaks with two faces and who is very cunning. While in Mosul, people use the term /bela:f/ 'cheating' while in another place like the area of 'Khan Dary' ,they use the term /hala:t/ 'a person who lies'. While the terms /qaffa:s/ , /negari/ 'a thief' are recently used among Iraqis.

3. 2 Cross –Cultural Studies of Taboo

It is convenient to admit that taboos have received a lot of attention in sociolinguistic research. Every speech community seems to be conversant with a set of social rules and values peculiar to the verbal and/or nonverbal action that requires the use of taboos. Taboos show culture specific features which lead to variation in their performance in cross-cultural situations. The following studies are examples:

- 1-**The study of Hongxu et al (1990) on the analysis of linguistic taboos in Chinese. They discussed how these words are created and viewed as a socio-cultural phenomenon related with the customs of society. They saw that taboos fall under two categories: the first is macrolinguistic which includes the words that can be seen by all speakers in a speech community to be dirty and shameful such as sex and death. While the second category is microlinguistic taboos which includes certain words that can be perceived as taboos in relation to a specific context. They (ibid:66) form a skeleton which includes a 'macrocontext' which is social factors and 'microcontext' which contains situational factors such as register and interlocutors.
- 2-**The study of Alkhatib(1995) on the linguistic taboos in Jordanian Arabic tries to describe how linguistic taboo words are created and the possible strategies that can be used in order to avoid using such words.

- He found that socio-cultural factors can determine how to use taboo words and found the alternative euphemism of these words.
- 3-The study of Mbaya(2002) in which he described a custom in Oromo culture (Ethiopia) which includes avoiding mentioning the names of the persons who are relatives by marriage. This study analyzed the expressions and taboo words and described the strategies that can be used for finding alternatives for these words.
 - 4-The study of Mout (2004) was on the pragmatic knowledge about the acquisition of English taboo language between L1 and L2. He focused on the realization of speech acts such as apologies, expressions of gratitude and complaints and how the learners of first language L1 and second language L2 can realize these acts. Mout also sheds light on the means of acquiring knowledge about taboo words by L2 learners and their functions. He (2004:1) states that a learner of English who hopes to communicate effectively in using taboo language must acquire not only the lexical items of taboo, but also the pragmatic knowledge and how to use and interpret these items according to specific contexts and to understand the ways in which other speakers will deduce and respond to their use.
 - 5-The study of Selfried (2006) on the linguistic taboo in the American society in which he tries to make basic simplifications in this study. He said that verbal taboos include a specific number of categories such as sex and bodily functions which are spread all over many cultures. Selfried made comparisons between verbal taboos of the past and the recent verbal taboos in different cultures. He states that some recent events in the media such as Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky made Americans more free than they were in their using taboo words.
 - 6-Qanbar's (2011) study attempts to discover the taboo words that are commonly used in the Yemeni society by creating a contextual

framework about the categories and subcategories of these expressions. The words and the new categories are found to emphasize the specificity of the Yemeni cultural identity. She also tries to discover the reasons for using these words in this society and discusses the socio-cultural factors that affect using these words. This study also tries to investigate the linguistic strategies needed in order to avoid using such words in the Yemeni society. These words are considered part of the social norms and constraints.

- 7- Ahmed's study (2013) investigates the linguistic taboos in the Pashtoon society in terms of their relationship with the social context in which they are used. He mentions the main socio-cultural factors that affect their use. In his paper, he states the main categories and subcategories in Pashtoon society. In addition, he mentions the strategies are used to avoid using such words.
- 8-The study of Ghounane (2014) sheds light on what she calls (dark side) of Algerian culture in relation to language use. In this paper, she gives a general description of Algerian culture, its social norms, and taboos. This study provides an overview of taboo words and euphemistic expressions that are used by Algerian people in general and Tlemcen speakers in particular in relation to the society's attitudes, beliefs and motivations.

3.3 The Concept of Politeness

Politeness is a cultural phenomenon. It shows that one has good manners and behaviours towards other people. Eelen (2001:2) mentions that Lakoff is known as the mother of modern politeness theory. As being cited in Eelen (ibid) Lakoff (1990) defines politeness as "[...]a system of interpersonal relations designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the

potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange".

Politeness is not a natural phenomenon, but it is an important aspect in the process of human communication. Politeness is something acquired through the process of interaction in the society (Reiter, 2000:2). While Thomas (1995:158) interprets politeness as a strategy which is employed by a speaker in order to achieve different types of goals and aims such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations.

Lakoff(1977)as cited in Schauer (2009:10-11) concentrates on linguistic politeness. She makes a link between politeness and Grice's cooperative principle in order to demonstrate why speakers do not always conform to maxims such as clarity. Lakoff proposes three rules based on Grice's cooperative principle in order to cover the use of politeness. These rules are:

- 1-Formality: do not impose/ keep aloof.
- 2-Hesitancy: allow the addressee his options/ give options.
- 3-Equality or camaraderie: act as though you and the addressee were equal/ make him feel good/ show sympathy (ibid).

Politeness theory is first adopted by Brown and Levinson. Their names become fixed and synonymous with the word 'politeness' itself. Moreover, one researcher says that "it is impossible to talk about it without referring to' Brown & Levinson's theory"(as being cited in Eelen, 2001:3,Orecchioni 1997). Brown and Levinson constructed a model person (MP) and the central ideas in their theory are 'rationality'and'face'. By rationality Brown and Levinson mean that the (MP) uses a particular mode of reasoning to choose means that satisfy his/ her ends (Eelen,2001:3).While 'face' is defined By Brown and Levinson (1987:61)as the "public self image that every member wants to claim for himself ". According to Eelen (2001:3- 4) face

consists of two opposing 'wants', negative face of "the want that one's actions be unimpeded by others" and positive face or "the want that one's wants be desirable to (at least some) others". On the other hand, Goffman(1967:5) views face as in the following lines:

The positive social value of a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes albeit an image that others may share as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself.

The linguistic taboo in English and Iraqi Arabic adopts the impoliteness theory adopted by Culpeper(1996) as a theoretical basis. The concept of face is seen as the central idea of Brown& Levinson's theory of politeness. Speakers develop language as a means to reach their aims. For the needs of positive face, rational members of the society try to avoid and free themselves from the bad and dirty matters that may damage their positive face and persist to keep themselves in polite and respect shape. Those members try to avoid impoliteness theory which is defined by Culpeper (1996:360) as "the opposite of politeness". Culpeper et. al. (2003:84) state that the impoliteness means the use of the strategies that are designed as a means to attack or break the hearer's face and make social conflict and disharmony.

3.4 The Concept of impoliteness

The concept of impoliteness is an attitude which is activated by some kinds of behaviours according to a particular context (Culpeper, 2011:42). Impoliteness is regarded as a new and interesting field which

complements the studies of politeness (Mills, 2005:122). The behaviour or intention of participants can determine the utterance or expression to be polite or impolite. In other words, Culpeper et al (2003 :84) state that impoliteness is the use of different strategies which are designed for the purpose of attacking the hearer's face and also cause disharmony and social conflict. Actually, impoliteness is a reflection of people's behaviour and an attack to face. There are certain speech acts that are performed by the speaker such as lamenting, insulting, imposing, etc. Impoliteness styles can be activated by certain types of behaviours according to specific contexts. The Iraqi society is an Islamic society that is influenced by the norms and teachings of Islam that take place instead of the offended words. According to impoliteness theory; we will try to discover the phenomenon of the linguistic taboo in English and Iraqi society.

Eelen (2001:45) argues that politeness & impoliteness are considered two faces or two sides for one coin. One side is positive (politeness) and the other side is negative (impoliteness). Mills (2003:124) argues that impoliteness is not the opposite of politeness, and she also adds that people can deal with impoliteness by using the same analytical concepts which are relevant to the analysis of politeness. Moreover, the term impoliteness can be expressed directly and indirectly. In English, indirectness is considered polite whereas directness is considered impolite. These two terms depend on the cultures and societies. They differ from one culture to another and from one society to another.

Culpeper (2011:63) discusses the term 'rudeness' & 'impoliteness'. He says that rudeness is used to refer to cases where the offence is unintentionally caused. In his other book, Culpeper (1996:351) argues that impoliteness is "a type of aggression and the courtroom is a legitimate form of verbal aggression in that prosecutors are licensed to aggravate a witness's face". Moreover, he (ibid :86) regards aggression as

a part of impoliteness because anger represents a form of aggression, so that anger is considered as part of impoliteness. There is an aim of impoliteness in which Culpeper (ibid:360) argues that the aim of impoliteness is to damage a person's identity and his own face.

Hyden (1995:55-56) is concerned with the theories of social work and mentions two varieties of aggression: verbal aggression and physical violence. The first variety refers to the verbal act which intends to hurt or threaten the other. While physical violence refers to an act which can cause physical harm to the other. Culpeper (2005:355) depends on Brown & Levinson's model of politeness and reformulates his model of impoliteness as "The parasite of politeness ". In his other book, Culpeper (2011:25) states that impoliteness has an important role in certain discourse such as army training, interactions between car –drivers and traffic wardens, exploitative TV and literary drama. Culpeper (ibid: 23) concentrates on the important role of context as a central idea in the process of interpretation of the utterances as inherently polite or impolite. The above author (ibid) gives his recent definition for the term impoliteness by saying:

Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in a specific context. It is sustained by expectations, desires and /or beliefs about social organization including in particular how one person's or group's identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviors are viewed how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and /or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviours always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one presumed that is they cause or are presumed to cause offence. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be including for example whether one understands a behaviour be strongly intentional or not.

He (ibid:24) states that the term impoliteness appears in the social interaction and he mentions a list of English synonyms for this term, such as bad manners, boldness, boorishness, dishonor, disrespect, rudeness, irreverence, discourteousness and hardihood. Culpeper (ibid) mentions two reasons for choosing the term impoliteness rather than others. These reasons are: (1) this term provides a clear counterpoint to the field of politeness studies and (2) it has no currency in the English language.

3.5 Culpeper's Model of Impoliteness

Culpeper (1996) adopts Brown & Levinson's model of politeness. He (ibid: 349) argues that impoliteness is the use of utterances that attack one's interlocutor and can cause disharmony. In other words, Culpeper (ibid: 354) states that impoliteness can occur in a situation where there is an imbalance in the power of social structure. The above author(ibid)argues that:

A powerful participant has more freedom to be impolite because he /she can (a) reduce the ability of the less powerful participant to retaliate with impoliteness e.g. through the denial of speaking rights and (b) threaten more severe retaliation should the less powerful participant be impolite.

According to his view, Culpeper (ibid:355) mentions that impoliteness can appear and be used more between close friends than between the strangers. He shows that impoliteness could be seen as more complex in equal relationship than in unequal because one of the most characteristics of the concept of impoliteness in equal relations is its tendency to increase and one verbal attack can lead to a counterattack and sometimes lead to physical attack although mocking started as harmless. While in unequal relationships, impoliteness depends on the power of the

participants because the participant can use his power of impoliteness to reduce the ability of other participants in order to retaliate and to threaten with retaliation if he or she acts impolitely. For instance, in a company, the relationship between the manager and the employee is unequal and the manager has the ability to be very impolite and try to make the employee lose his or her control in front of the officers.

While, Lachenicht (1980:607) contends that the use of 'aggravating language' is an attempt to harm or damage the hearer. 'Hurt' according to Lachenicht (ibid) can be achieved by (a)conveying that the speaker is not liked and does not belong which is called (positive aggravation), (b) Interfering with the hearer's freedom of action which is called (negative aggravation).

3.6 Strategies of Impoliteness

Culpeper (1996:356) mentions and discusses the strategies of impoliteness which are the following:

1-Bald on Record Impoliteness

According to the model of Culpeper (1996-2003), this strategy can be seen as being deployed where there is much face at the stake and where there is an intention on the side of the speaker in order to attack the face of the hearer and / or where the speaker does not have the power to utter an impolite utterance. The utterances are spread in a direct, clear and unambiguous way in a situation where face is not irrelevant or minimized (Culpeper,2005:41).This strategy can be distinguished from Brown & Levinson's bald on record strategy in which a politeness strategy in fairly specific circumstances, when the threat to the hearer's face is very small(e.g. 'stop talking' , 'come in' or' Do sit down'). In these examples the speaker does not have the intention to attack the hearer's face but to

support it. Culpeper gives an example by which the speaker intends to damage the hearer's face (shut up yourself you stupid cow) .

2-Positive Impoliteness

This strategy employs the use of strategies that are designed to damage the hearer's positive face wants. Culpeper (2005:42) gives a list of examples for this strategy, some of them are:

- Ignore, snub the other –fail to acknowledge the other's presence.
- Exclude the other from an activity.
- Disassociate from the other –for example, deny association or common ground with other, avoid sitting together.
- Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic.
- Use inappropriate identity markers – for example, use titles and surname when a close relationship pertains, or a nickname when a distant relationship pertains.
- Use obscure or secretive language for example, mystify the other with jargon or use a code known to others in the group, but not the target.
- Seek disagreement –select a sensitive topic.
- Make the other feel uncomfortable – e.g. do not avoid silence, joke or use small talks.
- Use taboo words –swear or use abusive or profane language .
- Call the other names –use derogatory nominations.

3- Negative Impoliteness

It involves the strategies that are designed to damage the hearer's negative face wants. Culpeper (1996:357) gives a list of examples about these strategies which are:

- Frighten –instill a belief that action detrimental to the other will occur .
- Condescend, scorn or ridicule – emphasize your relative power .Be contemptuous. Do not treat the other seriously . Belittle the other (e.g. use diminutives).
- Invade the other's space – literally (e.g. position yourself closer to the other than the relationship permits) or metaphorically (e.g. ask for or speak about information which is too intimate given the relationship) .
- Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect –personalize, use the pronouns 'I' and 'You' .
- Put the other's indebtedness on record.
- Hinder or block the other physically or linguistically.

4-Sarcasm or Mock Politeness

The face threatening acts are performed with the use of politeness strategies that are clearly insincere. According to Culpeper (2005:41), sarcasm is mock politeness for social disharmony and it is the opposite of banter which means mock impoliteness for social harmony. It means that the utterances sound polite but their meaning is the opposite. Leech (1983:144) argues that banter reflects intimacy and lack of politeness can be associated with intimacy and being impolite can promote intimacy. He (ibid) refers to mock impoliteness within his banter principle and he argues that "In order to show solidarity with h, say something which is (i) obviously untrue, and (ii) obviously impolite to h " [and this will give rise to an interpretation such that]" what s says is impolite to h and is clearly untrue. Therefore, what s really means is polite to h and true".

5-Withhold Politeness

Culpeper (1996:357) states that impoliteness can be realized as "[...] the absence of politeness work where it would be expected ". He gives an example (2005:44) that "failing to thank someone for a present may be taken as deliberate impoliteness ". While Brown & Levinson (1987:5) appear to agree with the face – threatening aspects and implications surrounding the withholding of politeness when they argue that "[...] politeness has to be communicated, and the absence of communicated politeness may, *ceteris paribus*, be taken as the absence of a polite attitude". In this strategy, the speaker does not perform a politeness act where the hearer would expect. Being silent is withholding politeness.

3.7 Taboo and Euphemism

One of the vital topics in the study of sociolinguistics is taboo. Taboo words are part of any language culture and the members of a society. Every person uses a taboo word at a specific situation in his life for one reason or another. When we were children, we acquired most taboo words and innocently repeated these words in front of our parents. Fromkin et al. (2007: 443) affirm that the origin of the word Taboo 'is from 'Tongan' a polynesiaon language and "it refers to acts that are forbidden or to be avoided. When an act is taboo, reference to this act may also become taboo". O'Grady et al(1996:554) mention that the origin of the word taboo is from Tongan language and they define Taboo as a word which "refers to a prohibition on the use of, mention of, or association with particular objects, actions, or persons". These forbidden acts reflect the customs and norms of a particular society. Some words are considered taboo in certain situations and not in others. Steiner (1967:143) considers Taboo as "any prohibitions which carry no penalties beyond the anxiety and embarrassment arising from a breach of strongly

entrenched custom ". Freud (1950:21) states that the meaning of taboo diverges in two contrary directions. It means on one side 'sacred', 'consecrated' and on the other side 'uncanny', 'dangerous', 'unclean' . As being cited in Freud (ibid:22), Wundt (1906) describes taboo as "the oldest human unwritten code of laws". Taboo is related to the social customs and religious beliefs. Wardhaugh (2010 :249) explains that taboo is related to the language and language expresses cultural meanings. Language is a tool that is used to avoid speaking about specific things that if we speak about them, we feel a shamed. He defines Taboo as "the prohibition or avoidance in any society of behaviour believed to be harmful to its members in that it would cause them anxiety, embarrassment, or shame". The subject of Taboo includes: sex, death, excretion, bodily function, religious matters and politics. Steiner (1956:20-21) states that:

Taboo is concerned (1) with all the social mechanisms of obedience which have ritual significance;(2) with specific and restrictive behaviour in dangerous situations. One might say that taboo deals with the sociology of danger itself, for it is also concerned (3) with the protection of individuals who are in danger, and(4) with the protection of society from those endangered –and therefore dangerous –persons.

