
A Sociolinguistic Study of Sex Differences in Kurdish in Dohuk/ Kurdistan-IRAQ*

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Abstract

This paper examines language sex differences (henceforth SDs) in Kurdish Language (henceforth KL) in Dohuk at lexical, syntactic and semantic levels and attempts to explore the influence of sociolinguistic incentives (i.e., topic, setting, and participants including their age, sex and literacy). It is hypothesized that females and males (henceforth Fs and Ms) speak differently. This study aims at proving that Iraqi speech community is not a homogeneous one with shared linguistic norms as Chomsky claims (i.e., 'the ideal speaker/ listener theory'). It is based on data collected from Bahdinani informants in Dohuk.

This study is also expected to shed light on this phenomenon with reference to its nature, causes, how and where they occur. This paper also tackles SDs in expressing apology, compliments, complaints, condolence, congratulations, greetings, leave-takings, refusal, swearing, thanks giving, and threatening. It ends with some findings and recommendations, which call for future empirical studies of SDs to give a comprehensive picture of them in Iraq and the World with reference to sex-mixed interaction, gossip and verbosity, interruption, joke-telling, language acquisition, language change, communicative competence, self-disclosure, social stereotypes, taboo expressions, use of proverbs, tag questions and stylistic SDs.

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دراسة لغوية اجتماعية للاختلافات بين لغة النساء والرجال

مع اشارة خاصة إلى اللهجة الموصلية*

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المستخلص

يتناول البحث أحد المسائل اللغوية التي لم تلقَ اهتماماً من لدن علماء اللغة النفسانيين والاجتماعيين في العراق والدول العربية بصورة عامة ألا وهي الفروق اللغوية بين النساء والرجال لدى سكان مدينة الموصل مع التركيز على المفردات والجانب التركيبي والدلالي وترك الجانب الصوتي والصرفي لدراسات المستقبل.

يستند البحث الى الفرضية القائلة إن النساء والرجال يتحدثون بصورة مختلفة وتفسيرها كونها ظاهرة اجتماعية وليست وراثية وكونها ظاهرة عالمية وأن المجتمعات اللغوية ليست متجانسة كما يدعي جومسكي. الدراسة مبنية على جانين: نظري يستند الى الدراسات السابقة وتجريبي يستند الى الملاحظات الشخصية والمقابلات والاستبيانات الاحصائية بوصفها عينة ميدانية إذ تم تحليلها احصائياً وتبويب النتائج في جداول. يتضمن البحث عرض المشكلة وخطة البحث واهدافه وتعريف الظاهرة والفرضيات وتأثير العوامل الاجتماعية على الاختلافات اللغوية بين الجنسين مثلاً: الموضوع، الموقف، والمحاورين على وفق العمر والجنس والثقافة. إن الجانب التحليلي يشمل المباحث الآتية: (أ) يقترح البحث إجراء بحوث مستقبلية للجانب الصوتي والصرفي. (ب) الجزء الخاص بالمفردات: يوضح البحث وجود اختلافات بين الجنسين في استخدام المفردات. (ت) الجانب التركيبي: يتضمن البحث عرضاً لتراكيب لغوية خاصة بكل جنس. (ث) الجانب الدلالي: يقتصر على استخدام الالوان من قبل الجنسين بصورة مختلفة. يشمل البحث مبحثاً خاصاً بالاختلافات اللغوية بين الجنسين في التعبير عن احداث لغوية معينة مثلاً: الاعتذار والمجاملة والتذمر والتعزية والتهنئة والتحية والتوديع والرفض والقسم والشكر والتهديد واستخدام التعابير المحرمة اجتماعياً وينتهي البحث إلى خلاصة بالنتائج والتوصيات.

(*) تم استلام البحث في ٢٠١٣/٦/١، قُدمَ البحث في الندوة الأولى لقسم اللغة الانكليزية المنعقدة تحت عنوان (قضايا معاصرة في اللغة والأدب)، وحصل على قبول النشر في ٢٠١٤/١/٢٦.

1. Introduction:

According to sociolinguists, language is not a monolith with fixed rules shared by the members of a homogeneous speech community (as Chomsky 1965 assumes). They view language as a social behavior and the social differentiation leads to linguistic variations since extra-linguistic factors influence language (Judd 1983: 234).

One sociolinguistic area that has not been studied until recently is the correlation between language and gender in a speech community. Unfortunately, this topic has not been tackled by Arab sociolinguists. At present time, it is recommended to adopt a sex-neutral style and language to reduce if not possible to eliminate sex-specific references.

The 'introspective judgments' made by Jespersen (1922) are similar to those expressed by (e.g., Lakoff 1972) but the explanations are different and the SDs 'are no longer based on biological assumptions but on social ones' (Quoted in Brouwer 1982: 708).

In North America and Europe, the last few decades have witnessed greater attention being paid to the issue of the link between language and gender. And it is only recently the sociolinguists have embarked on investigating linguistic variations correlated with sex. Accordingly, researches have to be carried out to confirm or refute the validity of hypotheses (Judd 1983: 234, 235).

Numerous observers have described women's speech as being different from men's. Undoubtedly, these observations are biased because the language of Ms is regarded as the norm against which the language of Fs is judged (Wardwaugh 1989: 303).

2. The Hypotheses:

This study hypothesizes that: (i) it is expected that Iraqi Kurdish women and men use language differently. More specifically, (ii) there are SDs in the speech of Fs and Ms at lexical, syntactic and semantic levels; (iii) there are also SDs in the expression of speech acts and (iv) it is also anticipated that SDs are correlated with social factors (i.e., topic, setting and participants).

The question which is supposed to be answered throughout this paper is: Do Iraqi Kurdish women and men talk differently? If they do, does the SDs reflect different social behavior? It is hypothesized that this study will support the rejection of the notion of innate SDs.

3. Aim and Value of the Study:

This study aims at validating the hypothesis that Dohuk society is not homogeneous with shared linguistic norms in the Chomskyan sense. It is supposed to explore what motivates Fs and Ms to adopt different ways of speaking. It is also expected to shed light on the features of women's language and the stylistic differences between Fs and Ms.

Such empirical sociolinguistic studies are crucial in the design of language learning materials especially if they are based on authentic data. For SDs studies, the attempt, should aim at identifying language SDs and incorporating sex-based language in the textbooks prepared by language materials designers. The failure to account for SDs on the part of the learners might cause embarrassment and frustration for them in dealing with the native speakers a specific language. Accordingly, mastery of sociolinguistic competence of a language demands teaching the SDs to the nonnative speakers of it (For details see Judd 1983: 235, 236, 239, 240).

It is hoped to show that there are SDs at the lexical, syntactic and semantic levels and to explain the effect of sociolinguistic incentives (i.e., topic, setting and participants) on the language used by Fs and Ms in dealing with specific topics in certain situations.

The shift from grammatical competence to sociolinguistic competence has stressed the necessity of carrying out sociolinguistic studies which highlight the shortcomings of the Chomskyan 'ideal speaker-hearer' competence.

4. Limits of the Study:

This study is not going to deal with the following areas because tackling them with reference to SDs is beyond the scope and limitation of this paper, e.g., class interaction, gossip and verbosity, interruption, joke-telling, language acquisition, language control and language change, personal names, paralinguistic features, politeness, prestige/standard language, communicative competence, self-disclosure, tag questions and stylistic SDs.

5. Data Collection:

This empirical research is a data-based study which aims at identifying lexical and syntactic aspects which show sex-related variation. The site chosen for data collection is Dohuk where (24 Fs and 24 Ms) were randomly selected. All the interviews were conducted in Bahdinani Dialect. I tape-recorded data elicited through interviews with the chosen informants. Data collection was carried out in 2007. During this period and up to a recent time additional materials have been collected. The corpus centers on everyday informal language of women and men.

The sample for this study was based on the statistical

public census of population in Iraq in 1987. As for sample of the household, it was selected by probability sampling methods. It covers a sample of (1000) households in Dohuk equal to 1% of the total households. The survey represented the different geographical quarters of the city. Then a sub-sample of 10% was drawn as potential informants for the present study. A list of names and addresses was obtained for the households in the sub-sample and a questionnaire was designed to collect personal information on each individual. The next stage was the distribution of the questionnaire forms. The data obtained from the questionnaire were processed. As a result, it was ended up with 96 members as potential informants. But due to lack of sufficient time it was decided to contact only (48) of them and to have further appointments with them.

