

---

## **A Pragmatic Analysis of Cursing in Mosuli Arabic with Reference to English\***

**Dunia Ali Al-Bayati**

Lect., College of Arts, University of Mosul

---

### **Abstract**

Speech acts are of great importance within the bounds of semantics and pragmatics depending on the shared background information between hearer and speaker. One type of speech acts is “cursing”. Cursing is a particular and important phenomenon in communication from the perspective of social linguistics and folklores. Therefore, curses are commonly used in everyday language. We may curse at someone for making us angry or sad by expressing our inner feelings and attitudes. While some languages have few curse utterances, other languages, such as Arabic and particularly Mosuli Iraqi Arabic, is well known for its imaginative and numerous curse expressions.

In this study, a survey of the characteristics and goals of curse utterances in Mosuli Arabic is carried out by examining examples with concepts from the speech act theory and Vanci-Osam's (1998) ethnographic criteria.

Throughout the study, the examples demonstrate that curse utterances allow mainly the “addressors” to enjoy a high degree of creativity and verbal flexibility formed within a seven types cursing expressions used by Mosuli Arabic speakers. (cursing people, cursing the dead, cursing health, cursing envy, cursing luck, cursing by the word curse “اللعن” and cursing body parts) all of these fall within the stream of our present study.

---

(\*) Received: 28/7/2013, Accepted: 29/9/2013.

## تحليل براغماتيقي لظاهرة اللعن في اللهجة الموصلية مع الإشارة إلى اللغة الإنكليزية

دنيا علي حسين البياتي

مدرس، كلية الآداب، جامعة الموصل

### المستخلص

تُعد الأفعال الكلامية ذات أهمية كبرى ضمن حدود علم الدلالة والتداولية اعتماداً على الخلفية المعرفية المشتركة بين المتلقي والمتحدث. ويأتي فعل الكلام الخاص باللعن واحداً من هذه الأفعال الكلامية. تحظى ظاهرة اللعن بأهمية خاصة في ميدان التواصل من منظور كل من الموروث الشعبي وعلم اللغة الاجتماعي. ولذا يستخدم اللعن مراراً في لغة الحياة اليومية. فقد نسب شخصاً ما لأنه أثار فينا عاطفة الغضب أو الحزن كي نعبر عن مشاعرنا ومواقفنا الكامنة. وفي الوقت الذي تقتصر فيه بعض اللغات على عدد محدود من عبارات اللعن، نجد أن لغات أخرى كالعربية وعلى وجه الخصوص اللهجة الموصلية العراقية معروفة بتعايير اللعن التي تستخدمها والتي تتصف بصورة خيالية بين جنباتها.

ويعالج هذا البحث خصائص جمل اللعن في اللهجة العربية الموصلية وأهدافها من خلال دراسة عدد من الأمثلة في ضوء نظرية أفعال الكلام مع توظيف للمعايير الكلامية التي تطرق إليه فانسي اوسم (١٩٩٨).

وتبين من الدراسة أن الأمثلة تظهر أن جمل اللعن تتيح للمخاطبين فرصة الاستمتاع بمستوى مرتفع من الإبداعية والمرونة الكلامية بالاستناد إلى سبعة تعابير اللعن التي يلجأ إلى استخدامها متكلمو اللهجة الموصلية، سب الناس، سب الموتى، سب الصحة، سب الحسد، سب الحظ، السب باستخدام كلمة "اللعن" وحتى سب أجزاء الجسم كلها تدخل ضمن دراستنا لفعل الكلام الخاص بالسب.

□

□

## **1. Introduction:**

The relationship between a language, its speakers, and their thought and culture has been a topic of interest among philosophers and linguists for a long time. Sapir (1929: 207) was the first to argue cogently that language and culture are inextricably related, and that it is not possible to understand or appreciate one without knowledge of the other. His student Whorf developed these ideas further. In Whorf's view, the relationship between culture and language is a deterministic one. Later on these opinions were known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Yule, 1985 cited in Alhossaini and Esslami-Rasekh, 2013: 27).