Fromkin et al. (2007: 444-5) clarify that many words that are related to sex organs and natural bodily functions take a large set of taboo words in many cultures. The words or vocabularies that are used by the speakers of the upper classes are superior to those they are used by the lower classes. For example, in English there are words that are borrowed from Latin sound 'scientific' seem to be technical and ' clean ' , but the native Anglo-Saxon counterparts are considered taboo, such as these pairs of words :

Table 1 : Anglo-Saxon and Latinate Words

Adapted from Fromkin et al..(2007:445)

Anglo-Saxon Taboo words	Latinate Acceptable words
Female sexual organ	Female sexual organ
Male sexual organ	Male sexual organ
Male sexual organ	Male sexual organ
Tits	mammary gland
Shit	Faeces

Taboo words motivate the idea of 'Euphemism' which is the avoidance of the use of taboo words or the use of words or phrases that replace taboo words in order to avoid unacceptable subjects. Akmajian et al. (1997:289) define Taboo words as "those that are to be avoided entirely, or at least avoided in 'mixed company' or 'polite company' ". They mention examples such as swear words like 'Damn !or shit !' .The second word can be heard in 'Polite companies', men and women use these two words, but they feel that the second word is inappropriate in 'Polite contexts' . The solution for this problem is that certain euphemisms substitute for many taboo words, for example we can use words such as 'darn' as a euphemism for ' damn' , 'heck' for hell, gee or jeez for 'Jesus ' and so forth.

Crystal (2003 :S.V. taboo) avoids using the word taboo, but he substitutes it for the term 'avoidance language' and defines it as:

A term used to characterize language which permits communication between a person and others with whom there is a social taboo; sometimes loosely called mother – in –law language or taboo languages. The concept relates chiefly to Australian

Aboriginal languages, where there may be strict taboos between certain relatives, such as a man and his wife's mother and maternal uncles. In Dyrbal, for example, the everyday language is known as Guwal, and the avoidance language as Dyalnguy, which would be used whenever a taboo relative was within earshot .

Eschholz et al. (1978:231-232) talk about verbal taboo. They say that there are in every language certain unacceptable words that should not be used in polite speech. They mention that in English, the most common taboo words concern "excretion and sex". Powder room or "rest room" or "toilet" is used for this facility. Another side is the words that are used for death. Many people, instead of saying "died", they use expressions like "passed away", "went to his reward", "departed", and "went west". Words are also used for anatomical or sexual matters such as in American culture, in the nineteenth century, ladies were so much careful to say "leg" or "breast" and "chicken", so they used the substituted terms which were "white meat" or "dark meat". In the rural area of America there are many substituted words or euphemisms for the use of the word "bull", these terms are 'he-cow', 'cow-critter', 'male-cow' and 'gentleman-cow'. Pyles (1971:358-359) states that ladies and gentlemen during Victorian age avoided using the word 'leg', but they use the word 'limb' as a euphemism for it. The word 'Toilet', a French word of 'toile', in the earliest English meant a piece of cloth and can be used as a cloth that cover a dressing table, then it is used as a table.

Swan(1980:550) maintains that in different languages there are words which are considered dangerous, magical, holy and shocking. These words are used in specific situations and by specific people for example, in most African tribes the words about death must not be said and words concerned with religious beliefs must be used only on

religious occasions. These words can be named as 'taboo words'. He (ibid) mentions that English has three major groups of these words which are :

- A. Words concerned with the Christian religion (e.g. /names of Christ, God) most people consider these words holy, and they prefer to use them only in formal contexts. (ibid)
- B. Words related to sexual activity and the parts of body. Most people consider them as shocking. Many years ago, these words could not be printed, but they are comparatively unusual in public speech and these words are avoided in formal language or it can be replaced by other words (e.g. make love or have sexual intercourse) (ibid).
- C. There are certain words that refer "to the elimination of bodily wastes". These words are used to express strong emotions or feelings of people. This can be achieved by using strong language. These words are called 'swearing ', for instance, when people swear, the words of taboo change their meaning such as, 'fuck off' and 'piss off'. These words are considered rude ways for saying 'go away'. In Iraqi Arabic, there is the use of the terms /welli/, /ingeŞer/, /ingal9/ to express the meaning of 'off you go'.

Swan (ibid:550) warns students from using taboo words for two reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to know the strength of these words in a foreign language and what the circumstances and what sort of people are shocked by these words. Secondly, using this type of language indicates membership of a group. One swears in the existence of people who belong to one's own social group (e.g. children avoid swearing in front of adults in order not to shock them). Taboo can be regarded as a type of slang language which Spolsky (1998:36) considers as "slang regularly transgresses other social norms, making free use of taboo expressions". He (ibid:35) defines slang as "a kind of jargon marked by its rejection of

formal rules". Slang is considered as a highly colloquial. According to Throne in his dictionary of contemporary slang (2005:v), the Oxford English Dictionary considered slang as 'low and disrepute'. While Halliday used the term 'anti-language' to describe slang in his study of the speech of criminals. Many linguists say that Code-switching or Code-mixing and dialects are the result of using different forms of slang. The language of slang is considered as 'vernacular' so that taboo language is regarded as a slang language.

Swan (ibid) mentions the most common taboo words used in English with explanation of their literal meanings. These words are shown by stars in order to show their 'strength'. The words that are used with religion are not considered shocking when they are used with their literal meaning. These words will be divided into: religion, parts of the body, sexual activity and lavatory. The following tables will show the meaning of taboo words. They are adopted from Swan (1980: 550 ff).

Table 2: Religious Words (Adopted from Swan,1980 :550)

Taboo word	Meaning
Damn*	Condemn to hell(rare in literal sense; mainly used as swearword)
Blast *	Strike with divine punishment (rare in literal sense ; mainly used as swearword)

Table 3: Sexual Activity /adapted from (Swan,1980:550)

Taboo word	Meaning
Fuck ***	Have sex (with)
Certain Sexual activity***	
Certain sexual activity***	
Come **	Sexual climax (orgasm)
Sod**	Homosexual (abbreviation of sodomit; rare in literal sense)
Bitch**	Female dog ;earlier used for 'immoral 'woman
Whore**	Prostitute
Bastard**	Child of unmarried parents

Table 4 : Lavatory/adapted from (ibid)

Piss***	Urine; urinate
Shit***	Excrement; defecate
Crap**	Excrement; .defecate
Work of body **	

Trudgill (1995:17-19) gives his point of view about this phenomenon and defines it as Taboo which can be "characterized as being concerned with behaviour which is believed to be supernaturally forbidden, or regarded as immoral or improper; it deals with behaviour which is prohibited or inhibited in an apparently irrational manner". In many languages, these taboo words can occur. Most people break the rules of their society by using these words related with things which are not said, and other people use these words as jokes. The existence of these words in a certain language reflects the beliefs of that society. In

some societies the word 'magic' is regarded as 'powerful ' and plays an important role in religion. In many societies taboo words include those for the left hand, female relations or for certain game animals. In the Roman catholic b, taboo words are related to religion, whereas in Norway taboo expressions are related to the devil.

Trudgill (ibid : 65) says that the linguist Jespersen affirms that sex differentiation may be related or the result of taboo phenomenon. He contends that "when Carib men on the war-path they would use a number of words which only adult males were allowed to employ. If women or uninitiated boys used these, bad luck was considered likely to result". Euphemism is a branch of taboo in which we can replace words by other words. O'Grady et al (1996:554) define euphemism as "the avoidance of words which may be seen as offensive, obscene, or somehow disturbing to listeners or readers. Items which are euphemized are said to be tabooed". They say that the taboo words that are used in English are related to bodily functions, body parts and death. Governments take the words of euphemism to cover unpleasant concepts .The following table consists of different kinds of euphemisms which are used in the past or currently in use:

Table 5: Euphemism and Tabooed Words

Euphemism	Tabooed word or expression
Private parts	Male and female sexual organs
make love	' fuck'
Perspire	'sweat'
Cold feet	'cowardice'
Budget	'cheap'
Private part	
Sit-down job	'defecation'
Pink slip	'dismissal notice'
Pass away	'die'
Neutralize	'kill'
Collateral losses	'civilian casualties'

(ibid)

Allan & Burridge (2006:1,3) state that "taboo is a proscription of behaviour that affects everyday life". It means that the type of behaviour which is proscribed, is determined in a specific community with one person or a group of persons at a specific period of time according to a specific context. They add that taboo can appear out of the constraints of any social on the part of the individual's behaviour and it can cause harm, discomfort or injury to other people. They argue that, there are food taboos in many societies. These are based on religion such as, the vegetarianism of Hindus, the proscription of pork in Islam, the proscription of meat on Fridays among Roman Catholics and so forth.

In speaking and discussion about taboo, we face the consideration of euphemism which means (sweet talking), dysphemism (speaking offensively) and orthophemism (straight talking). The term 'dysphemism' is the opposite of euphemism and it is tabooed. Speakers resort to dysphemism in order to talk about persons and things that they frustrate. It can be seen as a characteristic of political groups that talk about their opponents such as of feminist speaking about men and macho types speaking of women. It includes curses, name-calling and any type of derogatory comment which can be directed to others to insult them, dysphemism is considered an impolite behavior (ibid:29,31).

On the other hand, Allan & Burridge(ibid:32-33) state that orthophemisms and euphemism are considered "words or phrases used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression ". They try to avoid possible loss of face by the speaker, the hearer and /or some third party. For example, under certain circumstances, there is the dispreferred response to an invitation which is refusal. There is also a reference to face which is central in the theory of politeness. The difference between orthophemism and euphemism can be seen as the following :

An 'orthophemism' is typically more formal and direct than the corresponding euphemism or it is (literal).

A 'euphemism' is typically more colloquial and figurative (or indirect) than the corresponding orthophemism (ibid).

The union set of orthophemism, euphemism and dysphemism are called X-Phemisms and their relationship can be shown in the following diagram (ibid:33-34) :

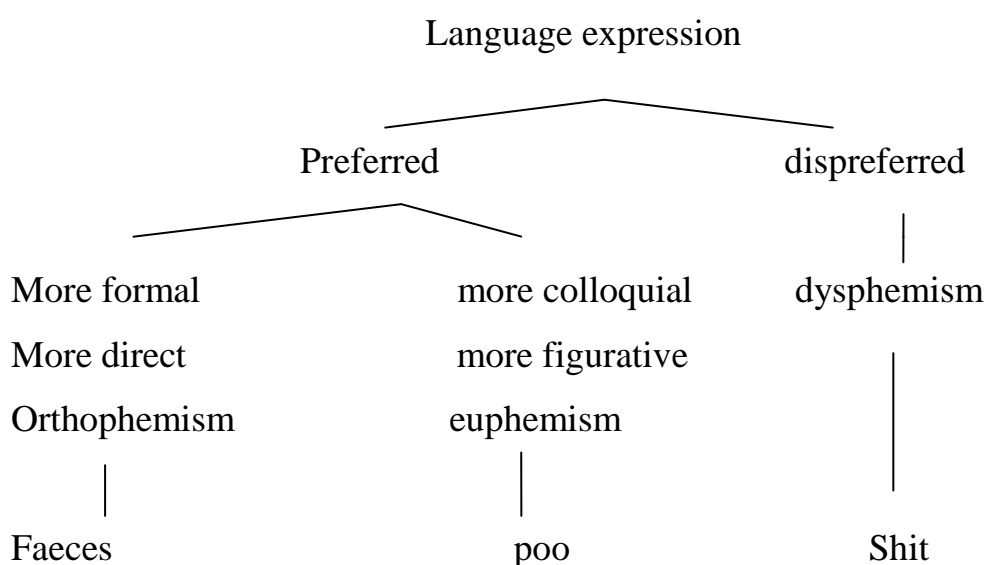


Fig. 3.2 Distinguishing X- phemism

Adopted from Allan and Burridge (2006:34)

In his thesis, Mout (2004:42) mentioned means of acquiring taboo words which are :

1-Classroom exposure

According to Mout (ibid:42-3) learners in classrooms of schools can acquire taboo words from the interaction with other learners or with their instructors.

2-Mass media

Some participants saw that TV and movies were the most effective sources for acquiring the taboo language, while the others saw the opposite (ibid).

3-Interactions with L2 English speakers

It includes the interactions with L2 English learners as a source for learning about swearing practices of English. It includes the interactions within the United States and outside as well (ibid:45) .

4-Interactions with L1 English speaker

Most participants mentioned overhearing the use of taboo language through the interactions between two speakers of L1 English, for instance, as the participant A who heard her neighbor swearing and her Chinese classmate to explain the meaning of the word that she encountered there (Mout,2004:46-7).

5-Use of contextual and behavioural cues

It includes using an indication of anger or laughter to determine that the word was tabooed (ibid:47).

3.7.1 Phonetic Taboo

Eschholz et al. (1978:232) state that "in Japanese, the word for death, shi, happens to have the same pronunciation as the word for the number four. This coincidence results in many linguistically awkward situations, since people avoid "shi" in the discussion of numbers and prices, and use "yon" a word of different origin, instead ".While Akmajian et al (1997:290) state that many bilingual speakers try to avoid many words in one language which are similar taboo words in another language. This phenomenon is called 'inter-lingual word taboos'. Hass 1957 as cited in (ibid) gives examples of this situation such as, when American students learning Brazilian Portuguese are embarrassed from learning the word 'faca' meaning 'knife' that its pronunciation in Portuguese is closed in its sound like the tabooed English word 'fuck' Trudgill (1995:19) adds that:

taboo can have its own language. Because of the strong reluctance of speakers to utter taboo words, or words like them, in certain circumstances, words which are phonetically similar to taboo words can be lost from a language. It is often said, for example, that rabbit replaced the older word Coney (pronounced /kʌni/) in English for this reason.

Speakers try to avoid many expressions that are phonetically similar to taboo terms that are used by certain people for example, the word 'regina' for some people feel that this word is uncomfortable because it is phonetically similar to the tabooed word 'female sexual organ' in English (Allan & Burridge, 2006:46).

3.7.2 Semantic Taboo

Palmer (1981:9-10) emphasizes that the fast change in the meaning of language is caused by taboo, which is a word that is used for saying something unpleasant and this word can be replaced by another term which is a euphemism, for example, English has the terms privy, W.C., lavatory, toilet, bathroom, restroom, etc .

He (ibid:92) adds that synonyms differ just in their connotations, so woman has the connotation 'gentle ' and 'pig' has the connotation 'dirty' , but people will change names to avoid such connotations. This process of change is taboo because the words are concerned with a social subject. Words "become taboo when the distasteful object is referred to by the word in a different sense". Leech (1976:53) explains that :

In private life, unpleasant associations are unavoidable in dealing with such subjects as death, disease, crime, and punishment " and he mentions that Euphemism" is the practice of referring to something offensive or delicate in terms that make it sound more pleasant or becoming than it

really is. The technique consists of replacing a word which has offensive connotations with another expression, which makes no overt reference to the unpleasant side of the subject, and may even be a positive misnomer (as when a hostess asks a guest whether he would like to 'wash his hands').

Löbner(2002:36) mentions that connotations play an important role in the semantic motivation about swear words. For instance, the use of the word 'pig' refers to dirtiness. This word denotes the animal feature not "the conventional attitude towards pigs identical with the expressive meaning conveyed by the swear word".

Leech(1976:54) proceeds to say that "the unpleasant connotations of the word are, after all, not the fault of the word itself, but of what it refers to. So the euphemistic expression which replaces the original term soon gets tarred with the same brush". Thus, in English there are many euphemistic words for the word 'lavatory' which are (wash-place, which is the original meaning for it and the other terms (privy, water-closet, toilet, cloakroom, restroom, comfort - station). While in Iraqi Arabic, the term /xala?/ is commonly used among old people and also used by people who live in a village.

Generally, in the Iraqi society, the word /loogi/ 'flatter' is widely used by its members. When someone wants something from a person, he begins to speak in a soft way or begins to /yetliwag/ "adulate" in order to achieve his aim. There are words that are not considered taboo, but when mentioned in front of a specific person, they regarded as taboo such as the word(divorce) when mentioned in front of a divorce woman and also the word (widow) because the connotation of this word represents social defect and makes it obscene. On the other hand, in uttering certain names of disease such as cancer, leprosy, etc, there are certain phrases that used such as /wa el9yaḍu be allah/ (God's protection is sought), /9afana allah/

(May God cure us all). By uttering these minimizers, the speaker prays to be away from such diseases. In the Iraqi society, there is minimiser names of persons that when someone wants to obscene another one, he/she calls him/her with minimizes his/her name such as :

Noori - Nweri

Ahmed - Ahemid

Saad – Seied

Fatemah – Fteyem

Nada –Ndiwa

Farha –Friha

In another case, when the members of Iraqi society want to speak about dirty things or places and want to protect the hearer's face from the dirty words that are mentioned, they use specific words for this situation such as /ħaŝakum/ (May Allah exclude you from this dirt) or /ħaŝa qadrak/ , /9azakum allah/ or /9az qadarakum/ (May Allah dignify you) or /allah yħaŝem/ (May Allah exclude).

