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Socio-pragmatic study of lexico-taboo expressions: An analysis of taboo expressions used by Iraqi students in Diyala University

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Abstract---This study sheds light on different genres of taboo expressions used by students of the college of basic education in Diyala University. It investigates them according to the context in which they are used and the socio-cultural factors that affect their use. It clarifies why certain expressions are considered to be taboo words inside the campus, and it also discusses the way by which those expressions are accompanied conventionally. The collected expressions of the target environment have been translated, phonologically transcribed. Then, they are divided into five genres i.e. epithets, profanities, obscenities, cursing, and sexual harassment. The researcher concludes that students use such taboo expressions either to make the situation humorous, or they use them for the sake of catharsis, or to show the power.

Keywords---socio-pragmatic study, lexico-taboo expressions, students.

Introduction

Studying taboo expressions socio-culturally is anticipated to add a new dimension to the comprehension of the human psyche. In any community, people react to the world around them by creating certain traditions, conventions, linguistic sanctions, and prohibitions to reflect their attitude. It is worth mentioning that in spite of the censoring of language, taboo expressions are going to continue in their emergences as formations of any community's lexicons. These lexicons strengthen the fabric of the society via making people distinct from one another. Moreover, it is obvious that people in certain situations would, for some reason, employ taboo expressions. Taboo expressions are related to prohibitive incidents or situations in our traditions in general, and also in our spoken language. For instance, in the British society, it is not allowed to use expressions related to religion or sex in certain contexts; in the Chinese society, name of seniority is not

allowed to be mentioned by juniors without a formal address (see: Trudgill 2000) . Taboo expressions are available in any society round the world. They change and develop throughout the time. Sociolinguistically, the definition of the word 'taboo' is so wide, as long as it is related to both taboo expressions and taboo topics. Thus, it is variously defined as it is insulting to employ taboos in the talk since they are deemed to be prohibitive and improper. Because of their profanity, cursing or insult, they are expressions that no one would use in front of his\her grandfather (Trudgill, 2000:18).

It is worth mentioning that males and females employ taboo expressions differently. In their daily talk, males tend to use more taboo expressions in comparison with females. However, females, in general, tend to use refined language, polite expressions in their daily conversations (Coates, 2004:13). It is hoped that this study is going to bridge the gap concerning the use of taboo expressions inside the campus in relation with the Iraqi traditions and conventions. This topic has never been studied before, and in order to bridge this gap, the researcher raises several questions: what type of taboo expressions used by the Iraqi students in the college of basic education\ Diyala University, who uses these expressions more, males or females, is their use confined to males' environment or females' environment, and what type of taboo expressions are the most prohibitive according to the Iraqi culture.

Origin and Definition of Taboos in General

Taboo, as a term, belongs to Polynesian origin (tabu). It means something sacred, i.e. holy or untouchable. This term has been presented to English and became known as 'Taboo' (Freud, 1999: 4). Taboos have been tackled previously from different perspectives viz. sociologically, psychologically, linguistically or philosophically all around the world. They have been studied by Wardhaugh (1984) in comparison with the euphemistic expressions. He defines 'taboo' as a way by which people express their disapproval of certain types of manners that are believed to be harmful. They use such expressions either when a moral code is violated or because of other supernatural reasons (Wardhaugh, 1984:45). However, Trudgill (2000:18) defines 'taboo' as a characterization that is interested with certain behaviours that are believed to be supernaturally prohibited, or regarded as improper or immoral. In other words, it deals with those manners that are inhibited or forbidden in an apparently irrational behaviour. Moreover, he relates taboo expressions to those things that cannot be said (Ibid.).

Furthermore, 'taboo' is defined by Hongxu and Guisen (1990) as an occurrence of a sociocultural phenomenon that is related to a tradition, myth, or even bureaucracy of power. They claimed that individuals in every community restrict or prohibit certain expressions and particular types of manners. Generally, taboo expressions develop when people see certain words as offensive, derogatory, or repulsive and when there is an agreement, these taboo words transmit from one generation to another and so they become familiar after a period of time in any society. It is worth mentioning that taboo words should not be mentioned or talked about, especially in publicly. As a result, words or expressions that are linked to social taboos become linguistic or verbal taboos.