However, recent studies by Hymes (1974), Gumperz (1982) and Saville-Troike (1982) have established a stronger base for sociologists, discourse analysts and etc. to explore the relation between culture, thought and language.

Moreover, research on rules for language use within sociology, normally focuses on relatively small linguistic units such as the settings, participants, goals, etc. Many studies have focused on the speech acts in English only, while others compare the speech act behavior of native speakers of a language with the behavior of learners of that language (cited in Vanci-Osam, 1998: 72-73).

In this study, curse utterances will be examined as the speech act behavior of native Mosuli speakers only and this study may be useful for cross-cultural studies within the Iraqi and global region.

### **1.1 The Aims:**

The present study is an attempt to make a linguistic presentation of the speech act of cursing in Mosuli Arabic by analyzing the utterances of cursing.

---

## **1.2 The Hypotheses:**

This study tends to validate the following hypotheses:

1. Different cursing expressions have different forms and goals.
2. There is a correlation between the social background of a person and the use of the speech act of cursing.
3. Negative connotation is found in the colloquial speech of cursing due to its routine like nature.
4. Cursing utterances are affected by sociolinguistic variables like sex, age and education.

## **1.3 The Problem:**

Most of the analysis of speech acts has concentrated on certain acts like: offers, requests, invitation, refusals, suggestions, etc. Not much research has been done on cursing from an Islamic perspective.

## **1.4 Data Collection:**

The major data for this study are elicited from Mosuli native speakers aged (4-85) as stimulus material samples through an ethnographic approach.

The researcher used an MP3 to record the occurrence of cursing expressions. If sometimes while taking out the MP3 the event is over, especially during fights where a lot of curses are used, the researcher wrote the data by hand and accurately as possible.

## **2. Theoretical Review:**

### **2.1 A Brief Overview of Speech Act Theory:**

Speech acts have become popular through the posthumous publication of J. C. Austin's "How to Do Things with Words" in 1962. Sharifi and Ebrahimi (2012: 111) state that according to Austin's theory, speech acts consist of three levels and can be analyzed based on these functional units of communication: (1)

prepositional or locutionary meaning, which is the literal meaning of what is said; (2) illocutionary meaning, which is the social function of what is said like an indirect request, refusal, praise or complaint; (3) perlocutionary meaning, which is the effect of what is said. Thus, we can say that a curse can be taken as a perlocutionary act, since it has some effect on the hearer.

However, speech acts have subsequently become extremely influential, especially through Searle's publication in 1976. He distinguishes the acts according to their 'illocutionary point': representatives (we tell people how things are), directives (get people to do something), commissives (the speaker is committed to do something), expressives (feelings and attitudes are expressed) and declarations (they cause to happen a change) (Pishghadam and Sharafadini, 2011: 231).

## **2.2 Cursing from a Semantic and Pragmatic Point of View:**

Semantically, cursing has many dictionary definitions such as: (1) a form of a prayer or invocation for harm or injury, (2) an appeal for evil and misfortune to befall someone or something, (3) a pronouncement of ill fortune because one opposes God's plans, (4) a prayer of misfortune, injury, misery or death to befall someone (www.1, 2 and 3, 2013).

Pragmatically, Austin (1962: 151) places "cursing" in the behabitives part in his classification of utterances according to their illocutionary meaning, and adds that behabitives have to do with attitudes and social behavior. Searle (1976), on the other hand, classifies cursing as a commissive act because it relates to some future action (cited in Sharifi and Karimipour, 2012: 54).

## **2.3 Related Literature and Model of Analysis:**

One of the most influential works on cursing is that by Vanci-Osam (1998), in which he examines curse utterances as the speech act behavior of native Turkish speakers by adopting

Hymes (1974) criteria. He believed that cursing is a perlocutionary act directed towards the addressor and that there is a correlation between the social background of the speaker and the use of the speech act due to their routine like nature.