The interview usually commenced with general questions about the informant's name, age, education, work, etc. The respondents were asked to tell something about their lives and about an experience in which they expected they were in danger of dying (A technique suggested by Labov 1972b) and to tell a traditional story. Apart from conducting a random sample, existing relations of kinship and friendship to recruit respondents have been used. Most of the interactions were conducted in informants' homes (i.e., uncontrolled natural settings) to get rid of the stiffness of the subjects. Response times to the interviews lasted about 30 minutes for each informant. All the informants are adult native speakers of Bahdinani Kurdish (18+). A list of topics of general interest was used to initiate a conversation. In addition, the interviewees were free to discuss topics of personal interest. Then the recorded data were transcribed. Some cassettes were replaced by new ones because they did not meet the purposes of this study which concentrates on SDs. Before the session began each participant was asked to fill out a

biographical questionnaire form.

The data bank built for this fieldwork consists of (48) hours of tape-recorded conversation. Eventually, the informants were grouped into eight consisting of six speakers for each one. They were selected to represent the combinations of the dependent social variables (i.e., age, sex and literacy).

The following stratification of the sample was ended up with:

1. Age: Young # Old (18-40 # 41-65+)
2. Sex: Fs # Ms
3. Literacy: Literate # Illiterate

The bulk of the data (i.e., 48 tapes) was finally transcribed phonemically. All the utterances, which embodied SDs, were transcribed. The processing of the data led to the tabulation of the corpus into: single lexical items, syntactic structures and expressions, topics, speech acts, proverbs, swearing and taboo expressions. These items were presented in nine questions. They were put in the form of a questionnaire in Arabic and Kurdish to save time and effort in understanding.

Since the core of this paper concentrated on SDs, the options in the questions were three (i.e., whether the linguistic items and structures were used by Fs or Ms or both sexes). The social variables, age and literacy, were not used in this questionnaire as dependent variables due to lack of time. Moreover, the option (both sexes) was cancelled in the analysis since it stood for a linguistic similarity not SDs between the two sexes. Ant it is not the focus of the study.

The questionnaire forms were given to (100) students (50

Fs vs. 50 Ms) randomly selected in the Department of English in the College of Arts, University of Dohuk. The purpose behind the number (100) was to facilitate the frequency counts and percentages. The equal number of the respondents of each sex was significant while age and literacy were not important since the study deals with sex differences. The fieldworker explained the goal behind filling the forms and requested them to hand the forms back a week later. After receiving them; the task of “frequency counts” was started to facilitate comparison. The idea behind the combination of data collection through interview and recording, and the distribution of the questionnaire is to support the use of sex-based items by either sex (See sections 5, 6, 7).

6. A Linguistic Analysis of Speech Sex Differences:

Early 1970s studies had concentrated on SDs in word choice, syntax, phonology and suprasegmentals. The stereotypical assumptions of Jespersen (1922) and others generated questions such as: (i). Do women have limited vocabulary? (ii). Do they use more and/or different adjectives and adverbs? (iii). Do they use more unfinished sentences and more ‘superficial’ lexical items? (iv). Do the sentences of women and men differ in length? These stereotyped claims have been modified or refuted by recent studies (Thorne et al 1983: 12).

In this part, some linguistic aspects (e.g., lexical, syntactic and semantic), extracted from the data collected in Dohuk, will be investigated with discussion of offering an illustration of SDs supported by examples from the corpus.

To give a clear picture of women’s language characterized by certain lexical and syntactic features, the researcher has attempted to present an analysis of speech SDs in Dohuk and to

identify them at lexical, syntactic and semantic level leaving phonological and morphological areas for future studies. No evidence of SDs at morphological level has been noticed. The phonological stratum demands an independent study since it is beyond the scope of this paper. The discourse stratum will be tackled in section 7 (Analysis of speech Acts). For the syntactic SDs, this section embodies some sex-linked expressions and structures leaving SDs related to negation, interrogation, passivation, conditional sentences, if any for future studies. As for lexical items, vocabulary can be considered the most striking area where SDs can be found. The analysis will be limited to linguistic differences between Fs and Ms whereas linguistic similarities will be discarded.

6.1 Sex Differences at Lexical Level:

In this section, the lexical variation demonstrating the correlation between the selection of lexical items and the sex of the speaker will be presented to show which ones are considered more feminine and which ones are more masculine. Abd-el-Jawad (1988: 104) believes that the lexicon in Arabic is the area with the greatest amount of sex variation. Moreover, the phenomenon of SDs in vocabulary has been frequently studied by many researchers.

This section shows that most of the lexical items collected from the informants were given to (100) students (50 Fs and 50 Ms aged between 18 and 25) in Dohuk University to state whether Fs and Ms or both sexes mostly use them. In this analysis the last option was cancelled because it stood for similarities while the other two choices (by Fs or Ms) were taken into consideration. Moreover, the analysis was limited to the significant lexical SDs because they called for comment. The following table explains the use of lexical items by women.

Table (1)
Use of Lexical Items by Women

No.	Item	Meaning in English
1	'rabanee'	Miserable
2	'ha3aar'	Miserable
3	'jawana'	Nice, pretty, sweet
2	'qurbaana ta'	A sacrifice for you
3	'hayraana ta'	I sacrifice myself for you
4	'9aafaytabit'	I hope you enjoy it
5	'be khudi'	Vagabond
6	'khastakhaana'	Hospital
7	'piira'	A tricky woman
8	'khona'	Do you believe?
9	'haraam aw bu ...'	O' no or I wish it did n't happen
10	'9aafaytabit'	I hope you enjoy it
11	'hayraana ta'	I sacrifice myself for you
12	'9aafyatbit'	I wish you enjoy it
13	'3eehataya'	O' she is a good housewife!

Table 1 shows that ‘rabanee’ (miserable) is the most frequently used word by Fs, compared with Ms. It expresses sorrow which reflects the psychological nature of women regardless of age and literacy. It is used by women, especially the illiterate old women, more than by men. This explanation is applicable to the words ‘faqiiree’ (poor) and ‘hazaaree’ (miserable).

The table also indicates that the words ‘qurbaana’ and ‘Hayraana’ (to sacrifice one for somebody especially babies) are highly used by women. They express women’s love for newly born infants or babies. They are occasionally used mockingly and sarcastically with old people.

It has been found out that the word ‘juwana’ (nice , good) is always used by women in expressing their admiration for persons and things as well.

The word ‘9afytbit’ (congratulation) is commonly said to someone after finishing bath or having a delicious meal. It is usually used by women and sometimes used cunningly to mean the opposite as when someone commits a mistake or a crime and imprisoned as a result of that. People may use it to imply that such a person deserves the punishment.

The word ‘khastakhaane’ (hospital) is mostly used by old women. Originally, it is a Turkish loanword borrowed during the Ottoman Empire. The use of it by women in particular is probably due to the fact that women are more linguistically conservative than men because they, especially in the past, rarely leave their houses. Accordingly, the shift from ‘khastakhaane’ to ‘mustashf3’ on the part of young women is obvious although both mean (hospital).

The word ‘rabane’ (what a pity! or I pity him/her....) is highly used by women regardless of age and literacy when they pity somebody since they are extremely emotional and quickly affected by bad news whereas men are the opposite. This may be justified psychologically because men seldom show personal sorrow or translate it verbally as women do. Similarly, ‘Haraam aw ...’ (feeling sorry or regretful for losing something or the departure of somebody) is mostly used by women to express regret because they are emotional by nature.

The following table (2) shows the use of lexical items by men.

Table No. 2 shows that ‘garantii’ (guarantee) is the most frequently used item by men because it is related to business. It has been noticed that the English loanwords in IA, especially the ones which are correlated with business life, are mostly used by men, e.g., ‘baznas’ (business), ‘chayyak kar’ (check), ‘kansal kar’ (cancel), ‘griin laayit’ (green light), ‘ookee’ (OK), ‘haloo’(hello), ‘Saaloon’ (hair dresser shop), ‘haay’ (Hi), etc. It has also been observed that these items are often used by the literate young individuals from both sexes as a social etiquette and to show off in using the pre-mentioned foreign borrowed items as symbols of elitism, modernism, Americanism and westernization.