Needless to say that taboo expressions are, not only, deemed to be inappropriate in particular contexts, but they are also prohibited in most communicative incidents. According to Trudgill (1974), the notion of taboo is linked to a certain manner that a particular society sees it as socially undesirable. For example, it is undesirable for Muslims to hand them something in your left hand, because they consider left hands to be dealt with the excrements and dirt of the body (See: Samadi 2014). This social view or realization can be caused by particular unusual belief. It can also be caused by the possibility that certain manners are related to something that is comprehended as improper or immoral (Trudgill, 1974: 29-31). Besides, the notion of 'taboo' is seen to be dealt with manners that are forbidden either by practice or by certain regulations and rules (See: Trudgill 1983). This notion is clarified further by Wardhaugh (1986) who claims that 'taboo' is a personification of any given society's refusal concerning particular kinds of manners that can be baleful to its individuals due to abnormal approval or because of the manners that violate people's moral code (Ibid.).

Linguistic taboos are defined as those expressions or topics by which embarrassments and feelings of shame are caused and they may arouse a sense of shock, in case, they are used in public. The use of taboo words or taboo topics can, sometimes, be repulsive to the listeners' beliefs or sensibilities. Thus, the uses of those words or topics are going to be as an undesirable experiences that do not only bother the entire people around but they also make the personality of the speaker who uses them smaller, because in using those 'taboo expressions', speakers have become aggressive to the listeners. Thus, their status immediately becomes smaller because of these behaviours (See: Qanbar 2011).

Classifications of Taboo Expressions

Classifications of taboo expressions differ from one social culture to another. It seems that within a certain cultural context, an individual may speak different languages in different social contexts but there may be some common restrictions in terms of language and manner (See: Wardhaugh 1998). In order to clarify the idea, it is better to propose a general classification of taboo expressions that can be classified into two macro types i.e. expressions that are taboo only in specific contexts and dangerous expressions that are taboo in general (See: Qanbar 2011). These two branches can be subdivided into other subcategories as seen in the following diagram:



Fig. 1: Classification of Taboo Expressions in General

It is worth noting that there are some neuter expressions that are not taboo but they become taboo in certain contexts. It includes 'Non-taboo words' e.g. names of animals and 'Words related to the hearer's physical or social defects' e.g. talking about blindness in front of a blind person. While the second category, it is concerned with dangerous expressions that are taboo in general. It includes the 'Unmentionable Words' i.e. words that must be mitigated by means of mitigators in polite talk (See: Qanbar 2011). So, we need to explain each kind of the above classification of taboo expressions, supporting our explanation with some of the Iraqi examples of everyday life. This can be done as follows:

Dangerous Expressions in Specific Contexts

They can be sub-divided into two branches, and they are as follows:

- A- Non-taboo Expressions: This type of expressions is concerned with those neuter expressions in meaning in our daily talk such as (donkey, monkey, foundling, etc.) but, nevertheless, they become taboo words in particular contexts, i.e. when they are used as rebuking expressions.
- B- Expressions linked to the Listener's physical or social defect: This type of expressions is concerned with the connotative expressions that represent the listener's physical or social defects because of their connotations. For example: talking about divorce in front of a divorced women or talking about blindness in front of blind people etc.

Dangerous Expressions in general

This can be further divided into two subcategories as shown in figure (1) above i.e. either completely prohibited expressions that are referred to as (unspeakable) or those expressions that can be mentioned with mitigators. They are as follows:

- A- Unspeakable Expressions: they can be classified into the following genres:

- 1- Taboo expressions that are interested with the functions of the sexual parts of the human body and those that are concerned with the body wastes etc.;
- 2- Taboo expressions that are related to the religious blasphemy in general;
- 3- Taboo expressions that are related to the Political quarrels and altercations in general;
- 4- Taboo expressions that are related to taboo traditions and conventions in general (See: Qanbar 2011).