Other side, people in Iraqi society look like others by using inanimate things such as when someone calls others by saying him /miŌl Ŝanem/ means 'you look like an idol' or /Ĉanak elħaiet/ means 'you like a wall'. These words are used to describe a person that how he is unable to do anything or how he is so lazy.

In the Iraqi society taboo words are widely used for instance, on TV, these words can be seen in all TV serieses which reflect a nature of this society for instance in a series of (Habazbooz, Abu Khumrah:2014), there are many of these words at its song such as /ya Ĉathab ya lu:ti ya qafaŜ ya ras elbelya/ these words give the meaning of ' you lying and cunning'.

3.8 The Models Of Analysis Adopted.

The researcher adopts two models in analyzing data. The first one is Geoffrey Hughes (2006), while the second one is Magnus Ljung (2011) model. The researcher depends on their divisions of taboo words. Hughes (2006:xviii) sums up many types of taboo and gives many examples of them as the following:

- 1-The use of religious reinforces (by God ! , the devil take it !) and the use of sacred references such as (by my father's soul, on my mother's grave).
- 2-Family origins (son of a bitch, whoreson).
- 3-The attribution of various reprehensible behaviours and violation of moral codes including:
 - a-treachery (traitor, turncoat).
 - b-idleness(bum, layabout).
 - c-promiscuity(whore, slut).
 - d-dishonesty(liar, cheat).
 - e-theft(crook, swindler).
 - f-lack of courage (coward, chicken).
 - g-sycophancy(toady, brownnose).
 - h-meanness(parsimonious, miser).
 - i-dirt(filthy, scum).
 - j-social conditions such as poverty(poor, miserable).
 - k-insulting names, demeaning lables, and unflattering comparisons such as the animal(cow, pig).
 - l-the sexual (prick, tit).
 - m-the intellectual(imbecile, ignoramus).
 - n-the excretory(turd, shit).
 - o-the racist(whitey, yid).
 - p-the political(fascist, nazi).

While Ljung (2011: 35) mentions five major themes and five minor themes that are related to taboo and used in many languages. These themes are:

3.8.1 The major themes:

- 1-The religious / supernatural theme .
- 2-The scatological theme .
- 3-The sex organ theme .
- 4-The sexual activities theme .
- 5-The mother (family) theme .

The researcher will give a brief discussion about each of these themes :

1-The Religious Theme

In several languages, swearing has a relation to religion. In Christian cultures, there is a distinction between celestial swearing such as God, Jesus /Christ, the Holy Ghost and the saints, and diabolic swearing such as the devil and hell. While in Muslim cultures religious swearing includes Allah, the prophet, holy places, etc (As being cited in Ljung, 2011:37) (Abed-el Jawad,2000).

Swearing in Muslim religious culture is associated with the figures of religion such as in Arabic ' Wa- izzat Allah ' 'By the honor of God ' and Wi –hyaat Allah 'By God's life ' . This type of ' swearing –by ' is the same of oath which is common in Christian countries (Ljung,2011:37)). People in some Iraqi towns swear by using another form of swearing such as /biruḥ elnebi/ 'by prophet's soul' this term is used when the person wants the hearer to believe him and begins to swear by using many of the previous terms in order to achieve his aim. Some members of Iraqi society use the term /Ŝeitan/ 'devil' or /9ifri:t/ 'fairy' when they speak about children who behave like a devil. According to Islamic norms,

swearing by 'Allah' is not considered taboo, but by other except Allah this is something forbidden.

2-The Scatological Theme

This type is the most prominent in all languages. It refers to the words of English swearing such as [ass / arse, asshole, arsehole, crap, fart, piss, shit, turd] (Ljung,ibid).In Arabic, there are many terms that seem similar to those used in English. Such terms are /abuŜaxa/ , /abuđarġa/ , /abuxarya/ , /kedi:Ŝ/ used widely among close friends and children.

3-The Sex Organ Theme

In many languages the organs of sex are used and the most common English exponents of this theme are related to(males & females sexual organs).Word related to sex organs are considered the most taboo-laden of the English swear words (ibid:38). While in the Iraqi society, there is similarity in using such words. For instance the term related to your mother's female organ or 'your mother's sexual organ' is commonly used among adults and other sex organs related to male and female.

4-Sexual Activities Theme

The taboo words about sexual intercourse are used most commonly in many languages. For example, English fuck, French foutre, Spanish, joder, Italian fottere, Russian ebat(Ljung,ibid:39). In the Iraqi society, people widely used terms that are related to the sexual activities. In the Iraqi society, the term /wakĥa/ 'slut 'is used to speak about a woman who has different sexual partners. This term used by speakers of Iraqi society.

5-The Mother Theme

It is the most widespread in the swearing in several languages and it is more prominent in American English. The ritual insults alluding to use

mother and sister terms. It means that in this theme there is the use of (ibn, ax). This type is exploited in name –calling in several languages when someone is referred to as 'a son of a bitch ' (ibid: 41). People in Iraq also use the term /ibn elĈalba/, 'a son of a bitch' when the father is angry of his son and it is also used among friends and this term is similar to that used in English language. There is also the term /ibn elwaŞxa/, 'a son of a dirty woman ' which is widely used among close friends and children. There are certain terms that are widely used among women such as /jegmah/ , /xizyah/ 'an ugly woman', while other terms such as /9armah/, /9o:bah/ 'a strong woman' are used to describe women who are so strong and have a fixed opinion. On the other hand, the terms /9agruba/ 'scorpion' , /ras elḥaya/ 'snake's head' are used to describe a woman who is so artful.

3.8.2 The minor themes:

1-Ancestors

This theme plays an important role in many cultures such as those found among the Australian aborigines. This theme is connected with the death theme that will be discussed later(Ljung,2011:42).

2-Animals

The animal theme is found in many expressions. In English, there is the use of 'son of bitch'. While in Arabic, there is the use of /ibn elĈalba/, /ibn elzmala/ (ibid).

3-Death

In English, the most frequent swearing allusion to death is the sequence ... and die, used as a filler in unfriendly suggestions like (Eat shit and die). While in Arabic, the word /ma:t/is considered tabooed as when mentioned immediately. There are also the use of the following

expressions such as /mo:t elyaxthak/ , /mo:t elkerafak/ , /sle:ma tummak / (ibid:43).

4-Diseases

It is considered swearing that to use words denoting diseases such as (plague, cholera, etc..). English formerly had the expression (A pox on...!) used as accurse such as in (Shakespeare's A pox on both your houses ! from Romeo and Juliet). In Arabic also it is considered taboo to speak on such words and if mentioned, there is the use of certain expressions such as /wal9iaḍo bellah/ (ibid).

5-The Prostitution Theme

In English, there is the use of the word (whore) which provides sexual services for money(ibid).

The researcher depends on these classifications of taboo words mentioned previously. I will try to avoid handling some taboo words which have sectarian connotations due to their high sensitivity and words which are related with sex organs and their activities will be ruled out of the study.

Chapter Four

Analysis Of Taboo Language in English and Iraqi Arabic Society

4.1 Introduction

There are various techniques used to collect data. The first of these is the ethnographic approach which means the collection of spontaneous speech in natural settings. The use of this method depends on anthropology. However it has some drawbacks:

Firstly: It is time consuming.

Secondly: Some speech acts are only situation- dependent. This entails accounting for every single encounter.

Thirdly: The researcher must rely on the memory to remember what taboo words are used in the Iraqi community to collect data.

The second technique is the role play. In this method, the situation is described to the subjects orally by the field worker, who then asks them to say what role might be played by a person in that situation. The role playing would not be authentic enough to mirror what the subjects could say in real life. Also some subjects might feel psychologically as if they were taking a test and thus their responses might not be genuine.

The third method is the intuitive method. This is an armchair linguistics. However it lacks in objectivity. The fourth widely used method is the Discourse Completion Test (DCT). It was originally developed for comparing the speech act of native and nonnative speakers. The test consists of written dialogues that embody different situations which characterize the day to day interaction. This method is an effective means of gathering a huge amount of data quickly. It is also effective in gaining insight into social and psychological factors that may affect speech. However it has some drawbacks. It is difficult to assume how representative the responses are of

what the subjects say in natural conversation. Moreover, this technique is written. The subjects may prefer specific familiar linguistic forms.

4.2 Data of English society from different movies

The researcher tries to avoid using the same taboo words frequently to avoid repetition. Therefore, the use of taboo words will be once time in each conversation.

(1) Conversation from (the dead drop movie, Frazier: 2013)

At the restaurant

Megale : What are you doing? ... hey , wait .. wait .. it is not my wrong... ok.

Rosita : Do you want to be dead ? Ok , let to be dead. (she throws glasses on him)

Megale : Please, listen to me .. it is not as you see .. ok.

Rosita : You stole my money ...

Megale : Which money did you speak of it ? .. wants money ? I'll bring you much money ..ok.

Rosita : You broke my car .

Megale : It is not my wrong ... *shit*... (she throws many glasses)

Rosita : You disappeared and come back again ... I'll kill you .

Megale : *By Christ* ... let me go .

In the conversation above, Megale was absent to his friend Rosita for a long time and suddenly he comes. When she sees him, she begins to throw and hit him with glasses. Megale feels angry because she accuses him of stealing her money so he says '*shit*' and this word belongs to the excretory type. Another word is '*by Christ*' which is used by Megale when Rosita doesn't believe him and go on throwing glasses on him. This word belongs to the use of religious reinforces. The word *shit* is used four times in this conversation.

(2) Conversation on the plane (from the dead drop movie, ibid)

At the Plane

San : I took you with us and I pay your rent ... is it right ?

Megale: Yes , right.

San : I considered you as a brother to me and loved you, but my brother never does what you did .

Megale : What .. about what you speak ?

San : You know what I speak ... where is my money

Megale ?

Megale : Your money ? I don't know ..you may forget its place.

San : You know everything about me.

Megale : What you mean ?

San : I want my money.. and I will let you alive .

Megale :*Fuck you !*

In the above conversation, San admonished his friend Megale who considered him as a brother and wanted him to show the place of his money which he stole, but Megale didn't show him it and began to mock at him and said ' *fuck you* '. This taboo expression to the insulting name type . The word *fuck* is used three times.

(3)Conversation from(s.w.a.t. movie)

In the Garage

Serjant : I heard that you bought your friend ... did you buy him to Foller ?that in the team it should be trust.

Streath : I'm not in your team and I never bought him there .

Serjant: You clean boots at the store about six months waiting for a chance ... I give you this chance.

Streath : Foller, never sign on me.

Serjant : Let me do with that *pig*.

In the above conversation, Serjant displayed Streat to come with his team. Streat was afraid of his boss Foller because he fired him previously and Streat bought his friend. Serjant says to Streat to let that ' pig '. He described Foller as a 'pig ' and this word belongs to the animal theme. The word *pig* is used twice in this conversation.

(4) Conversation from (superhero movie,Mazin:2008)

Lance: I' m gonna kill you.

Lance's friend :Get him , Lance !

Jill: Lance, stop it .

Lance's friend :*Kick his ass* , Lance !

In this conversation the word 'ass' is used to refer to the bottom of the human part. When Lance wanted to beat Rick because he is angry of him. His friend shouted to Lance to kick Rick's ass. This expression belongs to the scatological theme.

(5)Conversation from(The Expendables movie,Hughes:2000)

At the Airport

Dock :You come to save me after eight years ago ... what the problem ?

The soldier :You were at the special ambiguous someone and formerly considered not found ... I took your position from one called Teshersh worked in formal organization .

Dock : What ! ...

The soldier :Don't be worry ...

Dock : Thank you man.

The soldier :You should thank the guys.

Dock : Where are the guys ? Hamer, Jozman !

The soldier :They are *gone* .(bumps them)

Dock : *Gone* !

The soldier :Yes.

When the soldier saved Dock's life and took him by the plane, Dock thanks the soldier for his saving, but the soldier asked him to thank the men (Hamer and Jozman), but the soldier bumps them and says that they are gone. The word ' *gone* ' described the person who is dead. This word belongs to the death theme and it is mentioned twice.

(6) Conversation from (The Expendables movie, ibid)

On the Plane

The team :Come on Barni, move.. move..

The pilot :We should go ... I cannot stay.

The team :No .. you cannot go .. wait ..wait come on Barni hurry up.

The pilot :*By Christ* ...I condemn you , Barni .

In this conversation, when the team finished their work by killing the wanted man the building bumped and Barni on it while his team could ride the plane. His team were shouting to him to hurry in order to arrive at the plane, but the pilot cannot wait. Barni could jump to the plane. The pilot waited for Barni that he condemn him and he was surprised from bumping the building and said '*by christ*'. This expression belongs to the use of religious reinforce type and it is mentioned four times.

(7)Conversation from (Mercenaries movie, Ray:2014)

In the Prison

Revene :Mona !

Mona: Revene !

Revene: I know that it's a matter of time before you come back... you a beautiful cake ... (she looks at the man and says) ..you office employee ... (suddenly she appears her hands without handcuffs) surprise !

Mona : (starts to quarrel with Revene)

Revene :*Fuck you bitch.*

In this conversation, Revene was at the prison and Mona came to her to make agreement with her, but Revene was without handcuffs and the

employee beat her. So Mona called her with '*fuck you bitch*'. This expression belongs to insulting name and the animal theme. The word *bitch* is used twice in this conversation.

(8) Conversation from (Mercenaries movie, ibid)

In the prison

Olrika :"Did you cook your a chicken" ? .. It may not be considered just as a dinner, but it is more than what eat a resident in a day ... you should not be wasted.

Alize: The United States does not negotiate.

Olrika :For the people no, but for you it is different .. I know that your father will pay to get you back.

Alize: What makes you think that he will take you to the stone age if it happened to me any harm.

Olrika :So educated and so *knave*.

In the above conversation, Olrika who prisoned Alize the daughter of the president and tried to mock at her by saying that she presented her a meal of chicken that no one has. Alize tried to defend her country, but Olrika tried to mock her that her father will pay what he won to get you back and she called her as '*knave*'. This word belongs to the insulting name type and it is used twice in this conversation.

(9)Conversation from (Isle of dogs movie,Sutton:2011)

In the Jungle

Deil :How to know one, Bily ?

Bily :25 years.

Deil :Yeah 25 years, it is a long time, is it ?.. Many could happen during 25 years, is it right my friend ?

Bily :Yeah . (smile)

Deil :Don't you *fuck* smile front of me ... so 25 years and you think that you know someone ? .. I don't know Bily ... may be I just *a cunt* .. do you think that Bily ?

Bily :Of course no.

In this conversation, when Deil feels that Bily is traitor he takes him to the forest to kill him for his treachery. Deil begins to ask Bily that they spent along time together and asked him about the time that they spent together and answered him 25 years. Deil told him that there is enough period to know someone and asked him if he thinks that he is *a cunt*. This word belongs to the sex organ theme. There is also the word *fuck* which belongs to the insulting name and mentioned twice.

(10)Conversation from (Isle of dogs movie, ibid)

In the Kitchen

Deil:What about you ? what does make you happy ?

Nadia: You do.

Deil: Ha !are you sure from that ?

Nadia: Yes I am.

Deil: Do you still happy with our agreement ?

Nadia: What do you think ?

Deil: I did a good with you ..is it ?

Nadia: (be silent)

Deil: How this makes you feel ?

Nadia: I love you.

Deil: (shows her pictures with a man) .. you *little* .. *liar* ..and *Trash* .

In this conversation, Deil talks with his wife Nadia who betrays him with another man. He asks her how he puts her in a house, feeds her and wears her and how she rewards him. When he shows her pictures with another man, she is surprised and he begins to call her *a little*, *a liar* and *trash*. The word *little*

belongs to the insulting name type. While the word liar belongs to the dishonesty type. The word *trash* belongs to the dirt type.

(11) Conversation from (Homefront movie,2013)

At School

Kaisi :(nervous) Who is that ? is he her father ? are you her father ?

The teacher :Mr. Broker ?

Broker :What happened ?

The teacher :Madi is ok .. she is in her classroom ..want to come ?

Kaisi :I want to see my baby .. Tedi ..Tedi ..are you ok it is a *whore*, but don't blood on your shirt and wait to see *the bitch*.

Broker :*Hey ! hey*.

Kaisi :Hey what ? ha ..ha ..do you want to say something to me?

In the above conversation, Kaisi's son and Broker's daughter quarrelled and Madi hit him on his nose and his nose bleeds. So Kaisi comes to school to face the headmaster, but she sees Broker and wants to attack him but the police prevent her. When Kaisi speaks with her son she begins to curse the daughter in front of her father and calls her whore and bitch. The word *whore* belongs to the promiscuity type while the word *bitch* belongs to the animal theme. The word *whore* is used twice while the word *bitch* is used three times. While the insulting word *hey* is used three times and used to mock someone.

(12) Conversation from (Hercules The Legendary Journeys movie,Ratner:2014)

At the Bar

Hercules' friends :If Hercules heard what is go on here, will there be a problem.

Nisos :*Damn* Hercules , I am not afraid of him ... I have a God of Hira will protect me . I have enough of you ... I am going home before his *damn* name will raised again.