The table shows that the word ‘patpatok’ (gossip) is mostly used by men because it embodies bad connotation and it is used by men as a criticism of women who are fond of gossiping.

The word ‘waki’ (as if, look like) is mostly used by men to express similarity and it can be replaced by the SA word ‘mithil’ (as...as, similar to).

The words ‘fazgaana’ and ‘baTraana’ (of being indifferent) are mostly used by men, especially the illiterate old generation. Originally, they are likely to have been borrowed by men from the countryside and the south of Iraq.

Table (2)
Use of Lexical Items by Men

No.	Item	Meaning in English
1	‘garantii’	Guarantee
2	'patpatok'	Gossip
2	‘biznis’	Business
3	‘chayyak’	Check
4	'baraaz'	Pig
5	‘kansalha’	Cancel
6	‘griin laayat’	Green light (expression of assurance)
7	‘chaaykhaana’	Tea shop
8	‘waki khanzeera or baraza	Piggy behaviour
9	‘chand fazgana’	Careless
10	(café, tea shop)	(café, tea shop)
10	‘ookee’	O.K.
11	‘chand baTraana’	Indifferent
12	‘haloo’	Hello
13	‘Saaloon’	Hair dressing shop
14	‘khona’	Do you think?
15	‘9aafiyat bit’	I hope you enjoy it
16	‘Haraama bo ta’	O’ no forbidden for you
17	'khude kheera wa banfiisa'	May God reward you

Table 2 also indicates that the word ‘chaaykhaane’ (café, tea shop) is entirely used by men. It refers to a place where tea is served and only men of different ages, professions, and status can go there. Originally, it is a loanword from Turkish, so it is mostly used by old men. But the young literate men normally use the equivalents of it in SA such as ‘maqha’ or Mosuli word ‘qahwii’ or the borrowed word ‘gaaziinoo’ which convey the same meaning (i.e., café, tea shop, casino).

The previous analysis shows that there is SDs in the use of vocabulary because some lexical items are sex-linked. Some of them are mostly used by Fs whereas some others are usually used by Ms although the majority of Iraqi lexical items are shared by both sexes. This suggests that a distinction can be made between sex- preferntial differences where the lexical items can be used by both genders but preferred by one, whereas the sex-exclusive implies that the the items can be used by one gender only.

6.2 Sex Differences at Syntactic Level:

There are certain SDs as far as syntactic structures are concerned, yet very little has been done on sex-related variation in the syntactic component (For details see Shibamoto 1987: 30). This section will focus on some fixed expressions commonly used by women or men. The following two tables present samples of such structures. The analysis will be confined to the differences while the similarities will be discarded. The following table shows the use of some syntactic expressions by women.

Table 3
Use of Syntactic Expressions by Women

No.	Arabic Expressions	Meaning in English
1	'ooy daaye'	O' dear!
2	'na 9ayba'	What a shame! Or How dare you!
3	'az gorya ta'	O' I wish I would n't live after you.
4	'qubaana tabit'	I wish to sacrifice myself for you
5	'chand juwana'	How nice and sweet it is!
6	'chand da3war ... agra'	What a naughty boy he is!
7	'chand nazaka'	Lit., What a light star he has!
8	'naa Haraam naa'	O' by what is forbidden no.
9	'az bakhte tada'	I beg you
10	'khuly al sareeba',	(Literally, let someone be buried)
11	'az paqya'	I would explode.
12	'az dakhile ta ma'	You may protect me.
13	'naa khushke naa'	O' dear no.
14	'nave khude al sar taya'	May God protect you.
15	'khuzi bamra'	O' God! I wish this would be my end ... I wish I died
16	'dardaki be darman'	A disease with no remedy
17	'nasakhe cha Haale wiya'	How sick he is!
18	'cha muSiibaya'	What a disaster!
19	'naa chavee man naa'	Lit., O' my eye no.
20	'mana rasta?'	Is n't right?
21	'na rasta? or rasta?'	Is n't correct?
22	'ta az diinkar' and 'ta tu 3aaqal sare man da nahsht'	Both mean to make one fool or crazy
23	'khude ta ba ku3a ... khode ta na hila'	May you be hurt
24	'waki bukee...'	Like a bride, just like, look like...O' similar to ...

1. 'ooy daay' (O' dear!)

Table 3 shows that this expression is the most frequent one used by Fs. It is frequently uttered by women when they pity somebody to express their amazement towards bad news. Similar expressions are:

2. 'khuzi bamra' (O' dear, I wish I would not live after ...)

(I wish I would not live after)

It is indicated that 'khuzi bamra' (O' God! I wish this would be my end ... I wish I died) is always used by Fs jokingly or seriously, or for expressing exclamation and exaggeration. Men claim it does not suit them. Such expressions are confined to women regardless of age and literacy because men never use them. They all express sorrow and regret.

3. 'na 9ayba na' (How dare you!)

This expression is always used by women because they pay too much attention to social traditions imposed on them and the list of what is '9ayba' (shameful) is long, yet there is social plasticity and flexibility towards men regarding the social conventions in the Arab World.

4. 'waki ...' (... similar to ...)

This expression, which refers to similarity, is always used by women to show surprise and exclamation. The use of 'wii' is the marker of women's speech while ' ' (like) by itself can be used by both sexes.

5. 'qubaana', 'az gorya ta' (I wish I sacrificed myself for the sake of you).

This expression is sex-linked because it is mostly used by women and never by men. Sometimes, it is used provokingly and sarcastically with the older people.

6. 'chand jawana' (What a nice or a beautiful, e.g., baby or thing it is!)

The table shows that the word 'chand' (what a or how

+bad/ good + N.) is highly common among women whether literate or illiterate. It can be used for provoking others seriously or for kidding and joking depending on the intonation of the speaker. The table shows that this example 'chand juwana' (How nice or beautiful it is!) can be used equally by both sexes to express compliments for children and admiration for inanimate things.

7. '3ana malay' (What a good housewife you are or she is!)

This expression is particularly used by old women who express their admiration for a girl who is good at managing house affairs. It suggests that she is going to be an excellent housewife after marriage. This example can also be uttered by men.

8. 'naa Haraam naa' (Literally, no by what is forbidden no.)

This expression is mostly used by women and is normally replaced by 'na ab khude na', 'nlaa walla naa' (No, by God no...) which can be used by both sexes to express an oath.

9. 'az bakhte tada' (I beg you ...)

It is commonly used by women. It is similar to 'az dakhile ta ma'. Men usually say 'az bakhte khude daya' (I beg God ...).

10. 'bala khuly al sareekhoka', (Literally, let someone be buried)

It is often used by women. It can also be used by men as well and are correlated with illiteracy and expression of disgust and degradation of others.

11. 'ruHii man taqya' (Literally, my soul exploded).

This expression conveys complaining and of being fed up especially by women.

12. 'khudi da bahela' (May God protect you.)

It is frequently used by women to express protection of God for the addressee.

13. 'na daay na' (O' dear no)

This is a womanly-used expression and men rarely use it. It is similar to some other expressions commonly used in informal settings, e.g.

14. 'naa yadi/daay/dayki naa' (Literally, no mother no)**15. 'naa yabu naa, naa bra naa' (Literally, no father no ... no brother no).****16. 'naa yari naa ... na dalale na' (Literally, no love or honey no).****17. 'naa chavi ma naa' (Literally, no my eye no).**

They all express polite refusal. They are mostly used by women except the last examples which are confined to family members, husbands and lovers; therefore, women are socially embarrassed in using them with strangers in public settings. All of them can be used by men as well.

18. 'chave khude al tabi (May the name of Allah protect you)

It is mostly used by parents and women in general to avoid anything that might hurt children. It implies that God may prevent such an action from happening. It is usually used by old people.

19. 'nasakha tu Hale wi nina' (How sick he is!)

It is exclusively used by women. It involves exaggeration towards others because 'cha Hale wiya' implies being in a very bad state. This reflects the nature of women in general.

In the table, 'ta az diinkar' and 'ta tu 3aaqal sare man da nahsht' (both mean to make one fool or crazy) are highly used by women when they are fascinated by somebody or something.

20. 'cha muSiibaya' (What a disaster!).

This expression is commonly used by women for making a complaint. Similar expressions are also used, e.g.

21. **‘chand nakhosh ’** (What nuisance or discomfort!)