The triangle of sex, religion, and politics is almost found in most of the cultures across the world. This triangle is known as the taboo triad. Moreover, the most dangerous taboo expressions according to the English culture are those that are related to the sexual words, followed by those that are related to the bodily excrements. However, in Norway, the most dangerous taboo expressions according to their culture are those that are linked to the devilish deeds, and according to the Roman Catholic culture, the most dangerous taboo expressions are related with the religious matters (Trudgill 1986: 29).

B- Speakable Expressions with Mitigators

This genre includes expressions that may cause a shock if mentioned without particular fixed conventional mitigators. The task of the mitigators is to minimize the illocutionary force of taboo utterances to make them passable (See: Qanbar 2011). This genre can be further classified into the following:

Unclean objects

Unclean objects are concerned with those expressions that refer to unclean places or objects such as sewages, bathrooms, footwear, etc. The mitigators of this genre straightly address the listener; they aim at saving the listener's face from being threatened by the given taboo expressions. Moreover, the mitigators themselves become polluted as they are related to the disparaging stuffs that they stand for. Among these mitigators are such as: /azaqadrakum/ (May Allah put you in a high rank) , /hashakum/ (May Allah exclude you from this squalor),or /akramakum allah/ (May Allah exalt you). These mitigators are employed to protect the listener's face from the effects of taboo expressions (Hongxu et al 1990:73).

Supernatural Matters

Supernatural matters are concerned with those expressions that refer to certain things that go beyond the comprehension of human being. For example, expressions that are linked to supernatural creatures like ghosts, jennies. It is also concerned with matters like death or dangerous diseases like cancer and leprosy etc., for example, if someone tries to talk about the possibility of the death of somebody, S\he says /Allah la yaquluha/ (May Allah not pronounce it) (Allan and Burrige 2006).

Expressions of Admiration

Expressions of admiration, according to the Arabic culture, are going to be taboo if not preceded by particular mitigators in order to protect the admired thing or person from being envied. For example, once the speaker wants to show his\her admiration of something, S\he should precede his\her expression of admiration with the phrase /Masha' allah/ (Allah's will is to be done) or /Allahuma Sali: ala muhamad / (Allah's prayers on mohammad etc. (See: Qanbar 2011).

Lexical Classifications of Taboo Expressions

The concept of 'taboo language' is so broad. There are various ways by which linguists such as Timothy Jay (1999:25), Montagu (2001:72), and Edwin Battistella (2005:38) have attempted to classify 'taboo expressions'. There is a consensus that 'taboo expressions' can be classified under five umbrella terms (See: Ekstrom 2010). They can be illustrated as follows:

Epithetical expressions are concerned with different kinds of insults (Battistella, 2005:72). For example, bitch, Nigger, etc. They usually refer to race, ethnicity, gender, or sexuality, but they may also refer to appearance, disabilities, or other characteristics. Such as midget, gimp, and retard (Battistella, 2005:72).

Profanity expressions are concerned with the religious terms that focus on the church's discrimination between secular and religious speech (Jay, 1996:10). It is believed that the aspect of profanity requires the tough employment of what is considered to be holy (Battistella, 2005:72). For example, "For the love of Christ, get off the phone!" (Jay, 1996:10).

Obscenity expressions are concerned with those expressions that personify sexual-differing dissection or sexual functions and bodily excrements in a straightforward way (Battistella, 2005:72). The most common expressions of this kind are shit and fuck (Montagu, 2001:105).

Cursing expressions are concerned with those expressions that cause harm to listeners, they are similar to swear words but differ in degree (Jay, 1996:8).

Sexual harassing expressions are concerned with those expressions that are related to one's sexual behavior, sexual looseness, sexual preferences; references to body parts; references that denigrate a person based on gender unwanted sexual remarks, dirty jokes, references to an individual's appearance, or sexual behaviour (Jay, 1996:18).