In the above conversation, Hercules' friends are praising him for his brave and his protection for them. They love him very much, but Nisos doesn't love Hercules. He criticized them for their praising him and says to him *damn* to them and his name. This word belongs to the religious reinforce type. The word *damn* is used four times.

**(13) Conversation from (Hercules the Legendary Journeys movie, ibid)
In the Hell**

Nisos :How did you like the robe ? is it ok ? I hope it wasn't uncomfortable.

Hercules :You..!

Nisos :Do you recognize how you are *fool* ?

Hercules :What happened you Nisos ?

Nisos :You are bigger *fool* than I was think so.

In the above conversation, Nisos who is dead and Hercules who is alive are meeting at the underworld and Nisos tell him that his wife is dead, but he cannot believe him. Nisos asks Hercules if the damn robe was comfortable to him. When Hercules tries to attack him, he disappeared and calls him that he is so *fool*. This word belongs to the intellectual type.

**(14)Conversation from(Hercules The Legendary Journeys movie, ibid)
Out of Home**

Midian's friend :Ah Midian ...

Midian :Yeah ...

Midian's friend :This time ... I 'll do it ... I'll really do it.

Midian :Don't do it on my boot because it costs me five dinars .

Midian's friend :No you *idiot* , I will talk to her , Kritiza.

In this conversation, Midian and his friend are walking at night and they are drinking. Midian's friend loved a girl. He decided to talk to her so he tells Midian that he will do it(mean speaks to her), but Midian understood that he would eliminate his need and told him not to do it on his boot. His friend

described him as *idiot* and this word belongs to the intellectual type. This word is used twice in this conversation.

(15) Conversation from (The Next day air full movie, Boom:2008)

In the Car

Karlos :Look .. what *a fuck* you did in my face !

Bodija :What the fuck ? do you think I care about your face ?

Karlos : I want to let me tell you about what happened ... I wasn't feel this I got the money from the suits ... I was ready to go to the airport just when I climb the plane the FBI took the money ... I swear .. *I swear by God* .. I just wasn't want to tell you as you are *a fuck crazy*.

In the above conversation, Bodija, the boss, speaks with Karlos who causes his loss. Karlos was in the box of the car where Raino put him. Bodija gets him out and Karlos begins to explain what happened for his money that the FBI took it. Karlos swears *by God* in order that Bodijo believes him that he didn't steal this money. This word belongs to the religious reinforce theme. Another word is *fuck* which belongs to the insulting name type and it is used three times. While the word *crazy* belongs to the intellectual type. The word *fuck* is mentioned three times.

(16) Conversation from (The Next day air full movie, ibid)

In the Building

Karlos :Leo ? you gain a thing today ?

Leo :No ..

Karlos :You sure ?

Leo :Yes .

Karlos :*Son of the bitch.*

In this conversation, Karlos is waiting for the package which the delivery agent will bring. At that day, Karlos goes out of his flat to see if the delivery agent comes. When he saw him coming he asked him if there is a thing for him. He means the package which contains the drugs, but Leo tells him that

there is nothing. Karlos asked him if he was sure and called him *as a son of bitch* without Leo hearing him. This expression belongs to the family origins type .

(17)Conversation from (The Next day air full movie, ibid)

In the Car

Bodija :Where is the box ?

Leo : I should take some time to think ...ok ... why I cannot think Ok 303 ... I remember the box in 303 (he remembers after Karlos hits him on his head).

Karlos :Ok when you take it too ?

Leo: I delivered it ...

Karlos: We were there all day , is it Teshi ?

Teshi: Yes, we were.

Leo: I tell the truth.

Karlos :I asked you if you gain a thing today ... you remember?

Leo: No, I don't remember.

Karlos :Don't remember ? you are *a bitch liar* ... let me kill him.

In this conversation, Bodija and Karlos kidnap Leo in order to tell them where the box is. He didn't remember to whom did he gave it. When Karlos hits him on his head he remembers that he gave it to the flat number 303. Actually, this box contains drugs for the boss Bodija. When Karlos asked Leo that he asked him if he had a thing for him and Leo denies that he called him as *a bitch liar*. This word belongs to the meanness type. It is a compound word which is *bitch* and *liar*. The word *bitch* belongs to animal type and used twice. While the word *liar* belongs to the dishonesty type. The word *bitch liar* is mentioned twice .

(18)Conversation from(The Next day air full movie, ibid)

In the Building

Leo :I walked down in this way and I gave the box to this flat.

Karlos :I told you ... I told you that he didn't bring it here.

Bodija :*Shut up* .. (to Teshi)

Karlos :*Shut up* ...(to Teshi)

Teshi: You *shut up*.

Bodija :*Shut up* (for the two) ... are you sure this is ?

Leo :Yeah I am sure I gave it to the wrong dress.

Karlos :*Stupid ass*.

In the above conversation, Bodija, Karlos and Teshi brought Leo to show them the flat that he delivered the box. When he remembered the flat, Karlos says I told them that he didn't bring it here, but Bodija says to him to *shut up*. When Leo remembered that he gave the box to the wrong flat, Karlos called him as *stupid ass*. The word *shut up* belongs to the insulting name type while the phrase *stupid ass* for the word *stupid*. It belongs to the intellectual type. While the word *ass* belongs to the animal theme.

(19)Conversation from (The Next day air full movie, ibid)

In the Car

Leo: I say I am trying to the transition, but I cannot.

Irik: You should gather your strength and take these boxes ... (shows him his clock) from where I gain this in your opinion ? It is amazing? how much its price in your opinion ?

Leo: Ten ?

Irik :I bought it easily .. come on man ... you are in America .. steal thing.

Leo :No man .

Irik: Free money How many hands that touch these boxes before arrive us ..what you say ... do you steal my things ? I hope to do so ... I will be the crying king ..it is a description terrible ... *shit kiss my ass* .

In the above conversation, Leo and his friend Irik are speaking. Irik envied Leo on his life, but Leo told him that he wanted to transmit, but he cannot. Irik showed him his clock and asked him about its price and told him

that he stole it. He tells him that in America he should steal a thing that it free money. Irik told him that many hands touch these boxes and he should not stay sad and become like crying king. He called him as *kiss my ass* to make him laugh. This expression belongs to the scatological theme . The word *shit* is used three times while the word *ass* is used twice in this conversation.

(20)Conversation from (The Next day air full movie, ibid)

On the Phone

Isos: Hello.

Bodija : Isos .

Isos: Hello Bodija .

Bodija :You gain it , right ?

Isos :No,not come yet.

Bodija:What do you mean by not come ?

Isos :I mean not come here .

Bodija :What the *fuck* you mean not come ? I just follow him and said that it is delivered for a few hours ago.

Isos: What ?it not comes here ... I saw the guy , but he said that he has nothing today.

Bodija :Ask your friend if she signed it.

Isos: No she stands near me.

Bodija: So why he says it is delivered ?

Isos:I don't know .. I saw the guy and said has nothing.

Bodija: Who ?

Isos: Oh ... *the mother fucked* ... he stole it.

In this conversation, when Bodija phones Karlos to ask him if the package arrived, Karlos answered him that it doesn't arrive. Bodija confirms that it arrived, but Karlos said it doesn't. He remembered that at that day he asked the guy if he has a thing for him, but he said no. So Karlos thinks that this guy steals the package and calls him as *the mother fucked*. This phrase

belongs to the mother theme and this word is used three times in this conversation. The word *fuck* is mentioned twice.

4.3 Iraqi conversations and their translations

The researcher makes an interpretation to the following Iraqi Arabic conversations, because they are colloquial and there is no fixed and literal meaning for the translation of these conversations. The researcher sometimes gives one meaning for many words that their meaning is the same to avoid repetition. The researcher adopts two models in analyzing data. The first model is Geoffrey Hughes (2006) model while the second one is Magnus Ljung (2011) model. The researcher tries to avoid using the same taboo word frequently to avoid repetition.

(1) في المدرسه

الأول: شلونك اليوم ، يكولون متعارك ويه صديقك ! صدك هذا الحجي؟

الثاني: اي صحيح، بس هذا مو صديقي ، هذا الخنجه ابن المعلمه .

الأول: ليش شنو السالفه ، احجيلي شصاير .

الثاني: بسبب هذا الكلب الدوني ، كتلتني المعلمه .

الأول: ليش... ليش كتلتك شسويت .

الثاني: انت مو تعرف انه تنظيف الصف كل يوم على طالب ، وهوكلما يجي يومه ابن

المعلمه ينهزم وما ينظف.. بس احنه نظف.. سألته ليش متنظف على راسك ريشه؟ راح

على أمه كلله

الأول : أي ..وبعدين شنو صار .

الثاني: أجاتي هاي الناقصه أمه وضربتني بالعصاورزلتني .

الأول: وانت شسويت ؟ سكتله !

الثاني: لا وداعتك خليت الدرس ينتهي وطلعتله بالساحه وضربته كل بكس خليته يشخ

على نفسه هذا النعل ابن الجلبه .

الأول: والله عاشت أيدك...زين وأمه سمعت بالصار؟

الثاني: اي، امه سمعت ودزت ورقه لأبويه...بس لمن عرف أبويه بالسالفه كلي عاشت
أيدك...يطبه مرض..خلي يتربى .

In the school

A-How are you today?...I heard that you have quarrelled with your friend...is it right?

B-Yes, it is right ,but this is not my friend, he is the teacher's son /elxunĈa/

A-Why ?what happened...tell me what happened.

B-Because this /elkalib eldu:ni:/, the teacher had beaten me .

A-Why ?Why had she beaten you ?...what had you done ?

B-You know that everyday a cleaning of the classroom should be done by every pupil, but when a day of the teacher's son comes, he escapes and does not clean ..all pupils clean except him so I asked him why hadn't you cleaned with us the room, was there any feather on your head ?...then he went to his mother and told her what had happened .

A-Yes...then what happened ?

B-His mother /elna:qŞa/ came and beat me with a stick and rebuked me .

A-What !...and...what had you done ?Remained silent!

B-No, when the lesson ended, I followed him and beated him with my fist and I made him /yeŞux/ on himself ..this /elna9al ibn elĈalba/.

A-Oh, you have done well, but did his mother heard about what had happened?

B-Yes and sent a message to my father to come to school, but when my father knew what had happened, he encouraged me and said well done and /yṭuba marađ/, let him tolerate his behaviour. (self translation)

In this conversation, there are the following taboo words that are used by the second person to describe his situation towards both his teacher and her son. He uses the word /elxunĈa/ which means 'effeminate' to describe how his

friend behaves like a woman in his features, behaviours or womanish. According to the divisions of Hughes (2006:xviii) of taboo, this word belongs to a lack of courage type. Another word is /elkalib/ means 'the dog' that his friend was the reason behind his cursing. This word also belongs to the type of insulting name and unflattering comparisons which is the attribution of behaviours and it also belongs to the scatological theme according to Ljung(2011:37). While the word /eldu:ni:/ which means 'the rascal' a person who is scamp and villain in his behaviour and this word belongs to the type of meanness. Another word is /ibn elna:qŞa/ which means ' a son of defective woman' and this word belongs to the family origins or the mother theme. While the word /eln9aal/ means 'shoe' to describe the person like a shoe and it belongs to the type of insulting name.

The word /ibn elĈalba/ means ' a son of bitch' belongs to the family origins type and also to the minor theme which is animals theme. The speaker uses the word /yeŞux/ 'piss' to describe how he beats him strongly to the degree he made him urinate on himself. This word represents the excretory type of taboo. While /yṭuba marađ/ means ' get sick' belongs to the insulting name type and death theme.

(2) في محطة البنزين

الأول: ألسلام عليكم .. شلونك حبيبي شخبارك .

الثاني: عليكم السلام ، والله موزين وماكل خره.

الأول: ليش يا ساتر...شصاير.

الثاني: بسبب واحد خريه ...مايسوه .

الأول: منو هذا ؟.. احجلي .

الثاني: البارحه كنت لازم سره عالبنزين بالمحطه من الفجر وأجهسرايه العصر، بالله يجيك واحد

سبيندي وسرسري يريد يضرب عليه السره.

الأول: اي وشنوصار؟ انطيته سره ؟

الثاني: قنדרه على راسه شنو انطي سره ، بريك واكف بالشمس مثل الزمال وماكل تبن ،يجي هذا اخ الناقصه يريد عالجاهز ياخذ سره دخلي يولي .

الأول: وبعدين ...شنو صار بيناتكم ؟

الثاني: والله نزلت من السيارة وشبعته دفرات وبوكسات وفاز عونه السواق .

الأول: وتالي شسوه ذاك الرجال .

الثاني: انكشر وركب سيارته هذا الخيسان ، وروح أمي خليته يتوب بعد يضرب سره على أحد .

A-Alsalamu aleikum, my darling shlonak.

B-Aleikum elsalam, I am not well and /makil xara/.

A-Why ?What happened ?

B-Because of one body /xarya mayswa/.

A-Who is this ? ...speak.

B-Yesterday , I was waiting in the petrol station from dawn to sunset and when I arrived to find out of gasoline ,someone /si:bandi wserari:/ came and wanted to take my place in the queue .

A-Ok...and what happened ?Did you give him your place ?

B-What /qundara/ on his head , why to give him my place! By lord , I was standing under the sun like /zma:l/ and /makel tiben/ then this came /ax elna:qsa/ wanted to take my place /dexeli: ywalli: /.

A-Then ... what happened ?

B-Allah ... I got him out of the car and hit him boxes and pokes ,then the drivers ended the quarrel.

A-Waw ... then ..where had he gone ?

B-He /ingeŜar / and rode his car / ha:ða elxaisan /, / bru:ħ umi:/ I made him repent to take someone's place .

In this conversation, the driver used many taboo words to express his anger. The phrase /makel xara/ means 'ate shit' is commonly used by people of Iraqi society and also like it, the phrase /makel teben/ 'ate hay', when a person feels tired and angry he uses such words. These words belong to a

type of excretory taboo and also to the scatological theme. Other words are /sibendi: wa serseri:/ which mean 'a crooked person '. They belong to the meanness type which is the attribution of behaviours. Another word is /qundara/ 'a shoe' which is used to liken someone to a shoe and the driver wants to compare the man with a shoe. This word belongs to the insulting name. The word /zma:l/ 'donkey' is also used to make similarity with someone to a donkey and also belongs to insulting names and unflattering comparisons such as animal. It also belongs to the scatological theme. Another word is /dexelli ywali/ 'let him go away'. This word is like the word /ingeŜar/ 'went away' and these words belong to insulting names type. While the word /elxaisan/ used to describe a stabbed person. It belongs to the meanness type.

(3) شجار بين العمه والكنات

الكنه الأولى: عمه راح اروح لبيت أهلي أمي مريضه .

العمه: أي عمه روحي ..الله وياج ،بس كملتي شغلج .

الكنه الأولى: أي عمه كملت شغلي .

الكنه الثانيه: والله عمه ماكملت شغلها ،المواعين ممغسوله والمطبخ وسخ والعجين مخبزته ضمته

بالتلاجه واليوم ليلتها مولا زم تخبز؟

العمه: أي بنتي ..أخبزي انت وخليها تروح لأهلها لأن أمها مريضه .

الكنه الثانيه: وليش عيني أني خدامه للخلفوها ، ليش هي متكمل شغلها وتروح ؟ وبعدين انت دتفرقين

بيننا ،لأن هي بنت أخوج تعاملها أحسن مني والله هاي لواكه منج .

العمه: أني مولوكيه ياجكمه يابادعه والله أكل لرجلج يا أم لسان .

الكنه الثانيه: كلي لرجلي ... بس والله ما أخبز العجين خلي هاي أم خشه تخبزه .

الكنه الأولى: أحترمي نفسج ياغواره محد ام خشه غيرج .

العمه: كافي ياخايبات أني راح أخبزه .

الكنه الثانيه: وليش هي متخبزه .. وتكولين أني مولوكيه .

Quarrel among Mother in-Law and Nacelles.

First nacelle: My aunt I will go to my family, because my mother is sick.

Mother in Law: Ok ... go, Allah with you, but have you finished your work ?

First nacelle: Yes my aunt, I finished my work .

Second nacelle: By Allah my aunt she didn't finish her works, the dishes and kitchen are still dirty, the dough is not baked yet, but she puts it in the fridge. She should do the work of the kitchen, because it is her day today.

Mother in Law: Ok ... my daughter bake the dough and let her to go to her family because her mother is sick.

Second nacelle: So what, am I a maid of her parents, why she doesn't finish her work then go to her family... and why do you treat her better than me ? Is it because she is your brother's niece?, but this /luaga/ of you.

Mother in Law: I am not /lu:giya ya jagma ya bad9a / I will tell your husband /ya um lsan/ .

Second nacelle: Ok ... tell him, but I will never bake the dough, let this / um xuŜŜa/ bake it.

First nacelle: Respect yourself /yaġawara/ you are / um xuŜŜa/.

Mother in Law: Enough /ya xaibat / I will bake it .

Second nacelle: But, why doesn't she bake it and you say that you are not /lu:giya/ .