22. **‘cha Hayaata!’** (What a life!)

23. **‘chand bahta’** (What a naughty)

This exclamatory expression is used by women to express disgust at a silly behaviour when they provoke others either seriously or jokingly. A similar example can be used. The example can be used by men as well.

24. **‘agra ... hara...’** (He is so naughty or he is such a silly).

The word **‘khude ta ba ku3a ... khode ta na hila’** (may you be hurt) is frequently used by women when they are angry at their children’s naughty behaviour, e.g., shouting or crying aloud.

The word **‘waki ...’** (just like, look like) is mostly used by women to express similarity and it is very often replaced by the Standard Arabic word **‘mithil’** (as...as, like).

25. **‘ta az diinkar’** and **‘ta tu 3aaqal sare man da nahsht’**

Both mean to make one fool or crazy.

It is commonly used by both sexes.

26. **‘khude ta ba ku3a ... khode ta na hila’** May you be hurt.

It is commonly used by women.

The following table shows the use of syntactic expressions by men.

Table (4)
Use of Syntactic Expressions by Men

No.	Arabic Expression	Meaning in English
1	‘hashyar bi’	Be careful
2	‘naa Haraam naa’	Believe me I didn’t do it
3	‘kurki dalaal’	He is such a pet (spoiled)
4	‘3eehatyi’	She is such a perfect housewife!
5	(az) bakhte khudeda	
6	‘chand naazaka’	What a delicate ... he/she/it is!
7	‘maana rasta?’	Isn’t true?
8	‘chand agri da3wara’	He is such a naughty man!
9	‘nave khude altabi’	May the name of God protect you?

27. 'hashyar bi' (Be careful)

This is a kind of warning used more frequently by men than by women, maybe because men are more serious and afraid of any shortcoming. It is often replaced by 'diir' which conveys the same message.

28. 'chand naazk' (How nice or delicate he/she/it is!)

This expression is used by Fs and Ms to express compliments.

Among the collected expressions, the following ones are commonly used by Fs:

29. 'sare man khur' (Literally, he eats my head. Metaphorically, complaining about the state of being envied by someone else).

30. 'ru man rashbu' (God blackened my face.).

31. 'maal man kharbu' (Literally, my house was attacked and destroyed.).

The last two examples are usually used by illiterate old women to express their reaction towards hearing disastrous news.

There are some examples commonly used by Ms:

32. 'sar dasti man shol kar' (He worked with me to get experience.).

33. 'maa mizaaj naya' (I am sick or I don't feel well.).

34. 'tawakl bav sar khudi?' (Shall we start?).

35. 'chaav kho vaki' (Literally, open your eyes well (advice). Metaphorically, to be careful).

36. 'qaarash waarash naya' (Foxy, playable, tricky).

37. 'Tashtaka naya 9aTTaal baTTaal' (Jobless).

6.3 Speech Sex Differences at Semantic Level:

This section is confined to colours only. In Iraq, it is quite

natural that there are SDs in the use of colours since it has been found that women know more colour terms. Regarding this point, my wife and sisters, and their friends claim that the selection of a variety of colours is a part of their nature. They add that women often tend to choose clothes with various colours. Moreover, their use of cosmetics (i.e., make up) offer them a great chance to be familiar with great number of colours in their daily life. Colours usually attract the attention of Fs more than Ms and women always attempt to look for unique and newly-coined colour terms. In short, women tend to change and such a change includes colours to a great extent. Furthermore, in their attempt to look beautiful and elegant women seek whatever gives them a chance to achieve that. The use of colours is considered a golden opportunity to accomplish this psychological motive. Conversely, men normally limit their choice to certain basic colours due to the fact of being busy in their life.

To justify the assumption that women know and use colours more than men do, I asked (100) informants (50 Fs and 50 Ms aged between 18 and 25) to mention the colours they are familiar with. For Ms, the average number of the colours mentioned by men ranged between 8 and 12 (i.e., basic colours only), e.g., ‘spii’ (white), ‘zar’ (yellow), ‘sor’ (red), ‘shiin’ (blue), ‘purtaqali’ (orange), ‘naf’ (violet), ‘ ’ (indigo colour henceforth cl.), ‘raSaSi’ (grey, i.e., cl. of elephants), ‘qahwaaii’ (coffee brown), ‘khaki’ (khakii). The last colour reflects the influence of military life upon men.

Women outnumbered men in giving names of colours since apart from the colours mentioned above by men, they added many other colours. Here are the colours commonly used by women: ‘Hanni’ (henna cl.), ‘range godora’ (melon cl.), ‘bivaazi’ (onion cl.), ‘hangaveen’ (honey cl.), ‘range av’ (light blue cl. of water), ‘lawni 3azman’ (cl. of sky), ‘rangi gia’ (cl. of grass),

‘rangi taree’ (cl. of grapes), ‘rangi Safar’ (brass colour), ‘raSaSi’ (lead cl.), ‘qurmuzi’ (scarlet cl.), ‘rangi jumbad’ (rosy), ‘rangi zeeri or dhahabi’ (golden), ‘rangi zeevi’ (silver cl.), ‘rangi kaye’ (straw-coloured), ‘rangi hanari’ (cl. of grenade), ‘rangi shiri’ (cl. of milk), ‘rangi kurkum’ (curcume), ‘rangi fastaqa’ (pistachio), ‘rangi tariya rash’ (cl. of black grapes), ‘rangi nafTe’ (cl. of petrol), ‘rangi ganam’ (cl. of wheat), ‘rangi Safari’ (bronze cl.), ‘gaske Tari’ (dark green), ‘rangi ari/khuli’ (ash cl.), ‘rangi shakari’ (cl. of sugar), ‘rangi bandaqe’ (hazelnut cl.), ‘shadhrii’ (turquoise), ‘jumbadi’ (pink), ‘rangi agari’ (cl. of fire), ‘rangi guza’ (cl. of nuts), ‘rangi khurme’ (cl. of dates), ‘qurmuzi’ (purple), ‘aqeet’ (ruby), ‘fez rangi’ (cl. of fez), ‘rangi chakleeta/shakaroka’ (cl. of chocolate i.e., brown), ‘lalaki’ (lilac cl.), ‘rangi kal’ (antimony, i.e., black and lead grey), ‘zayti’ (oil cl.), ‘wardi’ (rosy), ‘khamri/range 3araqe’ (wine cl.), ‘laymuni’ (lemon cl. or yellowish), ‘laHmi’ (flesh cl.), ‘rangi ba9an rashk’ (cl. of eggplants), ‘banaf*’ (violet), ‘rangi hasani’ (iron cl.), ‘sor weeki khuni’ (strawberry cl.), ‘maruni’ (redness of wine), ‘waki karistal’ (crystal whiteness), ‘rangi fasfore kask’ (Phosphoric green), ‘rangi ba9jan sor’ (Tomato cl., i. e. red and orange), ‘rangi faHame/ra3i/rash waki faHme’ (cl. of coal).

It is clear that women are creative in coining new lexical items to refer to colours based on analogy between the object or the cloth and fruit, vegetables, minerals, flowers, animals, etc. The creativity and originality on the part of women spring from imagination, romanticism and beauty. According to this list of more than (70) colours by women.

Sometimes colours are used metaphorically, e.g., ‘moot ?aHmar’ (red death, i.e., killing), ‘’ (black disease, i.e., plague), ‘’ (green hope, i.e., promising and bright future), etc. It has been noticed that women use them more frequently than men do.

To sum up, it is noteworthy that there is certain SDs which has not been completely analyzed in this chapter. In such cases we propose that they might be better handled in separate studies in the future.

7. The Social Factors Influencing Speech Sex Differences in Kurdish:

The fundamental social variables which give rise to SDs in language behavior are largely dependent on age, setting, literacy and sex. In Dohuk, among the social factors which influence SDs are: ‘setting’, ‘topic’ and ‘participants’ including their ‘age’, ‘literacy’ and ‘sex’. Apart from sex which is the main motivating factor behind SDs the other factors affect them as well, as seen in the following sections:

7.1 Setting:

Very little is known about the possible effect of situation on female/male speech (Thorne et al 1983:15). Setting refers to the psychological and physiological situation including place and time. It is expected that speech SDs are more common in informal situations than in formal ones. Moreover, SDs are expected to be used more in home domain than in school or university domain under the influence of age and literacy since the gap of SDs is narrowing among members of the literate young Fs or Ms at the university level while at homes where the illiterate old generation dominate, the differences are more.