More recent works on cursing is that of Sharifi and Karimipour (2012), in which the researchers analyzed cursing and blessing speech acts in Ilami Kudish through their theta roles: agent, patient, function, goal and cause. Results show that both speech acts have several functions, goals common grammatical features and that some expressions should be treated as idiomatic expressions since they are no longer used.

Finally, using Persian praying and cursing data, Sharifi and Ebrahimi (2012), classify these two speech acts into two categories: prayers and curses used by children in different contexts and prayers and curses which English speakers have in common with the Persians.

Making use of the previous studies, a synthetic model has been suggested for the present study. However, we rely on Vanci-Osam (1998) content analysis scheme as a starting point for the development of our own approach.

### **3. Data Analysis and Discussion:**

According to the data collected from Mosuli Arabic speakers, the speech act of cursing can be analyzed within the following criteria suggested by Vanci-Osam (1998) with some elaboration:

#### **A. Setting:**

The act of cursing does not necessarily require a specific time or place. It can be done at any time and in any environment: at day time or at night time, inside or outside, alone or in a crowd (Vanci-Osam, 1998: 76).

---

## B. Participants:

In any speech act, there is a speaker (addressor) and a hearer (addressee), who together performs the interlocutors. In addition, the hearer (addressee) might not be present and there may be an audience or not, e.g.

1. الله يشيلها اشقد أبغضها.

**lit:** May Allah raise her soul, I abhor her.

**Addressor:** Mother-in-law

**Addressee:** Daughter-in-law (Absent)

**Audience:** Daughter-in-law's sister

**Goal:** Death

**Form:** Direct

2. الله لا يرضى عنك.

**lit:** May Allah never get pleased with you.

**Addressor:** Mother

**Addressee:** Son

**Audience:** (Absent)

**Goal:** Deprived

**Form:** Direct

### 1. Addressor:

The main reason for the speaker's (addressor's) cursing is that the speaker feels anger, pain and despair because of unjust treatment. Since it is beyond the speaker's ability to punish the one(s) or thing(s), the speaker blames or holds responsibility for; he strongly wishes that the person or thing to be punished somehow (Sharifi and Karimipour, 2012: 15).

Although the act of communication in most speech acts of invitation, order, offers, request, etc. takes place between two or more participants, this is not essential with curse utterances. The person may curse someone who is not present or even curse someone he/ she does not know (Vanci-Osam, 1998: 76), e.g.:

3. الله يقتلهم عملونا سرّة علبانزين.

**lit:** May Allah kill them because they have made a queue for gasoline.

In this curse utterance, the speaker is cursing those who are in charge for gasoline.

4. اشتعلت اشقد كويسي

**lit:** I hope she burns, she is so beautiful.

In this curse utterance, the speaker is cursing someone she does not know simply because she is beautiful or may be out of jealousy. However, whether good or bad it depends on the intonation of the speaker.

## 2. Addressee:

In curse utterances, the address or usually wishes bad things for the addressee but sometimes the addressor and addressee refer to the same person (i.e. one curses himself), e.g.:

5. الله يقتلني الله يموتني إذا كذبتوا.

**lit:** May Allah kill and murder me if I were lying.

In this curse utterance, the speaker is wishing something bad for him/ herself because he/ she wants to prove that he/ she is innocent.