In this conversation, the word /luaga/ means 'flatterer' a person who used a flattery to achieve his aims. The nacelle uses this word to describe her aunt's behaviour and how the aunt uses the behaviour of flattering with one nacelle. This word belongs to the sycophancy type. Another word is /jagma/ means 'a woman who has a defect ' and it belongs to the insulting names type and to the mother theme. While the word/bad9a/ means ' a bold woman' or a fearless woman or how a woman looks strong. This word represents the promiscuity type of taboo. While the word /um xuŜŜa/ 'mother of nose ' or a woman who has an ugly nose. This word belongs to the family origin type and to the scatological theme. The word /um lsan/ 'mother of tongue' means this woman is talkative. Another word is /yaġawara/ means 'jealous', which is

widely used among women and belongs to a meanness behaviour. While the word /xaibat/ 'lazy women' used by the aunt to describe how her nacelles are lazy and this word belongs to the idleness type.

(4) أصدقاء يتكلمون عن مباراة

الأول: ها عموري شفت المباراة البارحة ، والله شبعت قهر من هالفريق ... لعبهم خزيه وخسرنا من وره غبائهم .

الثاني: أي علاوي شفتها ، بس تدري كان السبب من المهاجم ... كل ما تجيه الطوبه ينثول ومايعرف يلعب عدل ويصير مثل الأعمى .

الأول: لا، وهذا حارس المرمى الهتلي ، تكول عمود واكف ما يعرف يكمش الطوبه.

الثاني: يمعود انت شفت ذاك الفريق شلون يلعبون حلو لأن تدريبيهم حلو.

الأول: أي صحيح مو مثل فريقنا والله جريمه يلعبون ... تكول صخول يتطافرون .

الثاني: والله هذا مدربهم صدك رفش يلغف فلوس وما يعرف يدربيهم ، والله ما تصيرلهم جاره .

الأول: والله لويجيبيون مدرب اجنبي يكون احسن ، عالأقل يفتهم مومثل مدربنا جنه غراب البين ما وراهم غير الخساره .

الثاني: تدري لو نروح احنه نلعب بدالهم يمكن نفوز احسن منهم ، شتكول علاوي .

الأول: والله كلامك حلو خلي نقترح عليهم .

Friends are speaking about a match

A- Ha Amoori, did you see the match yesterday? ... I was very sad of our team ... their playing was very /xezya/ and we lost, because of their stupidity.

B- Yes Allawi, I saw it, but did you notice that the striker was the reason behind our loss, when the ball reached him , he /yenθawel/ and didn't know how to play and became a blind .

A- And this goalkeeper /ilhetli:/ was like a wall stood and he didn't know how to catch the ball.

B- But ... did you see that team how its players were playing well, because their coach was very good .

A-Yes it is right , they were not like our team ...it is crime to let them play because they play like /Şxu:l/.

B-It is really, the coach is like /rafiŜ yelgaf /money and doesn't know to train them.

A- I think that, it is better to bring a foreign coach who understands better than ours who looks like /gra:b elbein/ and doesn't give just a loss ...we cannot win.

B-Do you think that if we play instead of them, we may win What do you say ?

A-Your speech is right, let's suggest playing instead of them .

In this conversation, we have different taboo words such as /xizya/ which is used by the speaker to describe how the team plays badly and shamefully. This word belongs to the insulting name type and the mother theme. Another word is /yenΘawel/ which means 'became a stupid' and how the players became stupid in their playing and lost the match. This word belongs to the intellectual type and the scatological theme. While the word /ilhetli:/ 'the awful person ' and this word is widely used by adults to call young boys. This word belongs to the meanness type. Another word is /Şxu:l / 'goats' used to make similarity to someone who just move and doesn't know what and how to do something. The speaker compares the players and their playing with goats. This word belongs to the unflattering comparisons and the animal theme. The word /rafiŜ/ is like the word 'donkey'. It belongs to the unflattering comparisons and animals theme. While the word /yelgaf/ means 'take money' or 'steal' used to describe a person who just takes money without doing his job and it belongs to the theft type. Another phrase is /gra:b elbein/ 'crow of death' commonly used to describe a person who doesn't bring good wherever he goes. In this conversation, the speaker wants to describe the instructor. This word represents the unflattering comparisons and death theme

sbecause its meaning refers to death. This word also belongs to the animals theme as it refers to the crow.

(5) الام تتكلم مع أبنها الذي تعارك مع ابن الجيران

الأم: ابني ليش كل يوم متعارك ويه ابن الجيران ، والله مليت من مشاكلك ، كل يوم يجون اهله يشكون منك مو عيب .

الأبن: ماما آني اكرهه لأن هو واحد خبيث وما يسبح ريحته جايفه ومحد من اصدقائي يحب يلعب وياه، وتدرين اليوم شسوه ؟

الأم: شنو سوه ؟

الأبن: باك كتاب الرياضيات مالتني والمعلمة حاسبتني عالكتاب ... ما يصير هذا الكلام والله هو أكبر نكري .

الأم: ماما عيب انت لا تصير مثله .

الأبن: ليش أهله ما يربوه ، اصلاً هو واحد مخنث امة أتخم بالسوك .

الأم: اي بس هو يمول آني أحبه وهو صديقي ليش انت متحبه؟

الأبن: وأنهيمه الي تنهم كلبه هذا مو صديقي وما أحبة وأصدقائه يصيحوله ابوصماخ.

الأم: والله اذا متسكت راح أكل لأبوك عليك اسكت .

الأبن: لعد روعي لأهله خلي يربوه وبعدمنلعب وياه حتى يصير آدمي ويطربى.

The mother speaks with her son who quarrelled with the neighbour's son.

Mother: My son, why do you everyday quarrel with the neighbour's son ... I am really fed up of your problems ... everyday his family comes and complains of you ... it is a shame, isn't it?

Son: Mamy, I hate him because he is /xabi:θ/ and does not bathe ... always his smell is stinky /jaifa/ and no one of my friends wants to play with him ... and do you know what he did today ?

Mother: What did he do ?

Son: He /ba:g/ my math's book and my teacher reprimanded me ... I think he is /negari:/.

Mother: My son, don't behave like him .

Son: Why doesn't his family bring him up ...he is /mxanaθ/ and his mother /ittaxim /in the market .

Mother: Yes , but he said that he loved you.

Son: /wenhi:ma eli tenham / his heart ... he is not my friend and I don't love him.... My friends call him /abu Şmax /.

Mother: If you don't shut up ,I will call your father ... shut up.

Son:Ok , but tell his family to bring him up and we never play with him until he becomes a good human being.

In this conversation, the word /xabi:θ/ means 'wicked'. It describes how his friend is hateful in his attitudes. This word belongs to the theft type and scatological theme. While the word /negeri:/ recently appeared which means 'a thief ' and it also belongs to the theft type. It is used by the son to criticize and describe how his friend steals others. Another word is used to describe the person that he is stink. This word is /jaifa/ which means how a person smells dirty and this word represents the dirt type. Another word is /mxanaθ/ which means 'effeminate' or 'womanly' and this word is used by the son to describe his friend who behaves like a woman. It belongs to the lack of courage type. The word /ittaximm/ means 'loiter' or 'wandering'. This word is used to describe how a person likes to go out of home and it belongs to the meanness and insulting names type. Another word is /ba:g/ 'steal' which belongs to the theft type. Another word is /enhe:ma/ means 'pain' and this word is commonly used and it belongs to the violation of moral codes. While the phrase /abu Şmax / which belongs to the scatological theme means 'having a head' which is used to call the person who has a big head and also represents the family origins type .

(6) مناقشه بين الأب والأبن حول المدرسه

الأب: ابني ليش ما تنتبه لمدرستك ودروسك لاتظل دايج وبيه الشلاتيه اصدقائك ، شويه اقره حتى تنجح شنو ناقصك متنجح .

الأبن: خره بالدراسه منو صار دكتورحتى أني أصير.

الأب: احترم نفسك يادوني واتكلم عدل وياه ابوك شنوها للأسلوب ، والله ربيناكم تربيته زينه بس ما عرف شجاكم .

الأبن: بابا آني شمسوي بس طلعت وياه اصدقائي نتمشى شويه ، شنو كفرت !

الأب: ولك واجهت المدير بالسوك وكلي ابنك ديغيب من المدرسه واذا يداوم يوم يحضر نصه وينهزم وية اصدقائه ، وتكلي شمسوي موعيب عليك تجذب .

الأبن: آني شوكت غايب ، والله هذا المدير يرادله كتله زينه .

الأب: والله محد يرادله كتله غيرك انت ياهيطي ... والله بعدما كومصروف ، وطلعات وياه اصدقائك ما كوحتي تتعلم التربيته.

الأبن: بابا توبه بعدما سوي هذا المدير جذاب .

الأب: والله محد جذاب غيرك يامنعول الوالدين .

Discussion between the father and his son about the school

Father: Don't remain /daieh way elšlatia / your friends, you must study in order to succeed.

Son:/xara/ to the study ... who became a doctor that I will become.

Father: Respect yourself /yadu.ni:/ and speak well with me ... what.. tolerate your style ... I think I brought you up well, but I don't know what had happened to you.

Son: Dad, but what did I do ? I just went with my friends to walk, did I blaspheme ?

Father: But, I faced your manager at the market and said that you ran away from school... and if he came, he stayed half of time and escape with his friends... it is a shame and you are /tÇađib/.

Son: I didn't run away and he wants a good strike.

Father: I think you need a strike /ya hiçi:/, I will never give you a pocket money and never go with your friends ... you need to bring you up again .

Son: My father..repentance ... I will never do that again, my manager is /Çađab /.

Father: you are/Ĉaḍab/ not he /yaman9u:l walde:n/.

This conversation contains the following phrases and words, the first word is /Ŝlati:/ which means 'a dreadful person' used by the father to warn his son from going with the bad persons who have an awful behaviour and these words represent the meanness type of taboo. Another word is/xara/ which means 'shit' and belongs to the excretory type. The father used the word/tĈaḍeb/ means 'liar' to describe that his son didn't speak the right and it belongs to the dishonesty type of taboos. Meanwhile, the other word /hiṭi: / means 'a child' or irresponsible person which belongs to the insulting names. The last taboo phrase is /man9u:l elwalde:n/ which means 'damned your parents ' which belongs to the family origins type of taboo words.

(7) محاوره بين صديقتين على الهاتف

الأولى: شفتي هاي الملكوفه أختي شسوت البارحه ؟

الثانيه: ليش .. شسوت ؟

الأولى: كلت لأمي أنه آني دا أحجي بالتلفون ويه ولد.

الثانيه: عزه بعينج ، ليش كلت لأمج أكيد مسويتلها شي خلاها تفتن عليج .. لأن متفتن لحالها

الأولى: والله بس لبست فستانها ، بس لأن مكتلها أتخبات عليه هاي السلوكيه .

الثانيه: أي هاي انت الغلطانه .

الأولى: بس أني أكبر منها ، بس والله كتلتها كتله محترمه .

الثانيه: خطيه حرام عليج ، لازم تعتذرين منها.

الأولى: والله ماعتذر هي تسكت ... هاي وحده غيبه .

الثانيه: والله انت لئيمه ، زين امج شسوت لمن سمعت؟

الأولى: كذبت عليها وكتلتها أنه كنت أحجي ويه صديقتي بخصوص الأمتحان.

الثانيه: وأمج صدكت هذا الحجى ؟

الأولى: أي بس أمي وحده هبله ، بس أخذت تلفوني وحذرتني تكول

لبابا اذا ما أنتبه لدروسي .

الثانيه: يمعوده شلج بهالحجي عوفي التلفونات وأنتبهي لدروسج الأمتحانات عالابواب .

Conversation between two girls on the phone.

A-Did you see this /elmalgu:fa / my sister what did she do yesterday ?

B-Why ... what did she do ?

A-She said to my mother that , I spoke with a man on the phone.

B-What ... /9aza b9ineĈ/ why did she say that? ... I am sure that you did a certain thing with her that made her mesmerize you .

A-I just wear her new dress without taking her permission, but she became mad this /elslu:gia/.

B-Yes, you are wrong .

A-But I am her elder sister, but I hit her.

B-You are tough ... you should apologize to her.

A-What I will never apologize ... she will forget ..she is stupid.

B-You are depraved, but what did your mother say when she heard.

A-I lied her and swore that this speech is wrong.

B-And your mother believed that speech ?

A-Yes my mother is /habla/ , but she took my phone and warned me to say to my father if I didn't pay attention to my lessons.

B-I think you should let that speech and pay attention to your lessons , because the exams are close.

In this conversation, there are the following taboo words. The first word is /elmalgu:fa / 'urgent' which is used to describe how her sister is in a hurry to tell her mother. This word represents an insulting name type and the mother theme. The phrase /9aza b9ineĈ/ or / Şxam b9ineĈ/ is widely used to describe how a person is in a dilemma. In this conversation the person B describes how the person A is in plight with her mother and it belongs to insulting names type. Another word is /elslu:gia/ which is a kind of dogs 'bloodhound' used to describe how the person is dirty in his attitudes and it represents the dirt type and to make similarity with animal like dog. While the word/ l?ima/ 'depraved' used to describe how A is evil towards her sister and it belongs to

the meanness type of taboo. The word /habla/ 'crazy' used by the daughter to describe that her mother is stupid and cannot do anything to her. This word represents the intellectual type .

(8) محاوره بين صديقتين في المدرسة

الأولى: حمد الله عسلامه .. كالمو انت مريضه البارحه وماخذة أجازة .

الثانية: والله عندي فلونزا ، شكو ماكو شنو صاير البارحه ؟

الأولى: البارحه رزلتني هاي العانس ام الرياضيات وختلتي صفر باليومي .

الثانية: ليش شمسويه ... أحجيلي .

الأولى: والله ممسوي شي ، بس انت تعرفين أنه موضوع المعادلات بعدمشرحنا ... مو؟

الثانية: أي بعده ...

الأولى: بريج كومنتي عالسيوره وتكلي اشرحي الموضوع ، كلتلها ست مماخذيه الموضوع ، كلتلي

لتحجين واشرحي .

الثانية: أي يامصخمه وشسويتي ؟

الأولى: والله شرحت ألي اعرفه وسألتني أسئله ماعرفت اجاوبهه وكلتلي رح اخلي ألج صفر باليومي .

الثانية: وشكلتيلها ام حلك هاي .

الأولى: كلتلها ست انت تعرفين أني عندي أعفاء عام وانت رح توكفين اعفائي عالرياضيات وكلتلي

انجبي وأكعدي بمكانج .

الثانية: حسبي الله ، الله ليوقفها ، هي متقصده هالشي حتى بنت اخوها تنعفي هالكسوله .

الأولى: الله ليوقفها بس أني رح أروح عالمديره أكوولها.

الثانية: أي روحيلها.

Conversation between two girls at school

A-Thank Allah for your health... they said that you were sick yesterday.

B- I had influe ... what happened yesterday ?

A-Yesterday, this /el9anis / math's teacher /rezelatni:/ and put zero at math.

B-Why ...what did you do ? .. speak.

A-I didn't do anything, but you know that we didn't explain the topic of equations.

B-Yes, we didn't explain it.

A-The teacher stopped me at the board and said explain this topic.... I said that we didn't explain it ... she said don't speak and explain it .

B-Yes /ya mŞaxuma/ and what did you do?

A-I explained what I knew ... she asked me questions, but I didn't know to answer ... she said that , I will mark a zero for you at the daily exam.

B-And ..what did you say to this /um ھاleg/.

A-I said that, you know that I have a general exemption , but because of math I will never exempt ... she said /enĈebi: / and sat.

B-Allah suffices her She made this to let her son's niece to exempt ... this /elkasula /.

A-I hope that Allah will never help her ... I will tell the headmistress.

B-Yes, tell her.

In this conversation, the person A used the word /rezelatni:/ 'cursed me' to describe the situation of her teacher. It represents the meanness type. While the word /el9anis/ 'maiden' used by the person A when she speaks about her teacher and this word is used to describe a woman who is still unmarried. This word belongs to the mother theme. Another word is /um ھاleg/ 'having amouth' which represents the family origin type and the mother theme. This word is used to call and insult a person who had a big mouth. The word /inĈab/ means 'shut up' belongs to insulting names type and it is widely used by the people of Iraqi society by both children and adults. The last word used in this conversation is /elkasu:la/ 'lazy'. This word used by A to describe how the teacher's relative is lazy in the class. This word represents the idleness type.

(9) صديقان يتقابلان قرب الصيدليه

الأول: هلو ابو حسن شلونكم .. شخباركم ؟

الثاني: هلو ابو حيدر ، حمد الله عسلامه صار فتره مشايفك .. وبين هالغيبه ؟ عاش من شافك .

الأول: والله أخذت أهلنا لأربيل للطبيب وهناك وديت الجهال لمدينة الألعاب يتونسون ضايجين .

الثاني: بالعافيه حبيبي ، وشكد بقتوا هناك ؟

الأول: بقينا حوالي شهر وأجينه .

الثاني: وشلون أسعارهم هناك ، يكولون شويه غاليه اسعارهم ، صدك هذا الحجي ؟

الأول: يعني شويه الأيجار غالي والعلاج ، بس الفندق ألي كعدنه بي يكرم الله التواليت وسخه .

الثاني: والله هذوله اصحاب الفنادق لوتيه وقفاصه ، لأن انت غريب أستغلوك وصعدوا الأسعار .