Functions of Taboo Expressions

People, in certain situations, may use taboo expressions to express their negative stressful feelings and establishing their identities effectively (Jay, 1999:84). According to Jay (1999), the function of taboo expressions can be illustrated in the following diagram:

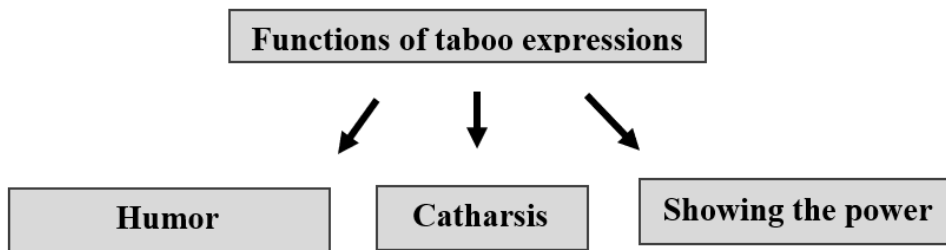


Fig. 2: Functions of Taboo Expressions

Thus, in particular situations, ludicrous effect can be resulted by means of something that is traditionally prohibited. For example, sexual jokes are commonly used among females or males. Moreover, taboo expressions may be used for the sake of catharsis, and this is especially happen when someone is extremely angry and S\he feels the need of expressing his\her anger in violence, the uttering of these prohibited expressions may supply a relatively harmless verbal substitute for going furious and collapsing the furniture; these taboo expressions may play the role of a safety valve in peoples' moments of crisis" (Hayahawa, 1990: 48).

Besides, taboo expressions can be used to show dominance in case they are used as swear-words; because, taboo language is conventionally powerful. It is worth mentioning that rules breaking have connotations of freedom and strength, that is why people sometimes tend to break the rules once they use taboo language (Trudgill, 2000:18).

Taboo Language and Gender

People use taboo expressions differently. In other words, females and males do not use the same taboo words in all the situations. Differences of Gender are found in the use of affronting expressions, sexual words, jokes telling, verbal quarrel, harassing talk, and aggressive speeches. According to certain studies, men tend to use taboo language more than women, and they are easier to be aroused for attacking when they are affronted. Generally speaking, males curse more often than females; they use many expressions of curse than do females; and they use more insulting curse expressions than do females (Jay, 1999:166).

Lakoff (2004:78), on the one hand, asserts that females are super polite in their language, i.e. they use euphemisms, indirect requests; and they avoid the strong swear expressions. However, Coates (2004: 97), on the other hand, claims that both of males and females use swear expressions in the company of their own sex; and men usage of such expressions drops very much in mixed-sex dialogues (Ibid.).

Data Analysis and Discussion

In this section of the research, it is important to talk about the strategy followed in the gathering of data. The latter is done by a questionnaire of a one hundred sheets; fifty sheets of them were given for the male-students, and the other fifty was given for the female-students. The aforementioned numbers of students were chosen randomly from a total number of four thousand students of the college of basic education/ Diyala University. Both of the groups were asked to list down taboo expressions used by their own groups i.e. one-gender situations, and those which are used in a mixed-gender situations. Thus, the analysis is going to focus on quantitative data in order to demonstrate the most outstanding taboo expressions used inside the campus.

Model of Analysis of Taboo Expressions

The model of analysis of this study is based on the classification, lexical categorization, and functioning of taboo expressions mentioned in the theoretical background. And in order to make it clear and obvious for readers; the researcher has analyzed each taboo expression in a scheduled model through which every expression is phonologically transcribed, and translated (literally and according to the Iraqi culture). And then depending on the previous varieties of context-specific or general taboo expressions, the types of lexical categories (epithets, profanities, obscenities, cursing, and sexual harassment), and also according to the functions of taboo expressions (humor, catharsis, and showing power) every taboo expression is going to be defined. Furthermore, the model is divided into four schedules. The first and the second are about taboo expressions used by one-gender groups, and the third and fourth schedules are about mixed-gender groups.