## C. Types of Cursing:

Cursing in Mosuli Arabic can be classified into the following eight types:



### - Cursing people:

Cursing people starts from early age (i.e. childhood). The following examples are curses used among children:

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
6.	إن شاء الله ما تفوت على الجني. lit: Allah's willing you never enter paradise.	Misery	Direct
7.	إن شاء الله تسقط. lit: Allah's willing you fail in the exam.	Misery	Direct
8.	إن شاء الله يموت أبوك. lit: Allah's willing your father dies.	Death	Direct
9.	إن شاء الله المدير يركلك. lit: Allah's willing the principle scolds you.	Problem	Direct
10.	إن شاء الله يصبر منع تجول وما تصل للبيت. lit: Allah's willing there is a curfew and you will not get back home.	Problem	Direct
11.	الله يقتلكي. lit: May Allah kill you.	Death	Direct
12.	إن شاء الله تتمرض وما تطيق تجي على الامتحان. lit: Allah's willing you get sick and can't come to the exam.	Illness	Direct
13.	الله يشيلكي. lit: May Allah raises your soul.	Death	Direct

As it is obvious, these curses are simplistic and understandable for children. They may use them in different situations without any intention when they get (Angry) and mostly they are just imitations of what adults say. This does not mean that children do not use adult cursing; they do especially when working with adults (i.e. labor children).

Cursing People can be done through cursing their children because they are considered the weak point of every human being.

	<b>Curse Expression</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Form</b>
14.	الله لا يغشعكي الضنا. <b>lit:</b> May Allah deprive you from children.	Deprived	Direct
15.	الله يغشعك بأولادك. <b>lit:</b> May Allah punish you through your children.	Death and Misery	Direct
16.	ثكلت أولادك. <b>lit:</b> May you bury your children.	Death and Misery	Direct
17.	الله يقطع نسلوا. <b>lit:</b> May Allah deprive his fertility.	Misery	Direct

Cursing people can also be done by exposing them to scandals:

	<b>Curse Expression</b>	<b>Goal</b>	<b>Form</b>
18.	الله يفضحوا. <b>lit:</b> May Allah exposes him.	Misery	Direct
19.	الله لا يستر عليك. <b>lit:</b> May Allah not shield you.	Misery	Direct
20.	الله يهتكك. <b>lit:</b> May Allah expose you.	Misery	Direct

Moreover, cursing people can be done by wishing them to die and this is used extensively whether the address or means it or not (i.e. use it as a humour or has become a habit) depending on the context.

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
21.	الله ياخذ روحك. lit: May Allah take your soul.	Death	Direct
22.	الله يقتلكي. lit: May Allah kill you.	Death/ Humour	Direct
23.	الله لا يغشعك ضنا اولادك. lit: May Allah never let you see your grandchildren.	Death	Direct
24.	ممت بعن شبابك. lit: May you die young.	Death	Direct
25.	شالوك أعلى من ريعك. lit: May you be carried above your friends.	Death	Indirect
26.	ممت وأولادك تكلوك. lit: I hope you die and your children bury you.	Death	Direct
27.	ممت ولا لقيت أحد يدفنك. lit: I hope you die and no one buries you.	Death	Direct
28.	انشقت الأرض وبلعتك. lit: May the earth open and swallow you.	Death	Indirect
29.	لا صبح الصبح عليك. lit: I hope you never see the morning.	Death	Indirect
30.	الله يقبروا. lit: May Allah put him in the grave.	Death	Direct
31.	الله يشيلكي. lit: May Allah raises her soul.	Death/ Humour	Direct
32.	انقتلت ولا ينعف قتالك. lit: May you get killed and no one knows your killer.	Death	Direct
33.	جتك طايحة براسك. lit: May a lost bullet find the way to you head.	Death	Indirect

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
34.	مقتول. lit: Wish you are killed.	Death/ Humour	Direct
35.	متت ودودت. lit: May you die and worms eat you.	Death	Direct
36.	مقصوف العمغ. lit: May you age gets diminished.	Death/ Humour	Direct
37.	كريمة الكرمضتوا. lit: May he die (become extinct).	Death	Direct
38.	كرفة الكرفتك. lit: May he die (become extinct).	Death	Direct
39.	الله لا يخليها عليكم. lit: May Allah punish them quickly.	Death/ Misery	Direct
40.	لا ضحكت ولا شهقت. lit: May you never giggle or laugh.	Misery	Direct
41.	لا مساك الله بالخير. lit: May Allah never let you see goodness in the evening.	Misery	Direct
42.	الله يغثكي. lit: May Allah depress you.	Misery	Direct
43.	ويصيب ما تتقبلها سوداة. lit: Wherever you turn your face, blackness in front of you.	Misery	Indirect
44.	تمسك الذهب يغد بيدك تغاب. lit: Hold gold and it turns into dirt.	Misery	Indirect

Finally, there are cursing expressions which are considered humorous among elderly women although they have very negative connotations.