الأول: والله شنسوي ذكروا هذا الطبيب زين فوديت أهلنا عليه .

الثاني: ماشي حبيبي بالعافيه ، تفضلوا تعشوا يمنا ؟

الأول: تسلم دايم ، خليها مره ثانيه ، سلمنا عال أهل .

الثاني: تسلم ، انت هم سلمنا .

Two friends are meeting at a pharmacy

A-Hello abu Hassan ... how are you .

B-Hello abu Haider ,thank Allah for your help ... it is a long time that I didn't see you.

A-I took my family to Arbil to the doctor then took my children to the city of games.

B-Well done, how long did you stay there ?

A-About one month, then we came .

B-How were the prices there ?they said that they are so expensive ... is it right ?

A-Their rent and medicine are expensive, but the hotel that we stayed in /yekram allah waŞex/ .

B-Yes those the owners of hotels are /lu:tia wqafaŞa/ because you are stranger, they exploit you.

A-They told me that this doctor is talented and I went to him.

B-Ok . My dear I hope you have a health , here you are to us to have a dinner.

A-Thank you , let it another time.

B-Thanks.

In this conversation, the phrase /yekram allah/ 'Allah glorify ' is used when someone wants to speak about unclean places to protect himself and the hearer from being injured by these words. It belongs to the dirt type. The word /waṣxa/ is like the previous phrase. The word /lu:tia/ 'deceiters' used by the B to describe how the owners of hotels try to cheat him and this word belongs to the meanness type. While the word /qafaaṣa/ belongs to the theft type.

(10)مشاجره بين ولدين

اللاعب: يعمود شبيك متنتبه للطوبه ، ليش تخليها تقوت بالمرمى وكل شويه مسجلين هدف ؟

حارس المرمى: يعني شسوي متدافعون عالمرمى ؟ بس آني مبتلي .

اللاعب: وأنت شنو شغلك خراع خضره ؟ ليش مخليك حارس مرمى ؟

حارس المرمى: أحترم نفسك يادئو ، انت تعلمني ؟ انتبه عالطوبه ومالك دخل بالمرمى .

اللاعب: والله محد دئو غيرك ، انتبه عالطوبه من تجي مو راح يفوزون هالمظارطه .

حارس المرمى: وشدعوه مهتم قابل دتلعب وية فريق عالمي ورح تاخذالكأس من كبركبرك .

اللاعب: فوت ولي والله تظل عارطول عمرك .

حارس المرمى : احترم نفسك انت عار .

Quarrel between two boys

Player: Why didn't you notice the ball ?why did you let it enter the goal?

Goalkeeper: So what did I ?why didn't you defend the goal?

Player: But what is your work is it /xara9 xuḍra /,why are you a goalkeeper?

Goalkeeper: Respect yourself /yadeθu:/ you don't teach me my work just notice the ball.

Player: You are /deθu:/ just notice the ball because those /elmaḍarṭa/ will win.

Goalkeeper: So what ... do you play a world match /gabur gubarak /.

Player: / fu:t weli: / you are /9ar/.

Goalkeeper: Respect yourself, you / 9ar /.

This conversation contains the following swearing or taboo words such as the phrase /xara9 xuḍra/ 'scarecrow'. This word describes the person who didn't move or do anything but he is like an inanimate thing. This word belongs to the idleness type. Another word is /deθu:/ 'stupid' which belongs to the intellectual type and describes how the player is stupid in his playing. While the word /maḍarṭa/ means 'trivial persons' in its connotation, but the meaning of the word is 'the excretory'. This word belongs to the insulting names type. The phrase /gabur gubarak/ ' a grave take you' is used by the goalkeeper to state that if the player doesn't know to play well it is better that a grave takes him. It belongs to the insulting names type. Another phrase is /fu:t weli:/ ' go away '. It is like the word /ingaŒer/ which is used to fire someone. This phrase belongs to the meanness type. The last word is /9ar/ 'a shame' used to describe a feeling of pain that can be caused by the wrong behaviour. This word belongs to the meanness type.

(11)مشاجره بين جارتين

الأولى: عيني ام عمر هاي الجداري مالتكم ... شكراً عيوني .

الثانية: العفو عيني ، تدلّين .. بس هاي الجداري ممغسوله .

الأولى: لا والله عيني غسلتهم .

الثانية: عيني انطيتج الجداري يلمعن ، بس هذوله صايرات سود ... انت مغاسلتهم زين .

الأولى: فدوه لعيونج ، شنو دا جذب عليج مو كتلج غسلتهم ، شنوتعلميني بالنظافه ؟ لا عيني بعدما

دزعليكم شنو مشايفين ... هي جداري !

الثانية: أي عيني وشكنالج وزعتي ، يطبج مرض .

الأولى: أحترمي نفسج ولا تغلطين ، مو عيب عليج ، والله أكل لرجلج .

الثانية: ماتكوليله...!

الأولى: أي طبعا مو هو طرطور عندج.

الثانيه: ميخالف بس أحسن من رجلي النسيويني.

الأولى: أحسن من الطرطور يا أم بيت الجايف.

الثانيه: انت بيتج جايف ، لو بيعج خير جان اشترיתי جداري يا أم العلوم.

الأولى: العتب مو عليج ، العتب عليه أحجي ويه هيح شكول زفره .

A Quarrel between two neighbours

A-My dear, these are your cooking pots thank you.

B-Not at all, but these pots are not clean.

A-No my dear, I cleaned them well .

B-But I gave you the pots blaze, but these became black and dirty, I think you didn't wash them well.

A-What did you say, do I lie ? I said I washed them , do you teach me cleaning ?I will never take your pots again ... do not you see pots in your life?

B-So what ... what I said to you that made you angry ?.. /yeṭubeĈ maraḏ/.

A-Respect yourself ... don't mistake ... it is a shame of you ... I will tell your husband .

B-So what ... tell him.

A-Yes of course , because he is / ṭarṭu:r /

B-Ok , but he is better than yours who is /nsewini:/.

A-But not /ṭarṭu:r ya um beit eljaief /.

B-No one /beita jaief /except you ... if you are well you should buy pots /ya um el9lu:m/ .

A-I am wrong that I speak with / hi:Ĉ Šku:l zafra /.

In this conversation, there are the following words. The first phrase /yeṭobeĈ maraḏ/ 'take you a sick ' used by the speaker B to shut up the speaker A that her speech is in vain. This word represents the insulting names type. The word /ṭarṭu:r/ 'a person who has no worth inside his home' and this word is widely used. It belongs to the meanness type. Another word is /nsewini:/ 'wanton' or 'a playboy' who likes to look at women. It belongs to

the meanness type. While the word /eljaief/ 'smelly' is used by the speaker A to describe how the person B's house is smelly. This word represents the dirt type. Another word is /um el9lu:m/ 'a woman who much likes speech' used widely among women. This word belongs to the mother theme and family origins type. The last phrase is /hi:Ç Šku:l zafra/ ' your ugly shape' used to describe a fault in his shape and it belongs to the scatological theme and insulting name type.

(12) عركه بين الأخوان

الأب: ابني شنو هالهوسه لمسوينها ، مو عيب ... انتو جهال؟

الأبن الكبير: بابا هو يغلط عليه .

الأب: يعني هو لحاله يغلط عليك ... أكيد سويت وياه شي خلاه يغلط عليك .

الأبن الصغير: بابا والله دا ألعب بشطرنج ، أجه هو طشرها عالکاع ، كتله لمها ، ضربني راشدي لهذا أني غلطت عليه .

الأب: أي وأنت شنو كتله ؟

الأبن الصغير: هو كلي يامكفخه أصدقائك يكفخون بيك وكتله انت مكفخه يا مسلوع يا ملكاك .

الأبن الكبير: بابا تقبل يکلي ملكک هذا میحترمني لهذا ضربته .

الأب: بالله مو عيب علیکم ، اذا الناس تسمعکم שתکول .

الأبن الكبير: بابا أني أعتذر منك ، بس كله خلي يحترمني .

الأبن الصغير: خريه على حلك من تبطل تتهنتر عليه أني أحترمک .

الأب: کافی تحجون یاالله کل واحد ینکشر بغرفته وینطمر .

A quarrel between brothers

Father: My son, what is this chaos ... it is a shame ... are you children, aren't you?

Elder son: Dad my brother insults to me.

Father: He doesn't insult you, but I am sure you have done something wrong.

Little son: Dad I was playing chess and he came and scatter the chess pieces ... then I asked him to collect them , but he hit me, so I insult to him.

Father: Yeah and what did you say?

Little son: He said you are /makfafa/ of your friends /yekfaxu:n bi:k / so I said to him you are /makfafa msalw9 wa mleglag/.

Elder son: my dad do you accept that he called me /mleglag / . He doesn't respect me for this I hit him.

Father: So ..if people heard you, it is a shame, isn't it?

Elder son: My father I am sorry, but he doesn't respect me .

Little son: /xaria bħalgak /if you let to /tethanter/ I will respect you.

Father: Stop that blathering, everyone /yengaŜer / to his room and /yentamur/.

In this conversation, the word /makfafa/ 'coward' is used by the elder son to describe his son's coward behaviour by his friends to his father and how they beat him. This word belongs to the lack of courage type. Another word is /msalwa9/ 'skinny' which is used to describe a scraggy person and this word belongs to the scatological theme. While the word /mleglag/ 'shameless' is used to describe a rude person. This word represents the promiscuity type. Meanwhile, the word /xarya/ 'shit' is mentioned previously. Another word is /tethanter/ 'be a hero' which is used when someone wants to control another one such as by beating him or raising his voice. It belongs to the lack of courage type. The last two words which are /yengaŜer/, /yentamur/. The first one means 'go away' mentioned previously, but the second one means 'to sleep' used to speak about one who should sleep at certain time. This word is one of the insulting name types.

(13) محاوره على الهاتف

الأول: ها ولك شفت هذا ابو وجه المزنجر شلون ناشر صور بنات على صفحته .

الثاني: منو هذا ؟ البارحه النت مكطوع عدنه ... أحجيلي .

الأول: يول هذا رائد ... الجحش ... ابو البنات ... ناشر صور بنات كلش حلوه .

الثاني: الله عليك أرسلهم ألي .

- الأول:** فوت أبو الدبيب .. شمعرفك بالفيس ، بعدك زغير لروح تشوفك أمك وتشبعك صوندات .
- الثاني:** أيباه ... هسة انت من فهمك ، فهم الأخضر .
- الأول:** أشوفك هسة انت نت وماتعرفله ... المهم ، ليش النت مكطوع عدكم ؟
- الثاني:** يمعود هذا العكره ابويه مدفع أشتراك هذا الشهر ، يكول الأمتحانات قريبه ولازم تصد على دروسك .
- الأول:** يالله نص ساعة أمرك نروح للساحة نلعب طوبه .
- الثاني:** يمعود مو هذا أبويه خاف ميقل شلون ؟
- الأول:** يالله روح حاول أطلع جذبه وأقنعه وتعال .
- الثاني:** يالله ماشي أنتظرك .

A Conversation on the phone

- A-** / ha welak / did you see yesterday this /abu wajah elmzanjer/ how posted photos of girls on his page.
- B-** Who is that ?yesterday my net is switched off ... speak what ?
- A-** / yawel/ this Ra'ad /eljaħiŝ/ .../abu elbanat/ is showing beautiful photos.
- B-** By Allah send them to me.
- A-** Fu:t abu eldebi:b / you are still a child ... be careful that your mother will see you and /tŜab9ak Ŝondat/ .
- B-** /aiebah / ..you don't understand and your knowledge is / fihim elaxađar/ .
- A-** I saw you ...you don't know the net....,but why is your net switched off ?
- B-** Because my father this /el9ukra/ doesn't pay the subscription. He said that the exams are close and I should study well.
- A-** Ok after half an hour I will come to you to go playing football.
- B-** But my father will not accept .
- A-** Try to find any excuse and come.
- B-** Ok I will try .

The first taboo or swearing phrase used in this conversation is the phrase /ha welak/ 'yes you'. This phrase is commonly used among friends and considered as an insulting name. The other phrase is /abu wajah elmzanjer/

which means 'father of dirty face'. This phrase is widely used to describe the person's face which is brown and looks dirty. This phrase belongs to the insulting name and scatological theme. While the word /eljaḥeš/ is another naming of the word 'donkey' in the Iraqi society and belongs to the unflattering comparisons or animal theme and scatological theme. The word /abu eldebi:b/ means 'having lice' is used to describe someone who doesn't know to do something or to describe the person B that he doesn't know to use the net. It belongs to the family origins type. The other phrase is / tŜab9ak Ŝonda:t/ 'gives you strikes' widely used when someone wants to beat another and it belongs to the insulting names. Another word is /aiebah / considered as a mockery word and belongs to the insulting name type. While the word /9ukra/ 'complex' is used to describe how a person is difficult to deal with and it belongs to the social conditions type. The last phrase is /fihim elaxaḍar / 'knowledge like donkey'. The word /elaxaḍar/ is another naming of donkey that when someone is stupid, he is nick named by this name. This phrase represents the intellectual and scatological theme.

(14) نقاش بين أم وأولادها

الأم: أبنّي صخام بوجهك ... ليش راسب؟ ولك شكو رايح وجاي من المدرسه ... هاهيه بس مكضيهاطلعات وياه أصدقائك ..

الأبن الكبير: ليش انت تعرفين هو ديلعب وياه واحد نكري بالمدرسه... ينكر من جنط أصدقائه بالمدرسه .

الأم: وانت الشفيه شمديك؟

الأبن الكبير: غير أصدقائه يحجون .

الأبن الصغير: ماما هوخوش ولد... بس لحالهم يحجون عليه .

الأم: أي أعرفك متمشي غير وياه الكسالى ... زين وين راح كلامي ... وياهه شرايحلك متقره وتنجح .

الأبن الكبير: مو ثور ما يفهم شي

الأبن الصغير: أنجب وأكل خره ... عليك بنفسك وبس.

الأبن الكبير: دولي ...لو بيك خير جان نجحت .

الأبن الصغير: أيباه... علاساس من شطارتك هو سادس شحطوك منه شحط .

الأم : أي هاهيه بس فالحين بالمناكره والكسل عاميكم .

Discussion among a mother and her sons

Mother: /ʃxa:m bwajhak/ why did you fail .. why do you go and come everyday from school ...you spent your time going with your friends.

Elder son: Do you know that he walks with one who is /negari:/ at school ... /yengur /of his friends' bags at school.

Mother: And you / elʃefya/ how did you know ?

Elder son: His friends are talking .

Little son: Don't lie ... he is a good boy .

Mother: Yes I know that you walk with /elkasala/ why did you fail ? .. why don't you study ?

Elder son: /mu ʔo:r / doesn't know anything .

Little son: /enĈab wʔukel xara / let me.

Elder son : /diwali: / if you are good you should succeed.

Little son: what ..are you clever ?... it is just the sixth and /ʃeḥto:k Ŝaḥaḥ/.

Mother: you are clever just by /elmnagara welkasal 9amikum /.

The following conversation contains the following words : the first phrase is /ʃxa:m bwajhak/ means 'soot in your face'. This phrase is used when someone fails in something or does something evil. It belongs to the insulting names type. For the word /negary/ which means 'theft' and mentioned previously. Another word is /elʃefia / means ' a person who has nothing just evil ' and it is used from the side of insulting the person. It belongs to the insulting name type. While the word /elkasala/ 'lazies' used by mother to describe that her sons are lazy at school and this word belongs to idleness type. For the word /ʔo:r/ which means ' ox ' used by the elder son to describe

how his brother is lazy and stupid. It belongs to the unflattering comparisons. For the word /enĈab/ means 'shut up' is mentioned previously and the phrase /?ukel xara/ 'eat a shit' is also mentioned. The word /Šeḥto:k/ which means 'dragging you' used by the little son to speak on his brother who finished his school with difficulty. It represents the insulting name type. While the last word is /elmnagara/ means 'quarrel' that how those sons quarrelled frequently. This word belongs to the insulting name type.

(15) مناقشه بين فلاحين

الأول: شفت يكلون ابو عماد صاير عضو بالبرلمان ماشالله .

الثاني: وطكعه منه ... يعمود كضاها تدغمر..ياالله وصل .

الأول: ياالله بلكت نستفاد منة بوظيفه ! .. أو تبليط شارع .. أو حتى يدزلنا بذور .

الثاني: يعمود كل عقلك هالردى يسوي لك خير ... أصلا هوفكري مشايف فلوس .

الأول: والله صحيح هالندل ماوراه فايده .

الثاني: انت تذكر من صار مدير شلون رفع خشمه .

الأول: اي صحيح هوزنكطه وميتحاجه .

الثاني: والله حظوظ ... كل واحد مهتلف زايعة الكاع صار بالبرلمان... كل واحد كاتله الهيري

و عفتي صار بالبرلمان ...كضوها لغف .

الأول: قصدك شلة بعوره .

Discussion between two farmers

A-Did you hear ?... I heard that abu Imad became a member in the parliament.

B-/wetəg9a mena/ ...he spent time /etduğmur /and reached.