7.2 Participants

Participants or interlocutors have many personal features such as age, literacy, sex, socioeconomic background, social status, mood, etc. But the most influential features correlated with SDs, apart from sex, are age and literacy.

7.2.1 Literacy:

SDs are expected to be more common among the illiterate women and men while they are less common among the literate ones as a result of the influence of Mass Media and the use of the SK as a medium of instruction at schools and universities and education in general.

7.2.2 Age:

It is expected that there are SDs between the old and young generation with reference to vocabulary, use of specific expressions for colours and speech acts. The reader is referred to sections 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 7. The following points, as far as the relationship between language and age is concerned, have been observed:

- (i) With regard to colours, it has been observed that the young generation members Fs and Ms know more colour terms under the influence of literacy, shopping, clothes, cosmetics, etc.
- (ii) Concerning vocabulary, some lexical items are mostly used by the young Fs and Ms, e.g., ‘ooke’ (o.k.), ‘halloo’ (hello), ‘baznas’ (business), ‘garantii’ (guarantee), ‘chayyak’ (check), ‘kansal’ (cancel), ‘haay’ (Hi), ‘Saaloon’ (salon), ‘suupar maarket’ (super market), ‘griin laait’ (green light) etc. Some other words are commonly used by old women and men, e.g., ‘makf’ or ‘magrud’ or ‘mafju9’ (what a pity!), ‘kawayis’ (nice), ‘piira’ (devil or evil for an old woman), ‘qubaanuu’ or ‘Hayraanuu’ (sacrifice), ‘khuli al sari’ (be buried), ‘baarii’ (at least) etc. (The reader may see 5.1).
- (iii) It has been noticed that some English borrowed expressions are frequently used by the young generation, e.g., ‘bay baay’ (bye bye), ‘thaank yuu’ (thank you), ‘sii yuu’ (see you) and many other English loan words in Iraq. In contrast, some expressions are commonly used by the old generation, e.g.,

- ‘?ashqad najmu khafiif’ (easily envied), ‘naSaakh chaa Haale wiya’ (seriously ill), ‘’ (literally, he ate my head. Metaphorically, he envied me), ‘bal bamra bashtara’ (literally, let him be buried, i.e., disgust), ‘’ (what a!), ‘av cha Hayaata’ (what miserable and bitter life it is!). (See 5.2).
- (iv) As for ‘topics’, there are certain differences between the young and old generation since the members of the former are involved in particular subject matters, e.g., cosmetics and perfumes, hairstyles, sewing and models, gold and jewellery, sports, love relationships, scientific issues, and reading. The topics which form the core for the old people are: house affairs, food and cooking, gossiping, marriage and engagement, washing and cleaning, children rearing, political issues, work, commerce, religious subjects, and agriculture. There is SDs as far as topics are concerned. (The reader may see 6.3).

7.3 Topics:

Women and men tackle different ‘topics’ or ‘subject matters’ because of the differences in their interests, physical abilities, social attitude, purpose, feelings, etc. This variation of topics leads to the acquisition of different sets of lexical items or ‘registers’ as Halliday called the specialized vocabulary. So it happens that each sex has its own vocabulary with reference to the topics dealt with. To support the belief, the researcher gave a list of (30) topics to (100) informants (50 Fs and 50 Ms) aged between (18 and 25).

The following topics were found to be commonly tackled by women in Dohuk: washing and cleaning, cooking, house affairs, accessories, make-up and perfumes, gossip, hair styles, sewing and models, jewellery, films and songs, child rearing, clothes and elegance, marriage and engagement, and furniture.

For men, the following topics were found to be commonly hit upon by them: agriculture and animal breeding, scientific matters, sports, work, religious matters, cars, military affairs, commerce, and political topics.

As for the topics tackled approximately equally by both sexes they were discarded.

8. The Role of Sex Differences in the Expression of Speech Acts

In Kurdish and Arabic, the area of 'speech acts' where SDs is found seems to be virgin. In Iraq, sex plays a great role in the expression of speech acts since they are expressed differently by Fs and Ms.

The examples presented in this section were collected through personal observation, interviews and questions. The collection was reduced to (160) examples on the condition they cover different speech acts. Then, they were given as a kind of questionnaire to (100) informants (50 Fs and Ms) aged between (18-25) to identify whether Fs or Ms or Ms and Fs commonly use them. The third option was cancelled because it represented a linguistic similarity. The following situations explain that:

8.1 Apology:

Apology is the state where the idea of regret for doing something wrong or inconvenient, or being unable to accomplish a task is expressed. It can be expressed in different ways. It has been observed that Fs and Ms apologize differently by using various expressions to convey their apologies due to the acquisition of different sex-linked ways of expressing apology within the process of socialization in Iraq.

The most common expressions of apology used by **women** are:

39. **'az galak sharmazar buya ... az sharm daka'** (I am terribly sorry and feel shy....)
40. **'man na kari bu'** (I couldn't)
41. **'babori'** (Forgive me)
42. **'baboram'** (Forgive us....)
43. **'ma dale ta a3 mama?** (Are you angry with me?)

While the following expressions are mostly used by **men**:

44. **'babora' '?al 9afu'** (Sorry)
45. **'qaSura man 9afu baki' '?aasaf'** (Sorry)
46. **'az i9tidhaarki** (I apologise)
47. **'bawarka'** (Believe me
48. **'ma nazani'** (did n't know).
49. **'guhi ma le nabu'** (I did nt hear it).
50. **'dale ta naaminat'** (You do n't upset)

The comments, detailed expressions of the reasons behind sex-preferential use of each, are beyond the scope of this paper.

8. 2 Compliments:

A compliment refers to the cases when we express our astonishment, admiration and appreciation for something or somebody. In Iraq, women and men usually express compliments differently as a result of being socialized differently. The subject of compliments can be animate or inanimate, so their focus is on body organs, hair, appearance, new born babies or something possessed by the addressee, e.g., a dress, a car, a house, etc. In the process of complementation there are the complimented and the complimented. It is a social etiquette if expressed reasonably but women often exaggerate their compliments.

The following examples are very often used by **women**:

51. **'ooy daya chand ...'** (O dear what a ...!)
52. **'qubaan wan chava bit ... tu waki hayvey'**
(A sacrifice for your eyes ... You look like the moon)
53. **'galak juwana'** (So nice, so lovely)
54. **'bav u braayaa man ... ronya chave man, amri man, jagar man, Hayaata man.'**
(Metaphorically, you are my father and brother ... the light and tears of my eyes, darling, my whole existence, my eyes and life).
55. **'chand ba3an zarafa'** (She is thin and nimble).
56. **'tu zana kacha Khadija chand 3eehatiya, kach naav malaya, talibya kuliya aadabiya qasme angliizii ...'**
(Do you know that the daughter of Khadija is smart, beautiful and hardworking? She is a student in the College of Arts, English Department)

Whereas **men** are interested in using certain complimentary expressions such as:

57. **'dast khushbi'** (You have made a delicious meal indeed!)
58. **'bee3 ta chad vee ...chad ve we cheebva...'**
(Just ask, you are so dear! Whatever you want my eye, you are my master, just give orders and I'll obey).
59. **'ta avroka galak kho pee3 chave'** (Today you look very pretty).
60. **'avroka jalke ta nuya ('avro ta galak kho lik daya!), cha haya khayran?'** (Today you are wearing new clothes, anything new?)

8.3 Complaints:

Complaints imply the fact that the speakers express their suffering from something, disgust, dislikes, discomfort and a wish to get rid of them and put an end to them. People generally

complain through language, among other ways. This social phenomenon seems to be universal. In Iraq, it is expected that the two sexes complain differently.