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
45.	انقجمتي. lit: May a part of your body gets cut off.	Humour	Direct
46.	انگردتي. lit: May one of your relatives die.	Humour	Direct
47.	انكفيتي. lit: May you collapse because of the sudden horrific news.	Humour	Direct

### - Cursing body parts:

Cursing someone is also done by cursing different parts of the body: eyes, legs, skin, etc.

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
48.	عمى بعينو. lit: May he gets blind.	Misery	Direct
49.	اتخلخت عظاموا. lit: May his bones break.	Pain	Direct
50.	كسفات. lit: Broken bones.	Misery	Direct
51.	انقطعت رجليك. lit: May your legs cut off.	Misery	Direct
52.	الله يمغمغ قلبك. lit: May Allah bitter your heart.	Misery	Direct
53.	اشتعلت ولا طفوك. lit: May you burn and no one extinguishes you.	Death	Direct
54.	مقصوف الرقبي. lit: May his neck gets snapped.	Death/ Humour	Indirect
55.	مقطوع الراس. lit: May his head gets cut off.	Death/ Anger/ Humour	Indirect

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
56.	الله يسود وجهك. lit: May Allah blacken your face.	Misery	Direct
57.	غماد وغمدي بغاسوا. lit: May you bury your head.	Misery	Direct
58.	مات أولادك واشتعل أفاك. lit: May your children die and your heart sets on fire.	Death and Misery	Direct

### - Cursing the dead:

Dead people are also cursed, especially when the dead person is hated by the addressor:

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
59.	موتات الكلب. lit: Die like a dog.	Hatred	Direct
60.	انعل صفحتوا lit: May the side of his grave be cursed.	Hatred	Indirect
61.	منبوش الصفحة. lit: May someone excavate your grave.	Hatred	Direct

Sentence (61) can also refer to annoying children in a different context.

### - Cursing by the word “العن العن”:

Cursing someone is done by the word (انعل) which originally means (العن), i.e. may he be cursed by Allah, e.g.:

62.	أنعل أبوك. lit: A curse on your father.
63.	أنعل صفحتوا. lit: A curse on his side in the grave.
64.	أنعل سلفه سلفاك. lit: A curse on your great ancestors.
65.	أنعل جدك. lit: A curse on your grandfather.
66.	أنعل هوفه هوفانو. lit: A curse on you and your ancestors soul.
67.	أنعل روحهم لأهلك. lit: A curse on your parent's soul.

Moreover, people sometimes curse the devil to reveal anger or astonishment, e.g.:

68.	أنعل شيطانك. lit: A curse on your devil
69.	أنعل ابليسك. lit: A curse on your Satan.

People also curse things like: poverty, life, way of living to reveal frustration, e.g.:

70.	أنعل أبو هلدني. lit: A curse on this life.
71.	أنعل أبو الفقغ. lit: A curse on poverty.
72.	أنعل هلعيشي. lit: A curse on this way of living.

The main goals of the previous examples are either anger or humour depending on the context and intonation. The forms are direct.

Another form of being deprived of Allah's blessings is (ملعون) which means that Allah has cursed (i.e. execrated) Satan. Thus, when someone uses the word (ملعون) he resembles that person with Satan.