A-We hope to take a benefit of him ...with a job or paving a street or just send us seeds.

B-Are you sure ! ... this /elredi:/ doesn't do anything He is /fugri:/ didn't see money.

A-That's right this /elnadel/ doesn't give any benefit.

B-Did you remember when he became a headmaster at school

how / ruf9 xaŠma/.

A-Yes it is right he is /zunguṭa/ .

B-He has a good luck ...everyone/mhatlaf zaie9ta elga9/ became at the parliament...everyone /katla elhebri: w9efti:/at parliament ...they spent it /laḡuf /.

A-You mean that, they are /Ŝilat b9ura /.

In this conversation, the phrase /weṭaḡ9a mena/ ' fart of him' used to mock someone. In this conversation, the farmers criticize the members of the parliament and describe them with bad epithets. This word belongs to the excretory type. Another word is /etduḡmur/ ' splutter ' to describe how those members didn't do their work well and it represents the treachery type. While the word /elredi:/ means ' miser ' is an adjective for the meanness type. For the word /fugri:/ 'poor' used to speak about someone who lives in poverty and it represents the social conditions type. Another word is /elnadēl/ 'villain' which belongs to the meanness type. For the word /ruf9 xaŜma/ 'his nose is above' or 'snobbish' is used to describe how this person is insolent in his behaviour. It belongs to the meanness type. The word /zunguṭa/ means this person is so insolent in his dealing with others and it belongs also to the meanness type. Other words are /mhatlaf/, /katla elhebri:/ refer to the same meaning which is poverty or a person who lives a miserable life and represents the social conditions type. Another phrase is /zaie9ta elga9/ which means a person who doesn't know anything and takes a good position that doesn't suit him. It belongs to the insulting name type. For the word /9efti:/, it means unrespectable person and this word is commonly used by Iraqi people. It belongs to the meanness type. The last word is /b9ura/ which means ' shits '. It belongs to the excretory type and this word is used especially by people who live in a village.

(16) عركه بين أولاد الجيران

الأول: يول ... شكّم مره أذز علماسحه مالتكم ... ليش متنطوها ؟

الثاني: وهي شنوقيمتها ؟ متشترن ماسحه من السوك ... والله بزعتونا يوميه ماخذيّه .

الأول: وسخونه يول جنك مصيول ... شنو مشايفين هي ماسحه .

الثاني: أي مشايفين .. روحوا انتو جيبوا ماسحة يابوطحج يابوجميته .

الأول: يول العتب على أبوك الي معرف يربيك .

الثاني: هسه انت شلونك عاد... ، بابا روح سوي ريجيم أحسلك .

الأول: دفوت جوه مصيول لتروح تنكسر.

الثاني: دولي يا طايح الحظ ... شو كظيتوها بس شحايد.

الأول: ياالله هسه انتو شلونكم

الثاني: روح بابا روح الله ينطيك.

Quarrel among neighbours' sons

A-/yawel / how often I send to your shovel ... why don't you give it ?

B-But why don't you buy one ... why everyday you take it ?

A-/weŞxuna yawel Ćanak mŞe:wel/... it is just a shovel .

B-Yes we didn't see ... go and buy one /ya abu tehej ya abu Ćexmi:ta /.

A-/ Yawel / your father doesn't tolerate you .

B-But how are you ... go and make a diet.

A-Enter inside /mŞi:wel/ in order not to be broken.

B-/deweli: ya taieḥ elḥaḍ/ .you spent it /Şahaied/.

A-But how are you ! ...

B-Go and Allah will give you.

This conversation contains the following words and phrases: the first is /yawel/ used to reduce affair of someone and represents the insulting name type. Another word is /Şxu:na/ 'fever' used to call on someone who doesn't like him and it belongs to the diseases theme. For the phrase /Ćanak mŞi:wel/ 'you look skinny' and it used for a person who looks skinny. This word belongs to the scatological theme. For the two phrases /abu tehej/ and /abu Ćexmi:ta/ , 'having a paunch'. These are used to describe a person who has a big paunch. It belongs to the family origin type. While the phrase /taieḥ elḥaḍ/ 'has no luck'. It belongs to the insulting name type. The last word is /Şahaied /

means 'beggars' used to describe how those neighbours like to take others belongings. It refers to the social condition type and demeaning label type.

(17) عركه على الهاتف

الأول: ألو...

الثاني: ألو... تفضل ... منو وياي؟

الأول: أنت منو ...؟

الثاني: ولك يا جحش ، ليش منو المتصل ... انت منو؟

الأول: أنتو داكين عليه .

الثاني: يابه منو داك عليكم ؟ ... مو هسه انت دتخابر شنو انت لوتي !

الأول: مو انتو دكيتو الصبح على هذا الرقم .

الثاني: ولك يازفر مو كتلك محدك عليك ... يا الله فوت ولي ... عليه هاي السوالف!

الأول: أي سوالف عيني؟ ... شو أنتو دكيتو علينا لعد مين أجاني رقمكم .

الثاني: أي طبعا تدكدك أرقام عمياوي بلكت تطلع بنيه ... ولك والله لو بس أعرفك لأنعل جلاب أهلك .

الأول: ياخايس ... لوبيكم خيرمتدكون عالناس ... من تقو عليك .

الثاني: تقو عليك أنت ياناقص .

A Quarrel on the phone

A-Hello...

B-Hello...here we are ...who is it ?

A-Who are you ?

B-/welak ya jaħaŝ / who is the caller ?.... who are you ?

A-You call on us.

B-But who calls you ? ...you just now call us ...are you /lu:ti:/.

A-But, in the morning, you called us.

B-/ welak ya zafer / I said that we never call you ... go /fu:t weli:/ what are these speeches ?

A-Which speeches ?... you called on this number So from where have I this number?

B-Yes, of course ... you call on different numbers randomly in order to speak with a girl .. I hope to see you in order to /an9el Ĉlab ahlak /.

A-/ ya xaies/ if you are well you shouldn't call on people / tefu 9le:k/.

B-/tefu 9le:k inta ya na:qeŞ/.

This conversation contains the following words or phrases: for the word /welak/ used to reduce affair of someone as mentioned previously. While the word /jaħaŞ/ is another naming of the word donkey and belongs to the scatological theme . Another word is /ya zafer / means 'a smelly person' to describe someone who has a stink. It belongs to the dirt type. For the phrase /fu:t weli:/ is mentioned previously. While the phrase /an9el Ĉlab ahalak/ means 'damned your family's dogs'. It is an indirect insulting and it belongs to the family origin type and the ancestor theme. The other word is /ya xaies/ used to demean someone. It belongs to the insulting name type. For the last phrase /tefu 9le:k/ which means ' I spit on you' and represents the dirt type.

(18) عركه بين فلاحين

الأول: ولك ... ليش فاييت بكاعتي وماخذ خيار؟

الثاني: هاي منو كلك؟ .. آني شوكت فاييت بكاعك ... شدعواك يمعود.

الأول: ولك فوكاهه تنكر ... موشافوك اليوم .

الثاني: اليوم أنعل والديك ياأخ العوره أنت والكالك .

الأول: هم فوكاهه أنت أبو الراهي ... هاي بدل متعتذر... والله لأكسر الكرك على راسك وراس ألكلفك .

الثاني: أحترم نفسك ... بالله ما تستحي على نفسك .. والله تظل طول عمرك ردي أبين ردي .

الأول: اليوم آني أعلمك منو الردي ياقفاص ... ماستحييت على نفسك تبوك وتظم راسك .. والله لأحرمك

تفوت بكاعي .

الثاني: مو كتلك ما طبييت بكاعك شنو أنت شلغمت عليه انجعلك بسرطان .

Quarrel between two farmers

A- why did you enter my land and took cucumbers?

B-Who said it to you ?when did I enter your land ?

A-you deny, but someone saw you today.

B-Today I will /an9el walde:k ya ax el9o:ra/ you and that who told you .

A-You should apologize, but now I will break this spade on your head and your parents' heads.

B-Respect yourself ... it is a shame ..you still /redi: /all your life.

A-Today I will teach you who is /elredi: /you should be shy that you stole and denied I will prevent you from entering my land.

B-I said that I never enter your land ...are you /Ŝalġamet/ if you didn't believe me /enja9alak beŞaraţan/.

In this conversation, the phrase /an9el walde:k / 'damned your parents ' is mentioned formerly. Another phrase is /ax el9o:ra/ 'haning one eyed'. It is an insulting name which refers to the person who is a brother to an immoral woman. This word belongs to the mother theme and the promiscuity type. Another word is /redi:/ which means 'stingy'. He is a mean man who never lends money or anything. It belongs to the meanness type. The word /Ŝalġamet/ which means 'stubborn' a person who insists on something or saying something. This word belongs to the meanness type. The last phrase is /enja9alak beŞaraţan/ which means 'to have a cancer'. It is used when someone feels angry of another one. This word represents the disease theme.

(19) عركه بين السواق

الأول: لك يا ثور متشوف ، ليش كسرت علي وضربت السيارة .. أنت أعمى متشوف ؟
الثاني: أني مكسرت عليك أنت دتمشي بسرعة وخففت فجأه وأني لزممت بريك ... انت أحول متشوف وراك .

الأول: و فوكاهه أنت الراهي عليه وهم تغلط .

الثاني: أي أغلط لأن أنت تجاوزت علي .

الأول: والله لأدوس على راسك بالقنדרه ... لعد هاي السيارة منو يصلحها؟ غصبن عليك تدفع نص بالتصليح .

الثاني: أني ما كتلك تصوير أثول متشوف ...ياالله بابا روح .. شنو كلولك أني قشمر.. أصلاً أنت العايل

الأول: والله محدقشمر غيرك وفوكاهه متريدتدفع بالتصليح!... أليوم أشوي أبو أبوك.

A Quarrel between two drivers

A-/lak ya Өo:r /can't you see ... why did you destroy my car ?... Are you blind ?

B-I didn't destroy your car ... you drove quickly and I had a break ... are you /aḥwel/ can't see.

A-why did you speak badly against me.

B-Yes I will because you start to maltrent me.

A- I will /adu:s 9ala rasek bilqundara/ who will repair this car ... you should pay half of the cost.

B- I didn't tell you to be /aӨwal/ didn't see ? Go please. I am not /qaŜmar/ ...you are mistaken.

A-No one /qaŜmar/ except you... you must pay or I will /aŜwi: ?bu ?bu:k/.

This conversation contains the following words and phrases. The first word is /ya Өo:r/ 'ox' used by the person A to describe how the person B didn't see his car and rammed it. It belongs to the scatological theme and unflattering comparison type. Another word is /aḥwel/ 'squint' also used to describe that this person didn't see the car and it represents the insulting type and the scatological theme. While the phrase /adu:s 9ala rasek bilqundara/ 'trample by shoe on your head'. It belongs to the insulting name type. For the word /aӨwal/ which means 'stupid' it belongs to the scatological theme. While the word /qaŜmar/ means 'a cheated person' a person who another one cheats him easily or wants to cheat him and it belongs to the dishonesty type. The last phrase is / aŜwi: ?bu ?bu:k / which means 'grilling your father's father' and it belongs to the ancestor theme.

الأولى: عيني يا أم الجهال .. شويه ربي جهال الخبول ... شوفيهم يلعبون بالتراب وأناي قبل شويه نظفت ...

الثانية: أي عيني لعد وين يروحون؟! ... وأذا لعبوا بالتراب شنو قامت الساعة ، فوتي يأم غرفه المكطنه .

الأولى: لا عيني أني غرفتي مومكطنه بس أنت المحمضه أنت و جهال الخبول ..بالشهر مره تسبحون.
الثانية: ليش يمه عفنا النظافه ألج يأم كرافيص .

الأولى: أحسن منح شوفي رجليج أنهزم منح ومن وساخه جهال ... وهذا أبنج ألبير أبو شخه ...فوتي نظفي غرفتيج .

الثانية: ميخالف بس أني مو بايرة مثلج يا ملكلكه لو بيعج خير جان نفكوج وما جيتي على ضره وكوم جهال .

Quarrel between hypothenars

A-You mother of children ...can you bring them up well those /elxbu:l/ ... do you see how they play with the soil and before a few minutes, I cleaned up.

B-But where did they go ... so what if they play with soil ...go /ya um ġurfa elmgaṭna/.

A-My room is not /mgaṭna/, but you are /elmḥamḍa/ you and your children /elxbu:l/ ... they bathe just once a month.

B-Why ..? We let cleaning for you / ya um garafi:Ş /.

A-I am better than you, your husband escaped from you and /waŞa:xat / your children ... and this your elder son /abu Şaxa/ ...go to clean your room /elm9afna/.

B-Ok, but I am not /bai:ra/ like you /ya mlaglaga/ if you are a good wife you may not come to hypothenar and children.

In this conversation, there are the following words: the first word is /elxbu:l/ means 'crazy' to describe how the children seem to behave madly. This word represents the meanness type. The phrase is /um ġurfa elmgaṭna/ which means 'your room is putrefactive' to describe how her room is dirty. This phrase represents the mother theme and the dirt type. The word

/elmḥamḍa/, gives the same meaning. While the phrase /um garafi:Ṣ/ means 'having a curly hair' used to describe the creased hair. This word belongs to the mother theme. While the phrase / abu Ṣaxa / 'the owner of piss' which belongs to the family origins and the excretory type. The word /baira/ means 'maiden' used to describe the woman who didn't marry. It belongs to the social conditions type. The last word is /mlaglaga/ 'hussies'. It represents the promiscuity type. It is used to describe how a woman is slut in her behaviours.

Chapter Five

Conclusions, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Research

5.1 Conclusions

In the present study, a survey has been done to discover what taboo is and the taboo words that are found in both societies. Taboo words are frequent in both English and Arabic society. This study provides an insight to the customs and beliefs of both societies. The researcher finds that there are differences between both societies because the norms and beliefs of the Iraqi society differ completely from the English society as it has Islamic culture. Each of those societies reflects its cultural identity. Each social group is different from the other in its behaviour in this way or that way. The researcher finds similarities and differences in some words used by these two societies. The researcher finds that the Iraqi society can be divided into two categories and also subcategories according to the use of taboo words and expressions. According to (Qanbar, 2011:91), these categories are:

- 1- Words that are considered taboo when they are used in particular context (context-specific).
- 2- General words that are considered tabooed (general).

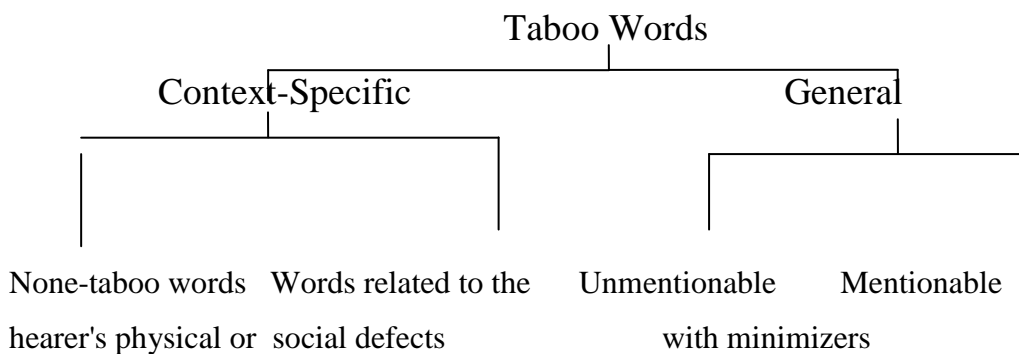


Fig.5.1 : Linguistic Taboos in the Iraqi Society

For the first category, there are two subcategories which are:

A- Non- taboo words: They include words that are considered not taboo, but when used in certain context or situation they are considered taboo. This is due to the fact that these words are associated with dirty words or religion words. For example, (dog, donkey, pig, ox, etc.), the meaning of these words is considered neutral when they are used in everyday speech. While for religious words, they are considered taboo swearing by anything except Allah such as /wda9tak/ 'by you' in the first conversation, /wro:h umi:/ 'by my mother's soul' in the second conversation.

B- Words refer to physical or social defects with connotations to the hearer such as the word (widow) when mentioned in front of a widow or the word (divorce) in front of a divorced woman. In conversation 20, the word /baira/ is used to refer to a woman who is still unmarried.

For the second type which includes the general taboo words, they contain the following subcategories:

A- Words which are considered forbidden or called unmentionable because they are shameful.

B- Words that can be mentioned, but with minimizing to mitigate their force and make them acceptable.

For the first category A, they include the following types :

1- words related to the sex organs, their activity and body effluvia.

2- In certain towns mentioning the name of one's female in front of the outsider is considered tabooed. This is related to the cultural identity of the society. This is due to the status of women in that society that in some towns the woman has no value and men considered her as a shame and this reference is considered not offending. For example, in Falluja Town and the rural areas around it, men avoid mentioning females' names in front of the outsider such as in the Ninth conversation, we find the man says /salmina 9al?ahal/ to avoid mentioning the name of his friend's wife.