The following examples embody some of the common expressions used by **women**:

61. **'chand + adj. ,e.g., 'chand beena ma tangbuya'** (How upset I am!)
62. **'cha + N. ,e.g., 'cha Hayaata!', 'cha Haala!', 'cha mushkilay'**
(What a life it is! ... What a problem it is!)
63. **'az namee3a daka da khudee ta baku3i u ash da khude bala ta3 ma vakat'**
(I pray that God may kill me to get rid of you)
64. **'cha khude az warTanya ab wa....'**
(You are such a bad destiny for me!)
65. **'zanan wa az ta3bandy, ab khudee ruHe man darkat...'**
(I am very tired and fed up with you).
66. **'ooy, av cha muSiibaya'**
(O what a dilemma and catasrophe!)
67. **'ooy av naHayaata ...av maal wala doo3aha!'**
(O this is not a way of life ... I feel this is hell not home).
'khude kula Halabe bakavita mala wa' (May God bring you the disease of Aleppo).
68. **'kule dalaman para/galaka... eeshan dalman/darde man garana... tu b khudeka**
basa guzee kho sar daleman nashkena (I have a lot of worries... my heartache is difficult...Do n't add extra problems to mine).
69. **'aay daay al ma rabeene ... al man isiree ... al man be khudaya...'**

Frankly speaking, very few complaint expressions are

uttered by **men**, e.g.

70. ‘?allahu ?akbar, ava cha mushkila al gal taya... chand ilHaaHEE daka ... tu lazaagaye ...’

(God is great. What a dilemma it is! Why do you insist thus? Get away off me).

71. ‘Hasbi Allah wa ni9ama al wakeel’

8. 4 Condolence:

Sometimes condolence is expressed differently by women and men. The following expressions are commonly used by women for conveying condolence, e.g.

73. ‘az namina bo ve balaya bo ve muSeebta bo ve mal kharabkarne’ (What a misery!)

74. ‘ooy az namina bo ve lawinay ta’
(Oh, Oh, Oh. May God protect your youth).

75. ‘khude Sabre bada wa ... in shaa alla tu charga da na khoshi bo chan nabit... ma am sharee khudeka?’

(I hope you become more patient. I pity him. All of us will face the same fate one day. You don’t deserve this loss. I ask God you will never face such a calamity).

76. ‘jaka man.. ta dalman sot... hay bav u baray man... danya basht ta taribo... tu chu
ta az hasht...chaviman taribin pashti ta... pashti ta
chaviman na rabi alve maale ...ay u ay ...’

Women usually express their sadness for the death of somebody through body language including, beating, shouting, singing and praising the dead, etc.

Men have their own expressions for conveying condolence, e.g.

77. ‘ee chu chu ... saree buchuka sakhbit .. yatmay hama sakhbe’

(The children compensate for the loss. I ask God to keep you safe. This is the will of God).

- 78. 'hama hon sakhban.... Khude 3afu azaakat... am Hamaya bamran... '**

(May the rest of life be yours. May God increase your reward. This is the way of life).

- 79. 'raHma khude lebit... av reeka ma Hamyana'**

(Mercy be upon him. All of us are mortal).

The impact of Islamic religion on men's condolence expressions is obvious.

8.5 Congratulations:

This speech act embodies the idea of congratulating somebody on having a happy occasion (e.g., marriage, success, engagement, childbirth, feasts, etc.) In Iraq, there are fixed expressions to be said on occasions but women differ from men in the language used to convey congratulations. Nevertheless, there are certain occasions where the same formulas are used by the two sexes.

The following examples are commonly used by **women**.

- 80. 'haki khude 3amri badata ...tu nave kho baveena'**

(If Alla wish you may live long to see your grandchildren (i.e., descendents) and I hope they will live a prosperous life).

- 81. 'piroz bi mubark bi mabruuk'** (Congratulations).

- 82. 'piroz bit bachuke ta... ab day u bavaba 3amara daree3a bit'**

- 83. 'piroz bit u nakhsha al wabit'** (Congratulations and wish the others get married too).

This is used when somebody gets married and we wish the others present the same especially if they are unmarried.

For **men**, the most common is:

84. 'mabruuk' (Congratulations).

85. 'sar kheere bit' sad kheeri 3ee bavina' (Congratulations).

It can be used by women too.

8.6 Greetings:

Greetings have three important features: (i) they occur at the beginning of a conversation (ii) they give the speakers a turn and they involve an initiator and a responder. In Iraq, the responder B often repeats the initiator A's formula. There may be some variation, but within limits. For example, if the initiator A says 'marHaba' (Welcome), the responder B will simply repeat A's formula 'marHaba' (Welcome) or as in A: 'SabaaH ?al-kheer (Good Morning) – B: 'SabaaH an-nuur' (Good Morning), or A: 'masaa? ?al-kheer' (Good Afternoon) – B 'masaa? an-nuur' (Good Afternoon). These greeting expressions are used in Iraq regardless of sex, age and literacy. But women and men use different formulae of greetings as well (For a similar discussion see Coulthard 1979: 70, 84).

The verbal expressions of greetings are sometimes accomplished by non- verbal behavior, implicit or explicit, e.g., a nod or a smile or a twinkle in the eye. The non-verbal part of greeting seems indispensable. This combination is governed by specific norms of appropriateness; therefore, it is not 'arbitrary' or 'random'. This is applicable to Iraq (For details see Mehrotra 1975: 2).

Women commonly use the following greeting expressions:

86. 'chawani dayka ibraahiim'

(Welcome or hello mother of Ibrahim)

87. 'khude qawate badta bave maHamad'

(May you regain your strength father of Muhammad).

88. 'ro3 khosh '

(Good Morning. Good Afternoon or Good Evening).

89. '**(ha) chawani, cha dakin? cha Hale waya?... bachok chawana?**' (Hi. How are you? What are you doing? How is everything? How are the kids?).

Women may shift to irrelevant issues while greeting, e.g.

90. '**ava chay? ya ava cha tashta? ava a3 kereee anya? Ava cha na khosh jeerana wa hana?**'
91. '**shava wa khosh**' (Good night).

We say that in Kurdish when we turn back at night especially when visiting some friends or relatives.

Men also very often use the following greeting expression:

92. '**as salaamu 9alaykom**' (Peace be upon you).

8.7 Leave-Takings:

Conversational endings, like openings, usually involve a paired exchange. In Iraq, the common formulae of leave-taking are 'ma9 as salaama' (Good-bye); 'fii? amaan alla'(You may be in the safety of God). These expressions are usually used by Fs and Ms regardless of age and literacy, but they are 'sex-preferable' not 'sex-exclusive', for example, the first one is preferred by women while the second one is mostly used by men. It is also common among Iraqi people to say 'taSbaHuun 9ala kheer' (Literally, Wish you good and nice morning or simply good night) to a person going to bed regardless of age, sex and literacy. The following examples are some of the common expressions used by **women**:

93. '**bakhatra ta baveman.. barayman... bakheer bichit**'
(God be with you ... Farewell dear. May you be safe).
94. '**ba kher haten ...ba kher bachan**'
(May God keep you safe? I pray to God to protect you and

let you arrive safely and turn back rich).

95. **'bavu u brayaman khude al gal ta bit .. chavee khudee al tabit'**

(Farewell dear. May God, Prophet Muhammad and Ali be with you).

96. **'shava waa khosh'** (Have a nice night).

97. **'ab khatara wa'** (Good bye)

The last two examples can be used by **both sexes**.

Men use different expressions for leave-taking, e.g.

98. **'a3 rukhSata ta...'**

(We are afraid we have to leave or May we leave?)

99. **'a3 dastorya man badan' 'ijaza bit' rukhsata wa'** (May I leave?)

8.8 Refusal:

It implies rejecting something or an idea or refusing to do something. Socially speaking, it is advised to refuse politely and to apologies mildly in order not to make the addressee feel shy. There is an overlap between refusal and apology because there is no clear-cut line between them. In Iraqi Arabic, refusal regularly embodies negation by using the particles 'maa' and 'laa' standing for 'no'. It has been noticed that Fs and Ms express refusal somewhat differently.

Here are some of the ways in which **women** refuse:

100. **'naa az galak datarsa ... lazim az bee3am dayka kho'**

(No, please I am afraid. I must tell my Mum).

101. **'man navee ... Ha3eenakam'**

(I don't want it ... I don't like it).

102. **'na az nashem bem... or bawaranka ase eem...az baveena majaal haya naya.. bare khodem...'**

As for **men**, they refuse differently and somewhat in a tough way, e.g.

103. 'na ab khude chee nabit....az nashem'

(No, I assure you by God it is not possible and I can't).

104. 'na ba khude na ...hazar ja na... de hara.. hara hara'

(I say 'No' a thousand times ... Go away or begone).