### **- Cursing health:**

Cursing someone's health, is wishing the cursed person different types of diseases:

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
73.	سرطان. lit: Cancer.	Illness and Death	Direct
74.	حمي. lit: Fever.	Illness and Death	Direct
75.	نازلة. lit: A quick fever.	Illness and Death	Direct
76.	طاعون. lit: Plague.	Illness and Death	Direct
77.	شلل. lit: Paralysis.	Illness and Death	Direct
78.	وباء. lit: Epidemic.	Illness and Death	Direct
79.	فاحات فاحات. lit: Rashes rashes.	Illness and Death	Direct
80.	زبيب وحب غمان. lit: Grapes and pomegranate seeds (like pimples on the body).	Illness	Indirect
81.	مانون وحب غمان يبغي من جسمك. lit: Epidemic and pomegranate seeds flows from your body.	Illness	Direct
82.	الله لا يشافينوا. lit: May Allah never recover him.	Illness and Pain	Direct



The previous examples are wishes for the addressee to get ill by the use of the known words such as cancer, fever, etc., while examples (80) and (81) are metaphorical references for illness. As for example (82), it is a wish for an ill person to not get recovered.

### **- Cursing envy:**

- Cursing someone who is envious is also common in the Mosuli society along with a hand gesture; the palm of the hand put in front of the envious person's face to keep off envy.

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
83.	حذوت الحصان بوجهك. lit: A horse shoe in your face.	Reverse envy	Indirect
84.	خمسة خميسة. lit: Five five (A palm in front of your face).	Reverse envy	Indirect
85.	انفقصت عينهم. lit: May their eyes be poked.	Misery	Direct

### **- Cursing luck:**

When a person curses luck, he either laments his or someone's unfortunate luck, e.g.:

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
86.	طمامي على هالحظ. lit: I hope you get buried because of this luck.	Lament	Direct
87.	عمت عين هاكذ حظ. lit: I hope you get blind because of this luck.	Lament	Direct
88.	انعل أبو هالحظ. lit: A curse on my luck.	Lament	Direct

Also, a person may wish a lucky person to become unlucky, e.g.

	Curse Expression	Goal	Form
89.	اشتعل بختك. lit: May your good luck burn.	Misery	Direct
90.	انعل حظوا. lit: A curse on his good luck.	Misery	Direct
91.	الله يطيح حظك. lit: May Allah take away your luck.	Misery	Direct

Example (90) has two references, either wishing a lucky person bad luck or lamenting a person for his continuous bad luck.

#### D. Key:

Key refers to the manner and non-verbal action which is conveyed in a message (Vanci-Osam, 1998: 76). Thus, curse utterances in Mosuli Arabic are attended by unique emotional expressions such as: crying, screaming, yelling, hair pulling, chest and lap beating which reflect the seriousness of the situation. [Moreover, verbal and non-verbal actions differ according to the educational background and sex of the addressor or addressee]. Usually, low educated women seem to pull their hair or beat on their breast just to enrich their cursing expressions and draw attention.

#### E. Norms of Interaction:

Throughout our observation of cursing expressions in the Mosuli society, low social class and less educated women and men seem to curse more. Thus, the higher the social status and education the less cursing expressions are used. Moreover, when an educated person uses cursing expression in public, people

seem to be little him because as an educated person such behaviour is not expected.

### F. Message Content:

When the curse utterance is produced, it is not possible to see whether the desired punishment will happen or, if it does, to what degree the punishment will occur. What is important is that the performer calms down by uttering them, and psychologically feels more at ease thinking that what he/she has wished will be realized. In other words, the perlocutionary act is not for the person whom the curse is aimed at, but for the performer. Sometimes it is stated directly and sometimes it is only implied, that Allah is being asked to carry out the desired punishment (Sharifi and Karimipour, 2012: 25).

Moreover, while most curse utterances do express malicious wishes regarding the person they are aimed at, they sometimes convey an aggressive or affectionate meaning that can be understood from the intonation of the performer (addressor) and from the context in which it is said (Vanci-Osam, 1998: 80-81).