For the second category B, there are the following types. The function of these phrases is to mitigate their force and make them acceptable. These types are:

- 1-words or phrases that are used to refer to the unclean things or places such as sewage, toilet, bathroom, etc.). When someone speaks about these things, he uses certain expressions such as /haŜakum/ or /haŜaqadrak/, /ajalakumallah/ .These expressions are used by the speaker to protect the hearer from being injured by such expressions. In the collected data, we find in Ninth conversation the phrase/yekram Allah/ in speaking on toilet.
- 2-words that are used to speak about supernatural creatures such as jennies and ghosts. The speaker uses certain expressions to avoid the magical power of these creatures as he thinks such as /bismellah/ 'by the name of God', /wal9iaḍubellah/'the protection of God'. Speaking about certain diseases is considered tabooed such as cancer, leprosy, etc. There are certain expressions that are used to protect the hearer and the speaker from these things or the speaker doesn't mention this disease such as /ḍakalmarad/ 'that disease'. When speaking about someone who is possibly dying, the speaker uses expressions to minimize this situation. These expressions are /ba9ad 9umur ũiwi:l/ 'after a long age' /la samaḥallah/ ' God forbid that'.
- 3-When asking questions concerning one's age, weight, income, religion, ..etc. this is considered tabooed. For women, they feel embarrassed when someone asks them about their age and weight. Some men feel embarrassed when others ask them, how much is your income? These are considered interference into one's personal life.
- 4- In the Iraqi society in general and in Falluja society in particular, it is considered taboo when the unmarried girls speak about the topics that are related to marriage or sexual activities, but it is acceptable for married girls.

- 5- The researcher noticed that people in English society focus on small taboo words such as shit, fuck, damn, son of a bitch,... etc. While people in Arabic society seem to be more strict in handling a variety of taboo words such as [/deθu:/, /zma:l/, /mxanaθ/, /abu Şmax/, /lo:ti/, /makfafa/, ...etc.
- 6- People in the Iraqi society use different types of taboo words to abuse someone and to make similarity to anything dirty or words related to animals. They use different names of animals to call someone such as /zma:l/ , /jaħeŞ/ ,/θo:r/, /kedi:Ş/, ... etc.
- 8- People in the Iraqi society use exaggeration in speech more than English society such as /makel ʔon teben/ 'I have eaten a ton of hay', /makel ʔon xara/ 'I have eaten a ton of shit'
- 9- People in the Iraqi society use inanimate things to call others such as /Ĉannak elħaiet/ 'you like a wall', /Ĉannak eŞanam/ 'you like an idol'
- 10- Some words are too offensive and insulting especially those that have sexual reference. Other words seem to have less effect although all are abusive and insulting such as those refer to excretion.
- 11- People in the Iraqi society use words that refer to 'shoe' to make similarity to someone such as /qundara/, /na9a:l/.
- 12- People in the Iraqi society use words that refer to the physical appearance to mock the person. Some of these words are /um xuŞa/, /um ħaleg/, /abu kariŞ/ and so forth.
- 13- To describe how a person is coward, people in Iraqi society use certain words such as /mxannaθ/, /xunĈa/, /niθia/.
- 14- People in the Iraqi society use different names to mock or describe that the person is frivolous. Such words are /sibandi:/, /sersari:/, /hetli:/ and so forth.
- 15- People in the Iraqi society use different names for bodily excretions. Some of these words are /yŞux/, /yxari:/, /yedrut/, and so forth.

16-According to the data that are recorded and analyzed in Fallujah society and data from English movies, the researcher found that the Iraqi society use taboo words more than the English society. Throughout making tabulation for the taboo words that are used in both societies(English and Arabic), the researcher found the following rates:

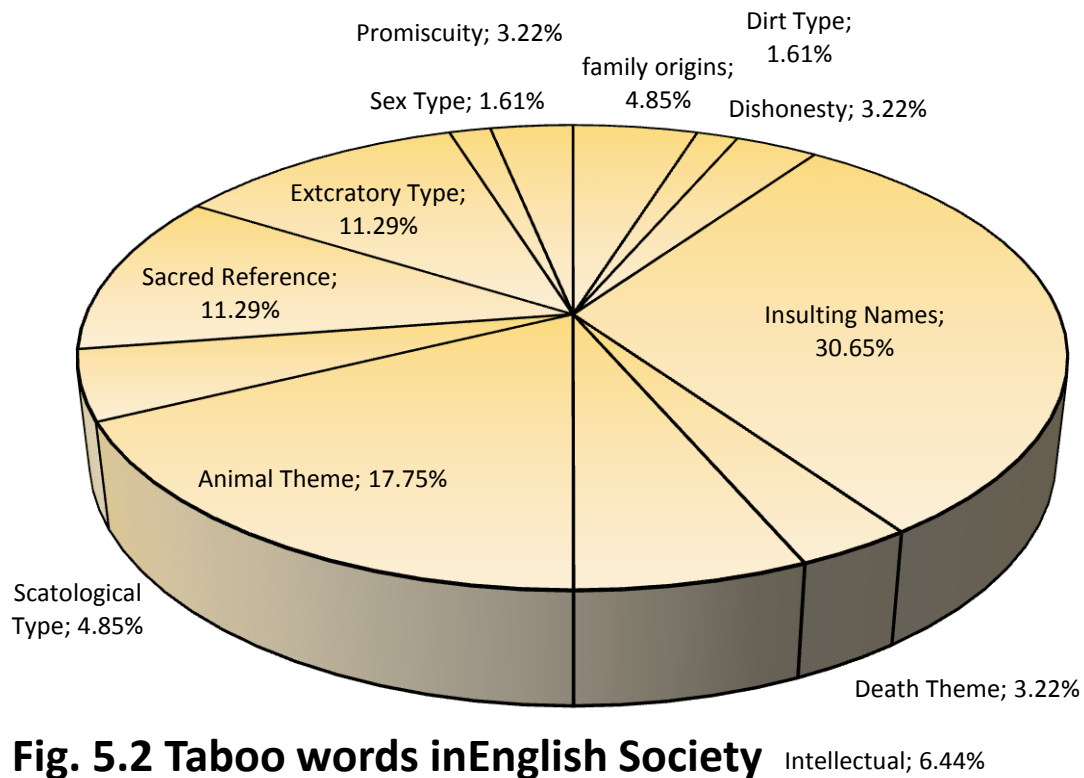
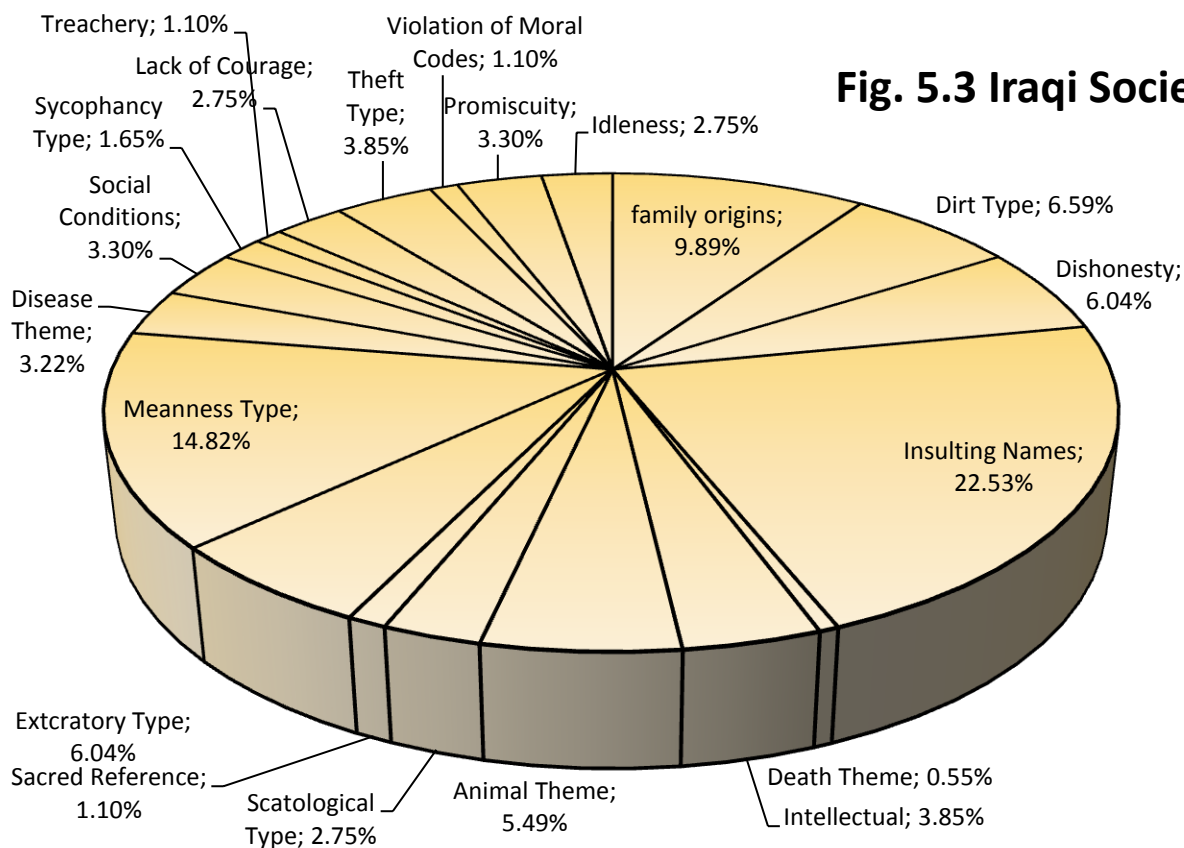


Fig. 5.2 Taboo words inEnglish Society



According to Allan & Burrige (2006:77) the language that is used varies according to the factors of gender, time, education, and socio-economic factors. So the attitudes of speakers towards the use of taboo differ according to their gender, age, educational background, and the socio economic. According to the English and Iraqi Arabic society:

- 1-For gender, males swear more than females (about three times more frequent in one study). Males use stronger words of obscenity, e.g. among eight- to twelve years old. They (ibid) see that "males use words such as shit, fuck, and damn, while females use words such as 'God' or euphemisms 'darn it' and shucks". In the Iraqi society and according to the data, it seems that both males and females are equal in using taboo words.
- 2-The form of language that is used by women seem to be more polite than the form of men. For example as Lakoff (1975:55) notes that "women are supposed to be particularly careful to say 'please' and 'thank you' ... a

woman who fails at these tasks is apt to be in more trouble than a man who does so ". As being cited in Hass (1979:617), Lakoff (1973) sees that men use stronger expressions such as 'shit' and 'damn', while women use weaker or softer profanity such as 'oh dear', 'goodness', or 'fudge' . Women's speech contains more euphemisms, politeness forms, apology and unfinished sentences. While men's speech contains more slang words, profanity and obscenity.

- 3-For time, it means that some words are considered taboos in the past, but overtime they are freed from their Tabooes. For example, in the past husbands consider mentioning the names of their wives in front of the outsider as tabooed, yet this situation is still current nowadays in specific cities like 'Fallujah', but didn't in other cities like Baghdad.
- 4-For education, uneducated people use more taboo words than educated people. Those uneducated people are ignorant to what is polite and impolite. They didn't learn the etiquette of their culture. In the Iraqi society, people who live in village and who are uneducated use taboo words more than educated people. For age, In the Iraqi society teenagers and children use taboo words more than adults. While in the English society (as being cited in Qanbar,2011:97) Holmes states that teenagers use more taboos than children and adults. People who lived and brought up in the rural areas have a tendency to use taboo words that are related to sex and the functions of body more than urban people. This is due to the fact that those people have opportunities to observe animal sexual behaviour around them.
- 5-For the socio-economic factor, poor people use taboo words more than those who live in good conditions. For this reason(as being cited in anbar, 2011:97) Qanbar (2008) states that those children feel more free to speak about the sex organs and their activities in front of anybody without shame.
- 6-Taboo words are used for their emotional impact (connotative) about people rather than for their literal or denotative interpretation, for example one

says 'I feel shitty' means that he does not feel well. This doesn't mean that he is covered with faeces. Connotative is not specific and it conveys meaning involved in irony while denotative is specific with truth(Jay,1992:10). This is similar in Iraqi society, in one of the conversations, someone says /makel xara/ 'I have eaten a shit'. This phrase does not mean that 'he ate a shit', but the connotation of this phrase refers to how this person does not feel well.

This section also sheds light on some of the main similarities and differences in using taboo language in English and Iraqi Arabic society.

1-Taboos for death seem to be similar in both societies(English & Arabic).

Death is considered as a natural phenomenon of everybody's life. These words are motivated from feeling of fearing to lose someone who is dear. Both societies think that death is the end of someone's life. Both societies reflect the religious perspectives of Islam and Christianity in their belief of death. People consider 'hell' or 'damn' very strong swearwords. For death and illness, there are euphemism words. As cited in (Sebkovo, ibid :16) Keyes states that death is a natural phenomenon and everyone feels unhappy and uncomfortable towards dead bodies. Death is connected with mystery and pain. When the patient is died, the doctor uses the euphemisms such as (a patient went, she went peacefully or we lost a patient, etc.).The doctor uses these expressions to prevent both himself and the patient's family from trauma. In Iraqi society, the term/xisarna elmari:đ/ 'we lost the patient' used by the doctor.

2-There are jargon terms which can substitute for taboo terms that are related to the body organs and their functions. For example, instead of saying /yxari:/ 'to defecate', there is the term 'yatabaraz' which is a medical term or the term /bura:z/ 'faeces' instead of /xara/.Another example is when

speaking about sexual organs, there is an Arabic term which is /ala9ða? altnasulya/.

- 3-Speakers of both societies (English & Arabic) try to avoid speaking directly on sex topics because they cause shameful and embarrassment. Both of them use proper names of women or men as euphemistic terms for parts of sexual body.
- 4-Speakers of both societies(English & Arabic) try to avoid speaking about the bodily excretions and bathrooms by using euphemistic terms.
- 5-Both societies try to avoid using religious taboo words.
- 6-The two societies belong to different cultures and these cultures spring from certain norms and customs. Each of these societies has its own socially, politically, and religiously tools for expressing their feelings and attitudes about death.
- 7- Both societies consider taboo language as 'slang' or 'vernacular'. This language cannot be used in formal speech.
- 8- In both societies, taboo words are related with sex, death, animal excretion, bodily function, religious matters and politics.
- 9- In both societies, many words that are related to sex organs and bodily functions take a large set of taboo words.
- 10- Both societies use euphemistic words as a substitution for those taboo words in order to make these words more acceptable.
- 11- Both societies use animals to call someone, but the Iraqi society uses different names of animals more than the English.

5.2 Recommendations

In both societies (English & Arabic), this topic is the same, but there are number of mechanisms that can be replaced or can be alternative for those words to avoid. These mechanisms are (according to Qanbar, 2011:98) : using jargon terms, constructions, euphemisms, creating antonyms, metaphoric

expressions, circumlocution, and use of standard Arabic terms. These mechanisms are used to avoid a face-threatening environment and make the person seem more impolite in his attitudes and behaviours.

In the light of the previous conclusions, the following recommendations may be put :

- 1-It is better to have a good insight of the phenomena of the Glorious Qur'an in particular and the teachings of Islam in general to tolerate the speech of the people under study.
- 2-Since an increase in the standard of learning reduces the amount of taboo in the speech community, it is recommended the adoption of many studies in this affair in order to guarantee our realization of a sublime society.
- 3-Concentrating on the teenagers' education is advisable on the one side and increasing the religious knowledge on the other side especially with the mature people.
- 4-It must be made clear that using taboo is a shameful thing in the speech of women in particular, a fact which requires remedy thereof.
- 5-The study requires much accurate investigation. Selecting the data must be according to the purposes required. There are certain euphemisms for religious taboo terms that are connected with people's beliefs and thinking. People are cautious of mentioning evil spirits which might bring bad luck.
- 6-The resort to euphemisms that there are certain constructions that can be used to avoid taboo words such as, instead of saying /yeŝux/ or/yebu:l/ 'to urinate', the construction 'yeŧaierelmay/ or /yeqdi: ɥa:jta/. When speaking on political characters, the terms that are used such as /eljama9a/, /elɥabarbaŝya/ 'the group' or /elax/ 'the brother' or /el9am/ 'the uncle'.
- 7-The resort to the social side that there are certain words used to refer to females in the family according to the role played. For instance, the mother is called by the eldest male child in her family such as /um Ahmed/. Sometimes, when the man wants to speak about one of his family's'

females, he uses the words /elʔhal/ 'the family', /elbei:t/ ', /eljama9a/ 'the group'. In speaking about the daughter, the term /elmaḥru:sa/.

8-Holy words should not be mentioned alone, but should be accompanied by certain terms such as in mentioning the name of Allah the term/subḥanahu wata9ala/ 'all glory to him', the name of the prophet should be accompanied by the term/salaallah 9alieh wasallam/ 'peace be upon him'. In mentioning the followers of the prophet the term /raḍyaallah 9anhum ajma9i:n/ 'Allah's grace is on all of them'. The name of Allah and the prophet should not be mentioned in dirty places such as bathrooms.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research

The following topics are worthy of further research:

- 1-**A psycholinguistic study of taboo words in the Iraqi society.
- 2-**A stylistic study of the euphemism words for death.
- 3-**Diachronic and synchronic study of taboo words and their euphemisms in English.

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