105. 'Talaqa dayka Ahmadi az chee nakam...'

(I swear that I'll divorce my wife if you pay. I swear by what is illegal and forbidden that you don't pay).

106. 'na bra na az galta nina' (I am sorry I don't agree with you).

107. 'de hara de as gal ta nina' (I don't agree with you. This is impolite way used by teenagers).

108. 'na mamo na khona ma naan ab guha khorya' (No, please no. Don't expect we are naive).

The last two examples characterize illiterate men's refusals.

8.9 Swearing:

Swearing refers to the state when a person takes an oath by God or the names of God, or by the Prophet Mohammad and other prophets, or the Holy Quran, or Ka'ba and other sacred places, or parents or parts of body, etc. to do or not to do a thing. Religiously, socially, and morally speaking, it is unacceptable to swear. The purpose of it is to give the listener the impression that what the speaker says is true. In Iraq, swearing is common among the illiterate people regardless of age and sex because literate people avoid using 'swearing expressions' and regard them as unsuitable for the elite.

The following expressions were considered by the respondents to be utterly used by **women**:

109. 'ab dayk u haveeman' (By my mother or father).

-
110. **'ab pikhambar... abmaSaHafe ...abqurane... abkhodee'**(By the prophet ...).
 111. **'absare MaHmada man... abgora MaHamade...**
 112. **'abnabii yuunas'** (By Prophet Younis).
 113. **'ab ka9be'** (By Ka'aba).
 114. **'ab sheekh fatHii'** (By Sheikh Fathi).
 115. **'ab sheekh 9abdal qadar'** (By Sheikh Abulqadir).
 116. **'ab sare ?abu ?al wlaad'** (By the head of the father of...).
 117. **'ab gora sheekhi'** (By the tomb of Sheikh)
 118. **'ab vi ta3aami'** (By this food)
 119. **'ab juday marada'** (By Judy Mountain)

Conversely, the following expressions were found to be used entirely by **men**:

120. **'ab sharfa man ...'** (By my honour and principles).
121. **'ab sare 3azeezee kho'** (By your dear head).
122. **'ab khodey mazan'** (By God the generous).
123. **'ab sheeree dayk man da man'** (By my mother's milk).
124. **'ab Halal u Haram man'** (By God who allows and prohibits).
125. **'ab vi ta3aami .. ab vi zaadii'** (By this food).
126. **'ab gora bave man'** (By the tomb of my dad)
127. **'ab saree bave man'** (By my father's head).
128. **'ab khudey mazan'** (By God the great).

Of course there are some expressions shared by **both sexes**, e.g.,

129. **'ab sar falane'** (By head of X)
 130. **'ab gor marya ...'** (By the soul of the dead).
 131. **'ab qabar bave man'** (By my father's tomb).
 132. **'ab saree ... ab chavee ta...'** (By your head, eyes, life).
 133. **'ab quraane'** (By Quraan).
-

8.10 Thanking:

Thanks are usually expressed to somebody for doing a favor and this phenomenon seems to be universal. In Iraq, both women and men express thanks but somewhat differently. Men very often say 'sukran' (thank you) only to save time and effort or perhaps because they are serious and practical or probably they are less emotional than women are who mostly do not confine themselves to 'sukran' (thanks) only but they add complimentary expressions.

The following expressions of thanks giving are mostly used by **women**:

134. 'sopaz shukran, khude 9amre ta dare3baka.. khude da basatarin...'

(Thanks, may God prolong your life and keep your children safe and denote you).

135. 'shukran Hayaata man ... mamnuuna' (Thank you my life ... I am grateful to you).

As for **men**, they mostly use the following thanks giving expressions:

136. 'shukran. Khude a3 tara zabit .. khudee kheeree have reeka ta'

(Thanks, may you be rewarded by God. May God increase the number of good people like you).

137. 'shukran .. hazar jara az a3ta mamnun ...'

(Thanks a lot or a thousand times thanks my lord ... I am looking forward to award you).

138. 'shukran, mamnun galak sakh bi'.

139. 'az mamnuna'.

8.11 Threatening:

It embodies the idea of provoking somebody for not doing

something or blaming somebody for misbehavior or warning somebody that the speaker would do so and so if the addressee carries out a wrong action or continues making the mistake. Threatening depends on intonation and paralinguistic features, for example, an utterance can function as an ordinary statement ‘?alla kariim’ (God is generous), but if it is pronounced in a special way, the intonation will change it into a warning or a threat which means (You will see).

In Iraq, Fs and Ms express ‘threatening’ differently: men prefer the direct threatening, i.e., they will do so and so if the addressee(s) ... whereas women mostly threaten indirectly, i.e., their fathers, or brothers, or husbands, etc. will do so and so if the addressee(s) The threatened people by women are usually children or women or neighbours and rarely men.

Here are some of women’s threatening expressions:

140. ‘ha3 ba an janna de ta’

(Shut up! Otherwise the ghoul will and kills you)

141. ‘tu baveena basiiTa...’

(Wait and see. When my husband or brother or father comes)

142. ‘bas hartaya bakaaz ta bave bo gorgi’

(Don’t be naughty, otherwise I’ll terminate you and I’ll throw you to the wolf to swallow you).

143. ‘hasha de hasha...ab khude az dange kho balanda u aze ta fadhaHeena.. azi hataka ta bava’

(Keep silent otherwise I’ll shout loudly and make a scene).

144. ‘ma tu nabena.. ma chave ta koran ...haki tu a3 vera nachim asz hataka ta bava.

(Don’t you see? May God turn you blind. Believe me, if you don’t step away I’ll make fun of you and give you a lesson to regret the day you were born in ... Begone. You

are an immoral person. Are you void of honour? Haven't you sisters?

145. 'cha Hade tay .. az danya ab sar tada beeim'

(I challenge you. I'll crack your head and trod on your chest. I'll knock you down and make fun of you).

146. 'bawarka haki az hatam ta az zamane ta baram....'

(Believe me; if I come I'll wipe the earth by you. I'll take your nose of your face, cut your tongue and tear your mouth).

147. 'tu baveena az ab braya khora bavet'

danya daree3. tu bavina (Men)

148. 'az bo ta nahelam' (Men)

149. 'bas beena kho al farhka...Sabre baksheena'

8.12 Marriage:

On marriage occasion which can be considered an event not a function, women and men are always aiming at happy wishes and promising future, e.g.

150. 'khude maal u bachuka ba da ta in shaa alla'

(Wishing you, i.e., the married couple, to be wealthy and have many children if Alla wishes)

151. pi rooz bit sar kheere bit

In Arabic we 'bil rifa' wal baniin'

The use of 'baniin' (boys) implies bias against girls.

Women and men have their own wedding songs which are different depending on sex.

8.13 Confinement:

When a woman is about to give birth to a baby, she usually uses certain expressions to show her pains and to feel psychologically at ease. So, she shouts at the top of her voice and repeats saying, e.g.

152. Patient: ‘aay ... aay ... aakh aay khude... hawara bigaha man ...aay daay az maram ... azgiva baravm ... dakhtora hawar bigha man ... yala yala 3amli bak ...ay khude oy khude 3awan chayaa man baka...’

(Oh ...Oh ... Oh God ...Oh my God ...Oh mother ... Oh mother ... Oh God ... Oh my Lord help me ...Oh Alla I’ll die...Please doctor help me ...please do the operation for me ...can't endure more).

Doctor or Nurse:

A doctor or a nurse or other women who visit the confined woman and attend the confinement usually use certain expressions to cheer her up, e.g.

153. ‘chu nina ... chu nina ...ya Alla ya Allah ...kho ba shadeena daHfda.. daHFD... tu na ma... chu na ma ...sare wi darkat ...darkat darkat di di ... khalaS ..chal ta hat.. chal ta hat Shirin ...’

(No problem...no problems...say Oh God...say Oh God... God help you...Pray to God, Pray to God. Push...Push more.. Wait it is just a matter of seconds and everything will be O. K. Calm down and don’t worry... Be patient, be patient little bit).

154. ‘aay daay ...aay daay...chand dashit... ’.

8. 14 Lullabies:

One of the approaches to the study of women’s verbal genres is to focus on genres mainly performed by them. The genres of lullabies and laments are extremely and habitually performed by women in ‘traditional, non-industrial and non-literate communities’. They occur at the opposite ends of life cycle. The practice of lullabies by women may be due to the social and cultural role of mothers although fathers can perform them (See Sherzer 1987: 112, 113).