Not only is the intonation important to convey any message but also the suffix added to the verb which indicates whom the utterance refers, e.g.:

Present	{	Male	→	الله يشيلك
		Female	→	الله يشيلكِ
		Male and Female	→	الله يشيلكم
Absent	{	Male	→	الله يشيلوا
		Female	→	الله يشيلها
		Male and Female	→	الله يشيلهم
Present	{	Male and Female (refers to oneself)	→	الله يشيلني

#### **4. Conclusions:**

This study is an attempt to study Mosuli curse expressions by employing Vanci-Osam's (1998) criteria with some elaboration. As speech act, curse utterances show many similarities with other speech acts, yet they also show a number of differences. One difference is that a cursing act is directed towards the addressor rather than the addressee. Another observation about cursing in Mosuli Arabic is the correlation between the social background of a person and the use of this speech act. The more the education the less cursing expressions are used. Despite the negative connotative images associated with curse utterances, they are still a commonly occurring speech act in colloquial speech because of their routine-like nature and sometimes creative nature since they are uttered as a sign of anger, hatred, mental pain or despair.

This study also shows that there are eight types of cursing expressions in Mosuli Arabic and those children tend to use direct cursing expression unlike adults who prefer both direct and indirect expressions. Moreover, because of the deep belief that only Allah punishes humans, there is either an explicit or implicit reference to Him. Several goals are found throughout studying of the cursing utterance such as: the wish for death, illness, misery, humour, hatred, etc. The use of Mosuli suffix [(ك) for a male, (كي) for a female, (كم) for both males and females who are present, (وا) for a male and (ها) for a female, (هم) for males and females who are not present and (ني) for cursing oneself] indicates whom the curse is referred to.

Finally, the implication of a curse differs according to the situation and context it is used in. Thus, the context alone determines whether the curse is a plea for death, a wish for

---

misery, a reflection of humour or even said as a habit. And as long as we communicate, the more curse expressions will be creatively invented in our society.

## REFERENCES

- Alhossaini, M. N. and Esslami-Raskeh, A. (2013). "May Bread run and you run after it". Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences, 10, pp.170-187.
- Austin, J. C. (1962). How To Do Things with Words. Cambridge: CUP.
- Cumperz, J. (1982). Language and Social Identity. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hymes, D. (1974). Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach. Philadelphia: UPP.
- Pishghadam, R. and Sharafadini, M. (2011). "A Contrastive Study into the Realization of Suggestion Speech Act: Persian vs. English". Canadian Social Science, 7, 4, pp.230-239.
- Sapir, E. (1929). "The status of linguistic as a science". Language, 5, pp.207-214.
- Saville, T. M. (1982). The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Searle, J. (1976). "A Classification of Illocutionary Acts". Language in Society, 5, pp.1-23.
- Sharifi, S. and Ebrahimi, S. (2012). "Assessing Speech Acts of Curses and Prayers in Persian". Theory and Practice in Language Studies, 2, pp.111-116.
- Sharifi, S. and Karimipour, A. (2012). "Thematic Roles and Grammatical Features of Cursing and Blessing Speech Acts in Kurdish". Studies in Literature and Language, 5, pp.54-58.

Vanci-Osam, Ü (1998). "May you be shot with Greasy Bullets: Curse Utterances in Turkish". Asian Folklore Studies. 57, 1, pp.71-86.

Yule, G. (1985). The Study of Language. Cambridge: CUP.

### **Net Resources:**

- www.1.(2013).curse.4 <www>:http://file://E:/Curse-Definition of cursing by free Online Dictionary, Thesaurus.
- www.2.(2013).Cursing.98 <www>:http://file://E:/Cursing Definition and more from the free Marriam-Webster Dictionary.
- www.3.(2013).Cursing.101<www>:http://mhtml:file://E:/Cursing-Wikipedia.
- www.4.(2013).Swearing.102<www>:http://mhtml:file://E:/Swearing-Wikipedia.