Schedules of Practical Analysis

In this part of the study, the researcher is going to analyze the collected data practically. This can be done as follows:

Schedule one: Taboo expressions used by male-students

No.	Phonological transcription	Literal meaning	Intended meaning	Kind of taboo expression	Lexical category	Function
1	/zumal/	Donkey	Stupid	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
2	/kalb/	Dog	Aggressive	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
3	/moty/	Jackass	Idiot	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
4	/himar/	Burro	Fool	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
5	/heiwan/	Animal	Inhuman	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
6	/bu:mah/	Owl	Bad omen	Dangerous in	Epithet	Catharsis

				specific context		
7	/ibin-al-trag/	Son of chaussures	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Humor
8	/nagal/	Hybrid	Well experienced	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Humor
9	/aXlaqsiz/	Immoral	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Humor
10	/qaɣmar/	Mindless	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
11	/ohomodak/	May sorrow fill your heart	Insult	Dangerous in general	Cursing	Catharsis
12	/kafi:tumaslit/	Stop knotting the threads	Stop your nonsense	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
13	/qabaah allah wadɣhak/	May allah uglifies your face	Disapproval about what is said	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
14	/ɣiklak galat/	Your appearance looks wrong	You are ugly	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Humor
15	/ɣ bi:k bas tibɣi:/	Why 're you only crying?	Do not complain	Dangerous in specific context	Obscenity	Catharsis
16	/i ɣtah/	To glide	Move away	Dangerous in specific context	Obscenity	Catharsis
17	/mulatlat/	epicene	womanlike	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
18	/indarab bori:/	He was struck by a pipe	A girl refuses to be girlfriend	Dangerous in specific context	Obscenity	Humor
19	/tah hadak/	Your luck is down	Disapproval about what is said	Dangerous in specific context	Obscenity	Humor
20	/ayamal'o:n/	Oh! what a cursed man you are!	You are clever	Dangerous in specific context	Obscenity	Humor
21	/yawal/	Hey you	Impolite addressing	Dangerous in specific context	Obscenity	Showing the power
22	/Xarah bi ami:/	A shit on my uncle	Impolite phrase of disapproval	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
23	/ əkul Xara/	Eat feces	Impolite phrase of disapproval	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
24	/intɣap/	Shut up	Stop talking	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
25	/inta muXarbat/	You are untidy	Impolite phrase of disapproval	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
26	/ibin al ahwal/	Son of a cross-eyed	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis

		father				
27	/lu:gi: al qa'ah/	Flatterer of the class	Toady	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
28	/qird/	monkey	You are just like monkey	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
29	/daiyih/	wanderer	Aimless man	Dangerous in general	Epithet	Catharsis
30	/a əwal/	idiot	Insensible	Dangerous in general	Epithet	Catharsis
31	/qizim/	midget	Insult	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
32	/əor/	ox	Very fat	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
33	/tantal/	giant	Very tall	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Humor
34	/'amu:d/	pillar	Very tall	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Humor
35	/aboXaʃim/	You with the nose	An owner of a big nose	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Humor
36	/'agam/	melancholic	Idiot	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
37	/adabsiz/	impolite	Without shyness	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
38	/ibin al na'al/	Son of a sole	A phrase of blasphemies	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
39	/ibin al qundarah/	Son of a shoe	A phrase of blasphemies	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
40	/ibin al tili:/	Son of a sheep	A phrase of blasphemies	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis

Schedule two: Taboo expressions used by female-students.

No.	Phonological transcription	Literal meaning	Intended meaning	Kind of taboo expression	Lexical category	Function
1	/intʃabi:/	Shut up	Stop talking	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
2	/tʃagmah/	Bad looking girl	Not beautiful	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
3	/heiwanah/	Animal	Insult	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
4	/dubah/	She-bear	Very fat	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
5	/'o:bah/	Ugly girl	Not beautiful	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
6	/zumalah/	jenny	Fool	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
7	/om halig al 'a'wad3/	You with the crooked mouth	Does not know how to speak	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis

8	/qundaraha/	shoe	Insulation	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
9	/wali: wilitf/	Move away	Get out from my face	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
10	/'an'al abotf labotf/	A sole on your father and your grandfather	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
11	/bint al Xarah/	A daughter of shit	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
12	/na'al ibwad3hitf/	A sole at your face	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
13	/gabor lafitf/	A grave hold you	go to hell	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
14	/baqqarah/	caw	Very fat	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
15	/qirdah/	monkey	A bad looking girl	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
16	/daihah/	Wanderer	Bitch	Dangerous in general	Epithet	Catharsis
17	/adabsiz/	impolite	Insult	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
18	/qizmah/	midget	Insult	Dangerous in general	Epithet	Catharsis

Schedule three: Taboo expressions used by male students directed to female students.