8.15 Death Songs:

Another approach to the study of women's verbal genres is to focus on genres mainly performed by them. The genres of lullabies and laments are extremely and habitually performed by women in 'traditional, non-industrial and non-literate communities'. They occur at the opposite ends of life cycle. The practice of lullabies by women may be due to the social and cultural role of mothers although fathers can perform them (See Sherzer 1987: 112, 113). The songs sung in Kurdish are called 'pet bee3an', e.g.

9. Miscellaneous Topics Correlated with Sex Differences:

The use of stereotypical features, taboo expressions and proverbs with reference to SDs will be presented in the following sections:

9.1 Stereotypes and Sex Differences:

In almost all speech communities, there are probably certain stereotypes correlated with religion, or nationality, or colour, or sex. Actually, most of these stereotypical features are universal. This section is confined to 'sex' which assumes that there are fixed characteristics referring to Fs and to Ms in Mosul. These qualities embody positive or negative implications and the social attitude towards both sexes. The users of them are subjective, i.e., influenced by personal feelings.

As regards the Mosuli situation, the researcher tried to prove that some stereotypes are mainly correlated with Fs, some with Ms and a third category shared by both sexes. Therefore, a list of 50 commonly used characteristics associated with Fs and Ms was given to 100 informants (50 Fs and 50 Ms) aged between (18-25) to find out whether there is a general agreement among the Iraqis in Mosul upon the use of stereotypes.

It has been found out that the following stereotypes are

associated with women: of being emotional, worried, introvert, quietness, sensitivity, kind-heartedness, eloquence, of being talkative, changeability, shyness, jealousy, caring, stuttering, love of appearance, weak personality and complaining.

The following stereotypical features have found to be associated with men: tale-telling, creativity, rashness, hypocrisy, being easily excited, of being gay, violence, financial management, strong mindedness, activity, subjectivity, loyalty to traditions, joke-telling, independence, keeping secrets, aggressiveness, interest in adventures, self-confidence, cleverness, bravery, self-reliance and strength.

The connotations of the above-mentioned sex-linked qualities are subjective and social rather than linguistic.

9.2 The Use of Taboo Expressions by Women and Men:

It is believed that taboo expressions are common in almost all societies. Lexical items related to sex, sex organs, and bodily functions make up a large number of taboo expressions in many cultures. The creation of euphemisms is the result of the existence of taboo words and expressions.

This section sheds light on sex-linked taboo expressions in Dohuk (i.e., curses, abuses, insults, dirty and swear words). To prove that there is SDs in the use of taboo expressions the researcher gave a list of 50 of them to 100 informants (50 Fs and 50 Ms) aged between (18-25) to reply whether (Fs or Ms or Fs and Ms) use them.

The following taboo expressions are the most commonly used by **Women:**

155. ‘garooka’ (A woman wandering aimlessly)

- 156. **'qaHpa'** (Whore)
- 157. **'piisa'** (Untidy, or filthy woman)
- 158. **'piisa'** (Filthy)
- 159. **'peera'** (Foxy woman)
- 160. **'dokheen sasta'** (Prostitute, tricky woman)
- 161. **'kure qaHpee'** (Son of bitch)
- 162. **'kure kolana'** (He is a vagabond. Ill up-bringing)
- 163. **'gawaad'** (Cuckold)
- 164. **'?adabsaz'** (Immoral. Ill-behaved)

As for **men** the following taboo expressions are some of the most common ones for them:

- 165. **'kar kure kare'** (A dog and a son of dog)
- 166. **'sarsarii'** (Immoral person. Ill-mannered)
- 167. **'masarbat ... bahafsara'** (He is loose and ill-bred)
- 168. **'Haqiira'** (Mean, unworthy)
- 169. **'say pav...la3nat khude al dayka u bave ta'** (What damned parents you have!)
- 170. **'Pooch'** (A down-to-earth man. Scum of the earth)
- 171. **'paraza'** (Pig)
- 172. **'kar ...dawara'** (Donkey)
- 173. **'bii3ii'** (Son of bitch. Bastard)
- 174. **'kalachii...qaracha'** (Gipsy)
- 175. **'shayTanaabliis'** (Foxy. Tricky. A deceitful person)
- 176. **'palashtii or shalaatii'** (Foxy and crooked person. Ill-behaved)
- 177. **'gawaadak'** (Cuckold)
- 178. **qundara** (Shoes)
- 179. **dawara** (Animal)
- 180. **bee 3aqil** (Empty minded)
- 181. **bee gheerat** (Shyleless)
- 182. **bee namis** (Dishonest)
- 183. **say kur say** (dog as son of dog)

9.3 The Use of Proverbs by Women and Men:

It is undeniable that every speech community has its own proverbs that reflect the culture and folklore of that society. It has been noticed that some proverbs are commonly used by women and others are used by men. The third category is shared by both sexes and it is not the concern of this paper. To support this claim, the fieldworker gave 50 proverbs selected randomly from a collection of proverbs by, to 100 informants (50 Fs and 50 Ms) aged between (18-25) to identify whether Fs or Ms or both sexes use them.

In surveying the proverbs, it has been found that the common themes of the proverbs shared by Fs and Ms are: luck, work, friendship, optimism, divorce, cooperation and money. Obviously, women and men stress the role of luck in our life; the value of work in the social life; characteristics of a good friend; how to be optimistic; disadvantages of divorce; the significance of being cooperative and finally that money is the root of all evils.

Examples of the most common proverbs used by **women** are:

184. ‘takandagh al dasat wa laqalu qapagh’

(The pot finds its suitable cover or Birds of a feather flock together).

185. ‘Safiitara a3 rondakee chav’ (Purer than tear drops).

186. ‘mare ad ban kaaye’ (A snake under a pile of hay).

187. ‘marav wake tubashkaye’ (Relatives are just like scorpions).

188. ‘ro3e gart u fatara kho al Sar pivase kara’

(He fasted for a long time but broke his fasting by an onion)

189. ‘awa kari kal a3 chava darkhina (He steals eye colour).

- 190. 'zana daw a3 mastiy'
- 191. 'sare na esh naHawjay bo darsoke'
- 192. 'gisan/sho3an chavêe kho nabinan, darzaya chavêe khalkee dabinan'

The following are some of the most common proverbs used by men:

- 193. 'a3 siha kho da tarsa'
(Even shadows frighten him. Metaphorically coward)
- 194. 'Haft shol haya u bakht nina'
(A man of seven trades with no luck)
- 195. 'sarak bil beer'
(Don't worry. Your secret has fallen into a well)
- 196. 'parsak Ha3 parsaka naka' (A beggar does not like a beggar)
- 197. 'bara barana bazar judan' (Business is business)

10. Conclusion:

This study which examined SDs in Kurdish Language in Dohuk shows that there is lexical, syntactic and semantic SDs. This paper calls for carrying out future studies dealing with the phonological SDs. It has been noticed that there are no morphological SDs. The lexical part indicates that there is SDs because certain lexical items are mostly used by women while some others are limited to men. The syntactic section also shows that certain syntactic expressions are frequently used by Fs and some others are mostly used by Ms. At the semantic level, SDs were confined only to the colour terms used by both sexes (See 1, 2, 3, 5, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3).

This paper shows that SDs in Kurdish in Dohuk are influenced by sociolinguistic variables such as 'topic', 'participants' and 'setting'. It has been observed that the SDs is more common in family gatherings than in school or university

domains due to 'age' and 'literacy'. The topics tackled by Fs and Ms are different because of different interests, social status, and physical abilities (See 6.1, 6.2, 6.3). It also shows that there is SDs in the expression of apology, compliments, complaints, condolence, congratulations, greetings, leave-takings, refusal, swearing, thanks giving and threatening (See 7.1-7.11).

Section (8) suggests that future researches may also tackle SDs in the following areas: mixed-sex class interaction, gossip and verbosity, interruptions, joke-telling, language acquisition, language control, personal names, paralinguistic features, politeness, prestige language, communicative competence, self-disclosure and stylistic SDs, sex differences have been found in the use of stereotypes, taboo expressions and proverbs. Further studies in this field are also required so as to give a clear picture of SDs in Kurdish in Iraq and in other parts of the world.

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