No.	Phonological transcription	Literal meaning	Intended meaning	Kind of taboo expression	Lexical category	Function
1	/d3isimha rannan/	She has a fleshy body	She is very hot	Dangerous in specific context	Sexual harassment	Catharsis
2	/panpu:na/	Young cute girl	She is very attractive	Dangerous in specific context	Sexual harassment	Catharsis
3	/hata/	Beautiful girl	A girl to be a girlfriend	Dangerous in specific context	Sexual harassment	Catharsis
4	/om Xusur/	An owner of waist	Her waist is so beautiful	Dangerous in specific context	Sexual harassment	Catharsis
5	/zumalah/	jenny	Fool	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
6	/gabrah/	idiot	Stupid	Dangerous in specific	Epithet	Catharsis

				context		
7	/tʃagmah/	Not beautiful	Not attractive	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
8	/om al wilid/	Concerned with boys	A girl who spend most of her time with boys	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
9	/muqtatah/	Pencil sharpener	A girl who has a bad reputation	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
10	/qirdah/	monkey	A bad looking girl	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
11	/heiwanah/	Animal	Insulation	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
12	/hamad3iyah/	inhuman	Uncivilized	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis

Schedule four: Taboo expressions used by female students directed to male students.

No.	Phonological transcription	Literal meaning	Intended meaning	Kind of taboo expression	Lexical category	Function
1	/niswantʃi:/	A man who loves women	Thinking only about his instinct	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
2	/abo al banat/	Worried about girls	A boy who spend most of his time with girls	Dangerous in general	Obscenity	Catharsis
3	/'mkasar/	broken	Bad boy	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
4	/sarsari:/	vulgar	Bad boy	Dangerous in general	Epithet	Catharsis
5	/zumal/	donkey	Stupid	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
6	/kalb/	dog	Aggressive	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
7	/moty/	jackass	Idiot	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
8	/himar/	burro	Fool	Dangerous in specific	Epithet	Catharsis

				context		
9	/heiwan/	animal	inhuman	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
10	/a əwal/	idiot	Insensible	Dangerous in general	Epithet	Catharsis
11	/qizim/	dwarf	Insulation	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Catharsis
12	/tantal/	giant	Very tall	Dangerous in specific context	Epithet	Humor

Conclusions

The current study reached at the following conclusions:

- 1- Male students use 47.5% of taboo expressions in specific contexts and 52.5% in general contexts. Female students use 28% of taboo expressions in specific contexts and 72% of these expressions in general contexts. Thus, both of males with each other and females with each other use taboo expressions more in general contexts than in specific contexts.
- 2- In the (only males) talking, obscenities are used in 60% followed by epithets that are used in 37.5%, and cursing is used in only 2.5%. However, in the (only females) talking, obscenities are used in 61% followed by epithets that are used in 39%, but there is no cursing. It can be inferred then that female students never curse inside the campus.
- 3- In the college of basic education, Male students use 72.5% of taboo expressions for the sake of catharsis, 25% of taboo expressions for the sake of humour, and only 2.5% of prohibited expressions are used to show power. On the other hand, female students use 100% of taboo expressions for the sake of catharsis.
- 4- It is concluded that 83% of the taboo expressions that are directed by males to females are used in specific contexts, and 17% of them are used in general contexts. However, 66% of the taboo expressions that are directed by females to males are used in specific contexts, and 34% of them are used in general contexts.
- 5- It is concluded that male students' taboo expressions that are directed to females are almost 50% of epithets, they use obscenities in 17%, and 33% of them are used for sexual harassment. On the other hand, female students' taboo expressions that are directed to males are used in 88% of epithets, 17% of obscenities, and they do not use cursing.
- 6- It is concluded that male students use 100% of their taboo expressions that are directed to females for the sake of catharsis. On the other hand, female students use 92% of taboo expressions that are directed to males for the sake of catharsis and they use 8% for the sake of humour.

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